CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate August 6, 1971:

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

James R. Schlesinger, of Virginia, to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 30, 1975.

William Offutt Doub, of Maryland, to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission for a term of 5 years expiring June 30, 1976.

U.S. CUSTOMERS COURT

Nils A. Boe, of South Dakota, to be judge of the U.S. Customs Court.

AMBASSADOR

Edwin W. Martin, of Maryland, a Foreign Service officer of the class of career minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Union of Burma.

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

James F. Campbell, of Maryland, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Agency for International Development.

U.S. COAST GUARD

The nominations beginning Timothy C. Hess, to be lieutenant (junior grade), and ending George T. Causey, to be chief warrant officer (W-2), which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on July 30, 1971.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL DATA SYSTEM

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, 1971, the House passed H.R. 56, the National Environmental Data Systems Act, to bring some order and accessibility to the growing body of information on environmental quality and natural resources. During consideration of this bill, I became aware of a project in the executive branch entitled, "Study of Environmental Quality Information Programs" or SEQUIP. The findings of the expert panel which performed that study have now been made available to me by Dr. Edward David, the science adviser to President Nixon.

It is gratifying and encouraging to my subcommittee that the SEQUIP report conclusions are virtually identical to the provisions of the legislation passed by the House and now awaiting action in the other body. Our original proposal was for a "data bank" but as the SEQUIP group concluded, a massive single information storage unit would be unrealistic. Instead H.R. 56 proposes a central national coordinating facility. This is comparable to the finding of the executive branch study:

That the Council on Environmental Quality establish a new information organization in the Environmental Protection Administration which will take the lead, nationally, to implement an environmental quality information and data network based on the compatibility and interactive capabilities among existing information and data programs.

With this strong endorsement of our legislative concept, I urge the Congress to complete the passage of H.R. 56. While some executive agency testimony on the bill was less than enthusiastic, the thorough appraisal of this study must be accepted as confirming our original premise—that improved exchange of environmental information is essential in the fight against pollution. I would hope the administration will publish the entire SEQUIP report so that all interested parties may benefit from its findings. In the meantime, I insert the summary recommendations at this point in the RECORD:

A STUDY OF ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY INFORMATION PROGRAMS IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

SUMMARY AND COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS [1]

General Findings (Section II): The SEQUIP survey identified a large number of information and data handling organizations supporting the activities of those Government agencies directly concerned with *environmental pollution* problems. There were also several broad information programs, such as those of the National Libraries that support a variety of disciplines and perform services which are used by environmental pollution mission agencies in support of their own efforts.

The overall impression gained in this study can be summarized by stating that in the area of environmental information and data programs, there exists a heterogenous, probably wasteful, and certainly less than optimally effective, mixture of activities which will not spontaneously give rise to the coherent environmental information system which is clearly required so that the technical task of coping with environmental problems might be accomplished within realistic source limits.

It is recognized that the findings and recommendations set forth in this Report sometimes pertain to information and data handling problems related to areas more general than the environmental quality field, and that many of these findings are not novel. However, many information problems noted on previous occasions, and for other areas of science and technology, are still unresolved and now affect those components of science and technology that relate to the environmental quality field. Therefore, the Committee deliberately chose to make this Report a vehicle for observations which pertain primarily to environmental quality but also touch on other aspects of what is being done—or not being done—in general with information and data in Government organizations. In fact the most fundamental observation of this survey was that most of the problems identified were general data- and information-handling problems, and not peculiar to the environmental quality field.

It was also found that a distinct difference exists between those organizations that handle mostly information, and those that are more deeply involved with data. This division is much more significant that the differences among the information programs supporting the subject areas of this Report; namely, air pollution, water pollution, solid waste management, agricultural chemicals, and radiation.

The Committee found that *interactions* among similar or logically-related information programs are rare. Information and data programs which are part of mission agencies are often reluctant to advertise their services and product outside their own agencies. They fear being swamped with requests for these services without having the resources to comply with such requests, because they usually cannot recover the costs of services performed for other government agencies, industries, universities, or individuals. This situation often leads to the establishment of duplicative services in several organizations and works against the creation of networks and exchange of information and data. Procedures should be established whereby information programs in mission agencies can recover the costs of providing services for other Government or non-Government organizations. The Office of Management and Budget ought to become involved in the development of such procedures.

Recommendation II.1: That the Office of Management and Budget explore better methods through which Government agencies could recover the cost of performing technical information services for outside users.

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The creation of a new, independent, Government-wide information system—a "National Environmental Data Bank" (cf. H.R. 56, formerly H.R. 17436)—has been proposed as a solution for the problems of duplication, incompatibility and organizational dispersion of environmental information and data programs. The Committee believes this solution to be unrealistic. Input to such an organization would have to come from the mission agencies, and while the central organization would be in direct competition with these agencies for resources, it could not replace the information programs which these agencies must contain within their own organizational structures in order to function.

What is required, instead, is an optimum use of *existing* environmental information and data systems. These must be linked into networks in such a way that they can perform the services required of them by their parent agencies, and also serve each other and the environmental quality mission in its totality. To carry out the task of building and operating such networks in the environmental pollution information area, the Committee recommends creation of a new, central organization—named the National Environmental Protection Information and Data Services (NEPIDS)—in the Environmental Protection Administration (EPA).

The overall mission of NEPIDS should be twofold. Inside EPA, it should: (1) identify and coordinate into a network the information and data programs in the organizations which were absorbed into EPA; (2) participate and give guidance to the establishment of new information and data systems, where required; (3) develop and apply standards which will aid in network formation and operation; (4) coordinate the R&D project reporting activities in EPA; (5) develop information and data handling technology in areas of particular importance to environmental problems; and (6) respond to requests for information and data from inside or outside EPA, either directly or by

[1] The roman numeral parts of the recommendation numbers refer to the Report Section in which the specific recommendation was made.

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

referral to other EPA information and data programs. Externally to EPA, the new organization should: (1) identify environmental data banks in other Government and non-Government organizations and initiate network operations with these organizations; (2) transmit R&D project reporting data from EPA to a Government-wide report information system; (3) respond to queries referred to it by the National Referral Center and (4) work with the National Bureau of Standards or other organizations on the development of general standards for hardware and data software systems.

Recommendation II.2: That the Council on Environmental Quality establish a new information organization in the Environmental Protection Administration which will take the lead, nationally, to implement an environmental quality information and data network based upon the compatibility and interactive capabilities among existing information and data programs.

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Inter alia, the network required for the environmental protection effort must have two basic characteristics: it should be planned for a growing population and expanding economy; and it should take into account the global nature of environmental pollution problems and be able to interact with systems organized by other countries.

Recommendation II.3: That capabilities be built into U.S. environmental quality information and data systems to: (1) deal with conditions expected to prevail during the remainder of this century; and (2) interact with other national and international organizations to form global environmental systems.

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In adapting existing systems and data stores for a national effort, standards will have to be researched, tested and adopted so that information and data coming from one agency can be linked to systems in other agencies, and eventually into a network of systems. Where such standards apply particularly to environmental protection problems, they should be established by NEPIDS, EPA. However, in most cases, standards for systems, files, and procedures are required by more than just one subject area. Therefore, establishment of standards should be carried out by a broadly-based information and data technology research organization and be coordinated with the environmental agencies. These latter organizations should set priorities for areas where standards are needed to support information and data transfer. They should also be required to support these standard setting activities with their own resources.

Another task for an information and data technology R&D organization is research in the area of *assessment technology.* Under existing legislation, Federal agencies are required to evaluate the potential impact of their actions on the environment. However, reliable methods for impact assessment are not widely available to environmental data programs. Such methodology usually involves the use of computer simulation or modeling. These techniques should be developed and adopted to give environmental quality information and data centers a "predictive capability." Since the development of computer software, including models, is usually expensive, there is also a need for a clearinghouse function which would prevent duplication by keeping track of the development of such systems. The shortage of systems analysts in information centers could be alleviated if the information and data technology R&D organization could make systems analysis teams available to other agencies on an *ad hoc,* cost-recovery basis.

Recommendation II.4: That the National Bureau of Standards be formally assigned the responsibility for developing: (1) standards for information and data systems (i.e., software systems); (2) standards for information and data banks; (3) assessment technology, including computer modeling and simulation, as a general tool for information and data centers; (4) a clearinghouse function for information about general software systems and computer modeling and simulation systems, with particular emphasis on those systems already owned by the Federal Government; and (5) systems analysis and computer programming teams that could aid agencies who do not have sufficient in-house capabilities in these areas, in selecting and implementing computer systems. For environmental systems, priority assignments and financial support for these various activities should come primarily from the environmental mission agencies, EPA and NOAA.

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The SEQUIP Workshop was valuable for participants because they learned of each others' activities and could exchange experiences. A workshop or symposium-type meeting should be organized in this general subject area on a periodic basis.

Recommendation II.5: That a formal mechanism be established, through the Council on Environmental Quality or COSATI, for stimulating direct communication between those concerned with environmental information programs. Such a mechanism might plan and support small informal workshops or symposia at appropriate intervals.

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The Committee considered *the user* of environmental quality information and data. Existing and projected systems for this subject area will have to serve many users, both inside and outside the Government. Information support must be rendered not only to scientists and technologists, but also to managers who may not have technical training but who must make important decisions affecting the environment. Under existing conditions, access to environmental quality information can be quite difficult, particularly for individuals outside the Federal establishment. At present, the National Referral Center (NRC), Library of Congress, has the task of directing inquirers to locations in Government which might supply them with the information required. This capability should be strengthened and well-publicized.

Every effort should be made by the mission agencies to insure that NRC's referral banks are up to date and as complete as possible.

Recommendation II.6: That specific responsibility and resources be assigned to the National Referral Center, Library of Congress, for the development of information tools and services which will provide extra-Government users with improved access to Government-generated and supported technical information in the environmental quality field. An early task within this over-all effort should be to compile and publish a *Directory of U.S. Information Resources in the Environmental Quality Area.*

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In order to build compatible information and data networks and prevent duplicative activities for the environmental quality area, it is essential to know what is being done in the various Federal mission agencies. However, access to knowledge about on-going and completed Federal R&D activities is not easy. This is as true for activities pertaining to the environment as it is for most other government R&D efforts. In the non-defense areas, organizations such as the Science Information Exchange, the National Technical Information Service, and to some extent, the National Referral Center, have been given major responsibility for the storage and retrieval of information concerning on-going or completed Government-supported R&D work. However, these organizations, individually and in aggregate, have not been entirely effective in this effort. The major cause for this failure is attributable to the fact that the submission of such information about R&D projects in Government agencies to these depositories is sporadic, incomplete, and unreliable. Therefore, it is recommended that existing organizations charged with responsibility in the area of project reporting (i.e., SIE and NTIS), be merged and reorganized into a new Government-wide clearinghouse, perhaps located in NTIS, Department of Commerce. This organization would collect, store, index, and retrieve on demand, information about all ongoing and completed unclassified R&D work carried on in Federal laboratories and otherwise supported by Government funds. Submission of such data by Government agencies to the central system must become mandatory and should be checked through budgetary reporting methods available to the Office of Management and Budget. It is also suggested that NEPIDS, EPA, be given the task of setting up and operating a complete R&D project reporting system for EPA, and submit such information regularly to such a central Government-wide R&D report storage and retrieval system.

Recommendation II.7:

1. That the following be consolidated into one organization: (a) the Science Information Exchange of the Smithsonian Institution, which stores and announces information on research-in-progress; and (b) the National Technical Information Service of the Department of Commerce, which stores, announces, and distributes reports on completed research. A consolidated organization would strengthen intra-Government mechanisms for exchange of information and provide extra-Government users a one-point source for Government-wide information resources. Such an organization should study means for encouraging more widespread use of the Government report literature, particularly by that segment of the technical community that normally does not do contract work for the Government.

2. That Government-wide mandatory requirements be established to provide the consolidated organization with current information on research-in-progress and copies of reports resulting from completed research in standardized formats, and that the enforcing of these requirements be assigned to the Office of Management and Budget.

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The total information and data systems, supporting Government efforts in the environmental protection area, also must have the capability of alerting relevant Government agencies of the occurrence of an environmental emergency.

Recommendation II.8: That a National Early Warning System for Major Environmental Pollution be established as part of the Smithsonian Institution's Center for Short-Lived Phenomena, to act as a medium for rapidly communicating information from global monitoring systems to responsible U.S. Government agencies.

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The system must also be able to furnish the information and data to support remedial action under emergency conditions. Many organizations at various Government levels have been created to deal with environmental emergencies in the U.S. However, it appears that additional technical information activities are required for emergencies resulting from the spillage of hazardous materials during transport. A *Hazardous Material Information Center* to be formed by the U.S. Coast Guard, Department of Transportation, should be able rapidly to furnish detailed information about how the accidental spillage should be handled; facts about the material; whether people should be evacuated; and how people exposed to the material should be treated. As far as possible,

the center should derive the required information and data from industrial firms who can often furnish such emergency information when accidental spillage of their own product occurs. The data banks of the center also should be used to create current-awareness information services which could be distributed to local protection organizations.

Recommendation II.9: That a Hazardous Materials Information Center be established in the U.S. Coast Guard, Department of Transportation to store and make available to Federal, State, and local civil authorities on a continuing or emergency basis, current information on safe handling procedures, detoxification methods, and other emergency procedures on all hazardous materials which might be transported by air, land, or water within the U.S. or on the high seas.

* * * * *

The Committee gave some consideration to procedures which might be used to implement those SEQUIP recommendations considered worthwhile by the Office of Science and Technology. Also, as stated in the introductory section of this Report, the present SEQUIP Committee deliberately concentrated its efforts on information and data programs concerned with environmental pollution problems and did not study such programs supporting other areas of the environmental quality field (e.g. preservation of recreational space, desalination, population pressure, etc.). The present survey—or a series of such surveys—should be extended to these other areas in order to present the Office of Science and Technology with a complete picture of all ongoing Federal scientific and technical information activities that support the national environmental quality effort. A permanent *COSATI Panel for Environmental Quality Information and Data Systems* should be established and charged with achieving these objectives.

Recommendation II.10: That a new COSATI Panel on Environmental Quality Information and Data Systems be established to followup on implementation of the SEQUIP recommendations and to continue the SEQUIP survey into relevant subject areas not covered by the present Report.

ECONOMIC CONVERSION IS A MUST

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1971

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, important hearings are currently in progress before the House Committee on Science and Astronautics on H.R. 34, The Conversion Research and Education Act of 1971. Among those who have been invited to make their views known to the committee is the Council of Engineers and Scientists Organizations, headquartered in Inglewood, Calif. CESO represents over 125,000 engineers and scientists employed across the Nation.

Wilford Woodcock, CESO national chairman, and Robert Leventhal, legislative chairman, have drafted an excellent statement in which they critically analyze the provisions of H.R. 34, offer alternative suggestions, and underscore the very real need for workable economic conversion legislation. Clearly, these gentlemen and the thousands of CESO members are in a position to understand the vital conversion issue and to shed light on suggested approaches to the problem.

Defense and aerospace unemployment continues at a high and unacceptable level. Engineers, scientists, and other technological personnel have the talent and ability now to play productive roles in civilian government projects designed to solve domestic problems. It is imperative that conversion legislation be passed this year to get us on the road toward effectively attacking such problems as those of our environment and using the valuable members of America's defense and aerospace industries. They are a national resource which we must not waste.

I urge my colleagues to consider the following testimony of CESO and the need for prompt enactment of conversion legislation:

STATEMENT OF WILFORD WOODCOCK, NATIONAL CHAIRMAN AND ROBERT M. LEVENTHAL, LEGISLATIVE CHAIRMAN, COUNCIL OF ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS ORGANIZATIONS TO COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS, REGARDING H.R. 34

We consider it an honor and privilege to submit testimony to this honorable committee as it considers the issues set forth in H.R. 34.

Prior to making some specific comments, we feel it appropriate to place our remarks in perspective by explaining who is the Council of Engineers and Scientists Organizations.

For many years, groups of engineers and scientists have banded together to bargain collectively to further their economic well-being, and to participate in how they were to be utilized in industry and lay plans for the future.

Several years ago, many different groups banded together as it became apparent the employed engineers and scientists of this country needed a voice.

In our opinion, while many claimed to speak for the engineering and scientific community, in reality there was no voice. The professional societies, while interested in advancing knowledge, a most laudable objective, did not take an active role in looking to the utilization, compensation and planning for the future use of the engineering and scientific community in the country.

The industry groups, which appeared frequently before various Federal committees and agencies, had, and still have, their legitimate ends to seek. These groups represent profit making enterprise, and this is not always commensurate with good long range planning for the commitment and utilization of manpower.

The groups that comprise our Council, to some extent are equally responsible as the others who allowed the unfortunate situation we now find, as to the proper utilization of the engineering and scientific community. We are late in making ourselves heard but we are now out to rectify that situation.

Much has been said about the magnitude of the problem that confronts this country regarding the utilization of Engineers and Scientists. Here are a few facts we would like to recount before making some comments on this legislation.

Recent figures show our domestic work force is about 82.5 million. Of this, the Bureau of Labor Statistics places the engineers and scientists at a little over one million, or about 1.2% of the work force.

We have heard remarks by representatives of the current Administration that the number of unemployed engineers and scientists, in relation to the total work force, is very small. That's a true statement—however, in our opinion it begs the issue.

Basically, we are a productive society. While there now seems to be an "anti-technology" climate emerging, it is worth reflecting on how this country got where it is now. We got here on the technological excellence of our engineering and scientific community.

The advances of the engineering and scientific community have generated work for hundreds of thousands, and produced one of the highest standards of living in the world.

It is regrettable that basically we are a reactive society. While the warning signs were apparent, there was little interest in pre-planning for effective manpower utilization of our skilled work force.

Now that we have the serious situation of the displacement, unemployment and underemployment of a significant segment of our engineering and scientific community as a fact, we are contemplating some action.

We find it grimly ironic that the "anti-technology" forces in this country, who want the shift away from defense oriented projects to civilian problems, basically concerned with ecology, seem to overlook who is going to find the solutions to the environmental and social system problems that confront our society. The answer is self-evident, the engineering scientific manpower pool that at present is being treated to the fruits of our "pre-planning."

It is our opinion that we cannot for long afford the drastic underutilization of this most skilled segment of our work force. The human tragedy is incalculable, and the economic waste intolerable.

We recommend the sponsors of H.R. 34 for taking a positive step toward doing something that will have a long range effect on the utilization of the engineering and scientific community in this country. On behalf of the Council, we wish to state that we lend our full support and cooperation to this bill. If it were enacted in its present form, it would be an important step forward. We do feel, however, that some modifications might be considered, that would in our opinion make the bill much more significant.

We realize some of our suggestions may not be within the scope of this committee to consider. We do hope, however, that if you find them of merit, you will see they are referred to the appropriate parties for consideration.

H.R. 34 is an important step forward in planning for the utilization of our engineering and scientific work force as we proceed with the conversion that has already started. There are several areas of the bill, which if, in our opinion, were amended, would bring more immediate results to the benefit of the country and the individuals who are in drastic need of immediate relief.

Unless steps are taken to correct the situation we have now, a serious technological gap can be opened. Large numbers of the current technological work force are being permanently displaced. Enrollements in the technical schools are dropping, and the lead time to train a new work force can be well in excess of ten years—on the average, five years for an engineering or technical degree, and at least 5 years working experience before any real expectation can be had of a meaningful contribution.

Those who feel that employees displaced can be brought back into the fold after five years or more away from the work are in error, as in many of the specialties the practical "half-life" is short. We have heard a representative of the Chemical Society testify in California that a research chemist away from a lab for one year or more is to all intents and purposes, lost.

While we need much retraining and reorientation, there are at present many projects that are of a pressing social need. What seems to be missing is what might be termed the "Market Mechanism," to bring those sectors of the economy that could solve the problems into interface.

We note with great interest that under Title IV, Section 403 calls for a computerized Conversion Information Service to acquaint small business concerns with various activities under the Act.

We feel this concept should be expanded

to a much broader scope. A full coordinating agency, possible under the auspices of this Act, should be established. The Agency would be charged with taking the priority areas of civilian research and development activity likely to contribute to the resolution of the Nation's pressing domestic problems, as set forth in Title II, Section 201(a), (2), (3) and then investigating, cataloging and maintaining files of all activity that is currently underway on the solution of these problems.

This coordinating agency would work with the existing Federal agencies to identify their areas of activity, and work through the Federal districts to learn what activities, if any, State and local governments are undertaking in these areas.

With the gathering of this information under one roof, so to speak, potential contractors would have one source to seek information. Also knowledge would be gained as to amounts being spent seeking solutions to these problems. Having established what is being done at various levels of government, the Coordinating Agency could then fulfill what appears to be an important missing link, market identification.

Many large firms, particularly in Aerospace, have the ability and interest to make significant contributions in these areas of concern, but there is no identifiable marketplace for those interested in problems of urban concentration and environmental pollution.

For any one company to attempt to call upon hundreds of local agencies to gather together enough cooperating levels of government to raise the necessary funds to work on these problems is impractical. Not only would the expenditure be prohibitive, but if such a venture were launched, it would probably fail as there would be no mechanism for competitive pricing, and would appear too self-serving for the sponsoring corporation.

While there is no market mechanism, urban areas are starved for creative solutions, involving hardware and software to solve the pressing and mounting social problems. Many of these problems could be alleviated with technological breakthroughs, but most actual needs must wait on private enterprise developments emerging from other areas because no market mechanism exists for direct application.

Many municipalities and states spend fragmented sums to explore various aspects, usually segments of technological problems. One County will extend a small contract for hard waste disposal development, while a city will do the same, but neither can spend enough to accomplish their basic objectives. The result of the current system is often duplication and misallocation of already too meager resources.

Once the areas of priority are established, and knowledge gained of what is currently underway, decisions could then be made as to what projects could be advanced for implementation.

At present the problem seems to be one of inability to make the proper manpower and economic allocations. We would suggest that in addition to the stated intention of this Act to bring the level of spending on these civilian oriented projects into a parity with defense expenditures, consideration be given the immediate implementation of one or both of the following as additional methods of funding these projects.

Through the Coordinating Agency, using coordinators in the federal regions, there could be a pooling of funds along specified areas of interest. This would then create a marketplace. Having identified a problem area, and obtaining indication of intent to participate, the Coordinating Agency could then invite bids. Having obtained and evaluated the bids, the Agency could then return to all who indicated an interest in participating in the project with proposed cost allocations.

In this manner contracts of sufficient size would be involved to justify research and proposal work on the part of the companies. Funds spent on the local levels would be concentrated instead of being spent piecemeal without obtaining desired results.

The concept can be carried further in that if a project were to result in a marketable product, those agencies that participated in the R & D would pay one price, all others more. The additional funds could be used to offset the R & D expenditure, or used to self-fund future projects within the agency.

There is no intent to duplicate or interfere with the activities of any existing federal agency. The Coordinating Agency would help as a clearing house to avoid duplication and to disseminate information and, hopefully, for some projects where the federal agencies need participation of local government, arrange the coordination.

If a Federal agency lacks what it feels is an adequate appropriation for a given project, upon request, the Coordinating Agency could investigate to see if there are any local governments who are interested in cooperating with the Federal Agency to see the project moved forward.

In addition to utilizing the Coordinating Agency concept, we suggest that Title IV, Guarantees, be considered for revision. At present, it specifies small business only, with a fixed rate of interest for specific projects.

This is a step in the right direction, but lacks the boldness needed to bring immediate relief. At present it is estimated there is in excess of 200 billion in the private pension plans. The pension funds from defense related industries run into the hundreds of millions. There is no market mechanism to bring these funds into play for the benefit of the employees, except to provide income for the fortunate few who qualify, in their nonproductive years.

It is well established that under certain circumstances the government guarantees loans. This Act embodies that concept. Regretfully, the defense contractors in this country do not enjoy the highest credit ratings, and their plans for conversion or diversification are often thwarted by lack of ability to raise risk capital or float loans.

The most creditworthy corporations which can readily raise these risk funds are the principal marketplace for many pension funds due to their relative security.

We now recommend that included in this Act be a Conversion and Diversification Committee, comprised of representatives of Management, Government and Labor. Defense oriented firms with conversion or diversification plans will file them with this committee for evaluation as to feasibiltiy. If determined feasible, the plans will be approved.

Appropriate arrangements should be made to allow pension fund trustees to lend the funds necessary for these projects at a rate of interest that is at least as favorable as the current yield from the virtually safe investments which characterize the pension portfolios.

A percentage could then be added on top of the guaranteed rate to the pension trustees, and that amount used as an offset against bad debts, or to generate funding for new projects.

Even adding a slight percentage over the prevailing rate for conservative investments, plus an allowance for bad debts, the rate would be lower than alternate sources of funds for defense related industries. The risk to the government in guaranteeing these loans would be minimal for two reasons; first, only those projects that appeared to have good chances of proving economically feasible to the tri-partite committee would be approved; second, there would be a reserve created by the successful projects for the inevitable one that doesn't work out.

The Pension trustees would be in a fully secured position, earning possibly even a slightly higher yield than they could reasonably expect from investments with similar safety.

This concept could be made even more palatable if firms participating were allowed an additional 50% deduction for the amount of interest paid on such loans against their taxes.

If either or both of the programs outlined here were to be adopted, we might see dramatic results. In this country we have large firms that are tailored to meeting the needs of government. These firms have put together teams of "mind power" to solve the needs identified by government. In the past the needs have been primarily defense oriented.

The so-called "defense firms" adopted and met these governmental needs, oftimes on very short notice, developing new technology and solving new problems without massive retraining. We do not really look on these firms so much as "defense contractors", as we view them as government contractors. They have been doing mostly defense work, because the defense establishment has put out the call, and Congress appropriated the funds to have significant work accomplished.

It is our opinion, based on a number of years working with employed engineers and scientists, and listening to testimony at many hearings, both Federal and State, that if a major contract, for example hard waste disposal, were available to bid, quickly the so-called defense firms would appear, ready and able to go to work on that problem.

If such a contract were to be awarded, there would be immediate employment, and, based on past performance, within a very short time the majority of engineers and scientists would quickly be up to speed on the project in an employment situation. Under these circumstances, much of the need for retraining in an educational setting would be reduced.

We would further comment that there seems to be a body of opinion that we should, in effect, dismantle these so-called defense firms and retrain the management teams in the necessary skills to compete in the civilian marketplace.

Real question exists in our minds as to the practicality of this concept. We all agree there are pressing social problems that must be solved. We all agree that only by focusing significant amounts of "brainpower" will these problems be solved.

Our civilian economy is profit oriented. If there were a profit potential, commensurate with the risks, the private or commercial firms would now be actively seeking to resolve these social problems and thereby realize the profits. The fact that this is not occurring speaks for itself.

The problems that confront our society, as enumerated in this Act, must be solved by governmental action. There are two choices: the Federal government can establish its own research, development and production facilities, and place employees directly on the federal payroll to solve these problems. From past expressions, it does not appear this is the wish of Congress.

The other alternative is for government to determine the priorities, allocate resources, either by direct funding, or perhaps through one of the vehicles we have described in this testimony, and then to invite bids from private contractors who specialize in doing work for the government.

Past practice says this latter course will be the direction of choice. If this premise is correct, do we really want to break up and retrain the management teams of the so-called "defense" firms who are uniquely equipped to meeting the demands of government? We think not. Contracting with the Federal government has become a very specialized field that most civilian oriented firms are not equipped to do managerially. Since

we must have such capability, and it currently exists, let's put it to use as rapidly as possible.

There is an additional consideration that justifies creating new government contract areas to keep the technical and management teams together that have created our national defense arsenal. At present it appears we can now re-direct these resources, however, the international scene changes rapidly. If we dismantle the current firms and teams, the time to reassemble them if they again become necessary at their former levels, might be much longer than events will allow. If, in fact, the capability is there, and all that needs to be done is a redirection, our ability to respond to such challenges would be more timely.

We realize we have thrown out a number of concepts that represent departures from the way things have been done in the past. Currently, this country is experiencing a severe economic depression. For the engineering and scientific community, it is a depression of dramatic consequences.

While no one group of the work force is entitled to favored treatment over other groups, the inter-relationship between engineering and scientific advancement and employment is inescapable. The engineers and scientists design and create the products. These products create production and service employment. When a significant percent of the engineering and scientific work force is unemployed, there is a geometric effect on other types of employment.

Not only do these men have a significant personal investment in their educations, but government at all levels has a large investment as many were educated at tax supported institutions, under G. I. Bills, or at private institutions which receive a favored tax status. If we fail to use this investment, we are shamefully wasting a scarce resource.

On behalf of the Council of Engineers and Scientists Organizations, we urge that you lend all efforts to passage of H.R. 34, and give full consideration for inclusion of the recommendations we have made on behalf of the Council, or perhaps the introduction of additional legislation that would implement these concepts.

WASHINGTON REPORT

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1971

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is my policy to publish a monthly newsletter at my own expense to keep my constituents in the 18th District of Texas advised of my activities on their behalf. The following is the text of my latest Washington Report:

HOUSE LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

Welfare Reform—The House has passed and sent to the Senate a broad set of changes in the welfare system. I opposed the changes because I am firmly against giving people guaranteed annual incomes, expanding the welfare rolls, removing state controls on welfare, and increasing welfare costs to the taxpayer.

In an effort to help promote real welfare reform, several other Representatives and I introduced an alternative to the House bill and unsuccessfully tried to have it substituted for the liberal measure. Our proposal embodied the President's Federal sharing concept and turned the welfare program over to the states. It had strong work incentives rather than a guaranteed annual income. It made welfare hard to get on and easy to get off. It also would have kept taxpayer cost down, something the liberal bill totally ignored. Hopefully, the Senate will have better judgment on this issue and will rectify matters.

Obscenity Control—A bill has been approved which among other things prohibits individuals and organizations from using the mails to promote or sell pornographic materials to minors. It also regulates obscene material deliveries to houses with minors in residence. I supported the bill because there was no stronger measure before the House at that time. In my opinion, though, this bill is to the smut trade what a band-aid is to a gunshot wound. If Congress is really serious about cracking down on the porno peddlers, it would pass legislation such as I have introduced which closes off the mails to the transmission of obscene advertising, and imposes up to $50,000 in fines or up to five years in prison for violations.

Joint Committee on Environment—The House has voted to establish a joint House-Senate Committee to provide a unified means of focusing Congressional attention and action on environmental problems. As sponsor of a similar bill, I heartily approved the House action, but if the Senate drags its feet on the idea as it has in the past, I will urge my colleagues to fall back on another bill of mine which would create a House Committee on the Environment. A way simply must be found to coordinate Congressional action and bring order out of the present legislative chaos existing in this area.

Veterans Drug Abuse—Approval has been given to legislation enabling the Veterans' Administration to better cope with the tragedies of G.I. drug abuse. Under the bill, treatment and rehabilitation will be provided to active duty personnel as well as veterans on a comprehensive nationwide basis as needed.

Atomic Energy Commission Appropriations—As part of the $2.3 billion AEC appropriations for fiscal year 1972, $130 million has been earmarked for the fast breeder reactor program. I have been a vocal supporter of this program because if the AEC can successfully develop and help implement a system of fast breeders and other reactors, it would create a very economical system of desalting sea water. This breakthrough could help resolve the water needs of Northwest Texas and the State.

The following is the schedule for my District Representative, Charles Lanehart:

8/4, Dimmitt, First State Bank.
8/5, Tulia, Court House.
8/6, Silverton, City Hall (9–12).
8/6, Quitaque, 1st Nat. Bank (1–5).
8/9, Memphis, Court House.
8/10, Wellington, Court House.
8/11, Panhandle, Court House.
8/12, Claude, Court House.
8/13, Clarendon, Farmers State Bank.

This newsletter is made possible by contributions from interested citizens.

HORSE SLEEPING SICKNESS

Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin has acted swiftly in the face of critical dangers to horses and human health posed by the disease Venezuelan equine encephalomyelitis (VEE) which has spread from Latin America through Central America and Mexico and into South Texas. This dreaded disease, which takes the form of a rare type of sleeping sickness, is a real health hazard to people and is fatal to horses.

In response to my urgings and those of other concerned individuals and organizations the Secretary has declared a state of national emergency, a declaration that has enabled the Federal government to focus all necessary resources on the problems of curing the effects of this deadly disease and preventing its spread to other parts of Texas and the Nation.

I have also written to the Secretary and requested him to meet with Public Health Department officials for the purpose of releasing for commercial production and distribution the experimental vaccine that has proved so effective in combating VEE.

AGRICULTURE LEGISLATION

Pesticide Control—The Agriculture Committee, of which I am a member, is now working on a third version of the Administration's Pesticide Bill. While many areas of agreement have been reached, chief disputes center on: the role of a Scientific Advisory Committee, penalties for violations, judicial review procedures, and the question of payments to farmers and others owning pesticides deemed unsafe.

Rural Development—The Agriculture Committee rural development hearings have been focusing on a bill proposed by the Farm Credit Administration which would greatly expand Federal Land Bank and Production Credit Association operations. Present committee disagreements center on whether: farm real estate loans should be raised to 100% of appraised value; Federal land banks should finance middle-income rural housing; land bank operations and controls should be centralized in Washington; and, land bank reserve requirements should be reduced.

Payment Limitations—In a surprise move, House urban and suburban representatives succeeded in attaching a $20,000 payment limitation to $10 billion USDA appropriations bill for fiscal year 1972. The Senate refused to take similar action and after a great deal of persuasive arguing on the part of farm state members, chief backers of the amendment agreed to drop their proposal. I spent a lot of hours on this; I am glad my efforts paid off.

FARM TRUCK RULES BEING CHANGED

It is most gratifying that the Transportation Department has rethought its new farm truck and driver regulations and has proposed a series of appropriate revisions patterned along the lines of legislation I had previously introduced (see June–July Washington Report). Under these revisions: minimum driver age will be 18; no investigations need be made into driver background, character, and driving record; and, no Federal special written or road tests need be taken.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1971

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, probably mirroring the sentiment of the Nation, crime, the economy, the drug problem and Vietnam were the four major problems cited by the voters in the 11th annual congressional questionnaire I conducted for our Eighth District of Michigan. It is a pleasure to bring to the attention of the entire membership the results of the questionnaire which were just tabulated with nearly 18,000 votes recorded.

In making this report to Congress, I have also directed a copy of the questionnaire results to the President for his information.

I think it is of particular interest to single out the results of the question dealing with the United States opening

diplomatic and trade relations with mainland China in light of today's announcement that the administration supports seating mainland China in the United Nations. As you will note in the results, recognition of Red China was favored by 66.4 percent of the voters who participated.

In listing the questionnaire results, I would also like to mention the fine cooperation of the weekly and daily newspapers who published the questionnaire once again. This fine cooperation assured us that every resident of the Eighth District would have the chance to vote if not through the special mailing then via our newspapers.

The questionnaire results follow:

11TH ANNUAL CONGRESSIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Do you favor—	Yes		No	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. The Nixon administration's overall performance and accomplishments during its 1st 2 years?	8,670	57.5	6,408	42.5
2. a. Gradual withdrawal from South Vietnam as advocated by the President?	6,872	47.6		
b. Withdrawal by Dec. 31, 1971, provided there are provisions for the return of our prisoners?	5,264	36.3		
c. Immediate withdrawal?	2,301	16.1		
3. The U.S. opening diplomatic and trade relations with mainland China?	9,755	66.4	4,938	33.6
4. Limiting foreign imports if they unduly hurt American jobs and industry?	12,100	81.4	2,764	18.6
5. Reduction of American troop commitment in Europe for NATO?	10,274	69.6	4,479	30.4
6. The legalization of marihuana?	1,759	11.9	13,039	88.1
7. The Administration's concept of revenue sharing with State and local governments without Federal controls?	8,712	61.4	5,455	38.6
8. Substantial reductions in our space program?	8,833	64.9	4,976	35.1
9. Issuance of food stamps to persons who voluntarily strike?	2,256	15.8	11,899	84.2
10. Legislation to create a comprehensive national health insurance program?	7,207	52.8	6,442	47.2

**As of now, who is your choice for President in 1972?	Percent
Nixon	54.4
Undecided	19.8
Muskie	7.1
Wallace	3.4
Kennedy	3.3
Reagan	1.6
Agnew	1.5
McGovern	1.4

**What is the single most important problem in the country today?	
Crime	20.9
Economy	17.1
Drugs	13.6
Vietnam	12.2
Taxes	4.9
Welfare	4.6
Environment	4.6
Judicial	2.6

DAYLIN, INC. DEDICATES NEW OPERATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1971

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, in recognition of the dedication of the West Coast Operational Headquarters of Daylin, Inc., at 12910 Culver Boulevard, Los Angeles, Calif., on August 24, 1971, I would like to pay special tribute to this company which has grown to a major retailing firm in less than a dozen years.

With corporate offices in Beverly Hills, Calif., Daylin owns and operates more than 500 retail outlets throughout the United States and Canada, and is doing business in excess of $400 million a year.

The beautiful new Operational Headquarters building in Culver City houses some of its west coast-based divisions and corporate departments.

The company's 11,000 dedicated employees are headed by Amnon Barness, chairman of the board; Max Candiotty, president; and Dave Finkle, chairman of the executive committee. These three are the cofounders of the firm. In addition to their proven confidence in the American system of free enterprise, each has given of his time and energy to a multiplicity of philanthropic causes both in this country and abroad. Among his services Mr. Barness values his position on the board of trustees of the United States Capitol Historical Society and, by appointment of Prime Minister Golda Meier, as chairman of the International Corporate Program for Bonds for Israel.

Mr. Candiotty has served on the Los Angeles County Citizens Economy and Efficiency Committee and has been president of the Sephardic Jewish Brotherhood of Los Angeles for 3 years. Ground will be broken this summer on the Max Candiotty Institute for Science Teaching at the Weizmann Institute of Science in Israel.

Mr. Finkle is the holder of the Israel Freedom Medal for exemplary service to the State of Israel, and the Dave Finkle Residence Center for Health Science Students at the Hebrew University is currently under construction in Israel.

Other directors and officers of Daylin are equally involved in business and Philanthropic endeavors. They are: Samuel D. May, vice chairman of the board; Georges A. Hanzi, vice president and director; Sidney Kline, vice president and director; Charles Watt, vice president and director; Robert M. Arnold, M.D., director.

Others are: Leon Beck, senior vice president; Sam Bass, vice president; Bernard Kritzer, vice president; Bernard Marcus, vice president; Gary E. Parks, vice president; Arnold Siegel, vice president; Alvin M. Levin, secretary; Wilhelm A. Mallory, treasurer; Arthur M. Blank, assistant treasurer; Alan M. Bergman, assistant secretary; Richard J. Segal, assistant secretary.

Daylin operations include 89 drugstores in the United States and Canada, 25 hospital pharmacies, 212 apparel specialty shops, 51 discount department stores, and 11 home improvement centers. In 160 discount stores Daylin operates 140 drug and sundry drug departments, 65 apparel departments, and 108 departments selling houseware, hardware, automotive accessories, and other merchandise.

In addition, Daylin sells medical and surgical supplies and equipment through its own medical-detail men and on a nationwide mail order basis. Daylin also has a company which imports general merchandise. Additionally, Daylin owns a laboratory which is engaged in research and testing as well as the production of food supplements and chemicals.

I ask the Members of this House to join me in extending special greetings to members of the Daylin family from coast to coast on the occasion of the dedication of the impressive West Coast Operational Headquarters.

25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1971

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join with my colleagues, Mr. HOLIFIELD, Mr. PRICE of Illinois, and Mr. HANSEN of Idaho, in marking the 25th anniversary of the organization of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

It can be fairly said that the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy is unique to the American legislative process, not only in its statutory authority but in its exercise of that authority to protect the health and welfare of the Nation.

The awesome responsibilities of the Joint Committee, in both the military and civilian arenas, have been discharged faithfully, largely in a spirit of bipartisan cooperation. Few, if any, committees on the Hill can boast of a better internal relationship or a stronger dedication to a purpose.

The Atomic Energy Act of 1946, the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 and the 1962 report to the President committed this Nation to a course of action—the development of the power of the atom for peace. That this has been successful is in no small way a tribute to the Joint Committee, but particularly to the two men who remain as its charter members, Mr. HOLIFIELD and Mr. PRICE.

Between them, they have devoted 50 years of service to the Nation and the world. I am personally grateful for their efforts, as I am sure are my colleagues in this and the other body.

PROBLEMS OF THE AGING—PART II

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1971

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, problems of the aging come in many shapes, sizes and forms. In hearings I held recently in Newburgh, many people—local officials, volunteer workers and the elderly, themselves—described the extent of these problems.

I would like to share with my colleagues testimony from these hearings. In the coming weeks, I plan to develop legislation and I am hopeful that this first-hand information will be of value in reaching positive solutions to the problems facing the elderly.

In the following testimony you will find details about the financial plight of many older Americans. A fixed income in a period of spiralling inflation is disastrous. The testimony also goes into medical and transportation problems.

One bright spot is revealed in the testimony of Mrs. Pamela McLaurin, director of the neighborhood service center, Newburgh community action council.

She was one of the younger persons at the hearings and demonstrated that some of our younger people are taking a serious interest in solving these problems.

The first part of the testimony was inserted August 3, 1971. The second part follows:

TESTIMONY—PROBLEMS OF THE ELDERLY

Mrs. CARTER. I'm from Newburgh. I live at 136 Johnson Street in Newburgh, New York.

Well, the first thing I want to say is I had an operation in 1969, March 18, I came out of the hospital and the doctor told the Social Service to give me some aid. So they gave me aid for two months, three months, and then they cut it off because they said I got some money from the insurance. Now they won't give me no food stamps or anything because they want to know what I've done with my money. They asked me to send them my Social Security check. Now why would I send my Social Security check to them? That's what I want to know. Why should I? Am I a slave or am I under bondage or what?

Mr. Dow. I don't understand myself.

Mrs. CARTER. Well, I have the letters to give you. So I want to know just what is the idea? I have to pay tax. My tax for the city tax is $99.61. I get $72 Social Security a month, and since they raised it, they gave me $80. They want to know what did I do with the insurance money and do I have a balance. What balance could I have, from '69 till now? Now what balance should I have?

Mr. Dow. When they asked you to send in the Social Security check, did they want to see the amount or did they want to keep the check to go against welfare?

Mrs. CARTER. I don't know. I called them, and she slammed the receiver down in my ears. She wouldn't talk to me. Her name is O'Rourke, or somebody, and she wouldn't talk to me. Since I had the operation, there's something always wrong with me. I don't have a bladder, I don't have no kidney. My feet are bad. I have to go to the doctor for my feet. I mean it's just, you know, just totally all off. So what I want to know is why they do me, especially, like they're doing me?

Mr. Dow. Is this the county welfare department?

Mrs. CARTER. It says Department of Social Security. Now they won't give me no food stamps or anything, now why?

Mr. Dow. Let me see that letter. I want to make sure what that is.

Mrs. CARTER. You can have them all.

Mr. Dow. Department of Social Services, Orange County.

Mrs. CARTER. Yes, sir. The worst thing in the world.

Mr. Dow. Now, you said that your check was about $80.

Mrs. CARTER. Now it is. I just got the $80 in May.

Mr. Dow. And then you said you had to pay $90 for something else.

Mrs. CARTER. I have to pay $99 for your Newburgh tax, $99.61.

Mr. Dow. Is that every month?

Mrs. CARTER. That's every three months.

Mr. Dow. So you get a check of $80 every month....

Mrs. CARTER. Now. Just one time I've got that check of $80. See, since the raise.

Mr. Dow. And then every three months you have to pay $90?

Mrs. CARTER. $99.61.

Mr. Dow. What is that for?

Mrs. CARTER. That's the city tax.

Mr. Dow. Yes, I see.

Mrs. CARTER. That pays for sewage, which I don't have. And I pay a water bill. Now how am I going to do all that out of $80?

Mr. Dow. It's pretty tight, isn't it?

Mrs. CARTER. It's worse than that. You see, I didn't move up here on my own. They moved me from Water Street. After my home was paid for, the city took it and set me up over on Johnson Street. I didn't want to come up there. They sent me up there. That's the only place I could get.

Mr. Dow. Well, Mrs. Carter, we appreciate your coming and telling us because if we can hear some of these cases the way they are, we'll have a better idea. It's better to hear the cases than it is somebody coming in here and telling us that people are having a hard time.

Mrs. CARTER. Well, I mean, I'm having a hard time. And you know how long I've been here? Ever since 1926, and was working since that time. And yet people can come here and jump on welfare and has never hit a lick in Newburgh in their life, and still we have to pay for it. We have to pay their school tax and all for that. Why?

Mr. Dow. You're not on welfare....

Mrs. CARTER. No.

Mr. Dow. And you would like some help from welfare, is that right?

Mrs. CARTER. No. They were supposed to give me Medicare or whatever it is. See, I have Blue Cross and Blue Shield, myself. I pay $41.99 for it every three months, They said that they would give me medical assistance, see, but they haven't. Now they say they can't give it because I've got too much money.

Mr. Dow. That's all right. We will now hear from Commissioner Travis, who is the Commissioner of Social Services in Sullivan County. He was supposed to be on earlier, but he's on now and I'm going to listen to him. Good morning, Mr. Travis, nice to see you again.

MR. ROBERT TRAVIS, COMMISSIONER OF SOCIAL SERVICES, SULLIVAN COUNTY, LOCH SHELDRAKE ROAD, LIBERTY, N.Y

Mr. TRAVIS. Well, I have not more or less prepared anything in writing to discuss the problems of the elderly, other than the fact that I've been a Commissioner 21 years and I remember 21 years ago when the elderly were put into an old frame building with bars on the windows and were cooped up like a bunch of chickens. As I look over the 21 years, I see what we have done—the progress that has been made for the elderly. I heard transportation mentioned, and thinking of today's times, transportation is a very important problem for the elderly. Their grants from Social Security are insufficient. I don't believe that we should have two governmental agencies trying to take care of one person. I believe that the elederly should be placed, those over 65, under Social Security and their benefits increased so that they don't have to apply to the Department of Social Services. I believe that we should have a uniform medical assistance program for all the elderly people and those that are in need in the country. Whereas you have two programs today—Medicare and Medicaid—I think it's a lot of waste of money in the cost of administration; that this money should be applied toward the care of the people to meet their needs. I don't feel that the grants across the country are adequate, in states that people have to move from down South to come North because we do pay one of the highest schedules of public assistance in United States. If a person's living in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, as an example, their schedules of assistance are something like $28 a month, and take it or like it. I don't blame the people for moving from down there up to the states of New York, Illinois and California, where grants are far above and try to meet the needs, even though they are inadequate at times, even here in the great state of New York.

There are many, many problems pertaining to the elderly. I think that, coming for a more rural county than Orange County, we have made a great many steps forward in housing through the help of Congressman Dow and others in getting funds to build facilities for elderly people. I'll name one, the old Lenape Hotel that was converted, and I think that you had a great deal to do with the funds that were granted there to the village of Liberty so that these people, based upon their income and their age, could rent these beautiful apartments. They have wall to wall carpeting, the finest elevator service, and they're within walking distance of the shopping center. It was a wonderful move. These people are very happy and I think more should be done particularly, not butting into Orange County, but I think in some of the cities here, the city of Newburgh, and the city of Middletown, and Port Jervis.

Transportation is a very tough thing. We'd like to do a lot of things—day care centers, and so forth. But in my county, alone, I know that the transportation enters into it and it's a costly proposition to buy buses and hire drivers and pay all the incidentals to help these people because we're so spread out that these people are not accessible to a highway where you can get to a bus. So this is a problem. Volunteers are a great thing in any country, and we, through the cooperation of the local fire department auxiliaries, meet some of our old folks and do their shopping for them, take them to town and so forth. It's working out very well.

I'm not down here to complain. I'm just talking about some of the problems and I know that you're all faced with it here. Medical care, I think, is one of the musts. Good nursing homes, run at a scale where possible the middle class person or those that have a small income with their Social Security could afford to pay if and when they had to go to a nursing home. We have a brand new nursing home in Sullivan County today, but it's prohibitive. People

have to apply for Medicaid because they can't pay $1000 a month.

I don't care whether you have money or whether you haven't money, you either have to be a millionaire or you have to have nothing in order to benefit from this. If you have saved a few dollars during your lifetime, you would be over the scale and, therefore, you wouldn't be eligible for Medicaid and I don't think this is right. I tried to build a hundred bed wing on my institution. I think the Federal government should support any construction, totally, for the benefit of the elderly. It should become part of the revenue sharing to the states.

The disabled and the blind also have a problem. They're people that are the same as those that are over 65. They're unemployable. Today we have problems finding jobs for people that are able to work, let alone people that are over 65 or those that are disabled and blind. We don't seem to have any problem as far as integration in our county. I think we live very happily up there. We do have about 4,000 black people in the county. They go to our churches; they go to the schools; they belong to our organizations; and I think this is a fine way to live. I'm not saying that Sullivan County . . . We are in the Appalachia area. We had an 11 per cent unemployment rate last winter and, of course, this is very, very high and it was very costly to the Department of Social Services last winter.

I'm here just offhand to try to answer some of the questions that you might have, Congressman, something that might help these lovely people out. I know they're here for a purpose. They wouldn't be here if they didn't have a problem, and I don't want to infringe upon Commissioner Couser's territory. I know he's very capable. He's a good friend of mine; we work very closely together because Sullivan does border on Orange, and we always have cases that overlap. We do have a little borderline dispute once in a while, pertaining to who should pay for what and so forth, but it's eventually ironed out.

Mr. Dow. Well, Mr. Travis, it's very good to have you here. This hearing is one where we want to hear from everybody that's concerned with the problem of older people; that is, not only the people themselves, the people that have problems with welfare and Social Security, but also to hear from people like you who are in the administration and that is a contribution. I'm impressed especially with two suggestions you made—one that Social Security and welfare ought to be handled through one agency so they wouldn't be working at cross purposes and the other that Medicare and Medicaid should be combined. Those are good thoughts. I'm sure that I can't turn the Congress around next Monday morning, but I can take the idea back there.

Our next witness is Mr. Douglas Couser, who is Mr. Travis' associate. Mr. Couser is Commisisoner of Social Services for Orange County. Come in, Mr. Couser. It's good to see you again.

MR. DOUGLAS COUSER, COMMMISSIONER OF SOCIAL SERVICES, ORANGE COUNTY, QUARRY ROAD, GOSHEN, N.Y.

Mr. COUSER. Well, I asked here to give some opinions on the problems of the aging. As I see it, the transportation is one of the major problems of the aging citizens in our county. I'm not familiar with the real problem in the city, but in the rural areas. Just for a quick example: I have two neighbors—one on each side of me. One woman is 83. She had her automobile and then her eyesight failed and now she has no car and she just can't go anyplace. She's got her own home, lives comfortably, but she's confined to that. There's no bus service and this is a problem. I haven't got all the answers to this, but this is one of the problems that face the senior citizens in our county. It's not only the poor, the middle class or what class. It's either a taxi or depend on neighbors and this gets embarrassing. People don't like to ask.

One of the other problems that I see is, not only the poor but the middle class is in trouble because, the way Medicaid is set up, you have to almost be on the welfare level before you can qualify. You have to have a certain income. If you have life insurance, these are all considered. And then the Medicare program for the middle class presents a problem. There's no problem as long as you're confined to a hospital, but to go on and get nursing home care for a Medicare person, there isn't a nursing home in Orange County that's qualified under the Federal standards for Medicare. So then the problem arises of having to go to Jersey or there's one up in Sullivan and there's one in Ulster, but our institution is the only one in Orange County that's approved for Medicare and there you have to be indigent. So if you have just the right amount of money, you're really in trouble if you're over that level. I don't know the answer. I think maybe I agree with Mr. Travis that this medical problem should be handled on a federal basis and not make this distinction. Medicare looked like the answer to all our problems, and as far as hospital costs go, it's a great help. But it's the person that has a stroke or a heart condition; they get their Medicare in the hospital, and this is fine and this is very expensive, but when they get to the plateau where they can't be improved, they don't get better, they don't get worse, they're taken off Medicare and right away. If they have to go to these nursing homes that are approved for Medicare, maybe they'll pick them up for ten days. Then they're reevaluated and they're taken off Medicare, a thousand dollars a month, and pretty soon their savings are liquidated, and then they're put back in the Medicaid class. There's something there that seems wrong to me.

Mr. Dow. Well, if they're put back in Medicaid, Mr. Couser, doesn't that take care of them?

Mr. COUSER. That's right. But there's a distinction that doesn't seem right to me. I may be wrong about this, but it seems that Medicare, the federal government, if they're going to have this program, there ought to be something worked out that will take a person through their problem. It takes them through the hospital; that is good. This is a great step forward. But now the nursing home costs have risen in the last few years to the point where the average person can't afford to stay there. So then they revert back to Medicaid. This is true. They're taken care of at that point.

Mr. Dow. They revert back to Medicaid.

Mr. COUSER. Right. This is my point. When Medicare stops, then they have to be almost on the welfare level for Medicaid to pick them up.

Mr. Dow. I see.

Mr. COUSER. And it seems to me that there's something a little wrong there. I'm not saying that the government's wrong or that the nursing home's wrong, but the cost of medical care is awfully expensive.

Mr. Dow: We have two more witnesses before lunch so we want to get on so that everybody can get a bite before the next session.

MRS. PAMELA M'LAURIN, DIRECTOR, NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICE CENTER, NEWBURGH COMMUNITY ACTION COUNCIL, 257 LIBERTY ST., NEWBURG, NY

Mr. Dow. Mrs. McLaurin, you go ahead. Tell us what is the Neighborhood Service Center?

Mrs. McLAURIN. Well, the Neighborhood Service Center. . . . Okay, well, I'll sort of give you the rundown of OEO programs. When you have an OEO antipoverty program, you have one agency—it's like an umbrella agency within the community of Newburgh, and this agency is directly responsible for your senior citizen groups, your day care centers, your Head Start centers, your Youth Corps, your Mainstream, and your Neighborhood Service Centers. Your Neighborhood Services Centers are usually located in the neighborhood so that people can come into these centers if they have a problem, I hate to say this, but with welfare or something. They come into the Neighborhood Service Center and a neighborhood worker interviews them and tries to assist them in their problem or send them through the proper channels to the right person so that they can be assisted. Newburgh Community Action is the agency for which I work. It has two Neighborhood Service Centers. One was on Lander Street and will be there shortly. The other is a Latin American Center dealing with mainly Spanish speaking people. I'm a Director of both these centers.

Mr. Dow. Sounds like you have the same job as the Congressman.

Mrs. McLAURIN. Well, I don't know, but we try to handle all types of jobs. Like I was talking to Mr. Ackerman previously and he said that he talked to this group. He has been active with the senior citizens group of Newburgh Community Action, so he probably told you all the problems that we're having within the community action agency and OEO. It's really frightening to feel that OEO has let loose of so much money this year, that they've had backlogged. But every program was being funded but senior citizens, and this is where we're really sort of stifled and saying "Well, all these programs are getting priority over senior citizens." We're going to try to form a cluster. We figure maybe this will come through, where three or four counties get together and push maybe we can get more out of it that way than we can individually. So this is what our new scheme or mechanism is going to be.

Mr. Dow. Well let me ask you this. You said that the Community Action has a sort of an umbrella agency that ties them all together, and one of them is the Neighborhood Service Center that you handle.

Mrs. McLAURIN. Right. This is one of the agencies.

Mr. Dow. Now, is the senior citizens under the Neighborhood Service, or is the senior citizens program a separate program under the umbrella?

Mrs. McLAURIN. No, it's under the Neighborhood Service Center, because it is a service to the people in the local community.

Mr. Dow. It's under Neighborhood Service Center. I see. Then you're going to tell us about some of the difficulties of the senior citizens program.

Mrs. McLAURIN. Right, within our Neighborhood Service Center. Our difficulty, mainly, is that we don't have separate funding.

Mr. Dow. Did you apply for it?

Mrs. McLAURIN. Right. We've applied.

Mr. Dow. And you haven't got it?

Mrs. McLAURIN. Well, Rev. Jones has applied for it, and he'll speak to you this afternoon more about the funding. We can do certain things. We can give bus rides and things like this, but what is really needed within this community, which is felt by this group, by our group, and by the other groups in Orange County, is a senior citizens building—a place where the senior citizens can meet, can join together to become aware of what's going on. So many people have to stay in their own little houses, and they're only one voice. I feel that if they can get together, if they can meet and they can be in one building for these meetings, they can know what's going on in the government, can know what's going on in the community, and join

together and try to benefit one another from being together.

Mr. Dow. I agree with you. I wanted to ask: Don't the senior citizens have associations or clubs?

Mrs. McLaurin. Within Orange County they do.

Mr. Dow. Do they have one in Newburgh.

Mrs. McLaurin. Right, They have two of them in Newburgh.

Mr. Dow. Well, doesn't that provide a center where they can go?

Mrs. McLaurin. It provides a building. I believe it's a bank building that is used, and the other senior citizens club meets in this church.

Mr. Dow. Well, doesn't that answer the purpose, to have them.

Mrs. McLaurin. No, because it's like once a month you come into the church and use their room or once a week you go into the bank building and use their room.

Mr. Dow. In other words, it's not regular.

Mrs. McLaurin. It's not theirs. It's like we're borrowing or these people are being nice enough to lend us, but it's not really ours. We can't run it; we can't operate it; we can't finance it all on our own money.

Mr. Dow. I just wanted to get it straight. You had a question, Mr. Ackerman?

Mr. Ackerman (in audience). Yes. This program that she's talking about—the senior citizens meeting and having a meeting place—is not going to do the senior citizens any good, those that have problems. We want a center where the senior citizens can come with their problems and have a paid staff to meet those people. We have a lot of them in the city of Newburgh that will not go to the center, the Lander Street Center or the Broadway Center, with their problems but they will come to us with their problems. And this is what we would like to have—a center where they can meet and, if they have a problem they can come to us and we'll take care of the problem.

Mr. Dow. Thank you. You go ahead, Mrs. McLaurin.

Mrs. McLaurin. Okay. That's just all I want to say, to reemphasize the need for a senior citizens center here in Newburgh for the number of people that are here. And also I wanted to emphasize the importance—you know, use the little political plug that you can give—to the White House Conference on the Aging. I think that it's very important that senior citizens attend and that senior citizens from low income groups attend this meeting so that you can get a sampling of all senior citizens. I'm so afraid that, like all conferences and all meetings, representatives are going to go, like myself or like other people. We really aren't senior citizens and we really cannot testify. We can testify for people, but it's not really happening to us and I think when it really happens to us, then it's more meaningful. And I would like you to try, to place your influence to say "On the White Conference, there's so many seats available for Orange County, and there's so many seats available for the State of New York. Let's see that the real nitty gritty people get there."

Mr. Dow. Well, Mrs. McLaurin, thank you very much. Now, we have two more witnesses before lunch. One of them is Mr. Herman Koch of Mahopac. Is Mr. Koch here? and then we have Mr. George Manuche, who'll be our last witness for the morning. Sit down, Mr. Koch.

MR. HERMAN KOCH, PRESIDENT, SENIOR CITIZENS OF MAHOPAC AND CARMEL, 222 FOREST ROAD, MAHOPAC, NEW YORK

Mr. Koch. My name is Herman Koch. I'm the President of the Senior Citizens of Mahopac and Carmel.

I'm also a member of the steering committee for the aged for the White House Conference. I'm also a member of the national council in Washington. I have been delegated by the people of our group, which is perhaps the largest in Putnam County. Our problems have probably been brought out before. They're repetitious. It only proves that we all suffer by it. And I only ask to tell you about the problems that bother us the most.

For instance, there is one: the income of a person over 72 does not affect their benefits. It is the consensus of the people that you need it, probably more so, while you are still able to do some work up to the age of 72. The structure seems to be all wrong. People can also not understand when you invest money and this money that you pay in during your lifetime to Social Security, is what you're supposed to benefit by. Now to give you an example, not that this holds exactly true. I'll tell it in round figures. I happen to be one of these that has paid in since the inception of Social Security. The benefits are according to the earnings. I also cannot understand the structure of the Social Security. If I paid for 30 years a $100 each year, I have paid in $3,000 from which I should get benefits. However, I will not get as much as if one pays in for ten years $300 and has also paid only $3,000. Now this is something the ordinary layman cannot understand. Because we all know that, when you invest money in the bank, as much as you invest, with your interest, you benefit by. We do not. In fact, Congressman, and I'm not trying to be facetious, but is it true that no matter where you ask, you can never find out what happened to all that money that went into that Social Security since 1938? There is never a breakdown. The general belief is, when people don't hear, where did it go? Why can't we get it? If there's a possibility, and I think you'd make a big name for yourself if you could ever publish what happens to that money. But it is very important that there be a change in the benefits according to what you have paid in, because $10 or let's say $100, 30 years ago, we all know that a dollar was much healthier—it meant a lot. That $300 is secondary today, and yet we are being penalized—when I say we, I happen to be one or those older ones—we're being penalized for that. We would like to receive the benefits that we have put in there.

Now the other problem is—and I'm talking about the rural districts where we live—well, we are fortunate in Putnam County. We have two public officials—an assemblyman and a senator for the whole State of New York, that we get a 50 percent tax relief if you're over 65, living five years, owning your house and so forth. However, we still have to pay school tax. Now, it is our belief also, and I endorse that very strongly, I believe that the school tax should be done away with and put under the income. I'll put it this way. While I earn, I can pay. When my earnings stop, where will I get the money from? If they put me on relief, it's going to cost the taxpayer money one way or the other.

Mr. Dow. You know, I'm the only Congressman that has a bill in Congress to dispense with the school tax and handle it through the income tax.

Mr. Koch. Well, I'm very happy to hear it because whoever cared to listen to me for the last ten years, I've been preaching this; but it seems that nobody listened to it before. I'm glad you agree with that because if I don't earn, I can't pay.

Mr. Dow. Well, I have a bill in. It's the only one in Congress.

Mr. Koch. I'd like to point out another reason that is very valid why the school tax is unfair. There could be a person that earns—and I exaggerate now—$100,000 a year and could live in a $10,000 home. They are assessed by the $10,000 home. But some other poor aspiring fellow that wants to give his family a nice home and gives them a $30,000 home, but makes only $10,000, he is assessed by the $30,000 home. So the whole structure, to me, is ridiculous. You are assessed by what you have, by what you struggle for, and not by what you earn. I honestly believe, and I don't want to sound Communistic or anything because I'm not, why shouldn't one that has better means pay also? This is my belief. In New York City, for instance, you do not pay any school tax. And we in Putnam County—if you were to look over the figures, it would bear me out—we pay just as much tax with the land tax alone as one in New York City pays with all the taxes combined. Naturally, we have no garbage collection, no street lights, no sewers. We have the water that we have to pay separately because you have to have your own well. We have no transportation. We find that if you want to get, in a rural district, a doctor, you can't even get one. I've often joked about that. I've said in the old days, in the horse and buggy days, they drove the horse, but since the doctor has a Cadillac, he doesn't take it out anymore. So you try to get a doctor.

The insurance, we find, for the elderly people—and I'm very careful in saying the elderly; I always say they're not old, they're just matured. They have trouble getting insurance. Now why are they being penalized with the insurance that they need. They need the cars so badly to get somewhere.

To give you an example, Putnam County also has an allocation for the elderly citizens and there are, right now, some luncheons set up. For the very small charge of 50 cents you can get a luncheon. This is considered a donation. Well, it may cost me a dollar car fare to get there. Why should I go? I don't need that luncheon. But this is not even an arm. We don't need that. Give the people the money that they need to live and they can buy all the lunch that they want. Even if they don't want roast beef, they'll be satisfied with soup meat. But give it to them.

Now, what we're actually also looking for, we find that the juniors, the smaller crowd whom we incidentally still support with our taxes to go to school, go to college, they can get reduced fares all over. They can go to Europe. I have been, too, many times; but I had to pay my full fare regardless. Why can't there be . . .? Why is there such an injustice? Why should the senior citizens have to pay this full fare? Can't they also get a reduced fare to enjoy the fruit of their life? What's wrong with that because they are still supporting the young. We're not shirking from supporting them and giving them an education. That must be; but why must we be called upon to pay a full fare. I think that there should be a relief also. That means we pay indirectly for it all.

Now, I have brought out that, when the earnings stop, the taxes should stop too. So in the final analysis, the senior citizens are not looking for welfare or relief because God knows and we all know what we get from the Social Security is too much to die and not enough to live on. So it should be automatically raised—and again, I'm not trying to be facetious. As a Congressman, you know it's no hardship—and this was before your time—to get a 42 per cent raise through. No problem. And then you hear the people beef about it. "How come we're going to get a measly 20 per cent? We can't get it and we depend on it. This person doesn't." Now, there's a point there also. I often said—and a lot of people—then they blame the President. I don't blame the President because the Congressmen can do anything they want. They can override him if he does the wrong thing, so we cannot blame one man. Our lawmakers can make the law for us and if they're with us. . . . I have so many documents here, because of the position that I hold, and no doubt you have copies of all that, too. We find, to put it mildly, with the illness that we have, we get prescribed a lot of aspirins, but never a medicine to cure. What we want is the medicine to cure us, not the aspirin to relieve the pain a little.

And I would say we're all in accord with that. The senior citizen, after a lifelike that, would like to spend the evening of their life in dignity and self respect, not on charity. And it's up to the Congressmen and I know they can do a lot for us. I'd like to thank you for taking out the time to listen to me.

Mr. Dow. Thank you, Mr. Koch. Thank you for coming. Very good.

Now our last witness before lunch is Mr. George Manuche, who is from the New Windsor Senior Citizens. Mr. Manuche is a very old and close friend of mine, so I'm sure that we'll hear some good words from him.

MR. GEORGE MANUCHE, NEW WINDSOR SENIOR CITIZEN, 170 UNION AVENUE, NEW WINDSOR, NEW YORK

Mr. MANUCHE. Honorable Congressman Mr. Dow. The problems of the aged and elderly citizens are many and it's unfortunate that we cannot legislate all of them. I am not a professional social worker, but as you know I've had some experience in public administration. Before I go any further, I want to take this opportunity to compliment you on your stand and efforts and interest in the senior citizens. You've done an excellent job and I know you'll continue to do so.

I would like to bring up a few—some of them have already been taken care of—but I have some notes and I don't go into details. I'll just generalize because time is limited.

We have our Social Security and I've heard it more and more again where people really appreciate it. Of course, it could be improved a lot, but people really appreciate it and I've heard some people say they don't know what they would have done without it. So we're not here with any grievances. In fact, some of the recommendations that I make I think that we would all be glad to pay a certain amount, either out of salaries and wages or in tax like Medicare to get. Now one thing that bugs them a lot is the increase in the Social Security. It seems that, by the time they get the increase in the Social Security, when it is legislated, a new price rise in the commodities is already taking place. If there was some way that this could be handled so that it would operate each year according to the price and according to the price of living, it would eliminate all this red tape of legislation to get it.

Mr. Dow. The new bill that was just passed last week in the House provides for automatic increases. I'm still not sure that the base is adequate because it provides for a 5 per cent increase next year and considering the present figure isn't very high, that's still not enough.

Mr. MANUCHE. But, still, it is something and adjustments could be made over a period of years. You know, if they're behind or ahead they could make the adjustment either lower it or raise it. Medicare is very good. We're not complaining about Medicare, but there is some complaint about the fees. The allowable fees on Medicare compare to the fees that the doctors charge. Now most of the people go to their doctor. They don't shop around. They go to a doctor and their fee is $15—maybe with some of them it's ten. But the Social Security has a set fee and they allow just so much. Their deductions are based on their figures and not on the actual payment. You understand these things, don't you? If that could be changed or if something could be set where a senior citizen's fee is regulated like compensation—you know, they already have listed what each operation would cost, and that's all they could charge you. If they could do something like that with Medicare, it would be all right.

Now there is one thing that is very important and I talked to quite a few people on this, too, and they agree with me. That's "Dentucare" as I call it—Dental services. If that could be be operated like Medicare and they charge so much a month toward that, I think it would relieve a burden to many senior citizens who would really appreciate it. Dental care today is really a hardship.

Mr. Dow. You mean like Medicaid?

Mr. MANUCHE. Like Medicaid. Like the first so many dollars you take care of yourself, but after that they give you a discount. I happen to have a little experience in my own family with dental care. I'm not complaining. It's probably worth it. But you go and get a couple of teeth filled and it costs you five, six, seven or eight hundred dollars. You want a new set of dentures, it's anywhere from $500 up. I'm not talking about myself so much, as I am about others. I'm just one of the fortunate ones and I really appreciate it and I'm not complaining. But those that can't—like the lady who was here and said she only got $77 or so a month—if she had to pay for her dental care, I don't know what she could do unless she went on welfare, if she'd do it. That's one thing I'd like to have brought out and see if they could do something toward this dental care. I nicknamed it "Dentucare," like Medicare.

Now, transportation has been emphasized here and most every place that I go to. It should be an acknowledged fact that transportation is something that they really want and deserve. It's hard on a senior citizen that is taking care of himself or herself to go shopping or even if they want to go to a theater or they want to go to their local club to meet. Now, we have school buses. These school buses operate at certain times, around eight or nine in the morning, around one or two o'clock in the afternoon, some probably later. And many evenings, they do not operate at all. They're just stored away in the garages. If there were some way that they could consolidate this senior citizens' demand for transportation with these contractors that contract their service to the schools, or with the school districts that have their own buses—which would be easier—of course, these people are not going to do it unless they get paid and that's left to the legislature. All we can do is make the recommendations. I think that these buses that are idle at times could be used for this purpose. They could have certain trips—one in the morning, one or two in the afternoon, and a couple in the evening. They could use these school buses as a facility for transportation for the senior citizens.

Mr. Dow. That's a very interesting suggestion.

Mr. MANUCHE. I'm glad that I brought it up now. I just heard the previous speaker bring up about school tax exemption. I have it here in my notes. When you're the last, most of your stuff is taken over. That's like in Vaudeville when another fellow tells a joke that the other fellow was going to bring out. Well, anyway, I heartily go along with exemption. A senior citizen is taxed for the school when he's absolutely got no use out of it. And taxation, they say, without representation isn't fair. He helped to build the schools that we have today. He or she paid their taxes years ago to build up these institutions. I think that when a person is fortunate enough to live to be age 65, I think he should be exempt from school taxes altogether. Others are getting the benefits of the school system that was built up by senior citizens are the ones that should shoulder that tax.

Mr. Dow. George, do you know if the 50 per cent exemption which some communities grant applies to school taxes?

Mr. MANUCHE. Yes.

Mr. Dow. It does.

Mr. MANUCHE. Now it does. They're starting with it, but even with that 50 per cent, I think, it's still a little burden for some senior citizens.

Mr. Dow. It depends on your income.

Mr. MANUCHE. I don't say what they should do, but they should do something. Something should be done on that and I think it's fair. Now, last but not least, you're going to get a charge out of this one, too. You already made a remark about a lady that didn't look like a senior citizen. I was fortunate enough to get a compliment also. I told my group about it. I went to a local theater and asked for a senior citizen's ticket. There was a young lady selling tickets. She just looked at me and stared. I thought she didn't hear me, so I repeated "I'll take a senior citizen's ticket." She looked at me again and said, "You're kidding, aren't you?" "No." I said. "I'm not kidding." "Well, you'll have to show your Medicare card."—which I did and she was shocked. Now, here's what I'm getting at. I'd like to see an elimination of the designation of the word aging and aged, and substituted with elderly citizen or senior citizen. As an example, New York State Executive Department, Office of the Aging or Aged. Could it be cows, cattle or what? It doesn't designate who the aged are and it doesn't sound right because, to me, it sounds as if they were aging cheese or something. I think that it would be more appropriate if they used the words elderly citizens or senior citizens. Then it would designate what the office is and for whom it is. It'll sound better. It doesn't make you feel as if you're really aged to a point where you can't take care of yourself. There are some that can't, but there are a lot of us that are still very active and I think if you would bring up that title and have them change it, I would appreciate it very much. And thank you very much and good luck to you.

Mr. Dow. George, it's nice to have you here. Thank you.

MRS. LEA GOODMAN, SENIOR CITIZENS OF WOODRIDGE, WOODRIDGE, NEW YORK

Mrs. GOODMAN. I don't have a question. I'd like to make one comment.

Mr. Dow. Yes, would you like to come up? You'd better tell us who you are.

Mrs. GOODMAN. Well, I'm Lea Goodman of Woodridge, a mother of four, naturalized citizen, wife of a rabbi, teacher, planning a career in social work, etc. But above all, I'm an honorary member of the Senior Citizens Club of Woodridge. So, as you can see, I'm practicing. God Willing, if I live long enough, I'll really know what it's all about. I'd like to make certain positive comments, because problems, you all know, there are plenty of. I thought I knew about them, but I'm finding out about many, many more today. It seems to me that part of the problem of the senior citizens is a matter of priorities. We've gotten so used, in this country and in our type of life, to discard things that are aged that our philosophy is turning like everything for the youth. What we need is rethinking and making sure that these are not called aged people, whose time it is to move away and let the youth take over, but the other way around. They earned it, they're privileged. They should be treated like senior citizens, as someone who's privileged. I believe you are the first one who is starting this trend. Don't consider yourself as one of several hundred. You are one, but you could start quite a thing, and I hope you do.

Now, as far as practical suggestions; for example, it's true that many of the suggestions here will take money. Right. Legislation, too, and all this takes time. But how about if you start some kind of movement on the national level, local level, personal level that does not involve money. We have so many volunteer agencies. We have so many people who are looking to get involved. I personally would like to see at a senior citizens conference in the United States, in Washington and on local levels, more young people or anybody that's interested in helping senior citizens. So they will get involved, and together, they can really help out. For example, you could have a plan of a local organization helping out a senior citizens group. I don't mean monetarily. I mean with

transportation and on a person-to-person basis. How about the youth of today? They're so involved with volunteering and programs. Why not switch it around? Instead of an older person adopting a younger person, let a younger person, or a group of people from a college or what, adopt a senior citizens group, and see if they can be of help. If we work it this way, I think all of us are going to benefit from it.

Mr. Dow. Thank you. That's a good thought. That's a very good thought, Mrs. Goodman. Now, we're going to try to stick to this schedule. We will be back here at 1:30, maybe 1:45 since we've stolen so much time. All right, at 1:45 we'll be back. That'll give us all time to catch a breath and we'll see you then in the afternoon at 1:45.

CIVIL DEFENSE GAP? PERSPECTIVES IN SOVIET DEVELOPMENT—PART II

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1971

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, as you will recall, yesterday I addressed this Chamber on the matter of Soviet civil defense capabilities and suggested that this should be a matter of serious concern to all of us. There is evidence that there has been substantial progress on the part of the Soviet Government in developing a rural oriented civil defense program. This is clear to anyone who has reviewed the Soviet Civil Defense Handbook. There has been no great preponderance of headlines over this development nor does there appear to be any significant concern within Congress. It is for that reason that I am bringing this to your attention.

History has shown that nations which have disregarded their civil defense have fallen prey to their more ambitious neighbors. While there is no reason for alarm, there is cause for careful review of our program in light of Soviet developments. Therefore, I will continue to present excerpts from the handbook that was made available to me by the Oak Ridge National Laboratory which translated the original text. As I already noted, the Russian civil defense program has been rural oriented. The translators explain why. I include this as a portion of my remarks:

The U.S. reader may well wonder, why read a handbook which addresses itself primarily to rural civil defense when U.S. civil defense emphasis has been almost exclusively urban? Moreover, since a little over half the Soviet population lives in cities, would not an urban civil defense handbook have greater relevance than a rural one even in Russia? The answer to this last question is *no*—not in the context of the Soviet civil defense program. It is essential to realize at the outset that the keystone of Soviet civil defense is the evacuation and dispersal of the overwhelming majority of the urban population to rural areas during periods of escalating crisis, with urban blast shelters provided primarily for on-shift workers in vital industries in target cities. Soviet rationale for moving people to the country is simple: "The simultaneous dispersal of workers and evacuation of the plants and institutions will greatly decrease the number of people in the cities; this in turn will sharply reduce population losses in case of a nuclear attack by the enemy. . . . a nuclear attack of an unprotected large city may result in the loss of life of as much as 90% of the population. An early dispersal and evacuation could reduce the losses considerably, to a level between 5% and 8%" (p. 68).

Thus, because of the unexpected tremendous influx of people in the country, rural civil defense assumes a highly important role.

(1) Agricultural regions provide human and material resources for civil defense and furnish manpower and materiel for rescue and emergency repair operations in stricken cities;

(2) In wartime, "not only . . . a large part of the dispersed workers, service personnel, and evacuated non-working population [would be transported to the country], but also the main material reserves";

(3) Rural communal buildings, hospitals, and other medical institutions would serve as the main base for treating the injured if the "big cities with their large populations [should] . . . serve as targets of a nuclear enemy attack";

(4) The rural regions would have a primary role in protecting people, animals, plants, food, water supplies, and fodder from contamination by radioactive and chemical substances and bacterial agents;

(5) Responsibility for assuring the output of agriculture during wartime and in the post war years would fall to the countryside.

In my presentation yesterday and in this address today, Mr. Speaker, I have only noted the opinions of the translators. Now, I would like to depart from their commentaries and present excerpts by the Russian authors of this report. As I have mentioned before, the entire report is available through my office. This first section is the Russian introduction to the text. The selection which follows it is chapter 1 entitled "Civil Defense in a Nuclear War":

INTRODUCTION

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government follow a policy of peace directed toward avoiding a new world war and achieving general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Union was the first to sign an agreement forbidding the testing of nuclear weapons in three media—the atmosphere, space, and underwater. It also initiated a treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. An important step toward peace was the formation of the Budapest Council of Nations, which participated in the Warsaw Agreement for all European countries, in which the socialist governments presented concrete suggestions for strengthening security in Europe.

Also, in the future, the Soviet Union will strive for peace, the safety of peoples, and the security of nations, as well as the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of governments with different social systems. It will seek to resolve international problems by means of negotiations. Soviet objectives include: limitation of the arms race, disarmament, elimination of the causes of war, easing of international tension, and development of peaceful coexistence among nations. The Soviet people believe that peace is possible if all the peaceful forces of society cooperate to achieve it.

However, the imperialistic governments are expanding the production of different types of space equipment, strategic and ballistic rockets, nuclear and thermonuclear devices, and chemical and biological weapons. This activity is dangerous to all society. By using weapons of mass destruction, it is possible to destroy large cities, factories, industrial plants, populated regions, and other areas of strategic importance, while it is also possible to contaminate an enormous land area.

Therefore, as long as the danger of war initiated by imperialist government exists, as long as agreement is not obtained on general and complete disarmament, the Communist Party, Soviet government, and the entire Soviet nation will devote considerable attention to strengthening the security of the country. Civil defense is organized to protect various targets of enemy attack from the effects of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and systematically to instruct the population on the effects of an enemy attack during the period of threat, during attack itself, and after weapons of mass destruction have been used.

In this book we consider the organization and execution of civil defense mainly in the kolkhozs, sovkhozs, and rural areas. Problems involving the effects of weapons of mass destruction on people, animals, plants, fodder, food supply, buildings, and other objects are presented along with the means of protection against such weapons effects. Related aspects of agricultural production are also taken into account. Considerable attention is devoted to civil defense measures in areas contaminated by radioactive, chemical, and bacteriological[1] substances and to rendering assistance to a damaged city.

CHAPTER 1—CIVIL DEFENSE IN A NUCLEAR WAR

The twenty-third session of the Communist Party of the Supreme Soviet has devoted considerable attention to the problems of significantly strengthening the security of our country. A resolution from the summary report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party points out: "Under conditions in which the aggressive forces of imperialism intensify international tension and create causes of war, the Communist Party will increase the vigilance of the Soviet people and strengthen the defense capability of our country so that the armed forces of the USSR will always be ready vigorously to resist the conquest of socialism and give a crushing rebuff to any imperialist aggressor."

A peace-loving foreign policy, which is firmly and consistently followed by the Soviet Union, evolves from the very nature of our society. The Soviet people need peace to attain their goal: building communism. Therefore, the Soviet people, along with the peace-loving forces of other countries, are vigorously fighting to reduce international tension and avoid a new world war. However, reactionary forces of imperialist governments, headed by the USA, are intensifying the arms race, building armies with millions of soldiers, forming aggressive war blocs, and surrounding the countries of the socialistic commonwealth with rockets and military air bases. Appropriations for the production of strategic weapons, and above all for the development of rocket nuclear weapons, constitute a large part of the war expenditures of the USA. In 1960, in comparison with expenditures for military aviation, the cost of strategic missiles was only 5%; in 1965 it increased to 50%, and in 1967 to 70%. In 1961 the USA had 35 rocket units and one rocket-carrying atomic submarine, but in 1966 it had more than 700 intercontinental rockets and 32 atomic-rocket submarines. In the USA the militarization of industry is increasing. If military expenditures in the USA were 30% during the second world war, they have now risen to 40%.

Aggressive blocs and groups represent a great danger for unleashing a thermonuclear war. The main aggressive bloc—NATO—is in a state of constant wartime readiness; the USA uses it to convert western Europe into a springboard for war near the borders of the Soviet Union.

The main partner of the USA in Europe is imperialistic West Germany. The North At-

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lantic bloc assigns a decisive role to the militaristic forces of West Germany. The leaders of NATO regard the Bundeswehr, which was rapidly revived by the revanchist forces of the Federal Republic of Germany, as NATO's main striking force against the socialist countries. With the help and support of the USA, Bonn militarists are strenuously converting the economy of their country to a wartime footing. Expenditures for preparing the country for war are continuously rising in the Federal Republic of Germany. Generals and officers of West Germany occupy many command posts in NATO.

The aggressive actions of American imperialism have become vividly apparent in recent years. Strengthening the defense of the country and the power of the Soviet Armed Forces is a sacred duty of the Party and the entire nation and is the most important function of the socialist government. Therefore, the defense capability of the Soviet Union must be greatly strengthened to defend the Soviet people and the entire socialist commonwealth from the danger of imperialist aggression and to strengthen the position of the peace-loving and liberating forces throughout the world.

Full growth of all sectors of the national economy—metallurgy, machine construction, transportation, chemical industry, etc.—is of prime importance in strengthening the defense capability of the country.

With continuous development and protection of the agricultural economy, it is possible to satisfy the growing needs of the population for food, agricultural raw materials, and a strategic food reserve.

The strengthening of the socio-political unity of socialist society, the growth of political consciousness, and the education and culture of the Soviet people also play an important role. Our party holds sacred Lenin's precept to constantly strengthen the defense capability of the country.

Character of a future war, weapons of mass destruction, and means of delivery to targets

Character of a Future War

Nuclear energy was discovered within the last twenty years. Aerodynamics, rocket dynamics, space navigation, cybernetics, radioelectronics, mathematics, and other sciences have undergone rapid development. As a result of the enormous scientific-technological progress, new fields of industry have been created, such as the atomic field, rocket construction, electronics, and others. The automation of industrial production has become widespread. All this has had a decisive effect on the wartime equipment of armies and on their organizational structure. At present new military forces (rocket forces, antirocket defense) are being created, and the previously existing armed forces are being supplied with the latest equipment. The existence of nuclear weapons with unprecedented destructive power, space ships, different kinds of rockets, and other perfected means of war also affects the character of a future war.

If the imperialists were successful in unleashing war, it would be an armed struggle among countries of two opposite world systems—capitalist and socialist. Above all, it would be a war of the imperialist bloc against the Soviet Union.

Thus it follows that a new world war, if the imperialists should unleash it, would be waged with the widespread use of weapons of mass destruction and, above all, nuclear weapons. Such a war could encompass an enormous area and involve whole continents. Not only troops, but also centers of vital industry, transport energy production, and communications should be subject to devastating attack.

It would be possible to contaminate large areas with radioactive fallout and bacteriological agents. Distinctions between front and rear would disappear. Therefore, the defense capability of the socialist government does not consist only of high combat readiness and ability to supply the armed forces; it is also inseparably connected with a high level of economic development and the preparation of the population and national industrial centers for protection against weapons of mass destruction.

Weapons of Mass Destruction

Nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, which can injure large numbers of people and at the same time damage numerous industrial and agricultural centers, are described as weapons of mass destruction. Of these, nuclear weapons are the most powerful. The damaging attributes of a nuclear weapon are the shock wave, light [thermal] radiation, penetrating [prompt] radiation, and fallout. The total effect of all these factors is called the combined damage.

The power of a nuclear explosion is given in terms of the weight of an equivalent amount of TNT, the explosive energy of which is equal to the explosive energy of the given nuclear weapon. The power of a nuclear explosive can be as much as several millions of tons. The radii of destruction and the areas of contamination after the explosion are as follows:

Power (megatons)	10	50	100.
Destructive radius for city buildings (km)	28 [17 miles]	40 [25 miles]	50 [31 miles].
Contamination area (km^2)	$70x10^3$ [$43x10^3$ square miles]	$450x10^3$ [$280x10^3$]	$780x10^3$ [$484x10^3$].

It is evident from this data that one nuclear explosion is sufficient to destroy a large city with a population of millions and to contaminate an enormous area with radioactive materials. The area subjected to the direct effect of a nuclear explosion is called the site of nuclear damage.

In agricultural regions, people, animals, and plants would be affected by fallout; and food products, fodder, water sources, and other assets would be contaminated. In zones of dangerously high radioactive contamination, it would not be possible to undertake agricultural work until the level of radiation fell. Intermittent agricultural work could be performed only in a zone of moderate contamination and then only when all required precautionary measures were observed. The complex situation that could result from radioactive contamination makes it necessary for leading workers and agricultural specialists to inaugurate extensive measures to protect people, animals, plants, fodder, food supply, and water sources.

In addition to perfecting and accumulating implements to wage nuclear war, the USA is vigorously creating chemical and biological weapons. These weapons were used by the U.S. armies in Korea and Viet Nam. Appropriations for the study and production of chemical and biological weapons are steadily increasing.

Chemical weapons include poisonous substances, chemical means of damaging plants, incendiary materials, smoke-forming mixtures, and equipment for using these materials. Chemical weapons can inflict extensive damage on people, animals, and plants and can contaminate land, industrial plants, equipment, food products, fodder, and water sources.

The main chemical weapons are poisonous substances, divided into the following groups according to their effects on people and animals. First are the nerve-paralyzing gases (V-gases, sarin, and others) which damage the central nervous system. Then come the skin-blistering gases (mustard gas) which damage the skin. Next come the gases which have a general toxic effect (hydrogen cyanide) and cause general poisoning of the organism. Last are the asphyxiants (phosgene) which damage the respiratory organs. The most important gases are those which paralyze the nerves and blister the skin.

Areas of chemical contamination occur in regions where chemical weapons are used and inflict damage on people, animals, and plants. The size of the chemically contaminated area depends on the type of substance, the scale on which it was used, the means of application, meteorological conditions, and the topography of the land. It is estimated that one B–52 bomber carrying 7 tons of V-gases can contaminate an area of 250 km^2 [97 sq miles].

The arsenal of biological weapons includes microbes and toxins; insects and rodents infected with microbes to spread the disease to people, animals, and plants; and the means by which these are disseminated. Areas which are directly subjected to bacteriological agents and thereby become a source of spreading infectious diseases are called foci of bacteriological contamination. The size of the area depends on the type of weapon, the bacterial mix, the scale and method of use, meteorological conditions, the rapidity of detection, and how soon prophylaxis, treatment, and disinfection are inaugurated.

Bacteriological agents may cause infectious diseases in people and animals. Among the diseases which have been studied in detail in the USA are the following: bacterial infections such as Siberian sores (malignant anthrax), brucellosis, glanders, bubonic plague, and tularemia. The rickettsial diseases include Q-fever and Rocky Mountain spotted fever. The virus infections include dengue fever, a number of types of encephalitis, psittacosis, and yellow fever. In recent years considerable attention has been given to disease vectors of agricultural plants, in particular to various types of rusts, phytophthora (plant infection) and the vector of piricularia of rice.

Much significance is given to problems of sudden and massive use of chemical and bacteriological weapons. Specialists of the War Department of the USA figure that poisonous substances and disease-bearing microbes have advantages over other types of weapons because they are cheaper, can damage large areas, and can cause death to an enormous number of people.

Chemical and biological weapons are the most dangerous for agricultural regions. They can create great difficulties in performing agricultural work, especially during seeding and harvesting, and also in supplying industrial centers with food products and raw materials.

Means of Delivering Weapons of Mass Destruction

To deliver weapons of mass destruction to targets, different delivery systems can be used.

From a strategic standpoint, ballistic rockets are the main carriers for weapons of mass destruction (Fig. 1). The probability of damaging the target with a ballistic rocket is very high.

The USA has the following main types of strategic rockets: intercontinental: "Titan 2" and "Minuteman"; of average range: "Polaris A–2" and "Polaris A–3."

The Titan-2 rocket is propelled by liquid fuel. The flight range is up to 23,000 km [14,260 miles].

The minuteman is a three-stage solid propellant rocket. Its motor operates on solid fuel, contained in special ampules and therefore not significantly influenced by the external medium. These rockets have a high readiness (30-seconds) and a range up to 10,000 km [6,200 miles].

Atomic submarines are usually armed with

Polaris rockets. The rockets may be launched from the submarines at a depth of 30–40 meters [32.8–43.7 yards] and a cruising velocity of 2 knots. The flight range is up to 4600 km [2,852 miles].

The USA has devoted considerable effort to the conquest of space since space is considered an important theater of war. Even now hundreds of American spy satellites cover the space near the earth. Piloted space ships with command centers on board are being developed with a flight duration of at least one year.

Airplanes and winged rockets may also be widely used to deliver weapons of mass destruction to intended targets. At present airplanes and winged rockets have flight velocity of up to 4,000 km/hr [2,480 miles/hr], a ceiling of up to 35 km [21.7 miles] and a range of up to 1700 km [1,054 miles].

The Role of Civil Defense in Strengthening the Defense Capability of the Country

A local anti-aircraft defense (LAD) was created in our country before the Great Patriotic War [World War II]. Since fascist Germany did not have the means of penetrating into our territory to damage regions and centers throughout the entire country, there was no need before World War II to organize the defense of the population and national centers on a countrywide scale. The farthest ranging means of penetration were airplanes whose radius of action did not exceed 1000 km [620 miles].

For attacking various targets, the fascists ordinarily used only high explosive and incendiary bombs. Under these conditions the defense of the population and separate installations was conducted only in those cities and regions which were within the range of enemy aircrafts. Further, the human and material resources of each separate region and center were ordinarily used for rescue and emergency work. Consequently, all activities to protect the population, animals, and various installations were of a local character and were labeled local anti-aircraft defense.

With the appearance of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, there was a basic change in the size and character of measures to protect the population and economic centers such as cities, factories, plants, kolkhozs, sovkhozs and others.

If the imperialists should succeed in unleashing a thermonuclear world war, then many administrative, industrial, political, and military centers, ports, airfields, mining enterprises, and other important installations could be subjected to nuclear and chemical attack, and the surrounding territories contaminated with radioactive fallout, poisonous chemicals, and bacteriological agents. If a 20-megaton thermonuclear warhead were detonated over a large city, a substantial portion of the population could perish from the shock wave, thermal emission, and penetrating radiation.

Under such circumstances as these, the local anti-aircraft defense could not protect the population and the economic centers. The complex problems of safeguarding the population and industrial sectors of the country can be resolved only by a nationwide effort under the leadership of the Party and government.

Therefore it is necessary to have an entirely new federal system of defense charged with the development and execution of defense measures to protect the population and the economic centers of the country as a whole in each province, district, city, and village. Civil defense is such an organization in our country. In theory and practice and in principles of organization it is a national system involving all the people. It is established to protect the interests of all the people. The entire Soviet population and all our government and social organizations are concerned with its development and perfection. Civil defense in our country is geared to protect a peace-loving population and its property throughout the entire country against the effects of weapons of mass destruction.

Civil defense is a national system of defense measures, carried out during peace and war, to protect the population and increase the operating stability of the national economy under conditions of attack by nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and also to perform rescue and urgent emergency work in centers of mass destruction.

The main concerns of civil defense are to protect the population from weapons of mass destruction, to protect industry and maintain production in wartime, and to perform rescue and urgent emergency work in centers of mass destruction.

Protecting the population from weapons of mass destruction is the main goal of civil defense. It can be reached only by applying all available means and methods to each particular situation.

If the population is to receive timely protection from weapons of mass destruction, it must have an efficient warning system. For this purpose, even in peacetime, it is necessary to develop a warning and communications system and maintain it in a constant state of readiness. Warning the population is the responsibility of the civil defense staffs. In rural regions the people would be warned by wire communication, radio, mobile communication systems and sound signals.

The rural population would be protected primarily against fallout, chemical substances, and bacteriological agents. Included in this group are members of kolkhozs and sovkhozs and also that segment of the urban population which has been dispersed to areas outside the cities. People remaining in the cities would receive additional protection from the direct effects of nuclear weapons.

For their protection, the rural population is provided with personal protective equipment and dugouts, and the city population with reliable shelters as well.

While the plan to issue factory-produced personal protective equipment is important, it is also essential that the people themselves prepare in advance simple means for protecting their respiratory organs and skin and know how to use these protective devices.

Working and service personnel of plants that have not curtailed their production activities in the cities can use available shelters such as subway systems and other installations which provide protection from weapons of mass destruction.

Fallout shelters for the population of rural areas, kolkhozs, and sovkhozs, and also for evacuated city populations in zones outside the cities, are prepared in advance.

If the population is to be protected, buildings, storage bins, cellars, silos, and other installations must be adapted as cover.[2]

Working and service personnel of plants which are not operating or have temporarily ceased operating in wartime will be dispersed for their own protection, and the non-working population of various enterprises and school institutions evacuated to zones outside the cities.

The dispersal of working and service personnel and the evacuation of the population from large cities are effective means of defense. Through dispersal and evacuation, urban populations can be removed from possible target areas for nuclear strikes.

If urban evacuation and dispersal are to succeed, the dispersal zones outside the cities must be carefully planned and prepared ahead of time. It is also important to make advance provision for transportation and to use all types of transport. Transport would also be needed to bring supplies from the cities to the outlying zones, to transport trained factory formations,[3] to deliver victims in need of first aid to assembly points, and to execute other measures.

Regional executive committees of workers' councils, rural Soviets, and the civil defense heads of kolkhozs and sovkhozs must organize the reception and relocation of workers, service personnel, and the non-working population and then make sure they are provided with the necessities of life and work in the dispersal and evacuation[4] areas.

No less important are the problems of protecting food supplies and water sources and also creating necessary food reserves, medical stores, and other essential items. Measures to protect food supplies and water sources and to create necessary reserves are planned and developed in peacetime. The population should know the simplest methods for protecting their own food supplies and water at home.

To protect the population against the dangers of contamination, it is important to have radiation, chemical, and bacteriological detection and laboratory control. These tasks will be performed by observers at posts which monitor external radioactivity and by other specialists.

The successful protection of the population depends largely on the ability of the people to learn methods for protecting themselves from weapons of mass destruction. The purpose of giving instructions to working people, service personnel, members of kolkhozs, and the nonworking segment of the population is to instill in them habits of conduct under war conditions involving weapons of mass destruction and especially to teach them the correct use of the means of protection. Through instruction it is possible to prepare civil defense brigades to inaugurate protective measures and undertake rescue operations in centers of mass destruction and contamination.

Anti-epidemic, prophylatic, and other special measures to increase the resistance of the people to radiation and infectious diseases can enhance the protection of the population. The execution of these measures depends, of course, on an adequate medical staff and supply of medicines.

To prepare economic centers for continuous operation under conditions of enemy attack is a most complex task. Only by making elaborate plans and preparations in peacetime is it possible to decrease significantly the loss of human life and assure continuous production of essential items.

To assure the continuous operation of economic centers, the following steps are necessary: to plan and execute in advance measures to protect working and service personnel from weapons of mass destruction at economic centers and at the dispersal points, to devise an adequate warning system to announce the threat of enemy attack, to organize a reliable civil defense control system, to convert a plant to a particular mode of operation at the proper time, to create self-contained systems of control and of supplying raw materials at the operating centers, to instruct the working and service personnel at the centers in advance, and to prepare brigades for carrying out rescue and reclamation work as soon as possible.

An important plant civil defense measure is to plan ahead how a plant should run during a period of threat, after a warning has been given, and in time of war. Such successful preparation would minimize losses and maintain essential production after an enemy has used weapons of mass destruction.

Similarly, agricultural production centers can be protected from weapons of mass destruction by advance planning and preparation.

It is necessary to take measures ahead of time to safeguard animals and unprocessed food supplies from weapons of mass destruction, and water sources and fodder from

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Footnotes at end of article.

contamination by radioactive, chemical, and bacteriological substances.

If these measures are to be executed, specialists from all agronomic and veterinary institutions and also the formations of rural areas, kolkhozs, and sovkhozs must be involved. It is necessary to prepare farm buildings to protect animals, storage places, and agricultural products from contamination by radioactive, chemical, and bacteriological substances; to immunize animals; to prepare formations to protect animals, plants, food supplies, feed, and water sources; and to stock the necessary materials for covering seed, feed, vegetables, and other agricultural products during the period of harvesting, treatment, transportation, and storage.

Rescue and urgent emergency work is organized and started immediately after an enemy has unleashed weapons of mass destruction. For this reason it is important to organize, instruct, and supply brigades; to plan in advance their activities during a period of threat and after weapons of mass destruction have been used; to make suitable corrections and more realistic plans for civil defense under conditions of war; to assure the brigades' prompt assemblage at their bases and prompt deployment to populated regions; and to guide the brigades in their performance of rescue and urgent emergency work with full recognition of the developing situation, using written instructions.

The primary task of the brigades would be to rescue people in centers of destruction. Their success would depend primarily on how well the brigades were prepared for this type of operation.

Civil defense brigades of the kolkhozs and of the sovkhozs would undertake rescue and recovery work in their own damaged centers. If necessary, some of the brigades of the kolkhozs and sovkhozs (especially the rescue, sanitary, and decontamination units) could be used to perform rescue and urgent emergency work in a damaged city.

Thus, by preparing cities, rural areas, kolkhozs, sovkhozs, and other economic centers in advance and by training the entire population in how to defend itself against weapons of mass destruction, it is possible not only to decrease losses of people, animals, agricultural products, and other goods, but also to assure the normal operation of enterprises throughout the country.

The Role of Party, Government, and Social Organizations in Solving Civil Defense Problems

The complex and diverse problems of civil defense can be solved successfully only if there is a high level of political party activity, discipline, and preparation of the population and the brigades at the centers and also only if the activities of Party, government, and social organizations fulfilling these tasks are highly integrated.

The guiding and organizing force of civil defense in the Soviet Union is the Communist Party. Through its purposeful organizational and ideological work, the Party has a decisive effect on the fulfillment of civil defense objectives in time of peace, during the threat of enemy attack, and after weapons of mass destruction have been used by an enemy.

The Party organizations guide the political work of the Party in various staff units, at economic centers, and in civil defense brigades, and control the activities of these units on a daily basis. Party organizations also train the people in the civil defense brigades in rural regions, kolkhozs, and sovkhozs to have high moral qualities in combat and to master military and special techniques.

Soviet organs of government have the principal responsibility in the organization and execution of civil defense. They are given substantial assistance in solving civil defense problems by the various social organizations—the komsomols (young communists), various professional units, the Red Cross, the Red Crescent Society, the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Air Force, and Navy, and others. These organizations support civil defense chiefs and their staffs, mobilize their own members for civil defense activities, organize instruction, assist in accumulating educational material, and propagate knowledge of civil defense.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Enterprise: an organization, such as a factory, hospital, school, etc., that normally functions as a unit.

[2] The Soviets distinguish between "shelters," which protect from the prompt effects of nuclear weapons and also from chemical and bacteriological substances, on the one hand, and "cover," which protects primarily from fallout, on the other. It is noteworthy that even for protection against fallout, the Soviets recommend dugouts or existing installations that are already at least partially below ground.

[3] The civil defense formation constitutes the basic civil defense unit in the Soviet Union. Also sometimes referred to as brigade, cell, unit, detachment, team, and squadron, it comprises, according to Marshal Chuykov, Chief of Soviet Defense, the "main force of civil defense" (V. I. Chuykov, *Civil Defense in Nuclear Missile War*). It may vary in size from few to many members and its principal purpose is to perform rescue and emergency restoration operations in centers of mass destruction.

[4] The Soviets plan to protect their urban population against possible nuclear attack primarily through relocation in areas outside the cities, where they would be safe, presumably, from the prompt effects of nuclear weapons. *Dispersal* applies to workers and supervisors in vital industries and to their families and denotes removal to an area approximately 60 to 80 kilometers [37.2–49.6 miles]—a four to five hour round trip—from their work in the city. *Evacuation* applies to all other elements of the population—workers in non-essential industries or industries which can have their functions transferred outside the city, unemployed persons, school children, retired people, invalids, etc.—and denotes removal to rural areas remote from the city. See Chapter 5 for further details.

GIRLS NATION 1971 VISITS CAPITOL

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1971

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, today the Congress has as its guests Girls Nation, and their advisers, and sponsors from the American Legion Auxiliary.

Over the past few years, unfortunately, there has been much done by and attributed to some minor segments of American youth that has caused great concern in this country. However, by far the greater majority of our young people are a real source of pride. Girls Nation is one of the outstanding examples and they are in the U.S. Capitol today.

Each State participating picks two girls at its annual Girls State, who come to Washington each summer to represent their State at Girls Nation. The week-long program is an intensive, concentrated exercise in the mechanics and operation of Government at the Federal level.

They select their own officers, corresponding to those in the Federal Government, and others are appointed. Wherever possible, there are direct meetings between the girls holding these offices and their actual counterparts. Visits to the departments and agencies, as well as to Capitol Hill, are also on the agenda.

A small minority of youth may seem to be intent on destruction of the Republic. The greater majority by far are concerned more with construction and preservation. Girls Nation is right at the top of this list. We are proud of Girls Nation and the girls serving in it. They are fine examples of the best in the American Republic.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE STUDY—THE STRENGTHS OF BLACK FAMILIES

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1971

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, a most provocative study prepared by Dr. Robert B. Hill and recently issued by the National Urban League entitled, "The Strengths of Black Families" sheds new light on and contradicts long-standing beliefs that black families were run by the women and were disorganized, pathological, and disintegrated.

The study which documents new findings focuses its attention on the analysis of five strengths of black families: strong kinship bonds, strong work orientation, adaptability of family roles, strong achievement orientation, and strong religious orientation.

The study states that:

Although these traits can be found among white families, they are manifested quite differently in the lives of black families because of the unique history of racial oppression experienced by blacks in America. In fact, the particular forms that these characteristics take among black families should be viewed as adaptations necessary for survival and advancement in a hostile environment.

The observations made in this report are, indeed, enlightening and I want to share them with my colleagues. I trust that after reading this study, many old conceived notions will be dispelled and those strengths which are inherent in black families will be recognized.

The study follows:

THE STRENGTHS OF BLACK FAMILIES

(By Robert B. Hill, Associate Director, Research Department, National Urban League)

FOREWORD

We have heard so much about the pathology of the ghetto that we've been blinded to the real strengths that exist in Black America. Black people have been forced to develop psychological resources in place of the economic resources they've been denied. How else can we explain the actions of terrorized black tenant farmers in the rural South, who suddenly drop the happy-go-lucky mask they put on and risk their lives by registering to vote or sending their kids to a previously all-white school? Similar courage has been shown by black student groups demonstrating at the risk of expulsion, by welfare mothers protesting de-

humanizing regulations, and by black parents demanding control over the schools their children go to. . . . Black people today are utilizing the strengths they have accumulated in their struggle to challenge the system that oppresses them. The black ghetto is . . . the repository of skill and bravery that will help transform our racist society into something better for all people—black and white.

INTRODUCTION

Most discussions of black families in the literature tend to focus on indicators of instability, disintegration, weakness or pathology. E. Franklin Frazier's monumental work, *The Negro Family in the United States,* is considered to have established this "pejorative tradition" in the study of black families in general and low-income black families in particular.[1] Despite the absence of data in Frazier's works indicating the representatives of the "disorganized" patterns in "lower-class culture," social scientists such as Glazer and Moynihan continue to portray low-income black family life as "typically" disorganized, pathological and disintegrating. Others assert that a self-perpetuating "culture of poverty" exists among blacks.[2] But the pejorative perspective of black life patterns is so pervasive that it can be found in the works of some contemporary black scholars as well.[3]

Unfortunately, this traditional focus has created the false impression that instability and pathology are characteristic of *most* black families. There is a tendency to forget that deviance, by definition, refers to departures from the *norm.* Thus, in general, deviance among blacks is as "abnormal" as it is among whites. The great majority of black families, for example, are not characterized by criminality, deliquency, drug addiction or desertion.

This preoccupation with pathology in most research on black families has obscured some fruitful avenues of investigation. Many scholars in this field have failed to realize that a determination of "why most people conform" can help in understanding "why the few deviate." It is our contention that examining the strengths of black families can contribute at least as much toward understanding and ameliorating some social problems as examining their weaknesses.

Our departure from the "pathological" approach to black family life is an attempt to adopt an earlier perspective evident in the works of DuBois, Johnson and Drake and Cayton, which has been reasserted by such contemporary scholars as Billingsley, Herzog, Lewis and Valentine:[4]

We do not view the Negro family as a causal nexus in a tangle of pathology which feeds on itself. Rather, we view the Negro family in theoretical perspective as a subsystem of the larger society. It is, in our view, an absorbing, adaptive, and amazingly resilient mechanism for the socialization of its children and the civilization of its society. (Billingsley 1968)

Ladner's (1971) well-documented work, *Tomorrow's Tomorrow,* clearly incorporates Billingsley's perspective. For, while it effectively punctures such cherished notions as the black matriarchy, the emasculation of the black male and the pathological ghetto family, its primary focus is on the strengths and resources of young black women growing up in urban ghettos.

But with few exceptions, most references to the strengths of black families have been oblique. Moreover, black family strengths have not yet been operationally defined and systematically subjected to empirical verification.[5]

If, as most scholars agree, there is a need to strengthen black families, then a first-order priority should be the identification of presently existing strengths, resources and potentials. Systematic examinations of the strengths of black families should facilitate the development of national policies and programs which enhance and use these assets to their fullest potential. It is with these concerns in mind that this paper will describe the strengths and resources of black families and demonstrate that strength and stability, not weakness and instability, are the *modal* patterns for black families.

What are family strengths?

Because of the subjectivity of the term, it is not easy to specify what is meant by a "family strength." A strength, according to one set of criteria, could easily be interpreted as a weakness, according to another set of criteria—and vice-versa. For example, most observers would probably agree that a strong bond of affection between members of a family is usually an asset. But if this affection is manifested in homosexual and incestuous relationships among family members, such a bond would generally be characterized as a "pathological" liability.

The classic analyses of the family as a social system by Parsons yield several helpful dimensions of family strengths.[6] One of these dimensions, the ability to provide the necessary functions (both expressive and instrumental) to members and non-members, is basic to a viable family unit. We, therefore, operationally define as family strengths those traits which facilitate the ability of the family to meet the needs of its members and the demands made upon it by systems outside the family unit. They are necessary for the survival and maintenance of effective family networks.

Based upon a survey of what families perceived to be their strengths, Otto (1962) identified several family strengths in his instructive essay, "What is a Strong Family?" Those traits listed by Otto that are most relevant to our discussion are as follows:

1. The ability to provide for the physical, emotional and spiritual needs of a family.
2. A concern for family unity, loyalty and inter-family cooperation.
3. An ability to establish and maintain growth-producing relationships within and without the family.
4. An ability for self-help and the ability to accept help when appropriate.
5. An ability to perform family roles flexibly.

Examination of the literature on black families reveals that the following characteristics have been functional for their survival, development and stability:

1. Strong kinship bonds.
2. Strong work orientation.
3. Adaptability of family roles.
4. Strong achievement orientation.
5. Strong religious orientation.

Although these traits can be found among white families, they are manifested quite differently in the lives of black families because of the unique history of racial oppression experienced by blacks in America. In fact, the particular forms that these characteristics take among black families should be viewed as adaptations necessary for survival and advancement in a hostile environment. We shall, therefore, identify these traits as black family strengths. Although many other strengths of black families can and should be identified, we shall restrict our analysis to the five cited above.

I. STRONG KINSHIP BONDS

According to the literature, low-income families usually have stronger kinship ties than middle-income families. Thus, kinship relations tend to be stronger among black than white families.[7] This can be sharply seen in the higher frequency to which black families take relatives into their households. In most cases, these additional relatives are likely to be children rather than adults.

Absorption of individuals: minors and the elderly

When we examine census data for families with no children of their own under 18 at home, we find that black families are much more likely than white families to take in other young related members.[8] In husband-wife families, only three percent of white families compared to 13 percent of black families took in relatives under 18. In families headed by a woman, the black families demonstrate an even greater tendency to absorb other related children. Forty-one percent of them, compared to only seven percent of similarly-situated white women, had relatives under eighteen living with them. But the families headed by elderly women take in the highest proportion (48 percent) of children. (See Table 1)

About the same proportion of black and white families have elderly persons living with them, except in families headed by a woman where a higher proportion of white (10 percent) than black (4 percent) families had elderly members. These elderly persons play important roles in many of these families, such as baby-sitting with grandchildren. These services often provide additional income to elderly persons. (See Table 2)

We have seen that black families are more likely than white families to take in additional children, while white families are just as likely as black families to have elderly members in their households. And elderly black women are more likely to take children into their own households than be taken into the household of younger kin. But what about the absorption of additional families rather than individuals?

Absorption of families

According to discussions in the literature, extended family relationships have historically been greater among blacks than whites. At the turn of the century, "doubling-up" was a common occurrence in many black families, particularly among new arrivals to urban areas.[9] Recent Census data relating to subfamilies suggest that a differential between blacks and whites still exists. But these data also indicate that subfamilies are present in a much smaller proportion (6 percent) of black families than is commonly believed. Moreover, the extended family pattern appears to be steadily declining among both black and white families. (See Table 3)

Informal adoption

Since formal adoption agencies have historically not catered to nonwhites, blacks have had to develop their own network for the informal adoption of children. This informal adoption network among black families has functioned to tighten kinship bonds, since many black women are reluctant to put their children up for adoption. When they are formally placed, black children are more likely than white children to be adopted by relatives.

While two thirds of the white babies born out-of-wedlock in 1968 were adopted or placed in foster homes or institutions a year later, only seven percent of the black babies born out-of-wedlock were formally adopted or placed. If we equate the increase in new families headed by a single female between 1968–1969 with the birth of these out-of-wedlock children, we can account for another one-fourth of the white babies, but only three percent of the black babies. This leaves 90 percent of the black babies and only seven percent of the white babies to be informally adopted or retained by already existing families. (See Table 4)

The fact that the proportion of new families headed by single women is so much

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higher for whites than for blacks suggests constraints on white women with out-of-wedlock children to form their own households if they wish to retain their children. One wonders how much increase in families headed by single white women would occur if only 7 percent of their out-of-wedlock children were adopted, as it is for blacks? (Similarly, one wonders how much decrease in informal adoption would occur among blacks if two-thirds of their out-of-wedlock babies were adopted, as it is for whites?)

We estimate that more than 160,000 out-of-wedlock black babies were absorbed in 1969 by already existing black families. This absorption helps to minimize the number of new black families headed by single women. This feat of self-help among black families is remarkable when one realizes their precarious economic position. In most cases, it is difficult enough for them to provide adequately for their own children without taking in additional ones. The bonds between relatives in black families must indeed be tight and the value placed upon children very high for such a rate of absorption of additional children to occur so regularly among these families.

These findings also strongly suggest that present placement policies and assumptions of most adoption agencies need to be radically overhauled. The disproportionate number of black children awaiting placement in these agencies is often attributed to the reluctance or "apathy" of blacks to adopt children, but this is not the case. Black families are already adopting children to the saturation point.

In fact, each year black families demonstrate their ability to "adopt" children with a placement rate more than ten times that of formal adoption agencies. (See Table 5) Moreover, data from recent studies suggest that black families are even formally adopting children at a greater rate than white families of comparable means.[10] Although we have focused on adoption of out-of-wedlock children, it should be noted that about two-fifths of all black children formally adopted are born "in-wedlock."

Placement regulations of formal adoption agencies would ordinarily prevent most of these families from formally adopting these children. They do not possess the "right" credentials—they are most often "fatherless," or "too poor" or "too disorganized." Since these families demonstrate a capacity to absorb these children each year, innovative placement procedures, such as income subsidies to poor families and placement in families headed by women, should be widely expanded.

It is important to note, however, that illegitimacy is no longer a "growing" problem among blacks. For the illegitimacy rates among blacks have been steadily declining, while the rates among whites have been steadily rising in recent years. The illegitimacy rate among whites increased from 9.2 to 13.2 between 1960 and 1968, while the rate among blacks declined from 98.3 to 86.6 over the same period.[11]

The tight kinship network within black families has proven itself to be an effective mechanism for providing extra emotional and economic support in the lives of thousands of children. These are black family strengths that are clearly in need of support through imaginative adoption policies.

II. STRONG WORK ORIENTATION

At the beginning of this paper, one of the family strengths listed by Otto was "the ability for self-help and the ability to accept help when appropriate." This strength is characteristic of most black families, for contrary to popular conception, black families place a strong emphasis on work and ambition. For example, the black poor still are more likely to work than the white poor: three-fifths of the black poor work, compared to about half of the white poor. (See Table 6.)

Despite this perseverance, the economic situation of blacks is still a national tragedy: the median family income of blacks is less than two-thirds that of whites; blacks are three times as likely as whites to be poor, and black unemployment rates remain at recession levels, even during periods of "prosperity." [12]

Because families headed by women comprise the majority of families receiving public assistance, it is commonly believed that dependency is characteristic of most of these families. But this is not the case. Recent census data indicate that two-thirds of the women heading black families *work* (most of them full time), although over 60 percent of them are poor. (See Table 7.) About half of these families receive welfare assistance, thus a majority of them are not completely dependent on welfare. (See Table 8.)

Attitudes toward work

Some observers, like Dizard, suggest that blacks are not positively oriented towards work, but are alienated from it. But a number of research findings contradict this notion. In their study of the meanings of work among black and white males, Tausky and Wilson asserted:

"The data reported in this study clearly do not support the alienated type that Dizard has outlined. In fact, only a very small minority of black workers have renounced the widely accepted values of work held in this society. Work estrangement among all status levels is rare indeed and little or no difference exists between the samples of white and black workers. The similarities of work norms between the two groups are exemplified by the fact that 90 percent of the black workers and 91 percent of the white workers indicated that, if out of work, they would rather take a job as a car washer than go on welfare even if the pay for the two sources of income were the same." [13]

The authors also reported that white and black workers were strikingly similar in their desire for work that carries social prestige. An overwhelming majority of both groups want work that is at least respected by the people they know. These results were reinforced by findings from a study of stable working class and middle-class black and white men by Kahl and Goering. That study found a high degree of similarity between blacks and whites on job aspirations and satisfactions, feelings of personal security in employment, as well as certain other work-related attitudes.

Much of the controversy over income assistance plans has resulted from the belief of many national policy-makers that the poor and near-poor do not want to work and, therefore, must be coerced. That is why proposals about work incentive and mandatory work requirements have been included in most family assistance plans. Yet, almost every systematic investigation of work attitudes of low-income persons indicates that mandatory work regulations are not needed to motivate lower status persons to work. Data from current OEO income maintenance experiments confirm the existence of a strong work orientation among low-income families.[14]

The OEO experiments are being conducted in several cities in New Jersey and one in Pennsylvania to determine the extent to which work disincentives are precipitated by income assistance programs. Many opponents of these programs argued that a significant decline in work activity would occur once these families began receiving supplemental income.

But preliminary findings based on the first eighteen months experience in three cities (Trenton, Paterson and Passaic) and the first twelve months experiecne in two cities (Jersey City and Scranton) failed to show a significant decline in weekly family earnings as a result of the income assistance program.

About 31 percent of the experimental families and 36 percent of the control families (those of the same kind not getting assistance) showed earnings increases of more than $25 a week during the first year. Also, about 25 percent of income recipients showed earnings declines of more than $25 compared to 23 percent of those families not receiving assistance.

Double earners

The husband-wife families have been consistently described as the most stable and prosperous of black families. A major source of this strength and "prosperity" is the presence of a working wife in the majority of these families. About two-thirds of the wives in black families work, compared to only half of the wives in white families. (See Table 9.)

Since black families have a disproportionate number of working wives, it is misleading to compare—as the Census Bureau recently did—the median incomes of husband-wife families of blacks and whites without taking into account the presence of multiple earners. Such comparisons may, in fact, create an illusion of black families closing income gaps that still remain.[15]

This concern is reinforced by recent census data which indicate that two-earner black families, on the average, still have lower incomes than one-earner white families. The median income of black families with two earners in 1969 was $7,782, compared to a median income of $8,450 for white families with only one earner. This is not to say that black two-parent families have not made some gains. But an assessment of the impact of multiple earners is essential for distinguishing apparent gains from substantive ones.

Because the wife is likely to be working in most black families, the fiction that her earnings are often greater than those of her husband has somehow gained widespread currency. This view, which is one of the pillars in the equally widespread belief about "female-dominance" in black families, is even expounded by some of the more perceptive observers such as Ulf Hannerz:

According to the mainstream model the wife tends to depend on her husband as a provider and he is the family's anchor in the wider society. However, as we noted . . . a rather large number of women in the ghetto are employed, while many of the men are not. This does not mean that more women than men have employment, but in comparison with the wider American society, the job distribution of the ghetto involves relatively more women and fewer men. Thus the contribution to the family of the husband and father as a breadwinner is not only absolutely smaller than it ought to be according to the mainstream model. It is also relatively smaller compared to the contribution of the wife and mother.[16]

Aldous' statements on this matter, however, are more explicit:

Both camps are in agreement, however, that the abdication of the Negro male from family responsibilities slows progress toward integration . . .

Given the strong matriarchal tradition within the Negro family and the fact that women can earn much the same amount as lower class husbands, the latter have difficulty solidifying their family position with its attendant rights and responsibilities. The wife's working outside the home may result in the male's occupying a peripheral family position and abdicating his responsibilities.[17]

The fact is that wives in poor black families contribute less to the total family income than do wives in non-poor black families because they are much less likely to be employed. While ninety percent of the hus-

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bands in all black families work, two-thirds of the wives also work. But although 70 percent of the husbands in poor black families work, only 44 percent of the wives work. Thus it is apparent that a working wife is a primary factor in keeping many black families out of poverty. (See Table 9)

Despite the frequent assertions about their greater job stability, black women are more likely than black men to be unemployed.[18] Earnings data tell a similar story: just as the earnings of white women are significantly lower than the earnings of white men (even within similar occupational groupings), the earnings of black women are significantly *lower* than the earnings of black men.[19]

Recent data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics also reveal that in over half of the black families in which wives worked, they contributed less than *one-third* of family income. And in only 13 percent of these families was the earnings of the wives equal to or greater than their husband's. Therefore, in about 90 percent of the black families with working wives, the earnings of the husband exceeded that of the wife. (See Table 10)

Contrary to popular belief, the earnings of wives in low-income black families similarly constitute a small proportion of the total family income. In only fifteen percent of the black families with incomes under $3,000 did the wife's earnings equal or exceed the husband's. In fact, in almost half of these families the wife's earnings comprised less than *one-fifth* of the total family income. Thus, in 85 percent of these low-income families, the husband's earnings surpassed the wife's.

Interestingly, however, the data in Table 10 also reveal that wives' earnings are more likely to equal husbands' earnings in low-income white families than in low-income black families. Although the wife's earnings in only fifteen percent of the low-income black families equalled or exceeded the husband's, the wife's earnings equalled or exceeded the husband's earnings in one-fourth of the low-income white families! If this can be used as an indicator of "female dominance," then low-income white families can be said to be more "matriarchal" than low-income black families. But our main findings are that the husbands' earnings greatly exceed the wives' in most black and white families.

Although blacks are twice as likely as whites to be unemployed, studies of employment histories in black communities reveal a high degree of job stability among the majority of black men. In a recent study of black and white male workers, for example, Kahl and Goering found that almost 80 percent of the blacks compared to 60 percent of the whites had held their current jobs for at least three years. And almost one-half of the blacks but only a third of the whites had held their jobs for ten years or more![20]

Contrary to the stereotypes of "irresponsible," "peripheral" and "chronically unemployed" that abound in the literature, the husband is the main provider in the overwhelming majority of black families, both poor and non-poor.[21]

It is sometimes asserted that the "greater" earnings ability of the black woman over the black man is due to her higher level of education. Although the median years of schooling for black women (10.4) is still somewhat higher than it is for black men (10.0), their educational levels have been sharply converging in recent years. More importantly, however, the historically lower occupations held by black women due to sex discrimination, alone, more than undermined any "superiority" in the earnings sphere they might have held over black men because of a slightly higher educational level.[22]

In sum, the data presented above indicate that a strong work orientation exists among blacks, as it does among most Americans. And, self-help is the characteristic pattern of most black families. They do not have to be coerced to work; the only work incentive needed in a decent job at decent wages. In the majority of black families, wives provide needed additional economic, as well as emotional, support. Although their earnings fall far below their husbands', the additional income contributed by the wives is essential for the survival and stability of many of these families. And, in the overwhelming majority of black families, whether poor or not, the husband assumes the primary responsibility of breadwinner.

III. ADAPTABILITY OF FAMILY ROLES

In discussing another family strength, the ability to perform family roles flexibly, Otto observed:

"It is a strength when family members can 'fill in' and assume each other's roles as needed. For example, a father can function as a 'mother' and children can temporarily be 'parents' to their father and mother." [23]

Such flexibility of family roles exists in many black families and is a source of strength and stability. Much of this role flexibility probably developed in response to economic necessities. Because of the high proportion of working wives in black families, it is common for older siblings to act as "parents" of younger siblings. Moreover, many black youngsters have to enter the labor market early to supplement the family income. In many two-parent black families, especially those with working wives, occasions often arise that require the wife to act as the "father" or the husband as the "mother." Such role flexibility helps to stabilize the family in the event of an unanticipated separation (because of death, divorce, separation or a sustained illness) of the husband, wife, or other key family members, for example. In most black families, there is much sharing of decisions and tasks.[24]

Equalitarian family patterns

Although the literature is replete with references to a "matriarchal tradition" among black families, most empirical data suggest that an "equalitarian" pattern is characteristic of most black families. Interestingly, supporting data for an equalitarian pattern among black families can be found in the one empirical investigation cited by Moynihan to support his thesis of a pervasive black matriarchy.[25]

That study by Blood and Wolfe concluded that "female dominance" was the representative pattern of most two-parent black families. But examination of that work reveals that the data were misinterpreted. This can be seen in the authors' scoring of their "power" scale: scores below 4 indicated "wife dominance," scores from 4 through 6 indicated an "equalitarian" family in which both partners shared power, and scores over 6 indicated "husband dominance." But the average power score for white families was 5.2, while the average power score for black families was 4.4. Consequently, *both* black and white families, on the average, reported equalitarian patterns. Although it is true that the average score for black families was *skewed* toward "wife dominance," the fact remains that the characteristic pattern for the *average* two-parent black family was equalitarian.

Data from a recent analysis by Hyman and Reed also suggest that an equalitarian (rather than a "matriarchal") pattern is the modal pattern for most black two-parent families.[26] In a secondary analysis of national survey data, they found virtually no differences between the responses about family decision-making among blacks and whites. For example, in response to a question about who makes the important family decisions, among blacks, 28 percent said it was the father, compared to only 14 percent who said it was the mother. Similar results were obtained for whites: 23 percent said it was the father, while 13 percent said it was the mother. The fact that a majority of blacks and whites failed to choose either parent suggests that "both" was a more common response; thus an equalitarian family pattern is implied.

Similar findings resulted when a national sample of married Americans were asked who made the important decisions in their families. Among blacks, nine percent said it was the husband, while ten percent said it was the wife. Among whites, six percent said it was the husband and seven percent said it was the wife. Again, an equalitarian pattern is suggested since over 80 percent of both black and white couples did not choose either of the two alternatives.[27]

A study of family decision-making by Middleton and Putney also found the equalitarian pattern to be characteristic among both blacks and whites:

"Thus we find no evidence that whites and Negroes, professors and skilled workers, differ as to which spouse dominates in the making of daily decisions. Contrary to the literature, our data suggest that all these groups are predominantly equalitarian." [28]

Further empirical support for an equalitarian pattern among low-income black families in particular comes from another study purporting to support the Moynihan thesis. This study by Joan Aldous, based on a sample of lower-class married black and white men, examined the extent to which these men reported that they and their wives participated in family decision-making and performing household tasks.[29] The investigator was interested in observing the differential participation of men with employed and unemployed wives.

The mean scores for the performance of ten household tasks (as reported by the husbands) are listed in Table 11. These data indicate that, in general, there is a great degree of similarity between lower-class white and black husbands in their performance of household tasks. Both groups of men, for example, indicate that they—and not their wives—most often borrow money, take clothes to the laundry and discipline children. Black men tend to take out garbage more often than white men, while white men tend to shop for groceries somewhat more often than black men.

The implications of these findings for family patterns can be more easily interpreted by collapsing the data in the format indicated in Table 12. It becomes immediately evident that in the majority of lower-class black families an equalitarian pattern predominates, whether the wife is working or not. But among lower-class white families, an equalitarian pattern is characteristic of those families with unemployed wives, while a "matriarchal" pattern seems to be most prevalent among those white families with working wives. Thus the employed wives in the white families in this study received the least assistance from their husbands.[30]

In their study of a representative community sample of married black males, Parker and Kleiner were somewhat surprised to find no significant psychological discrepancies between the men's reports about the "ideal" and "actual" decision-making and task performances patterns in their families.[31] Contrary to the authors expectations, over 80 percent of the men reported that they "almost always" or "usually" (a) make the decisions in money and other important family matters; (b) share the responsibility of financially supporting the household with their wives; (c) share the responsibility of training their children; and (d) talk to their wives about things that bother them.

The men's self-reports certainly do not fit the literature's stereotypes of peripheral," "weak" and "hen-pecked" husbands. It is

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imperative as Ladner notes, to distinguish between "dominant" and "strong" wives. She asserts that although most black wives are strong, they are not domineering. It is the constant confusion of strength with dominance that helps to perpetuate the matriarch image among black families.

In sum, the available data suggest that the "typical" family pattern among black families is equalitarian and not "matriarchal." Moreover, the husbands in most black families are actively involved in decisionmaking and the performance of household tasks that are expected of them. And most wives, while strong are not dominant matriarchs, but share with their husbands the making of family decisions—even in the low-income black families.[32]

One-parent families

The higher proportion of families headed by women among blacks is taken as an indicator of disorganization and instability. But it need not be so. The self-reliance of black women who are the primary bread-winners of their families best exemplifies this adaptability of family roles. The low remarriage rates among these women can partly be explained by the greater self-confidence they have in being able to function as the head of the family. (See Table 16) Because of many stabilizing factors in families that are headed by women, there is no need to assume a "pathological" functioning to these families. As Merton observes, many forms of deviation may, in fact, be normal, healthy responses to particular social environments:

Our primary aim is to discover how some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in non-conforming rather than conforming conduct. If we can locate groups peculiarly subject to such pressures, we should expect the fairly high rates of deviant behavior in these groups, not because the human beings comprising them are compounded of destructive biological tendencies, but because they are responding normally to the social situation in which they find themselves . . . Should our quest be at all successful, some forms of deviant behavior will be found to be as psychologically normal as conformist behavior, and the equation of deviation and psychological abnormality will be put in question.[33]

Although greater attention is generally given to the "pathology" of families headed by women by scholars, several investigators have obtained results that reveal a wide range of functioning patterns in many of these families. In his study of child-rearing practices among low-income families, Lewis observed:

"The materials and analysis of the Child Rearing Study point to wide variety in the styles of individuals and families. They show that all low-income people are not lower class in orientations to life and in showing the preferences conventionally ascribed to this category . . . Our field experience in Washington suggests that it is highly questionable that all or even a substantial majority of the low-income (lower-class) 'female-based' households among Negroes are responsive to and supporters of a destructively organized or integrated way of life." [34]

It should not be inferred from our discussion of the adaptability of one-parent families that this family form is a preferred pattern among blacks or that it has no problems functioning. On the contrary, for this role, as Herzog so aptly describes it, is a very difficult one:

"Few would deny that it is a difficult and demanding role. For many, it is a dual role, as homemaker-child-rearer and as breadwinner. By definition, it is a role that must be enacted without the psychological and physical support of a parent partner to help with household responsibilities, family decisions, and all that child rearing involves. For many, it includes reduction in income, social status and social activities, posing a struggle against resentment, isolation and self-doubt." [35]

Our aim is to underscore the importance of systematically assessing the functioning patterns of different kinds of families instead of prejudging their adequacy on the basis of moral judgments. In other words, because two-parent families are preferred in American society over one-parent families is no justification for assuming that all two-parent families function "positively." In fact, investigations have found many two-parent families that exhibit "pathological" tendencies.[36]

It is commonly believed that the negative impact of one-parent families, especially on male children, is a demonstrated fact. But, as a careful review of the literature on boys in fatherless families by Herzog and Sudia reveals, the data supporting this belief are far from conclusive.[37] Because of sharp differences and deficiencies in the research design of many of these investigations, the conclusions reached are often contradictory, tenuous, and of dubious relevance to black youth in American ghettos.

For example, one of the most frequently cited studies purporting to show the adverse effects of father absence is a study of Norwegian, not American, families. And the fathers in those families studied were sailors whose absences were not permanent, but were temporary and recurrent. (This investigation was carefully replicated in a study of Italian families that emerged with contradictory findings.) Since, as Herzog and Sudia point out, much of the research on boys in fatherless families has involved father absences that are sanctioned or honorable, the effect of father absences which are morally disapproved (such as desertion or divorce) remains to be systematically examined. The methodological weaknesses (and strengths) of most of this literature is discussed in detail by Herzog and Sudia. One weakness, the lack of comparison between the functioning patterns of two-parent and one-parent families, was central to almost all of these investigations.[38]

Aug and Bright tried to overcome this shortcoming in an interesting investigation of illegitimacy.[39] They attempted to test whether one-parent families with out-of-wedlock children were more "pathological" than two-parent families with "in-wedlock" children. Extensive interviews were conducted with groups of young married and unwed mothers, consisting largely of Appalachian whites and blacks from the Bluegrass region of Kentucky.

They found a high degree of normal psychosocial development in those families with out-of-wedlock children that had the support of other family members and relatives. Such families functioned as adequately as, or better than, many two-parent families with "in-wedlock" children. However, in those "out-of-wedlock families" (especially the white ones) where additional support from family members or relatives was not forthcoming, the functioning was seriously impaired. Thus, Aug and Bright concluded:

"Most works on illegitimacy have ignored legitimate pregnancy in similar groups of people . . . If the unwed mothers are selected from a population which has a high baseline of psychopathology, one could easily get a distorted view of the "problems" of these people . . . A control group, however, might well show that many of the problems seen are widely distributed through the subculture, so that they are coincidental to, rather than directly related to, illegitimacy. In the data which we have presented, it is seen that the "problem" of disturbed interpersonal relationships is well-represented in both wed and unwed groups. It therefore seems that it would be wise to take a broad look at the entire sub-culture if one is to assess the import of illegitimacy as a "problem" or as a symptom of "problems" for a particular group." [40]

The results of investigations by Banglow and others also revealed that, out-of-wedlock pregnancy, far from being the beginning of a downhill spiral, may be an important factor leading to increased depth of understanding between the unwed mother and her family of origin. The extent of support or rejection by family members and relatives was a crucial factor in the functioning of these parents. The study by Aug and Bright indicated that support from the extended family was more likely to be found among blacks than whites in families with out-of-wedlock children. These results reinforce our findings on the strong kinships bonds among black families.[41]

Although there is much discussion about the "pathological" or "disorganized" functioning of families, it is surprising to find that very little work has been done in operationalizing the concept of "family functioning" to apply to the family as a system. This is true of two-parent as well as one-parent families. The typical approach has been, in examining the effects of one-parent families, to make inferences about negative functioning on the basis of the extent of deviant attitudes or behavior exhibited by particular children.

In one of those rare approaches, Geismar and Ayres developed the St. Paul Scale of Family Functioning.[42] This scale was specifically designed to assess the adequacy of family functioning of low-income families in nine major categories: household practices, health conditions, economic practices, social activities, community resources, worker relationships, family relationships, individual behavior and child care.

The scale was used on a random sample of black, white and Puerto-Rican families as part of the Rutgers Family Life Improvement Project, a longitudinal study of the social functioning of some 500 urban families.[43] After comparing the functioning levels of the different ethnic groups, holding class constant, Geismar and Gerhart reported no statistically significant differences between the functioning of black and white families.

Desertion

In most discussions of black families headed by women, references to "deserting" husbands are invariably made to partly account for the separation. The view most often expressed is that because black men are unable to adequately provide for their families, they often desert so that the family can qualify for welfare.[44]

It is interesting to note that this desertion thesis is quite popular, despite the almost complete absence of data on desertions to support it. Although some studies have obtained court data which suggest that the probability of desertion is greater among blacks than whites, data on desertion rates are rarely presented to account for the origin of fatherless families.[45] Uninformed inferences about deserting husbands are based primarily on the Census Bureau's marital status category of "separation"—since the Bureau collects no data on desertion rates.

The most readily available nationwide data on desertions are compiled by the National Center for Social Statistics in connection with their national study of AFDC families. As the data in Table 13 reveal, in only one-fifth of the black AFDC families was the status of the father characterized as "deserted." [46]

When the father-present families are excluded, as indicated in Table 14, the total of the proportions of "separated" and "deserted" black AFDC families is 41 percent. Thus, the deserted families account for only one-half of the families that would be classified as "separated" or "other" in Census Bureau

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marital status categories. Comparisons between the marital statuses of black AFDC and all black families reveal marked differences. They suggest that since the majority of "separated" AFDC families are not classified as "deserted," the majority of separated families headed by women in general should not be similarly classified without empirical verification.

Suicide rates

In most discussions of the pathology of black families, a significant indicator of alienation suicide rates is rarely mentioned. Why is this so? It is that the rates are in the "wrong" direction? Since suicide rates are much higher among whites than blacks, they fail to fit conveniently the theories of self-hatred and pathology that social scientists have generated about blacks.

It is particularly interesting to note that the suicide rates are lowest among black women, a group that continually experiences adversity. Black women have a suicide rate of 2.4 compared to a suicide rate of 6.3 among white women. And the rate for black males is 7.3, compared to the rate of 16.9 for white males. (See Table 15)

The lower susceptibility to suicide among blacks—a possible indicator of stability—is an intriguing area for further analysis.

In this section, we have discussed various forms of adaptation in two-parent and one-parent black families. We have tried to delineate various sources of stability in both kinds of families. There is a need to systematically examine the relative strengths and weaknesses of black and white families of both types.

IV. HIGH ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION

One of the unheralded strengths of blacks is the strong achievement orientation of low-income black families. This aspect has been analyzed as mainly leading to frustration or otherwise held as unimportant or overlooked because of methodological biases.

Many of the studies in the literature fail to note the broad range of values and lifestyles among persons within similar socioeconomic levels and the great similarity of values between persons at different socioeconomic levels. This failure is due primarily to methodological biases of many social scientists: (1) the practice of focusing on proportions rather than absolute numbers and (2) focusing on unrepresentative rather than representative proportions. Merton took note of this methodological bias in his critique of Hyman's essay, "The Value Systems of Different Classes":

"But what Hyman fails to note, in his otherwise instructive and useful collation of the evidence, is that . . . it is *not* the *relative proportions* of the several social classes adopting the cultural goal of success that matter, but their *absolute numbers*. To say that a larger *percentage* of the upper social and economic strata hold fast to the cultural goal of success is not to say that larger numbers of them than of the lower class people do so. Indeed, since the number of people in the topmost stratum identified in these studies is substantially smaller than the number in the lowest stratum, it is sometimes the case that more lower-class than upper-class people abide by this goal." [47]

This point was reaffirmed by Merton in another discussion on a related topic:

"It has been repeatedly found that the upper social and educational strata have a relatively higher proportion of 'geniuses' or 'talents.' But since the numbers in these strata are small, the great bulk of geniuses or talents actualy come from lower social strata. From the standpoint of the society, of course, it is the absolute numbers and not the proportion coming from any given social stratum which matters." [48]

Footnotes at end of article.

This oversight applies to many studies that have found the achievement goals and values of the middle-class to be significantly higher than those of the working-class or lower-class.

Although Merton stressed the importance of examining absolute numbers as well as proportions, there is also a need for more social scientists to focus on representative rather than unrepresentative proportions when they generalize about "typical" class or group patterns. Quite often an investigator will focus on the significance of the difference between two unrepresentative proportions and interpret these minority proportions as representing the majority of a group or class stratum. For example, in most discussions about black families, greatest attention is usually given to the significance of the differences between the proportion of female-headed families among whites (9 percent) and the proportion among blacks (28 percent). Most generalizations about the "typical" black family as matriarchal have been based on the differences between these two unrepresentative minority proportions. The fact that husband-wife families represent the overwhelming majority of black families (since it is prevalent in over 70 percent of black families) has usually not deterred many references to a "matriarchy" as being the "typical" pattern of black families.[49]

Johnson and Leslie noted this methodological shortcoming in a review of the research on class differences in child-rearing practices:

"The understandable tendency of many researchers in this area to stress statistically significant class difference after having generally reported the overall similarities seemingly has aided in the development of what may be unwarranted class images. We contend that this results not only from over-reliance on statistical differences without representative proportions, but from the uncritical use in secondary sources of these more interesting differences to the relative exclusion of overall similarities and the researcher's qualifying statements . . .

"The uncritical acceptance by social scientists of current conceptions of class-linked child-rearing patterns may restrict and render sterile future studies of the variations that should exist in a complex society." [50]

Johnson and Leslie's observations about the tendency of social scientists to create unwarranted class images cannot be overemphasized because of the common practice of equating class correlates, such as income, education, or occupation, with class styles of life or values. This is most likely to occur when an investigator forgets that income is only a *correlate* of class life-styles or values and treats it as if it were synonymous with the concept. He really believes that all "middle-income" persons are "middle-class" and all "low-income" persons are "lower-class," and fails to realize that many low-income persons have "middle-class" values and life-styles, while many middle-income persons have "lower-class" values and life-styles. The belief in the homogeneity of life-styles and values of persons occupying similar socio-economic levels, which is so prevalent in the literature on social class, results partly from this merger of class life styles with their operational indicators.[51]

Our observations apply, of course, to much of the discussion about class differentials in academic orientation. It has been amply documented in the literature that the college aspirations and plans of middle-income students tend to be higher than those of low-income students. It is often forgotten that although a higher *proportion* of middle-income than low-income students have college aspirations, the *majority* of low-income students (and their parents) have college aspirations. Moreover, since blacks from low status families tend to outnumber those in middle status families, the number of black students attending college from low-income families often equals or surpasses the number attending college from middle-income families. For example, an official of Howard University, a black university with an elitist reputation, recently reported that only 19 percent of its students come from homes where at least one parent attended college, more than half come from broken homes, and about 80 percent require some financial support to remain in school.

The remarkable educational advances of large numbers of blacks from deprived backgrounds are also reflected in a recent nationwide survey of college freshmen conducted by the American Council on Education. According to that survey, more than half of the freshmen entering predominantly black institutions come from homes in which the father had not even completed high school, and 80 percent of them come from homes in which the father had not gone to college.[52] Thus, contrary to popular belief, the overwhelming majority of black college students do not come from so-called "middle-class" homes with college-educated parents.

Recent census data on educational attainment provide additional support on the educational achievement of black youth from low status families. According to the October 1970 Current Population Survey, three-fourths of the blacks enrolled in college come from homes in which the family heads had no college education. (See Table 17.)

In trying to trace the source of the higher educational aspirations among the working-class blacks, Hindelang asked the students to indicate how far they thought their parents wanted them to go to school. While 64 percent of the white students said that their parents wanted them to finish college, a significantly higher proportion (80 percent) of the black students said that their parents wanted them to finish college.[54]

The strong achievement pressures from parents in lower status black families were revealed in several other studies as well. In an investigation of the influences on college attendance, Harris found that among higher status students, a higher percentage of white than black students reported being influenced by their parents.[55] But among lower status students, the proportion reporting that their parents influenced their college atendance was higher among blacks than whites. Moreover, although parental influence increased with status among whites, there was almost no difference in the extent of parental influence reported between higher status and lower status blacks of the same sex. About 75 percent of the black males and about 90 percent of the black women—regardless of status—indicated that their college attendance was influenced by their parents. (See Table 18.)

In a large-scale study of about 6,000 students attending high schools in the Deep South, Cosby found that lower status blacks had higher occupational aspirations than lower status whites, while higher status whites had higher aspirations than higher status blacks.[56] Findings from this study also suggest the presence of strong achievement pressures on black students in broken families. For the occupational aspirations of black students from lower status broken homes were as high, if not somewhat higher, than the occupational aspirations of black students coming from lower status intact homes. More importantly, the occupational aspirations of blacks from lower status *broken* families were significantly higher than the aspirations of whites from lower status *intact* families. (See Table 19.)

According to data on college students compiled by the American Council on Education, black students had lower dropout rates, in general, than had been estimated.[57] And, the

dropout rates of white males in white colleges were higher than the dropout rates for black males in white colleges, but equalled the dropout rates for black males in black colleges. Among women students, however, although the dropout rates for white women in white colleges equalled the rates for black women in black colleges, the dropout rates of black women at white colleges were significantly higher than the rates for the other group. (See Table 20)

Our findings indicate that an achievement orientation already exists in many low-income black families. These strengths need to be built upon by truly making education the avenue for success which the "American Dream" says it ought to be.[58]

V. RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION

A strength of black families that has been widely discussed, but less frequently empirically documented, is their strong religious orientation.[59]

Blacks have been adept at using religion as a mechanism for survival and advancement throughout their history in America. During slavery, religion served as a stimulant for hundreds of rebellions that took place. It was also a major source of strength during the civil rights movement of the '50's and the '60's.[60]

But it was through the Negro church, one of the most independent institutions in the black community, that blacks learned to use religion as a survival mechanism. Black ministers frequently used their sermons to transmit coded messages to the congregation. Negro spiritual were often used for similar purposes, particularly in assisting runaway slaves.[61]

One advocate of the black church expressed its historic role as follows:

"In both the Negro and white community, the Negro church has often been made a joke, but the fact is that it's the most organized thing in the Negro's life. Whatever you want to do in the Negro community, whether it's selling Easter Seals or organizing a nonviolent campaign, you've got to do it through the Negro church, or it doesn't get done.

"There's no way to tell what would have happened to the Negro if he had not had the church. I'll say flatly that if there had been no Negro church, there would have been no civil rights movement today." [62]

According to a national survey conducted by Louis Harris, over 60 percent of the blacks felt that the black church and ministers were helping the cause of blacks somewhat or a lot. Seventeen percent felt, however, that the black church was only helping a little or not at all, while the remaining one-fifth was uncertain.[63]

Although these findings indicate that a majority of blacks hold positive views about the black church, they also suggest much ambivalence or outright hostility on the part of a sizable minority. This rejection of the black church is most evident among black youth today. They are disillusioned by the fact that the overwhelming majority of black churches have only a peripheral involvement in the secular and economic needs of the black community.[64]

Consequently, many grassroot organizations are assuming functions formerly performed by the black church. At the same time, churches with activist ministers are increasingly taking on secular activities, and collaborating with local community action organizations of varying ideologies.

The achievements of the Reverend Leon Sullivan, who was recently elected to General Motors' Board of Directors, may be a harbinger of the kind of adaptations that the contemporary black church must make if it is to remain in the vanguard of the black struggle.[65]

It was on the basis of the effective three-year boycott (1959–62) against Philadelphia merchants by Reverend Sullivan with the assistance of 400 ministers that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. decided to form Operation Breadbasket as the economic arm of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Moreover, the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), one of the first community-sponsored job training programs, grew out of the small contributions of Sullivan's parishioners. Today O.I.C. Centers have spread out to a hundred cities throughout the nation as well as to the Dominican Republic and Nigeria. During the seven years of its existence, about 65,000 minority persons are said to have been trained for jobs of varying degrees of sophistication.

Fortunately, increasing numbers of young ministers, like the Reverend Jesse Jackson, are also expounding the social gospel of Dr. King and Reverend Sullivan and influencing the lives of thousands of blacks.[66]

VI. SUMMARY

Most discussions of black families in current literature tend to focus on indicators of instability and weakness. With the exception of a few scholars, most social scientists continue to portray black families as disorganized, pathological and disintegrating.

This preoccupation with pathology in most research on black families has obscured some fruitful avenues of investigation. We contend that examining the strengths of black families can contribute at least as much towards understanding and ameliorating some social problems as examining their weaknesses.

If, as most scholars agree, there is a need to strengthen black families, then a first-order priority should be the identification of presently existing strengths and resources. The National Urban League recognized this need three years ago when it issued a position statement on black families based on the work of Dr. Andrew Billingsley.

This report identifies and analyzes five strengths of black families: adaptability of family roles, strong kinship bonds, strong work orientation, strong religious orientation and strong achievement orientation. These five characteristics have been functional for the survival, advancement and stablity of black families. Some of the major findings from this report are as follows:

(1) Contrary to the widespread belief in a "matriarchy" among blacks, our findings reveal that most black families, whether low-income or not, are characterized by an "Equalitarian" pattern in which neither spouse dominates, but share decision-making and the performance of expected tasks.

(2) National earnings data do not support the popular conception that wives' earnings in most low-income black families are often greater than the husbands'. Recent Bureau of Labor Statistics data indicate that in 85 percent of the black families with incomes under $3,000, the husband's earnings surpassed the wife's. Thus, contrary to the stereotypes of black men as "weak," "irresponsible," and "peripheral," the husband is the main provider in the overwhelming majority of black families, whether low-income or not.

(3) Most black babies born out-of-wedlock are kept by parent and relatives, while most white babies born out-of-wedlock are given away. In 1969, about 90 percent of the black babies born out-of-wedlock, compared to only 7 percent of the white babies born out-of-wedlock, were kept by the parent and kin in existing families. On the other hand, 67 percent of the out-of-wedlock white babies, but only 7 percent of the out-of-wedlock black babies were formally adopted or placed.

(4) Contrary to the belief that dependency is characteristic of most families headed by women, recent Census Bureau data indicate that two-thirds of the women heading black families work—most of them full-time.

(5) Our study found that most assertions about widespread desertion in black families are not based on actual desertion rates. In fact, recent HEW data reveal that not even the majority of AFDC families can be characterized as "deserted:" only one-fifth of the black families receiving AFDC in 1969 were so described.

(6) The high achievement orientation of low-income black families is reflected in the large numbers of college students from these families that attend college. For example, three-fourths of the blacks enrolled in college in 1970 came from homes in which the family heads had no college education. Thus the overwhelming majority of black college students do not come from so-called "middle-class" homes with college-educated parents.

TABLE 1.—PERCENT OF RELATED MEMBERS UNDER 18 IN FAMILIES WITH NO CHILDREN OF OWN UNDER 18, BY RACE, AGE OF HEAD AND TYPE OF FAMILY, MARCH 1970

Type of family and age of head	Percent with members under 18	
	Black	White
Husband-wife families:		
All families	13	3
Head under 35	2	3
Head 35 to 44	7	2
Head 45 to 64	16	3
Head 65 and over	14	3
Families with female heads:		
All families	41	7
Head under 35	[1] 24	[1] 17
Head 35 to 44	[1] 42	10
Head 45 to 64	40	13
Head 65 and over	48	10

[1] Base under 75,000.

Source: Prepared by National Urban League Research Department from data in U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, current population reports, population characteristics, Household and Family Characteristics, March 1970, Series P–20, No. 218, Mar. 23, 1971, tables 3 and 4.

TABLE 2.—NUMBER AND PERCENT OF RELATIVES OVER 64 IN FAMILIES WITH HEADS UNDER 65, 1970

Type of family and age of head	Black		White	
	Number (thousands)	Percent	Number (thousands)	Percent
Husband-wife families:				
Heads under 65	2,923	100	35,530	100
Members over 64	117	4	1,233	3
Heads 45 to 64	1,194	100	15,286	100
Members over 64	91	8	951	6
Families with female head:				
Heads under 65	1,194	100	3,234	100
Members over 64	48	4	328	10
Heads 45 to 64	401	100	1,614	100
Members over 64	42	10	266	16

Source: Prepared by National Urban League Research Department from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, "Household and Family Characteristics: March 1970," Series P–20, Number 218, Mar. 23, 1971, tables 3 and 4.

TABLE 3.—SUBFAMILIES AS PERCENT OF ALL FAMILIES BY RACE, 1960–70

[Numbers in thousands]

Race of head	1960	1970
Black families [1]	4,262	4,774
Subfamilies	317	268
Percent of total	7	6
White families	40,887	46,022
Subfamilies	1,111	866
Percent of total	3	2

[1] 1960 figures for blacks include other nonwhite.

Source: Prepared by National Urban League Research Department from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census: U.S. Census of Population: 1960, "Families," PC(2)–4A, tables 19 and 22; and Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, "Household and Family Characteristics: March 1970," Mar. 23 1971, tables 11 and 12.

Footnotes at end of article.

TABLE 4.—IMPUTED EFFECT OF OUT-OF-WEDLOCK BIRTHS ON FAMILY FORMATION, BY COLOR, 1968-69

[Numbers in thousands]

Disposition of children	Black [1]		White	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Out-of-wedlock births (1968)	184	100	155	100
Formally adopted (1969)	12	7	97	62
Foster care or institutionalized [2]	1	(3)	7	5
Retained in new family [4]	5	3	40	26
Informally adopted or retained in existing families [5]	164	90	11	7

[1] The racial statistics on illegitimate births, adoption, and foster care apply to nonwhites and not only to blacks.

[2] These numbers were obtained by multiplying the increase (8,000) in the number of children in foster care or institutions between 1961 and 1969 by the proportion (12 percent) of nonwhite children estimated by the Children's Bureau to be in homes for dependent or neglected children.

[3] Less than 0.5 percent.

[4] These numbers represent the increase in families with a single woman as the head between 1968 and 1969. For the purposes of this presentation, it is assumed that each of these new families resulted from the birth of an out-of-wedlock child in 1968.

[5] By "informal adoption," we include both (1) the retention of out-of-wedlock children by mothers in already-existing families, and (2) the absorption of out-of-wedlock children by such relatives as grandmothers and aunts or by nonrelatives.

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in U.S. National Center for Social Statistics, "Adoptions in 1969: Supplement to Child Welfare Statistics, 1969"; U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, "Vital Statistics of the U.S.: 1968, Volume I—Natality"; U.S. Children's Bureau, "America's Children and Youth in Institutions 1950–1960–1964"; U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, "Selected Characteristics of Persons and Families: March 1970," series P-20, No. 204, July 13, 1970.

TABLE 5.—PROPORTION OF OUT-OF-WEDLOCK CHILDREN ADOPTED WITHIN 1 YEAR AFTER BIRTH BY RACE AND YEAR OF BIRTH, 1963-69

[Numbers in thousands]

Year of birth of out-of-wedlock children	Black [1]			White		
	Number out-of-wedlock births	Number adopted within 1 year	Percent adopted	Number out-of-wedlock births	Number adopted within 1 year	Percent adopted
1962	150.4	7.5	5	94.7	62.6	66
1963	150.7	8.0	5	102.2	74.4	73
1964	161.3	9.0	6	114.3	79.0	69
1965	167.5	9.8	6	123.7	86.0	70
1966	169.5	10.0	6	132.9	89.5	67
1967	175.8	10.5	6	142.2	94.0	66
1968	183.9	12.5	7	155.2	96.9	62

[1] Includes other nonwhites.

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from data in U.S. National Center for Social Statistics, Adoptions: Supplements to Child Welfare Statistics, 1963–69; and U.S. National Center for Health Statistics Vital Statistics of the U.S.: 1968, volume I—Natality

TABLE 6.—WORK STATUS OF HEADS OF FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL BY RACE, 1969

[Numbers in thousands]

	Black		White	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total poor family heads	1,326	100	3,553	100
Heads who worked	785	59	1,883	53
Heads who did not work	541	41	1,670	47

Source: Prepared by National Urban League Research Department from data in U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Special Tabulations for OEO from March 1970 current population survey based on 1969 work status and income.

TABLE 7.—WORK EXPERIENCE OF WOMEN [1] HEADING FAMILIES BY RACE AND POVERTY STATUS, 1969

	Black		White	
	Total families	Total poor families	Total families	Total poor families
Total number (thousands)	1,349	718	4,185	1,063
Total percent	100	100	100	100
Year round, full time	27	12	32	5
Part year, full time	17	18	15	19
Worked part time	17	19	11	15
Did not work at all	39	50	41	61

[1] 14 years and over.

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from tabulations prepared for U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity from March 1970 current population survey, tables 3a and 3b.

TABLE 8.—PROPORTION OF FAMILIES HEADED BY WOMEN RECEIVING AFDC, BY RACE, 1969

[Numbers in thousands]

	Black	White
Total families headed by women	1,327	4,053
AFDC families headed by women	657	584
Percent	50	14

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Selected Characteristics of Persons and Families: March 1970," Current Population Reports: Population Characteristics, series P-20, No. 204; and unpublished data from U.S. National Center for Social Statistics based on its 1969 AFDC national study.

TABLE 9.—WORK EXPERIENCE OF MALE HEADS AND SPOUSES IN BLACK FAMILIES BY POVERTY STATUS, 1969

[Numbers in thousands]

	Total black families		Poor black families	
	Male heads	Female spouses	Male heads	Female spouses
Total number of families	3,425	3,217	609	563
Total percent	100	100	100	100
In Armed Forces	2	.....	(1)	.....
Year round, full time	64	26	32	6
Part year, full time	17	22	22	17
Part time	6	17	17	21
No work at all	10	35	29	56

[1] Less than 0.5 percent.

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from data in tabulations prepared for U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity from March 1970 Current Population Survey.

TABLE 10.—PERCENT OF TOTAL FAMILY INCOME CONTRIBUTED BY WORKING WIFE IN NONFARM HUSBAND-WIFE FAMILIES, 1969 (FAMILIES, IN WHICH WIFE HAD PAID WORK EXPERIENCE DURING THE YEAR. ANNUAL AVERAGES.)

Percent of family income from wife's earnings	All family income groups		Family income groups under $3,000	
	Black [1]	White	Black [1]	White
Total family income	100	100	100	100
Less than 20 percent	33	38	47	46
20 to 29 percent	20	19	19	13
30 to 39 percent	18	19	8	13
40 to 49 percent	16	12	11	4
50 percent and over	13	11	15	25

[1] Includes other nonwhites.

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from unpublished data in U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

TABLE 11.—MEAN SCORES FOR PERFORMANCE OF HOUSEHOLD TASKS AS REPORTED BY LOWER-CLASS MALES BY RACE AND WIVES' EMPLOYMENT STATUS [1]

Household tasks performed	Black males		White males	
	(N=28) With unemployed wives	(N=18) With employed wives	(N=77) With unemployed wives	(N=45) With employed wives
1. Borrows money	3.6	3.0	3.2	2.7
2. Takes clothes to laundry	3.1	3.0	2.3	3.1
3. Disciplines children	2.8	2.9	2.9	3.1
4. Takes out garbage	2.8	2.9	1.4	1.8
5. Talks with landlord	2.7	2.0	2.4	2.1
6. Shops for groceries	2.5	2.2	2.7	2.4
7. Pays bills	2.4	1.3	2.1	1.8
8. Gets up at night with children	2.2	2.2	1.7	1.9
9. Prepares supper	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.5
10. Does laundry at home	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.4

[1] The scoring of the performance of household tasks (based upon the husbands' reports) was as follows: scores below 2 for "wife more often performed the task," scores 2–2.9 for "both spouses equally performed the task," and scores 3 and over for "husband more often performed the task."

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from data in Joan Aldous, "Wives' Employment Status and Lower-Class Men as Husband-Fathers: Support for the Moynihan Thesis," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 31 (August 1969): 469–476. Esp. f.n. 28.

TABLE 12.—DISTRIBUTION OF MEAN SCORES FOR PERFORMANCE OF 10 HOUSEHOLD TASKS AS REPORTED BY LOWER CLASS MALES, BY RACE AND WIVES' EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Household tasks performed by—	Black males—		White males—	
	With unemployed wives	With employed wives	With unemployed wives	With employed wives
Wife more often (scores below 2)	2	3	4	5
Both equally (scores 2 to 2.9)	6		5	3
Husband more often (scores 3 and over)	2	2	1	2
Total number of tasks	10	10	10	10

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from data in Joan Aldous, "Wives' Employment Status and Lower Class Men as Husband-Fathers: Support for the Moynihan Thesis," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 31 (August 1969): 469–476. Esp. f.n. 28

TABLE 13.—DISTRIBUTION OF AFDC FAMILIES BY STATUS OF FATHER BY RACE, 1969 [1]

[Numbers in thousands]

	Total	Black	White
Total AFDC families	1,593	737	836
Total percent	100	100	100
Father absent	81	90	73
Single	28	41	16
Deserted	16	19	12
Separated (legal/informal)	14	14	13
Other separated	4	4	5
Divorced	14	6	21
Widowed	5	6	5
Father present	19	11	24

[1] Excluding Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from unpublished data from U.S. National Center for Social Statistics based on its 1969 AFDC national study.

TABLE 14.—ALL FAMILIES AND AFDC FAMILIES WITH FATHER ABSENT BY REASON FOR ABSENCE, BY RACE, 1969 [1]

[Numbers in thousands]

	AFDC families			All families	
	Total	Black	White	Black	White
Family with father absent	1,297	657	584	1,327	4,053
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100
Single	35	46	22	14	10
Deserted	19	21	17		
Separated (legal/informal)	17	16	18	37	12
Other separated	5	4	7	6	8
Divorced	17	6	30	13	23
Widowed	7	7	6	31	48

[1] Excluding Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Selected Characteristics of Persons and Families: March 1970," Current Population Reports: Population Characteristics, Series P–20, No. 204; and unpublished data from U.S. National Center for Social Statistics based on its 1969 AFDC national study.

SUICIDE RATES FOR SELECTED AGE GROUPS BY SEX AND RACE, 1968

[Rates per 100,000 population]

Age	Male		Female	
	Black	White	Black	White
Total (all ages)	7.3	16.9	2.4	6.3
Under 1 year				
5 to 9 years		0.0		
15 to 19 years	4.7	8.3	2.2	2.2
20 to 24 years	13.1	15.0	4.4	4.8
25 to 29 years	16.0	16.3	4.5	7.0
30 to 34 years	16.1	18.3	4.8	8.1
35 to 39 years	12.0	22.0	4.7	10.6
45 to 49 years	12.1	27.0	3.8	13.1
55 to 59 years	13.3	35.8	3.1	12.3
65 to 69 years	12.8	35.6	3.5	8.3
75 to 79 years	15.0	42.5	4.7	7.2
85 years and over	5.5	56.8	2.8	4.9

Source: Prepared by National Urban League Research Department from unpublished data in U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mortality Statistics Branch.

TABLE 16.—REMARRIAGES AS PERCENT OF ALL MARRIAGES FOR BLACK AND WHITE BRIDES, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968 [1]

[Numbers in thousands]

Race	1965	1966	1967	1968
Black: [2]				
All marriages	127	109	112	122
Remarriages	24	20	21	22
Percent of all marriages	19	18	18	18
White:				
All marriages	933	789	820	929
Remarriages	209	184	198	220
Percent of all marriages	22	24	24	24

[1] Data are for States that report a race and color breakdown, 39 States and the District of Columbia are marriage registration areas but some States do not have complete reporting by race. California, New York, and Ohio do not report race or color at all.
[2] Includes other nonwhites.

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from data in U.S. Public Health Service, National Center for Health Statistics, Vital Statistics of the United States for the years 1965, 1966, 1967, and 1968.

TABLE 17.—EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF HEADS OF FAMILIES OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN COLLEGE BY RACE AND TYPE OF COLLEGE, FALL 1970

[Percent distribution]

Year of school completed by family head	College students			
	Race [1]		Type of college [2]	
	Black	White	Predominantly black	All colleges
Total family heads	100	100	100	100
Less than high school	54	24	57	27
High school graduate	21	36	24	29
Some college	12	15	9	17
4 years or more of college	14	26	11	27

[1] Students 16 to 34 years old enrolled in college as of October 1970 Current Population Survey of the Bureau of the Census. This excludes students who are themselves family heads, wives, and other married family members with spouse present; also persons in families in which head is a member of the Armed Forces.
[2] First-time, full-time students entering all colleges (combines 2-year and 4-year colleges and universities) and entering predominantly black colleges. Data are from a national survey conducted by the American Council on Education in fall 1970. Years of school completed for head of family refers to father's education only.

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, "School Enrollment: October 1970," Current Population Reports: Population Characteristics, Series P–20, No. 222, and American Council on Education, National Norms for Entering College Freshman—Fall, 1970.

TABLE 18.—PARENTAL INFLUENCE ON COLLEGE ATTENDANCE BY FAMILY BACKGROUND, RACE, AND SEX OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

[Percent reporting parental influence]

Family status [1]	Men		Women	
	Black	White	Black	White
Low status	75	71	90	81
High status	75	81	87	92

[1] Family status was determined by whether the father's occupation and both parents' educational level fell above or below the median according to the Duncan Socio-Economic Index.

Source: Prepared by National Urban League Research Department from data in Edward E. Harris, "Personal and Parental Influences on College Attendance: Some Negro-White Differences," Journal of Negro Education, vol. 39, No. 4, fall 1970, table 1, pp. 305–313.

TABLE 19—OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS BY STATUS, FAMILY INTACTNESS, RACE, AND URBANISM

[Percent with high occupational aspirations] [1]

Status [2] and family intactness	Urban		Rural	
	Black	White	Black	White
High status:				
Complete	81	83	50	76
Broken	73	69	54	83
Low status:				
Complete	59	51	52	45
Broken	63	51	56	44

[1] "High" occupational aspirations refer to choices among professional, technical, and managerial occupations.
[2] Family status depended upon whether the fathers' education and occupation were both "high" or "low." The cutting points for "high" or "low" were not specified.

Source: Prepared by National Urban League Research Department from data in Arthur Cosby, "Black-White Differences in Aspirations Among Deep South High School Students," Journal of Negro Education, vol. 40, No. 1, winter 1971, table 2, pp. 17–21.

TABLE 20.—ACTUAL AND ESTIMATED DROP-OUT RATES 1 YEAR AFTER COLLEGE ENTRANCE BY STUDENTS' RACE, SEX AND TYPE OF COLLEGE, 1967

Student race and type of college	Men		Women	
	Actual	Estimated	Actual	Estimated
Black students in—				
Black colleges	12.7	13.2	13.3	13.3
White colleges	7.4	14.3	20.3	23.9
White students in white colleges	12.4	12.3	13.9	13.7

Source: Alan E. Bayer and Robert F. Boruch, "Black and White Freshmen Entering 4-year Colleges, Educational Record (American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.), fall 1969, table 8, pp. 371–386.

TABLE 21.—PROPORTION OF BLACK FAMILIES HEADED BY WOMEN BY AREA OF RESIDENCE, 1940–70

Year	Total United States	Urban	Nonurban [1]	
			Nonfarm	Farm
1970	28	28	29	19
1960	21	22	19	11
1950	18	19	18	9
1940	18	23	17	10

[1] Between 1940 and 1960, nonurban referred specifically to rural areas. But the 1970 figures for nonurban areas refer to outside metropolitan areas, which include areas that are neither rural nor metropolitan, in addition to rural areas. Thus the "sharp" rise in the proportion of families with women heads in nonurban areas between 1960 and 1970 is due to the Census Bureau's new classification of metropolitan-nonmetropolitan areas.

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census: "Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940 Population, Families; U.S. Census of Population: 1960, U.S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics;" "Selected Characteristics of Persons and Families: March 1970," Current Population Reports: Population Characteristics, Series P–20, No. 204. 1-person families in the 1940 census data were excluded in order to facilitate comparison with census family composition data in subsequent years.

TABLE 22.—PROPORTION OF ALL FAMILIES HEADED BY WOMEN BY RACE AND FAMILY INCOME, 1969

[Percent families headed by women]

Family income	Black	White	Percent difference
Total	28	9	+19
Under $3,000	57	29	+28
$3,000 to $4,999	39	19	+20
$5,000 to $6,999	26	13	+13
$7,000 to $9,999	12	7	+5
$10,000 to $14,999	7	4	+3
$15,000 and over	6	3	+3

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Social and Economic Characteristics of the Population in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas: 1970 and 1960," Current Population Reports: Special Studies, Series P-23, No. 37, table 8.

TABLE 23.—PROPORTION OF ALL FAMILIES HEADED BY WOMEN BY RACE, AREA AND FAMILY INCOME, 1969

[Percent families headed by women]

Family income	Black families		White families	
	Metropolitan	Nonmetropolitan	Metropolitan	Nonmetropolitan
Total	28	28	10	8
Under $2,000	66	53	41	26
$2,000 to $3,999	61	33	28	17
$4,000 to $5,999	34	22	19	11
$6,000 to $7,999	21	10	14	7
$8,000 to $9,999	12	5	8	5
$10,000 and over	7	9	4	3

Source: Prepared by Research Department of the National Urban League from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Social and Economic Characteristics of the Population in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas: 1970 and 1960," Current Population Reports: Special Studies, Series P-23, No. 37, table 7.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Frazier 1957 and 1966; Valentine 1968: 20–24.

[2] Glazer and Moynihan 1965; Moynihan 1965 and 1966; Oscar Lewis 1966a.

[3] Clark 1965; Grier and Cobbs 1968; Washington 1966.

[4] Drake and Cayton 1962; DuBois 1895; Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt*, Washington, D.C. 1967; American Council on Education 1941; Billingsley 1968; Herzog 1966 and 1970; Hylan Lewis, *Blackways of Kent*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955; Lewis 1966 and 1967; Valentine 1968.

[5] Some of the authors who have drawn attention to black strengths are: Billingsley 1968; Herzog 1966; Ladner 1971; Lewis 1965; Keil 1966; J. Bernard 1966a; Coles 1964; Hannerz 1969; Liebow 1967; Phillips 1971; Proctor 1966 and 1971; Reisman 1966; Staples 1970 and 1971; Vontress 1971; Wasserman 1968; Willie 1970; Hobson 1971.

[6] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System*, New York: The Free Press, 1951; and Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family Socialization and Interaction Process*, New York: The Free Press, 1955.

[7] Cohen and Hodges 1963; Bott 1957 and 1964; Feagin 1968.

[8] U.S. Census Bureau, "Household and Family Characteristics: March 1970" Series P–20, No. 218, 1971, Tables 3 and 4.

[9] Beck 1967; Drake and Cayton 1962; Frazier 1957, 1964, and 1966.

[10] Elizabeth Herzog and Rose Bernstein, "Why So Few Negro Adoptions?" in *Children*, January-February 1965, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Leila Calhoun Deasy and Olive Westbrooke Quinn, "The Urban Negro and Adoption of Children" in *Child Welfare*, November 1962, Journal of the Child Welfare League of America, Inc.; Ursula M. Gallagher, "Adoption, Current Trends," *Welfare in Review*, February 1967, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and "Results of Survey of Interracial Adoption in the United States in 1968" in *Opportunity: A Program to Broaden Adoption Opportunities for Children of Negro Ancestry*, Portland, Oregon, September 1968.

[11] U.S. Census Bureau, "Fertility Indicators: 1970" Series P–23, No. 36, 1971.

[12] U.S. Census Bureau, "Median Family Income in 1970," Series P–60, No. 78, and "Poverty Increases by 1.2 Million in 1970," Series P–60, No. 77, 1971 show median income of black families to be 61 percent of median income of white families; poverty rate for blacks is more than 3 times that of whites. Bureau of Labor Statistics News, "The Employment Situation: June 1971," July 2, 1971 shows black unemployment rate as 9.4 compared to 5.2 for whites.

[13] Tausky and Wilson 1971.

[14] U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity 1970 and 1971.

[15] U.S. Department of Commerce News, "Differences Between Incomes of Whites and Negro Husband Wife Families Are Relatively Small Outside the South," February 18, 1971.

[16] Hannerz 1969b, pp. 74–75.

[17] Aldous 1969, pp. 470–471.

[18] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings*, February 1971, historical data give 1970 annual average unemployment rate for black adult men as 5.6 and for black adult women 6.9.

[19] U.S. Census Bureau, "Income in 1969 of Families and Persons in the United States" Series P–60, No. 75, 1970, Table 48; Newman and Steffes 1971; Edwin Harwood and Claire Hodge, "Jobs and the Negro Family," *Public Interest* 23 (Spring 1971): 125–131.

[20] Kahl and Goering 1971, p. 309; Aldous 1969, p. 471, Footnote 19.

[21] Aldous 1969; Coles 1964; Frazier 1957; Moynihan 1965; Rainwater 1966; Rodman 1963, 1964 and 1968; Schulz 1968 and 1969.

[22] U.S. Census Bureau, "Educational Attainment: March 1970," Series P–20, No. 207, 1970, Table 1.

[23] Otto 1962: 77–80.

[24] Bott 1964; Coser 1964.

[25] Moynihan 1965; Blood and Wolfe 1960.

[26] Hyman and Reed 1969.

[27] See following discussions of relative merits of self-reports versus observational techniques in studying decision-making: Olson 1969; Heer 1963; and Mack 1971.

[28] Middleton and Putney 1960: 607.

[29] Aldous 1969.

[30] Bott 1964; Epps 1964.

[31] Parker and Kleiner 1966.

[32] Ladner 1971: 131; Jacquelyne Jackson, "Marital Life Among Aging Blacks," Department of Psychiatry, Duke University Medical Center, Durham, North Carolina, Mimeo. 1971.

[33] Merton 1957: 132.

[34] Ross and Hill 1967: 168.

[35] Herzog and Sudia 1970. See also comparison of fatherless families on welfare with fatherless families not on welfare in Bernard 1964.

[36] See interesting discussion of "un-families" in Herzog and Sudia 1970: 82–84; Nye 1957.

[37] Herzog and Sudia 1970.

[38] See especially comparison of one and two parent lower class black families in Wasserman 1968; Nye 1957.

[39] Aug and Bright 1970.

[40] *Ibid.*: 592.

[41] Ladner 1971; Gans 1962.

[42] Geismar and Ayres 1959; Geismar *et al.* 1962.

[43] Geismar and Gerhart 1968.

[44] Moynihan 1965; Rainwater 1966; Schulz 1968; Rodman 1968.

[45] Kephart and Monahan 1952.

[46] U.S. National Center for Social Statistics, H.E.W., 1969 AFDC study, unpublished data.

[47] Merton 1957: 174.

[48] Merton 1957: 411, footnote 16.

[49] Moynihan 1965; Aldous 1969; Rodman 1964 and 1968.

[50] Johnsen and Leslie 1965: 357.

[51] Rodman 1964; Frazier 1957 and 1966; Hare 1965. This equation of life styles with their indicators is referred to as the "fallacy of reification."

[52] American Council on Education 1970. The statistics on Howard University's students were reported by Dr. James W. Bryant, Vice-President for Development and University Relations in April 1971 in a *Washington Post* article entitled "Howard University is Victimized by Elitist Reputation" (by Robert L. Asher) based on information in *Annual Report* to the President of Howard, April 1971.

[53] U.S. Census Bureau 1970: "School Enrollment: October 1970."

[54] Hindelang 1970.

[55] Harris 1970.

[56] Cosby 1971.

[57] See Table 20.

[58] Duncan and Duncan 1969; Proctor 1966.

[59] Mays and Nicholson 1933; Clark 1965; Frazier 1964.

[60] Frazier 1964 and 1966; Mays 1970. See especially Martin Luther King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*, New York: Harper, 1958.

[61] Frazier 1964; Marx 1967.

[62] Brink and Harris 1964: 103.

[63] *Ibid.*: 221.

[64] Proctor 1966: Mays and Nicholson 1933.

[65] Garland 1971.

[66] Cleage 1968; Mays 1970.

THE GOLDEN MOMENT FOR EXODUS FROM VIETNAM

HON. ALAN CRANSTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, Harold Willens, a former marine and now a highly successful business executive in California, recently visited Vietnam.

In a speech which is perceptive and illuminating, he reported on the situation there, emphasizing our Government's unwarranted, unwise but very deep involvement on President Thieu's side in the current "election" in South Vietnam.

Is this the sort of "self-determination for the South Vietnamese" that we have allegedly been fighting for—at a cost of more than 50,000 American lives and more than 100 billion American dollars?

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Willen's speech be printed in the RECORD.

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

SPEECH BY HAROLD WILLENS

Self-determination for the South Vietnamese people; peace with honor for the United States government: surely most Americans would consider these a satisfactory basis for prompt extrication from a war in search of a reason. Can we still hope to achieve such objectives?

I believe we can if we grasp the golden moment offered by the October 3 South Vietnamese presidential election. To do this requires a clear signal of United States neutrality in that direction. Without such a signal we who are proud of our freedom will block freedom of choice for South Vietnam. The election will be a Washington-produced, Embassy-directed charade acted by a Vietnamese cast. And the purposeless killing will continue.

During a recent visit to South Vietnam I interviewed American and Vietnamese officials, including Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, Prime Minister Tran Thien Khiem, Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky and General Duong Van Minh. Citizen to citizen, I talked at length with people in all walks of life, discussing politics with representatives of divergent opinions, interests and organizations. In almost every instance I was told Minh would probably win the election if the people could vote without the spectre of United States power and money standing behind Thieu.

This was said by people who oppose communism as much as they oppose Thieu and the war. Most of them would prefer other peace candidates to General Minh: nationalist leaders who are in prison or in exile. But they all feel Minh can Vietnamize the peace while Thieu represents more death and devastation. Thieu also represents cruel reprisal for all who oppose him. The 1967 presidential runner-up, Truong Dinh Dzu, is serving a five-year sentence: one among tens of thousands imprisoned for the crime of calling for peace. On the other hand, Minh is remembered for releasing all political prisoners immediately after overthrowing the despised Diem regime in 1963. This is one reason explaining widespread belief that South Vietnam stands a better chance of remaining non-communist under Minh than under the continued rule of Thieu. In any case, the people I met are convinced that war-weary South Vietnamese would elect Minh October 3 if they could vote without fear of losing their jobs—or lives—as punishment for opposing the "Nixon/Bunker candidate."

The view from our Embassy is exactly opposite. There the Vietnamese are seen favoring Thieu because he has brought "stability and progress" (two words which invariably evoked laughter when I used them in the presence of men and women not beholden to the Thieu government). They see their country as a volcano temporarily still on the surface but coming ever closer to violent eruption against a cruel despot whose government is regarded as representing "foreign control." This is one among many points of divergence between the perspectives of American officials and Vietnamese people. An Embassy officer gave me a figure of "several hundred" when I asked how many political prisoners there were in the country. Informed South Vietnamese, including two ARVN officers with whom I met separately, estimated between ninety and one hundred thousand.

The Pentagon Papers tell us that "the explanation of how the United States mission became detached from political realities in Saigon in August 1963 is among the most ironic and tragic of our entire Vietnam involvement." It is no different in August 1971. Like Alice after walking through the mirror in Wonderland, our Saigon "experts" continue to see things backwards.

I am willing to concede that despite the long record of consistent misjudgment our current officials may be right. Perhaps the majority of South Vietnamese, free of all restraints, would express their preference for President Thieu. Since that is what our officials believe, they ought to welcome an election reflecting United States neutrality. Why load the dice when you are sure of winning?

Repeating the candidly expressed views of citizens representing many aspects of Vietnamese life, I challenge our policy makers to unload the dice. And I charge that, as presently constituted, the October 3 election is rigged in favor of Thieu. The question of intent is irrelevant. Ambassador Bunker may be sincere when he asserts impartiality. The Vietnamese people see him as not only favoring but also strongly supporting the election of Thieu. There is no way Ambassador Bunker's assertions can shake Vietnamese convictions on this point. As things stand now, the network of Thieu's officials in villages and hamlets will spread to those around them the belief that the "safe" thing to do is vote for "the American candidate."

The establishment of United States neutrality in the South Vietnamese presidential election requires three actions:

1. The public announcement, prior to October 3, of an American withdrawal deadline—whatever that date may be. The realities of the long war, the American presence and Thieu's harsh treatment of political "heretics" stand in the way of free expression. Holding off a withdrawal announcement until after the election perpetuates the assumption of ongoing United States support for the Thieu government. *That effectively inhibits freedom of choice.*

2. The immediate resignation of Ambassador Bunker to indicate actual (as opposed to rhetorical) neutrality. This would not be unfair to President Thieu as some may argue. Even if it were, for Ambassador Bunker *not* to resign prior to the election would be more unfair to the Vietnamese people. If resignation is too painful a step, an extended leave of absence might serve the purpose.

3. The creation of a Congressional Commission along the lines proposed by Illinois Senator Adlai Stevenson. Prime Minister Khiem told me that observers would be welcome. If a Commission were well staffed and remained in South Vietnam for a month prior to October 3, it could serve a useful purpose. It would be even better if representatives of other countries were included.

But no observers, no Congressional Commission could convert a deceptive charade into a reasonably honest election unless fear, uncertainty and skepticism are first removed through the actions listed above.

A member of the An Quang Buddhists, who is also a senator, told me that if the presidential election were held today, it would be no more than an "American trick" meant to deceive people in Vietnam, in the United States and all the world. A prominent Catholic, as devout as he is devoted to his country, told me that the three steps I am proposing would *not* be taken because they conflict with "Mr. Nixon's personal political time table." In different words I heard over and over again the thoughts of these two men expressed by people speaking for a wide cross section of their countrymen.

Are these people right? After what the Pentagon Papers have revealed, are the callous political considerations of a man or a party more important than seizing an unparalleled opportunity to end the war quickly and honorably?

If the answer to these questions is "no" what possible reason can President Nixon and his advisers have for not establishing our neutrality in an election which could represent the golden moment for exodus from Vietnam?

LEST WE FORGET

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 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:

Major William V. Frederick, U.S. Air Force, [redacted], Deerfield, Ohio. Married and the father of four children. 1955 graduate of Kent State University. Officially listed as missing July 5, 1967. As of today, Maj. Frederick has been missing in action in Southeast Asia for 1,490 days.

THE CONSTELLATION OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS: A DYNAMIC DUO IN THE BLACK ECONOMY

HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, for the first time in history, black men are now able to address the white establishment with a large degree of self-confidence. The whole work of the civil rights movement has aimed at awakening political conciousness among blacks, where the one main complaint has been powerlessness.

Mr. Robert S. Browne's recent address to the first annual symposium on "the State of the Black Economy" has some penetrating comments on the black potential in electoral political activity. Mr. Browne suggests that economic power is the route to political power.

I have found Mr. Browne's comments topical. Therefore, I am placing them in the RECORD to share with my colleagues.

The address follows:

THE CONSTELLATION OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS—A DYNAMIC DUO IN THE BLACK ECONOMY

(Address by Robert S. Brown, director, the Black Economic Research Center)

With 23 million people, one third of them concentrated in 15 cities, the black population of America constitutes a potential force of formidable dimensions in American political affairs. Its potential is further enhanced by its relatively low median age and high growth rate when compared to the white population. To be sure, these quantitative factors are heavily vitiated by a variety of qualitative characteristics of the black community which are likely to weaken its potential for political effectiveness—such as the low level of black voter registration and electoral participation, the legal and illegal disenfranchisement of significant portions of the black population, its subjection to gerrymandering at the hands of white majorities who can render the black ballot largely ineffective, and the traditional dependence of the more politically active portion of the black electorate and of its elected officials on one or the other of the two major political parties—in neither of which parties are the interests of the national black community a matter of significant priority.

These latter characteristics not withstanding, however, it is increasingly clear that we find ourselves today entering a totally new era of black electoral political activity, an era which has had no counterpart in recent American history.

Not since the little known and ill under-

stood period of Reconstruction has the black voter and the black politician found himself speaking to the white political establishment with the degree of self-confidence which he feels today.

It would, of course, be a grave misreading of reality to describe the current political rumblings within the black community as an unambiguous index of growing black political power in America. On the contrary, recent secret meetings of top black elected officials, murmers of an incipient national black political party, and rumors of a black presidential candidate for 1972, could well turn out to be little more than high level minstrel shows, extended ego trips for a few black political leaders who are reacting—perhaps subconsciously—against an unbearable realization of their own powerlessness in the giant, racist machine which constitutes American society. This would be a very defensible reading of the current activities in the black political community, for an unsentimental assessment of the power of black political leadership and its factionalized, quarreling, poverty-stricken constituency of 23 million swallowed in a total population of 220 million, can hardly be other than pessimistic.

A contrary interpretation of the new black political thrust is, however, possible—an interpretation which would accept that in 1971, almost 11 decades after Emancipation and 5 years away from the American bicentennial celebrations, the sons and daughters of former slaves have genuinely determined that the time has come for them to play a major role in fashioning the future of American society. That such a momentous decision might come at this particular moment in American history is hardly surprising. The entire thrust of the civil rights activities of the 1960's was laying the foundation for a political consciousness among blacks, and given the unyielding racism of the nation's institutions it could have been predicted that this political awareness would, at some point in its development, be obliged to consolidate as a black movement, at least for the formulation of its goals. A factor of perhaps equal if not greater strength in forging a black political movement at this historical moment is the recent discovery by blacks of the effectiveness of the negative political power which they can exercise in contemporary America. Indeed, the demographic figures on the black community, and its geographical distribution, are probably of less significance for their electoral potential than for what they suggest in terms of the black disruptive potential to the harmonious functioning of the society.

The pessimists are correct when they assess the electoral potential of the black community as being relatively low. James Madison himself wrote at length, during the formative years of the Republic, about his fears regarding the protection of minorities against the deliberate tyranny of the majority and these fears haunt the black community today in terms of its very potential for survival in the face of intense racial polarization. A dozen black congressmen or even the two score of them which would more closely reflect the black population percentage, must obviously remain forever vulnerable to the whims of their majority colleagues, so electoral politics by itself is admittedly of limited usefulness to us. Similarly, the power of disruption, or the threat of it—let's call it negative political power—is also a tool of limited utility in the black man's kit, whether used directly to bludgeon concessions or indirectly to dramatize injustices and heighten the moral sensitivity of the white community.

Despite the limitations of both of these styles of political maneuvering, however, it is probably some combination of them to which one must credit such social and economic gains as the black community has achieved in recent years. It was only two years ago that the keynote speech at the Detroit Black Economic Development Conference stressed the total absence of black people from the boards of directors and from the upper executive echelons of the major corporations of America. Now, two years later, the appointment of blacks to major corporate boards has become almost a fad—with Chase National Bank, Equitable Life Assurance Co., Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., General Motors, and others each boasting of having just appointed their first black director—with IBM having recently become a double pioneer by selecting a black woman—a good looking Chicago girl incidently—for its board. Clearly, these blacks did not suddenly, in 1970 and 1971, become qualified to be on the boards of major corporations. They were probably just as qualified in 1965 and 1966, or even in 1955 and 1956. Obviously, factors completely external to these individuals were responsible for them being suddenly "discovered" by big business. And whatever these external factors were, and it may be difficult to obtain agreement on just what they were, they were certainly political in their nature—i.e., they had to do with considerations of how social institutions could best be maintained.

One complaint, perhaps the major complaint of the black man in America is his relative powerlessness. Now that the larger society is recognizing this fact and perceiving the threat which black powerlessness poses to the nation, the white establishment is confronted with a grave dilemma—how to share its power without in fact sharing it. Resolving this riddle promises to be quite an act and the black community is watching with intense curiosity.

In American society, political and economic power tend to be so closely entwined that they become largely inseparable at the summit. With some exemptions, however, the *route* to political power in America has generally lain *through economic power* rather than the reverse, a pattern which has been well documented by Domhoff, Lundberg, and others. This is not a route which is open to black Americans, for blacks lack the economic base, the accumulation of assets, which is necessary for launching a bid for a share of the national power. Rather, the black political electorate constitutes virtually the only leverage either for placing a black hand on the nation's throttle or for appropriating for the black community a reasonably fair share of the national income and of the national wealth. It is this realization, no doubt, which lies behind the current audacious black political thrusts and most especially behind the movement toward a unified black political effort. It may appear desperate to the dispassionate, but it is probably the only path available which offers any hope for success.

The election of black mayors in several major cities and in a number of minor ones has thus far constituted the most dramatic demonstration of black political emergence. These victories have certainly not been unmixed blessings, for while they have unquestionably enhanced the black man's self-image, which is no small accomplishment, in most cases the cities involved are in serious social and economic straits and suffering from secular decline on a scale which renders them almost unsalvageable except by Herculean outside assistance. This is particularly true of Newark, and largely true of Cleveland. It is probably also true of Detroit, where blacks may well elect the next mayor. Indeed, every time I pass a little storefront office at 127th and Lenox Avenue in Harlem where a giant sign states "it's time for New York City to elect a black Mayor" I am sorely tempted to go inside and ask "why?"

On the other hand, one should not overlook the very real opportunities which the mayor's seat offers for providing blacks with positions and experience which they have never before enjoyed; for providing black entrepreneurs with city contracts and with other benefits which have heretofore been the monopoly of white firms and contractors; and for using municipal monies in creative ways to assist the neglected black community instead of the favored white one. On balance, there seems to be little doubt that we stand to gain more than we lose through electing black mayors, so we should continue to pursue this type of effort when it appears to be achievable, although recognizing the real limitations which are inherent in such victories.

Another form in which black political power has been manifest has been in the take-over of larger than municipal political units—most notably in the election of a full slate of officials in Greene County, Alabama. This type of effort has been confined to the South, specifically to those counties with strong black majorities. Heavy rural to urban migration has gravely reduced the number and strength of such majorities, which is unfortunate, for these black-run counties may offer the black man his best potential for building viable communities in which he can enjoy a measure of self determination and economic independence. The counties where blacks are in the majority are almost invariably the poorest counties in their states, and Greene County has the unenviable status of being the fifth poorest county in all of America, so the task of developing these counties does not promise to be easier than the task of rendering the cities viable. But they do represent a significant opportunity for black people from all walks of life to pool their talents, within a reasonably congenial atmosphere, and attempt to build thriving, comprehensive communities where our black young people can be trained and inspired to render useful service to themselves and to their people. Efforts are underway to assist these black-run counties to establish a sound economic base through attracting industry and halting the erosion of black land ownership. Because southern black people are even poorer than those in the North, northern blacks should be prepared to lend not only their financial support to these efforts but also to lend their skills to the extent this is possible.

Success at either of these levels of development will require a massive infusion of funds, funds which are not likely to be forthcoming unless powerful pressure is put on the Executive and Legislative branches of the national government. Not only must national priorities be reordered, but the Nation must be obliged to admit that the present distribution of income and wealth within the country is grossly intolerable and that a voluntary and drastic redistribution of it is absolutely essential if any semblance of an orderly society is to be preserved. Such a prescription, of course, speaks not only to the black condition in America, but to the total social condition of the country. A situation where 5% of the population disposes of 20% of the income and the top 1% of wealth holders dispose of 26% of the Nation's total personal wealths can hardly be considered to be stable at this stage in America's history, although such inequality has admittedly been commonplace at earlier periods and exists today in some other countries.

The foregoing suggests that, ultimately, it is at the national level that black politics must become the instrument for economic liberation. Hopefully, it is the beginnings of this thrust which we have been witnessing this spring. The recent creation of a Caucus of Black Congressmen, speaking with a unified voice, eschewing any tie to political machines and espousing instead a politics of principle over a politics of party, represents a breath of fresh air on the political horizon.

As we know, fresh air is very expensive so I would urge each of you to contribute as generously as your circumstances permit to their fund-raising campaign, which will provide an urgently needed secretariat and research staff for their work. In addition, however, to providing them with financial support we must monitor their work carefully, while remaining alert to detect and deflect whatever "divide and conquer" tactics which may be devised to discredit them or render them ineffectual.

The 61 recommendations which they presented to the President, although deficient in their attention to concerns of the rural southern black, were generally well chosen and well formulated. They constituted a reasonable, achievable basic program for blacks during the remaining portion of President Nixon's term. In most cases the recommendations erred on the side of moderation and they were clearly a substantial compromise from what some of the more militant of the black Congressmen would have wished. Despite this, however, the President's response was extremely disappointing. I should like to take the time to point out a few examples of the President's unresponsiveness on the economic issues which were raised.

Of the 61 recommendations, the largest single group was the one devoted to Economic Security and Economic Development, which contained 24 recommendations. The three other categories were: Community and Human Development (21 recommendations), Justice and Civil Rights (10 recommendations), and Foreign Policy (6 recommendations). Among the economic recommendations submitted and flatly rejected by the President were:

(1) A request for a public service job creation program which would provide a minimum of 1.1 million jobs within the first year. This request was dismissed as unnecessary in view of the public service jobs (unspecified in number) which were explicitly or inexplicitly included in the Administration's welfare reform and revenue sharing bills.

(2) A request for a new, independent, quasi public development bank, funded initially at $1 billion annually, for the purpose of addressing the problem of assisting minority enterprise. This was rejected as unnecessary in view of existing and planned programs, although no powerful voice for minority enterprise either exists or is envisioned in the Administration's plans, and minority development funds requested by the Administration for existing agencies total considerably less than $1 billion requested by the Caucus.

(3) A request for $50 million of funding for community development corporations, a new form of all-purpose, community-run development agency which is having some success in a number of black communities. This request was rejected on the grounds that the CDCs are experimental so no new ones should be started until the present ones have proved their effectiveenss. Passed over in silence was the fact that the existing CDCs need $50 million for their own expansion if they are to achieve all that is being expected of them.

(4) A request for a federally financed guarantee organization similar to the Government National Mortgage Association to insure securities and obligations of CDCs. This was rejected on the grounds that "this would stigmatize CDCs as unable to compete with other firms in existing capital markets . . ." The reality, of course, is that by their very nature and newness the CDCs cannot hope to compete with other firms for capital and that admission actually constituted the basis for the request for a guaranteeing agency.

The insensitivity of the Administration to these eminently reasonable and, in my opinion, disconcertingly modest requests suggests that Washington is very far indeed from being disposed to deal with the more drastic kinds of economic demands which will have to be made of it in the coming months and years. A few hundred million or even a few billion dollars, administered through traditional or largely traditional types of institutions, are not capable of bringing about the changes which the society needs—nor is the $6500 per year guaranteed income which the black Congressman also requested and which the President firmly rejected. The reasons which the President gave for this rejection, however, go to the heart of the matter, for he argued that so generous a welfare plan would be fiscally irresponsible, would cost some $75 billion per year, and would lead to substantial reallocation of funds from other programs benefiting the poor. We have written the President to inquire as to how his $75 billion figure was arrived at, for we seriously question its validity. But what struck us most was his suggestion that one program to benefit the poor could only be funded by cutting back on other socially oriented programs.

What this suggests to me is that black economists must join with black political leaders to formulate totally new challenges to the manner in which the nation's resources are being allocated. Not only must the government (and I do not limit myself to the present incumbents but refer to the establishment which runs this country irrespective of who sits in the White House) abandon its preposterous external squandering of the national resources—in aggressive military adventures and posturing, in expensive space galas, and in international political intrigue. It must also take steps to see that resources are better distributed within the body politic. Our tax structure is long overdue for genuine reform, both because of its failure to redistribute wealth and because its inequities constitute an endless eroding of the national moral fiber. Public awareness that loopholes in the tax laws reduce effective rates of federal taxation actually paid by the rich to less than half the nominal rates, permitting hundreds of high income recipients, including at least a score of millionaires, to totally escape federal taxes, constitutes a revolutionary potential of considerable proportions.

The capital gains provisions alone provide several billions of dollars of tax relief to the rich, lost revenues which must be compensated for by imposing higher rates on the poor, who cannot take advantage of capital gains. When this situation is superimposed on the burden created by the little understood but scandalously unfair Social Security tax mechanism, and then supplemented by the heavily regressive tax structures of the states and municipalities, we are confronted with a situation where the poor are, for all practical purposes, subsidizing the rich via the tax structures. Beginning this week, for example, New York City residents are paying a combined city and state sales tax of 7% on the dollar. The absence from our tax structure of a capital levy or of strong estate or inheritance taxes further aggravates the bias in favor of those who possess accumulations of wealth while bleeding those whose sole income is from wages and salaries.

Such inequities, which fall far harder on the black community than on the white, cannot be tolerated indefinitely! Whether one chooses to call the rectification of economic injustice by the name of tax reform, of reparations, or by some other term, is immaterial. What is important is that the society realize that the gross inequities in the distribution of wealth between the white majority and the black minority must be corrected as a *sine qua non* for a stable American society. The reparations concept obviously speaks more directly to the black economic predicament, which is essentially a shortage of capital assets within the black community, occasioned by the historical circumstances of slavery, persecution and discrimination. The ill-fated Freedman's Bureau concept of special or preferential treatment to help rectify the devastating results of this historical injustice has slowly gained some degree of re-acceptance in American social thinking as reflected in programs such as the Department of Commerce's Section 8 (a) set-asides and MESBICs, the liberalized SBA regulations for minority enterprise, the Philadelphia Plan, and other minority-aid schemes—most of which, incidently, sound much better on paper than they function in practice. But discussion of an actual major capital transfer from the general society to the black community, a modern day Homestead Act of some sort, continues to remain a taboo subject.

A misplaced sense of pride on the part of many black people too often leads them to make public declarations that we don't want handouts, that we don't want welfare, that we don't want anything but a fair chance to compete. Unfortunately, these well-meaning brothers and sisters are perhaps unaware that a very sizeable portion of our national budget, to which they are contributing heavily, is being used for handouts, for welfare if you will, to cover the deficits of some of the largest industries in America and to subsidize the most prosperous farmers in our country. It is being used to pay subventions to some of the wealthiest governments in the world—such as Germany, which presumably wants U.S. troops but not badly enough to pay for them. Most recently, an effort is even underway to use poor people's tax payments to save a specific private company, the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, from the bankruptcy which it faces because of executive incompetence.

Corporations contracting with the Defense Department have made it standard operating procedure to submit deliberately understated bids for government contracts, confident that when their costs far exceed their estimates the government will cover their deficit. With the national government thus favorably disposed toward giving welfare to the rich, further compounding the tax structure's already strong bias in favor of these very same groups, black people would appear to have little reason for hesitancy in demanding both a level of welfare adequate for human decency and a sizable payment in reparations to provide them an economic basis for a meaningful takeoff in the area of development. Obviously, soundly-based black politics is the basic prerequisite for rendering such a demand effective.

Clearly, the black economist, in conjunction with the black politician, will have to become much more active in analyzing and defining proper government economic policy from the perspective of the black community. For example, the black economist can no longer close his eyes to the fact that the present international monetary arrangements, with the dollar accorded key, or reserve currency status, leads ultimately to a hardship being visited upon the black community with no compensating gains to it. Far better that the U.S. be obliged to terminate its payments deficit and end its imperialist adventures than that interest rates be kept at levels which render new housing construction virtually impossible and all credit exorbitantly dear. Key currency status for the dollar is essentially a national prestige item and an American political asset; it is totally irrelevant to the destitute black community which could care less as to whether the U.S. is the number one or the number ten power in the world. Indeed, the ghetto's living conditions understandably cause it to identify more with the so-called underdeveloped nations than with any image of world leadership.

The black community has erred for too long on the side of subordinating its own best interests to those which were identified as "the national interest." Now that

we are reaching our political maturity we are beginning to discern that there is no such thing as "the national interest." There are merely a number of competing, conflicting, special interests—each greedily seeking to gain control over the largest possible share of the Nation's wealth, income, and political apparatus. The task which lies before us, as black people, is to devise effective strategies through which we might insure that our lagging, beloved black community at long last obtains an equitable portion of these American prizes.

If the international enthronement of the dollar is condemning black people to poor housing, then we must dethrone the dollar. If Germany's security requires the presence of American troops, then Germany, not the poor black taxpayer, must pay for those troops. If American business is unwilling to build plants in the black-dominated counties of the American South, then we will invite Japanese capital to come in and help us. If Washington won't supply adequate funds for developing the ghettos, then we must seek them from the World Bank, from the UN, or from the Soviet Union, as dozens of other underdeveloped nations do. In short, we must liberate ourselves from any artificial national restrictions which obstruct our progress.

For 300 years the impact of the black community on America has been passive, reactive and involuntary. Henceforth, our black political leaders must commit themselves to making our impact active, deliberate, and self-centered—ignoring the appeals to a mythological national interest and focusing on the swiftest possible development of the black economy. Hopefully, the more farsighted elements of the white community will join us in this effort. For unless this business is attended to with unaccustomed speed, it is highly possible that the U.S. as a nation will be unable to transcend the grave internal stresses which are already subjecting it to a considerable degree of domestic turmoil.

TRIBUTE TO HARRY W. MORRISON, "BUILDER OF THE WORLD"

HON. ORVAL HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, when Harry W. Morrison died in Boise last month at the age of 86, flags in Idaho were lowered to half mast. But not only Idahoans mourned his passing. Their sorrow was shared by people throughout the world who had felt the tremendous impact of this master builder, this enormously human man.

Harry Morrison, who was eulogized as "the greatest builder since Solomon" and "a builder of the world", was cofounder of Morrison-Knudsen Co., Inc., a Boise-based outfit he helped build into one of the largest construction firms in the world.

Born February 23, 1885, near Kenney, Ill., Morrison began his building career at the age of 14 as a waterboy with Bates & Rogers Construction Co. in Chicago. From those humble beginnings he rose to the head of a worldwide firm that spread its influence and genius throughout more than 50 nations across the world.

Morrison-Knudsen's achievements include the mighty Hoover Dam, parts of Grand Coulee Dam and the St. Lawrence Seaway, and railroads, canals, dams, pipelines and military bases on nearly every corner of this earth.

Harry Morrison once said that:

A man's worth is counted in the things he creates for the betterment of his fellow men.

In wisdom, warmth, love, kindness—as well as in the physical things he constructed—his worth to his fellow men was immeasurable.

At Morrison's funeral, Rev. Herbert E. Richards, former minister of the Methodist Cathedral of the Rockies in Boise, said that:

Memories of him are more than mists of yesterday . . . Their value lies in our use of them that we become the better because we are blessed to know and love and remember this greatest builder since Solomon.

Much of Harry Morrison's strength came from the love and admiration of family members and those closest to him in his work. The former Ann Daly, to whom he was married in 1914, died in 1957 and was his constant companion on trips throughout the world. She is memorialized in Ann Morrison Park, a 155-acre haven in Boise developed from former swampland at a cost in excess of $1,200,000 by the Harry W. Morrison Family Foundation and donated to the city.

Mrs. Velma Shannon became his wife in 1959, and as Dr. Richards said in his memorial:

Velma's love and devotion brought a smile even when Harry's legs fatigued and his eyes grew tired.

His sister, Edna, has devoted much of her time to the well-being of her late brother during these latter years. Petra Asumendi, his loyal secretary of many years, added to the strength he devoted to master building.

Formal education for Morrison ended after 2 years of high school and a correspondence course from a business school. At the age of 19, he went to work on an Idaho dam project, but quit when he couldn't get a raise. In 1906, Morrison joined the Reclamation Service and in only 2 years reached the level of supervisor on the diversion dam southeast of Boise. Also working on that project was 50-year-old M. H. Knudsen, and the two began their now-famous partnership in Boise with the combined assets of $600 and a few teams of horses.

Early M–K jobs consisted of small projects—mostly on railroads, canals, and logging roads. It was following their first dam-building job in 1914—the Three Mile Falls Dam in Oregon which drew a $14,000 profit on a $120,000 contract—that Harry Morrison chose to concentrate his efforts on dam construction.

The early years were lean for M–K, but through intelligence, ingenuity, innovation—and an uncanny sense of good business management—Harry Morrison guided M–K's rise to unequaled heights.

M–K was one of the first companies to use bulldozers, gasoline-powered revolving shovels and new diesel trucks. And it was Morrison who had the foresight to encourage leading builders to combine efforts and resources by forming a corporation called Six Companies, Inc., which tackled one of the most tremendous construction feats of all time—the mighty Hoover Dam on the Colorado River. Six Companies was a breakthrough for heavy construction in the West, and was the beginning of joint efforts to finance huge projects of this sort.

From the Hoover Dam, Morrison and Six Companies moved to their next achievement—the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. M–K then concentrated on dams again—Bonneville, Parker, O'Shaughnessy and the second phase of Grand Coulee.

By 1939, M–K had expanded into the Midwest and South on dams, roads and railroad projects. Knudsen, 77, was semi-retired and Morrison had become president and general manager.

It was World War II that first got M–K involved in ventures outside the continental United States. M–K joined in a group called Contractors, Pacific Naval Air Bases, to build the world's largest underground installation for naval fuel storage at Red Hill near Pearl Harbor. On Midway and Wake Islands, more than 1,200 M–K men were taken prisoner and 98 killed by the Japanese while the company was building bases on the islands.

M–K worked on a Civil Aeronautics Administration program which built 26 airfields and 42 range stations; $400,000 of M–K's own money was spent to build and equip a field in the Aleutians even before a contract was signed or money appropriated by Congress.

As the company expanded, Morrison followed its projects closely. He traveled over 100,000 miles a year visiting clients, investors, and projects around the world. Of M–K's operations he once said:

We like to think we leave the impression around the world that all America is interested, earnestly and hopefully, in economic and social progress for all men.

In 1954, Time magazine featured Harry Morrison on its cover for a story about "U.S. Builders Abroad: Ambassadors with Bulldozers." The world builder retired from active management of his company only 11 years ago, at the age of 75.

Rarely mentioned by his own choice were his many philanthropies—contributions to Boise State College, Boy Scouts of America, churches, hospitals, and numerous charitable organizations.

Honorary degrees were bestowed upon him by the University of Idaho, the College of Idaho, and the University of Portland. He was named as "businessman of the year" in Idaho, and given an award for economic statesmanship by Seattle University. Professional honors were numerous, and in 1957 he was elected as honorary lifetime president of the Idaho branch of the Associated General Contractors of America. He was a director of the Idaho First National Bank and of Kaiser Cement & Gypsum Co., president of the southwestern Idaho water conservation project, and a member of the Hoover Commission's Resources Study Group.

B. L. Perkins, M–K's chairman and president, said after Morrison's death that:

The master builder was a symbol of all that is great and good in the construction industry, a pioneer of strength and vision

and substance in whom his juniors could truly believe.

He gave meaning to the word "integrity." To him, integrity was not only a requisite of doing business; it was a tenet of life. May the principles and high standards which he established always guide this organization that perpetuates his name.

We would all do well to be guided by the example of Harry W. Morrison.

Mr. Speaker, in final tribute to Harry Morrison, I include as part of my remarks the moving memorial message of Dr. Richards at Harry's funeral service:

TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN MEMORIAM TO HARRY W. MORRISON

(By Herbert E. Richards, D.D.)

In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Amen. And Solomon built wisely and well and is known unto this day.

Services of memorial are an integral part of the Christian American tradition and for each of you, this service will have deep and perhaps discerningly distinct significance and meaning.

Why do we have a service in this Cathedral of the Rockies for Harry W. Morrison?

Well we remind ourselves that one reason for this service is to remember. That is—to bring to mind mutual experiences of creating, building, serving, of sacrificing and loving.

For some, your memories take you to Kenny, Dewitt County, Illinois his birth place. You recall his efforts to learn, his struggle to get a not-so-available education. You remember his mailing exams as he took a La Salle Correspondence Course in math and engineering. Later many University trained engineers would come to trust Harry's knowledge, learning, judgment and wisdom.

For some, your memories take you to Hoover Dam, to Afghanistan, to San Francisco, to Canada, or to his first small dam at Hermiston, Oregon. Each a monument to skill and inspiration! For some of you, your memories are of extraordinary finance, great corporations, the six Associate Companies, banks and enterprises unlimited.

Your memories will take you to the MK office, his beloved long-time employees, and friends. You now bring to mind his kindly dignity, his firm, his understanding, and in the highest sense—his demanding of excellence!

These memories are more than mists of yesterday for you and me! Their value lies in our use of them that we become the better, because we were blessed to know and love and remember this the greatest builder since Solomon.

What remains in our heart as we take our leave until we rejoin him in that Cathedral not built with hands, eternal in the heavens?

What characteristics were his best that we Americans can learn that he has builded beyond cement, mortar, stone and dirt-fill? Here they are: Harry Morrison was decisive—a characteristic America may lose at its peril. Who without decision firm could prepare himself to build? Harry always gathered his facts, organized them, arrived at decision—made it—and never looked back. Can any executive hearing my voice learn more? Harry Morrison was confident in himself. He could be truly humble, because he knew what skills were his, and what skills he needed to borrow from others. Harry believed in people, especially his MK people, yes—more than that, Harry Morrison was loyal. There were those who whispered: "too loyal!" Is that possible?

Well I remember one rainy night at his Harrison Boulevard residence, Edna and Velma had stepped out and I was alone with him as he reminisced. I asked him about Hoover Dam, which I am convinced,—of all MK projects—was closest to Harry's heart. Then I asked, "in your opinion, what is your most significant skill, and in your mind your most significant achievement?"

I pause in this memorial to ask you the family, colleagues and friends, what you would choose? What do you think would be *his* reply?

Well, here it is—from his own lips he said: "If I have any particular skill, it is the fortunate judgment to choose good people to work with me." There was silence! Then he continued: "Now, what achievement brings me most satisfaction? I'll tell you! Morrison Knudsen pioneered protection for its men. Morrison Knudsen was among the first companies in the world to have an insurance policy to protect its men and their families. Without question that gives me my greatest satisfaction."

Of course, you faithful employees knew this all along, and particularly his loyal secretary, Petra Asumendi, and now we ask how faithful are we to Harry's Ideal?

But of all his good fortune none was more triumphant that the love he shared with his ever-loving Ann, his devoted sister Edna, and his beloved Velma. Today we share Edna's, Velma's and the families sorrow. Velma whose devotion and love brought a smile even when Harry's legs fatigued and his eyes grew tired.

These then are some of his characteristics we need emulate, you could add your own—and many would be our listings, but these must include:

1. Decisiveness
2. Confidence in self
3. Loyalty to others—particularly MK people
4. Love

All this was rooted in an American faith—not religion on his sleeve, he would be the first to make *that* clear. He did not expound, he lived a faith. Many of you now remember how often, you heard him take that old guitar and sing hymns. One day I received a telephone call from Harry and he said he wanted to be baptised. Edna, Velma and Harry came to the chapel of this church and when I asked if it was his own desire to be baptised in Christ—he answered in his crisp way—As if that it was obvious that was what he was there for! It was done!

Later, he sat where the family now sits and looking at this window of faith over the high altar he put his arm around Velma and said 'that window expresses our love.' They gave that window. Harry helped schools, hospitals, Universities, Catholic, LDS., Protestant, Jewish and secular charities. I shared in the dedication of a Christian Church Chapel in Tulare, California, the Morrison Boy Scout Camp of McCall as well as the Ann Morrison Park of Boise.

The archives of this Cathedral join with the archives of institutions, Dams, buildings, of the world as perpetual tribute to his vision.

Through Christ Jesus we commend his Spirit to Almighty God.

Should someone ask why an MK seal is in the stained glass of this church window to my right—it *is* there—, please tell them "as light comes through that window it is refined and comes out the more beautiful and majestic, so all those who knew Mr. MK,—Harry Morrison—have found their light refined and made more beautiful and majestic.

And Solomon built wisely and well, and he is remembered unto that eternal day!

FUELS AND ENERGY PROBLEMS CAUSE CONCERN—SENATE STUDY MOVES AHEAD—FORBES MAGAZINE ARTICLE IS INFORMATIVE

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, a critical problem has recently surfaced in our country. After a history of energy abundance, the United States faces a challenge in keeping current with its soaring energy demand and environmental impacts. Concern for this developing gap between energy supply and demand has had my attention for many years and prompted me to sponsor Senate Resolution 45, which was adopted on May 3. The study of national fuels and energy policy authorized by this resolution is now in progress in the Interior Committee with participation by the Commerce and Public Works Committees and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

As this vitally important work proceeds, it is most encouraging to note the increasing attention being given to the energy problem by the media. This is certainly a helpful development. Such publicity is essential in alerting Americans to a matter of major and continuing national study and action.

Many informative and provocative articles on the energy outlook have been published in recent months. There appears in the August 1 issue of Forbes magazine such an anaylsis, entitled "You Get What You Pay For." I ask unanimous consent that this article from Forbes be printed in the RECORD.

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

RAW MATERIALS—YOU GET WHAT YOU PAY FOR

Already hampered by rising and seemingly uncontrollable labor costs, U.S. industry is now on the verge of losing one of its long-standing basic advantages: It is fast running out of low-cost energy and other basic raw materials.

Few people realize how self-sufficient the U.S. has been in its raw material position. Until two years ago, we were on balance, able to extract from our own reserves sufficient supplies of the energy fuels, oil and gas, coal and uranium, to meet the needs of both industry and the general public. In our other major raw materials, our self-sufficiency has been somewhat less complete. Last year we produced 90% of the copper we consumed, 65% of the iron ore. In such important minerals as nickel and bauxite, we depend heavily on imports, but imports, from nearby and friendly countries.

It is well and good for Americans to congratulate themselves on their energy and initiative, on the genius of their free enterprise system. But it would be foolish to underestimate the role that cheap, plentiful and dependable raw materials have played in our national growth and prosperity.

Now this advantage is slowly slipping away. To meet our consumption, domestic raw materials producers are turning to lower-grade and far higher-cost reserves, and as a result, lower-cost and ofter lower-priced foreign raw materials—the fuels in particular—are becoming increasingly attractive. Unfortunately, all this is happening at a time when the Vietnam war and the world balance of power make it almost impossible for the U.S. to defend its overseas supply sources. When we practiced gunboat diplomacy, we really didn't need it. Now, when we need it, we can't use it.

In many cases it may make both economic and political sense to import raw materials from abroad rather than undertake the costly development of low-quality U.S. reserves. Nickel, for instance. Though vital in making certain kinds of steel, it does not really play a central role in our industrial economy. But the energy fuels—and they constitute three-fourths of all the mineral

raw materials used in the U.S.—are a different matter entirely. Oil, to be specific, is gut-basic: It supplies the bulk of the energy that powers the machines that have gradually lifted Western man above the level of a beast of burden.

So what? the free-trader may well ask. Is this dependence on outside resources so bad? Why *not* make use of the lowest cost materials, wherever they may be found?

The simplest answer is: Raw materials are not mere commercial items like shoes or dresses or handicrafts. They are political commodities, the very stuff of world power. In some case, to be sure, we can substitute one material for another (though at an increasing cost). If our tin is cut off, we can package food in plastics, glass or paper; or if copper is unavailable, we can often replace it with aluminum. But cut off half or a fourth of the U.S.' oil, and the nation will grind to a halt.

Friends of the domestic oil industry used to argue that dependence on foreign oil was dangerous to the national security—a pretty threadbare contention in the atomic era, especially after Vietnam has so painfully exposed the limits of American power. But in a more subtle form, the argument holds water. The simple fact is that the hand on the oil pump can be the hand that strangles our economy. How could the U.S. resist if a foreign government, for political reasons, cut off or threatened to cut off a major part of our energy supply? Suppose the Arabs threatened a shutoff in oil unless the U.S. broke its relations with Israel? They do not as yet possess that power. But their power to interfere in U.S. policy is unmistakably increasing at the very moment our power to interfere in theirs is waning.

It now seems certain that U.S. oil output will peak out in 1973 or 1974. Meanwhile, U.S. consumption continues to increase relentlessly. Unless something is done, we will have to step up our imports from the current 25% of consumption to 30%, 35%, even 40%. By 1980 over half the oil used in the U.S. will be imported. Last year our oil import bill was nearly $3 billion. By 1975 it will probably be over $8 billion. Unless offset by exports, such an increase would widen the already gaping hole in our balance of payments by an amount that could be well nigh fatal to international monetary stability.

Yet many Americans, including some who should know better, are surprisingly reluctant to admit the seriousness of the situation. Thy say it is a ploy by the oil industry to preserve oil import quotas and the depletion allowance, to provide higher prices and profits. After all, the U.S. is short of electric power, they say, primarily because of bad luck and bad management. There is no real shortage of fuel, only a shortage of equipment to convert it into electricity. Groups like the American Public Gas Association even dismiss the possibility of a natural gas shortage by contending that there's plenty of gas, only the oil companies have stashed it way in an effort to drive up the price.

"To the extent that the quota system discourages the use of foreign oil," Senator William J. Proxmire maintains, "it exhausts the available reserves. I think we can build our reserves and safeguard them on the basis of the proven reserves and then permit the free market to operate, relying on these reserves in case of emergency." In other words, we're better off using more foreign oil.

But not even Proxmire can claim the shortage of natural gas is artificial. Natural gas provides a third of the U.S.' energy needs. It is also the great growth fuel, whose consumption has been growing by 6.6% annually, *vs.* 4.6% for oil and 1.1% for coal; but as demand has mounted, discoveries of new gas have rapidly declined. The U.S.' proven reserves (excluding Alaska) declined last year for the third year in a row—to 259.6 trillion cubic feet. Currently the U.S. has only an 11.8 year supply left (13.2 years with Alaska), *vs.* 20.2 years a decade ago. By 1974 the supply will almost certainly drop to ten years, a level that Federal Power Commission Chairman John N. Nassikas suggests is the bare minimum.

The gas shortage is not simply threatening, it is here. Last winter, cities like Cleveland were so short of supplies that industry had to shut down for brief periods to conserve fuel for space heating. One after another of the major gas companies have announced they will take on no new large industrial customers for lack of additional supplies. New York State, a recent Public Service Commission study indicated, will be short by 25 billion cubic feet of gas this year and probably 50 billion in 1972. A number of companies, headed by El Paso Natural Gas, are attempting to supplement their supplies by importing high-cost liquefied natural gas from places like Algeria and Nigeria. This in a "recession" year.

HOW MUCH WE'VE GO!

Domestic oil is even shorter than natural gas, though the shortage has been less obvious because of the ease with which oil can be imported. The fact is, however, that as exploration and development have declined, the U.S.' oil reserves have dwindled from a 12-year supply a decade ago to seven or eight years currently. What this means is that if outside supplies were shut off, the U.S. for the first time in its history could no longer meet its own needs; by contrast, as recently as the Six Day War of 1967 the U.S. could supply both its own needs and much of Europe's as well. The import bulge is most apparent in residual oil, on which import quotas were suspended in 1966. Today the East Coast imports some 94% of its residual oil, which powers 40% of its industrial plants and 35% of its power stations.

Unlike oil or gas, U.S. coal reserves—which provide over 20% of U.S. energy needs—seem virtually inexhaustible. We have 800 billion to 1 trillion tons, enough to last 800, 1,000 or 1,500 years, depending on whose estimates you take. But most U.S. coal has a high sulphur content, so that the current concern with air pollution has reduced the reserves usable for electric power generation to perhaps 100 billion tons. But one day soon it should be possible to remove sulphur from power plant stack gases, and someday it should be possible to remove the sulphur from the coal itself, probably as part of a liquefaction or gasification process.

However, sulphur is the least of the coal industry's problems. Much U.S. coal these days is strip mined, and environmental considerations may limit how much its output can be expanded. Further, unlike oil and gas, coal has a high labor content and is beset with labor troubles, and this makes it vulnerable both to disruptions of supply and inflation in costs. In theory, coal has the potential for supplying all of the U.S.' energy needs almost single-handedly. But at least one energy expert—Ford, Bacon & Davis' Gerard C. Gambs—believes the industry's problems are so formidable that coal production will peak out by the mid-Seventies.

But what about nuclear power as a means of maintaining the U.S.' independence of foreign energy? The Nixon Administration, after all, seems to be counting heavily on it and, unless solar power proves feasible, given the enormous growth in the world's demand for energy, nuclear power *is* probably the only long-term solution to the energy problem. Uranium, it is true, may not prove abundant even at $100 a pound, but the breeder reactor expected to come into general use in the 1980s should solve that problem by producing more fissionable material than it consumes in the process of producing power.

TIME IS EVERYTHING

But energy supply is not simply a question of energy reserves: It is also a question of time. It takes seven years to get a nuclear power plant into operation, five years to develop a coal mine and three years to develop an oil field. Meanwhile power must be generated in increasing quantities, cars filled with gas, homes heated; and as things now stand, imported oil alone can quickly fill the gap. "By 1975," says N.W. Freeman, head of Tenneco, Inc., the U.S.' largest gas pipeline company, "I think we're going to have a real energy crisis in this country."

The Nixon Administration steadfastly refuses to take these outcries seriously. "Talk about an energy crisis emerging is exaggerated," says Hendrik Houthakker, who retired last month as a member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Houthakker expects U.S. energy consumption to rise 19% to 82 quadrillion BTUs* by 1975, and at that rate of growth—roughly 3.6% annually—the U.S. might well be able to meets its prospective needs without importing more than 10% of its oil requirements from the Middle East—the maximum, a Cabinet report concluded not long ago, that we could import without jeopardizing national security.

But the Administration may not be entirely objective. Preoccupied as it is with the problem of inflation, it looks on oil imports—temporarily at least—as a more palatable alternative than raising the price of domestic oil to bring out larger supplies. M.A. Wright, chairman of Jersey Standard's Humble Oil affiliate, has grave doubts about the accuracy of the Administration's projections. "To base policy," he says, "on estimates of the most optimistic set of circumstances is hazardous at best."

Wright expects U.S. energy demand to hit 88 quadrillion BTUs by 1975, some 6 quadrillion BTUs higher than does Houthakker. The difference is the equivalent of 3 million barrels of oil a day or more than 10% of last year's total consumption. Given the number of surpises that the economy has provided the experts in recent years and given the relentless drive for higher living standards for more people, it seems simply good sense to count on the larger, not the smaller, increase.

Is there any prospect of providing the necessary margin of safety without becoming politically and economically dependent on politically unstable areas of the world? The answer is: Yes, but at a price. The U.S. has enormous reserves of both coal and oil shale, so it is clearly not short of fuel. And even its oil and gas reserves are far from exhausted; the National Petroleum Council estimates that 55% of the nation's oil and 60% of its natural gas remain to be found.

But the means of developing these reserves are immensely expensive. For example, 60% of the undiscovered gas is believed to be either more than 15,000 feet underground, offshore, or in Alaska. The trick is to provide the incentive to prove up these reserves and bring them into production on an economic basis. The same is true of oil shale. Or the gasification of coal. To be blunt about it, U.S. industry and U.S. consumers will have to pay a price to remain relatively self-sufficient in energy.

Most oil executives—and many economists as well—argue that the pricing of natural gas is one of the principal elements in solving the energy supply problem. They claim that natural gas has been priced too low, and that the U.S. is now going to have to pay something like its true cost.

In the mid-Fifties the Supreme Court ruled that the wellhead price of natural gas sold in interstate commerce fell under Federal Power Commission jurisdiction. The FPC felt that its obligation was to keep natural gas prices

*British Thermal Units, that is. A measure of the heat content of a given fuel.

low even in the face of rising costs. In addition, pipeline companies undercut prices even more by selling off-peak gas at bargain prices in order to realize scale economies in gas transportation. As a result, demand skyrocketed, and natural gas took over much of the market from coal and oil. How could it fail to? On the Gulf Coast even today oil goes for $3.60 a barrel, natural gas (on an equivalent BTU basis) for $1.60.

As rising costs began pushing against the Federal Power Commission price ceiling, investment turned away from the gas industry. What gas was discovered moved increasingly into the intrastate market, outside the FPC's jurisdiction. Gas exploration fell off and, since oil is found in conjunction with gas maybe 25% of the time, the U.S.' oil reserves dwindled as well. Equally important, because it was the cheapest, cleanest, least-polluting fuel availabe, the gas price provided a ceiling for competitive fuels like residual oil and coal.

As an analogy, imagine a shopkeeper who lays in a five-year inventory at relatively low prices. The government insists that he sell his stock at a modest markup from cost at a time when costs are rising. The result would be a bargain for consumers—for a time. But with his selling price fixed below replacement cost, the shopkeeper couldn't afford to reorder, and in time his suppliers would have to stop producing.

Thus the natural gas price structure not only discouraged oil and gas exploration—the total number of wells drilled, for example, declined nearly 40% in a decade—it also slowed the development of both the coal industry, whose markets natural gas usurped, and the newer forms and processes of energy that technology was throwing up—nuclear power, the gasification and liquefaction of coal, the retorting of oil shale.

At last, however, the FPC is beginning to recognize the consequences of its policies, and Chairman Nassikas at least seems determined these days to get prices up. "If it's essential that there be price adjustments to reflect high costs and intercompetitive energy markets," he says, with bureaucratic firmness, "then it's essential for the Commission to do what needs to be done." The FPC has already deregulated small gas producers entirely. In May it okayed a substantial increase in prices on new gas for the Texas Gulf Coast, and last month it approved an even more generous increase for Louisiana.

But it's unlikely that even these increases, which affect only a fraction of the total supply, are anything like enough. The ceiling on a new gas on the Texas Gulf Coast is now 24 cents per mcf (thousand cubic feet). But gas sold under contracts dated between 1961 and 1968 still goes for 18 to 19 cents, and gas under contracts before 1961 for only 15 cents.

"Gas prices," says the chairman of one of the U.S.' largest oil companies, "ought to be deregulated entirely, so that gas could find its own markets and its own competition. Oil and gas have been consumed at prices so far below their replacement cost that we have now reached the point where they are no longer available in sufficient quantities. We need higher prices. But the oil and gas industry is really one and the same, and whether we get it for one or the other or both makes very little difference. I feel that fuel prices are going to rise to the level of the highest cost fuel."

That provides a considerable range. Cabot Corp. hopes to buy Algerian LNG (liquefied natural gas) for between 68 cents and 85 cents a million BTUs, sell it for pipeline peaking purposes for well over $1. By contrast, natural gas sells for 46 cents, low-sulphur residual oil for 75 cents, coal for maybe 78 cents. In this case, Pennzoil United's Chairman Hugh Liedtke, for one, expects gas prices to double. On the Texas Gulf Coast unregulated intrastate gas now goes for nearly twice the price of interstate gas.

PRICE PANACEA?

Substantial increases in gas prices would not only increase the U.S.' gas reserves; they would retard the growth in demand and channel natural gas into its most high-valued uses—home heating, for instance, rather than boiler fuel. In theory at least, such an increase would enable coal and nuclear energy to compete more effectively in the utility and industrial markets, trigger an increase in the price of domestic crude, improve the returns on investment and so stimulate exploration and development, and bring nearer the day when oil shale and synthetic oil and gas could also become competitive.

"Prices should be set," says John Emerson, Chase Manhattan energy economist, "so it doesn't matter to an operator whether he finds oil or gas. If you want him to find gas, you have to provide a higher return. After all, the odds against finding commercial oil are 40 to 1. You get better odds than that at the racetrack." These days the U.S.' major discovery prospects lie in the Gulf of Mexico, the Gulf of Alaska and the East Coast offshore—expensive places all, both for finding oil and bringing it in.

Under these circumstances, why not then take the risk of depending on foreign oil and liquefied natural gas? Wouldn't the risks seem worth taking in return for the lower costs, both for industry and for the ultimate consumer?

The answer is: It's not that simple.

Is there any reason to believe that, once the U.S. is firmly dependent on them, the oil-producing countries will fail to take advantage of their strength? Not because the Arabs and Latins and Asians are greedy or unfair, but because—as Americans frequently like to say—business is business. After all, the underdeveloped nations have long had to absorb the U.S.' and Europe's high labor costs when they purchased manufactured goods. Why shouldn't they charge what the market will bear, if we become as dependent on their energy as once they were on our manufactured goods? If that happens, the question no longer is: Will energy costs go up? It becomes instead: Will the higher costs be borne in foreign exchange or in higher U.S. consumer prices?

Already there is evidence that the oil-producing nations are beginning to realize their potential power. Last spring, in winning large price increases from the oil companies, the producing country cartel known as OPEC—the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries—had its first real evidence of the power it could wield over the consuming countries: Europe, which is almost totally dependent on Middle Eastern oil, will soon be paying $15 billion a year more for its oil, and there is no reason to expect the price will not go even higher.

The game could become even more dangerous than that. Libya, for instance, has already hinted it may attempt to keep the consuming countries captive—to price its oil just low enough to make it impossible for them to develop other forms of energy on a competitive basis. The old monopoly game: Knock the competitors out, then charge whatever prices the market will bear.

TIME IS RUNNING

Europe is probably captive already, but the U.S., with its abundant reserves of alternative if higher-priced fuels, still has the option of remaining its own master—provided it is willing to pay the price. But wouldn't higher prices produce a windfall profit for the oil companies, at least for those with large proven domestic reserves? It might for a time, but there are worse things that could happen to the country than to strengthen the oil industry. In the long run, the windfall would vanish before the huge cost of developing new reserves and alternative sources of energy, and the ever-present threat of increased imports would remain a weapon against oil company greed.

So far, Washington has refused to take the energy problem seriously. The Administration still claims that there is no real energy shortage impending, and it has the figures to prove it. But it can hardly be comforting to remember that much of the current shortage of electric power stems from the failure of the FPC in its celebrated 1964 National Power Survey to foresee the unprecedented growth in demand that materialized in the late Sixties.

In last month's energy message to Congress, the main thrust of the President's recommendations was toward the solution of the problems of the Eighties rather than those of the Seventies—stepped up research on coal gasification and the development of the fast-breeder reactor as the principal power source of the future. The message did propose more research on desulphurization, did recommend putting lease sales of federal oil and gas properties on an orderly basis and did start the ball rolling for an oil shale lease program. But it skirted such critical issues as the natural gas price, the import control program and the question of national self-sufficiencies. Equally important, it made no suggestions, tax or otherwise, about ways and means of stimulating the development of our vast reserves of conventional fuels.

At this point, Congress and the Administration are inclined to treat the energy problem as they did the railroad problem all through the Sixties—study it to death.

PAYING THE PIPER

Make no mistake about it, whatever path the country takes, it is going to end up paying much higher prices for its fuel and other raw materials. In copper, nickel and similar minerals, prices will inevitably rise, no matter where we get our supplies from. It's not simply that exploration is more difficult, that ore grades are lower, and that labor and materials costs are going up all the time, but that capital costs are soaring as well—new copper capacity now costs $3,000 a ton, *vs.* $1,500 a ton 25 years ago—this at a time when money costs are high and likely to remain so.

The oil situation is more complicated because dependence on foreign sources is politically and economically far more dangerous. For the U.S. there is more at stake than whether the oil industry—or copper or iron ore or whatever—is or is not making too much money. The unpleasant truth is: We've lived high on our low-cost raw materials. Now we must reach into our pockets and at last pay the price for our style of living.

IS THE PARTY OVER?

Imagine having to pay 80 cents to 90 cents a gallon for gasoline. Or seeing your home heating bill go from $400 to $800 a year. All this in 1971 dollars: Throw in an inflation factor, and the gasoline could be $1 and the heating bill $1,000. At the same time the price of electricity jumps 30%. In fact, things are so tight you think twice about air-conditioning the new house you're building, and you spend half your time barking at the kids to shut off the goddam lights and keep the thermostat down. And the car—well, they make very few of those big station wagons any more. They cost too much, and they're even more costly to operate.

These are just some of the more obvious changes that the deterioration of America's resource position could bring about in the next ten years. The standard of living might continue to rise, but the rate of gain would certainly slow, and things are sure to cost more—in real (uninflated) terms. People will start living a bit closer to the chest, pinching dollars if not pennies, making do with things a little longer. Britain went through a similar period when the Empire on which it depended for low-cost raw mate-

rials began to break up, and if cultural historian Brooks Adams' analysis is right, something like that may have also happened in ancient Rome.

Since we've exhausted most of the world's low-cost mineral reserves, what remains is going to cost more to get at. But we're unlikely to run out: After all, in economic terms, that never really happens. Somewhere, price sets a balance between supply and demand. "If something is scarce," says Harvard economist Hendrik Houthakker, one of the President's chief economic advisers, "the price has to go up. We have almost unlimited supplies of copper of very low grade. If the price were $1 a pound, say, there would be so much available it would put a ceiling on the market." In this area at least, Adam Smith, not John Maynard Keynes, is the authority.

The price rise is already well under way. Even at its present cyclical low, copper sells at about twice the cyclical low of a decade ago. The price of coal has just about doubled over the past three years, the price of residual oil has risen more than 60% in the past year—far exceeding any inflationary effect. In the past two years, the price of electricity has risen for the first time in more than 44 years; and David Freeman, head of the energy section of the President's Office of Science and Technology, wouldn't be surprised to see it rise 30% over the decade ahead. "Over the next 15 years," says John F. O'Leary, former head of the Bureau of Mines, "we can expect roughly a doubling of the real price of natural gas to the consumer. That's big news because the price has been going down ever since we kept books. But we've bottomed out now, and it's going to start up and start up sharply."

Unfortunately, these cost increases are coming at a time when, quite apart from inflation, the U.S. is taking on the burden of a number of other increased costs. With much of the railroad industry near bankruptcy, consumers are going to have to pay something like the real cost of transportation for the first time in decades, and they are going to have to pay the rising costs of cleaning up the pollution their consumption has created and pay for having squandered for decades both their physical and capital resources. "The consumer," as Gulf Resources' President Robert Allen puts it, "has enjoyed a discounted price on almost everything for the last 20 years." But that discount is now gone forever. In fact, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Murray L. Weidenbaum believes much of the 50% growth he foresees in the gross national product in the next five years will have to go to pollution control rather than higher living standards.

Worse yet, the Government could well increase the burden by taxing energy on a progressive basis, partly to conserve resources and partly to increase revenues. In time, this could mean a gasoline price as high as Britain's, that is, 80 cents to 90 cents a gallon.

Such prices will inevitably push the consumer toward energy-consuming devices that cost less to operate. The U.S. motorist, now keen on economy cars, has already begun to get the idea, and soon he may get it in air conditioners and TV sets as well. "Energy," says Freeman, "has been such a bargain that there has never been much of a design effort."

"As the need for efficiency begins to motivate investment," says O'Leary, "we'll be able to do more with less. Instead of 31%-efficient power plants, we'll spend the money to develop a 70%-efficient conversion technology. It's going to affect every decision you make—the size of your car, whether to air-condition your house or maintain your apartment at 75 or 72. Energy's been a 'free goods' for a generation, and now it's going to cost."

As it does, those bicycles you see in growing number on the streets could become more than a faddish form of exercise, and Congress could begin to appropriate money to rebuild our shattered public transportation system, if only to cut down the amount of energy needed to take men to work. Perhaps even compact houses could become a necessity in order to save raw materials.

In short, to preserve the good life, we're probably going to have to change some of our ideas of what the good life consists of.

QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO CONSTITUENTS IN SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, MISSOURI

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, it is a known fact that our representative form of government under which our great Nation operates is, by no means, perfect. However, it has been proven to be the most successful of any other form tried in the past.

It is my humble opinion that the only way in which this representative Republic can continue to strive toward perfection is by true representation of the people. In the words of Thomas Jefferson:

That government is the strongest of which every man feels himself a part.

In order that I am able to have a general idea and better understanding of the opinions of my constituents in the Seventh Congressional District of Missouri, I have compiled an objective list of questions which will be mailed in the near future to every mailbox in my district.

I have always felt that by knowing what the residents of the Seventh Congressional District of Missouri think and how they feel about various issues and problems confronting our Nation today can I best represent their interests. I shall report the results later.

Mr. Speaker, I insert this opinion questionnaire herewith in the RECORD:

QUESTIONNAIRE

A. One of the provisions of the *Welfare Bill* recently passed by the House of Representatives guarantees an annual income of $2,400 to a family of four. Do you agree with this provision?

1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Undecided.

B. In order to *help* the U.S. economy, what should the *Federal* government do?

1. Impose wage and price controls; 2. Reduce government spending; 3. Increase government spending.

C. What do you think the United States' course of action should be concerning the Viet Nam conflict?

1. Continue with President Nixon's present policy of Vietnamization and phased withdrawal; 2. Immediate and complete withdrawal of *all* U.S. troops; 3. Publicly set a future date by which *all* U.S. troops will be withdrawn.

E. Do you think that the U.S. should expand its domestic and trade relations with Communist countries, including Red China?

1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Undecided.

F. Would you favor a Federally-operated *catastrophic* illness and injury program financed by employer and employee contributions?

1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Undecided.

G. Do you think strikers should be permitted Federal food stamps?

1. Yes; 2. No; 3. Undecided.

AFTER EACH OF THE FOLLOWING NATIONAL PRIORITIES, PLEASE WRITE A *NUMBER* TO SHOW IF GOVERNMENT SPENDING SHOULD BE:

1. Increased; 2. Decreased; or 3. Kept as is.

I. Crime, lawlessness.
J. National defense.
K. Education.
L. Housing.
M. Pollution.
N. Space exploration.
O. Welfare.
P. Drug control.

Age—1. 18–20; 2. 21–24; 3. 25–34; 4. 35–44; 5. 45–64; 6. 65–Over.

(Optional)

Political preference—1. Republican; 2. Democrat; 3. Independent.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, we have read and heard much about the Pentagon papers. Not all newspaper publishers have supported the publication of these classified documents by the New York Times and other newspapers. One of those who has spoken out on this issue is James S. Copley, chairman of the corporation that publishes the Copley Newspapers. His position was eloquently stated in an address before the California-Nevada Associated Press Association on July 10 and I include his speech following these remarks so that our colleagues may have the benefit of reading them:

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

We should remind ourselves that—in this fast-moving, ever-changing world—there are certain fundamental values that remain with us. One is The Associated Press and the spirit, which it represents, of a dedication to objective, dispassionate reporting of man and his doings.

This objective, dispassionate reporting is what The Associated Press was created to accomplish, and, despite all the change . . . all the turmoil . . . since 1848, that is what The Associated Press—our Associated Press—is accomplishing today.

This, then, is what makes our co-operative unique . . . unchanging dedication to a journalistic ideal which, really, is unmatched anywhere in the world.

Only in the United States of America do we have publishers, broadcasters and others in the communications industry banding together in one organization for the sole purpose of having unbiased and objective news reports. The AP has no other purpose.

Much of the post-war world has seen the development of national news services frequently supported in whole or part by government funds—with the inevitable results.

Speaking from my own experience with the Inter American Press Association, attempts to make the flow of news conform to government controls unfortunately continue in many areas of the world.

It is good, then, that the basic principles of The Associated Press have remained unchanged for more than a century.

Methods of gathering, distributing and displaying news, however, are changing rapidly, as we all know.

As you saw earlier in the film, we have AP men whose primary writing tool is a CRT console. We have a technical staff whose mission no longer is limited to the care and feeding of M15 teleprinters.

So, with our basic mission of objective news unchanged, there is great change under way *in the methods* we use to accomplish that basic mission. As is already evident, this is not change simply for the sake of change.

One of the great strengths of The Associated Press has been its strong state and regional reports. After World War II, many thought there would be a diminishing of interest in local news as we faced tremendous international and national challenges.

However, in recent years, there has been a significant change in public attitude. Government and international problems have grown so enormously that the average citizen, as an individual, has felt a sense of frustration in trying to influence them or make his views felt. As a result, he has turned toward those things that he feels he *can* deal with and influence.

His interest has sharpened in the local and regional events that affect him directly and personally, problems in schools . . . in traffic . . . in the hundreds of urban ills that plague suburbs and cities.

If San Francisco solves a school problem, it is of interest in Los Angeles, Reno and Phoenix, to mention just a few cities.

In short, the reader's interest in local and regional news has been intensified. It is closer to home and he can play a part in it.

This is not to say that he has lost his interest in national affairs. To the contrary, he is deeply interested in them, and our obligation to him in this regard is very great.

This obligation is sharply underscored by the current crisis created by the publication of secret state documents by the New York Times and other newspapers, and by the Supreme Court decision that followed.

The reading public is hungry for news of the matter. In this case, however, it is not just news. It is news that involves us very deeply.

Consequently, it would be idle were we, responsible members of an old and respected press association, to complete this meeting without facing up to a few of the realities which the crisis embodies for us.

Viewed soberly, it is plain that an almost monumental challenge has been laid down to our basic dedication to pursue and present the news to our readers fairly, and in complete and dispassionate form.

In this regard, I believe that time will show the New York Times, and other newspapers that have elected to identify with the Times, have done the profession of journalism a disservice.

The Times has contended that the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America is in issue.

But is it really?

The First Amendment prohibits the Congress from passing laws abridging freedom of the press. I doubt if there is any likelihood that Congress has any such intent.

What has happened really has nothing to do with freedom of the press. The New York Times came into the possession of stolen documents which the government regards as sensitive. Making no known effort to procure their declassification to permit their legal publication—and against the advice of the federal government—the Times elected to publish the documents. In short, there was a straightforward route to follow, not in any way involved with freedom of the press, and the Times chose not to follow it.

Apart from questions of the relative sensitivity of each of the 7,000 documents involved; apart from the damage that may come from giving the world an accurate insight to our private, national reasoning processes; apart from the possibility that our enemies may benefit in their cryptographic analysis from seeing the exact text of our secret communications; apart from all of these things there is another matter which affects all of us here.

It is the question of press behavior.

The Supreme Court did not rule on this. The Court merely declared that, in its opinion, publication of the material in the hands of the Times and its colleagues would not gravely injure the United States of America.

The Court did not in any way condone the fact that the Times and its colleagues received stolen property and that they did so knowingly. This behavior certainly cannot enhance the luster of our great profession.

Against this background it is imperative that journalists at large meet fully their obligation to the public to pursue with great agressiveness every critical element of the issue.

For instance, too little is known so far concerning the how, the why and the wherefore of the stolen papers. The reading public is hungry to know who were the various people involved in the theft, how the Times received the documents and how other newspapers also received them.

They are curious to know who harbored Mr. Ellsberg, why the Times has not yet been prosecuted for unauthorized possession of stolen goods, how this whole chain of events is affecting our international relations, and the answers to many other questions.

In short, we are involved in a serious news story and, as is our tradition, we must do the job fully and fearlessly, even though it may affect us adversely.

As all of these grave issues swirl about us, I believe it will be beneficial for us to reflect again upon facts which we all know but rarely articulate.

First, a free press is a tap-root element of the wonderful society we call The United States of America.

Second, a free press is, in itself, not a guarantee that the obligations of our profession to the people will be fully discharged. We must be a *responsible* press as well as a free one; a law-abiding, dependable and fair press.

These are the qualities that bring us respect, and the word "respect" goes to the heart of it all.

Without respectability there is no credibility; and without credibility, all else—even the exciting technological developments we have just seen on film—will lose meaning.

For technology is only a means to an end—and the end that we are seeking demands freedom, responsibility, dependability, respectability, credibility.

These words are not going to lose their meaning. They represent the highest ideals of our profession—they give the only real meaning to our business.

The great and responsible journalists of this country will see to it that they remain our ideals . . . that these words continue to mean what they say.

There is just too much at stake.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Feel welcome in San Diego. While there is much to be done in our meeting, there is also much to be seen in our fine city. Enjoy your stay.

MORGANTOWN, W. VA., PILOTS FLY FOR CANCER RESEARCH

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the people of Morgantown and Monongalia County, W. Va., in a genuine display of public spirit, will gather Sunday, August 8, at Morgantown Municipal Airport for a truly worthy cause—cancer research.

In a gratifying expression of self-help and local initiative, a large number of citizens, pilots, radio stations, businesses and newspapers are sponsoring "Fly Around Morgantown for a Tuppence—2 cents a Pound." Cooperating with the cancer research fund drive of the American Cancer Society, the group will provide planes and pilots to take any person who wants to contribute to a good cause on a sightseeing flight for 2 cents per pound of the sightseer's weight, with a minimum charge of $2. Sponsors of the program will offer valuable prizes in a drawing for those participating. Prizes include an evening at Lakeview for two, a set of Senaca driftwood glasses, $50 cash from Allegheny Airlines, and many others.

This entertaining program is a demonstration of the ingenuity and initiative of people within a community who want to help—Morgantown, W. Va.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article on the flying cancer research drive in the Morgantown Dominion-News, written by my friend Bill Hart, be printed in full in the RECORD.

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

[From the Morgantown (W. Va.) Dominion-News, Aug. 4, 1971]

FLY SUNDAY: FUN AND GOOD CAUSE

(By Bill Hart)

Almost everybody wants to "do something" about eliminating cancer as a killer . . . only a handful of mortals really have a chance to do the research work that is so vital to unlocking the mysteries of cancer and what will eliminate it, but ALL of us can help provide the funds for this research and on Sunday—8 August, 1971—at the Morgantown Municipal Airport 'helping' comes in a fun package that everyone surely can afford . . . in other words, you ride for "two pence" a pound—minimum $2—and all of this dough goes to the drive for funds for research for cancer . . . nearly everybody likes to ride airplanes and to get a fine view of your home town and the surrounding area at the prices available is an opportunity that comes rarely . . . and this time, friends, those backing the show, say they will have a "galaxy of planes" manned by some great names in aviation to take care of what they hope will be day long crowds.

This year—the show is commanded by Colonel Ham who is a "Johnny-come-lately" to our village via a more than 20-year stint with the Air Forces including some fantastic experiences as chief of many of the Air Forces' more important test programs—and now is the operating head of Travel Air (the Ruby aviation activity) at the airport . . . Betty Bazdek—the old pro at the cancer show business—is another and she and Colonel Ham has lined up a large group of aides—whose identities will come forth at proper moments and under proper publicity banners . . . suffice—now—so far as z-1 is concerned: if you support any public program of raising money outside your own church donations this cancer fund drive should rank right at the top . . . and when you get a ride in a plane around town thrown in—well—what do you want—egg in your beer?

We hope, for nostalgia sake, they will have the old pro of all pros flying part of the time on Sunday—we mean, of course, the Lindbergh of the Alleghenies—Samuel Jackson Franklin Roosevelt Jones Frankman who has more than 27,000 hours of pilot time and more importantly has flown z-1 more than

any other single pilot and between us we have more fantastic stories—all with foundations of truth to begin those stories—and perhaps as Samuel Jackson Franklin Roosevelt Jones Frankman cruises he will either tell you one of his favorite stories or croon one of the tunes he uses to quiet z-1's nerves when we get into very bad weather; and, in addition to trying to keep the plane right side up we think of all our sins, wish we had not sinned or something like that . . . but in addition to "Ole Sam"—that the guy's short name when you yell at him in a downdraft—there wil be a flock of other pilots—all highly qualified—eager to show you the town and by doing so contribute their bit to the cause of finding the basic reasons for cancer on the road to providing the preventatives as well as the cures.

Does z–1 plan to be on hand for the show on Sunday? . . . yes, definitely, but he does not plan to be there all of the time nor does he intend to go riding with everybody who may wish to ride with an old sky hawk nor will it be probable—although possible—Samuel Jackson Franklin Roosevelt Jones Frankman and z-1 will come together in the same flight . . . this dialogue would probably be too much for the ordinary . . . let's help the cancer drive" person taking his or her first or one of "first rides" . . . the two of us together in an aircraft—especially with z-1 riding "shotgun" is not conducive to quieting the nerves of one who is a little scared of riding the "big iron birds."

Z–1 knows better than most what research has done in beginning the fight against cancer—z-1 knows what skilled surgeons can now do if early discovery is followed by positive action—and z-1 is convinced there is no drive for funds for any public program—or private one—more worthy than the one in the fight against cancer . . . so if you can—please—go to the airport on Sunday—get yourself weighed and take a ride and thereby contribute to the cause—if you can't take the time—if you are not going to be here—weigh yourself on the bathroom scales and mail your donation to Colonel Ham, Morgantown Airport Cancer Drive Fund—how about it?

FARM CREDIT ACT OF 1971

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, as a co-sponsor of S. 1483, the Farm Credit Act of 1971, I want to state briefly why on Thursday, July 29, I supported Senate passage of this measure.

A review of the history of the cooperative Farm Credit System presents a picture of considerable accomplishment. The willingness of farmers and ranchers to develop and capitalize their own lending business is laudatory and we need to be sure they have the proper tools to continue providing agriculture with its increasingly important credit needs.

The Farm Credit System plays an important part in Pennsylvania's agriculture. At the end of the year, for example, nearly 11,000 individual farmers and 19 of their cooperatives were using almost $200 million of credit extended by the System. During the year many more dollars were borrowed for short periods of time and were repaid. The tailoring of credit to the precise needs of farmers by whatever method has been found necessary without increasing borrowing costs, has been one of the hallmarks of the System. This legislation provides some important and much needed flexibility enabling the System to continue providing farmers with the credit they need, properly tailored to the agricultural industry which is unlike other businesses in its ownership composition and hazards of operation.

Many of us have little realization of the changes which have occurred in the agricultural economy since the original farm credit law was considered. Land costs alone are significant, but agriculture has also been involved in mechanization. Facility and equipment costs are rising each year and the investment per worker in agriculture is as great or greater than in industry. Many established farmers face a real challenge in managing these increased costs and young farmers find the challenge almost unconquerable. The Farm Credit Act of 1971 contains provisions which will help both groups.

One of the important provisions in this bill is the removal of the fixed percentage limitation—65 percent of normal farmland value—now placed on mortgage loans made by Federal Land Banks. This limitation relates the maximum mortgage to a specific percentage value of farm real estate. Regardless of how progressive that farmer is, how good a record he has made as a successful farmer or whatever other assets or recommendations he has, this limitation is enforced across the board. For young farmers and for highly successful farmers, the limitation presents an unreasonable and arbitrary barrier for their credit needs.

The proposed legislation provides for recognition of this problem and will allow the System to exercise credit judgment in loaning as much of the real estate value for mortgage purposes as they deem sound, but never to exceed 100 percent of normal farmland value. Considering the Land Banks' past record in Pennsylvania and elsewhere in America, I believe they can and will continue to extend sound mortgage loans without percentage restrictions in the law, and these will be mortgages better attuned to the conditions under which farmers must operate today.

Another change which must be recognized is the size of some of the equipment which must be employed by farmers. By national standards our farms are not large, and many farmers cannot afford to own these larger machines—grain combines, for example—and do not have enough acreage to use them efficiently on their farms. They are dependent on someone else buying the machines and then hiring services performed as they have need. This legislation provides for farm credit to finance those persons who provide such services for farmers. This will help our smaller family farms to survive.

Some of our Pennsylvania farmers, like the mushroom growers in the Southeast part of the State, have small acreages but a very concentrated operation. Investment in buildings and facilities is heavy and the cost of production is high. Without the large acreage of land which provides security for many farm loans, these operators have a less attractive base for credit. The Farm Credit bill would enable Production Credit Associations to participate with other lenders in making such loans. I am convinced the greater opportunity for lenders, such as PCA's and commercial banks, to work together in meeting the unusual credit needs of farmers has great merit. This kind of cooperation is important for the farmers and important for the future of commercial banks which are also dedicated to helping agriculture.

I note, Mr. President, that the Agriculture Committee took a close look at testimony of commercial bankers and insurance companies and, as a result the bill we passed has an amendment affecting the Farm Credit Investment Bond. Any such amendment should prevent an unfair drain on deposits of rural commercial banks in order to help maintain the spirit of cooperation among all lenders which is so necessary for the future of rural credit needs.

The high standard of living we enjoy in this country is in no small measure related to the modernization and efficiency which our Nation's farmers have achieved. They need a modern and efficient credit source to continue this contribution to our economy. I believe the Farm Credit Act of 1971 helps assure that such a dependable source of credit will continue to exist and I am pleased we have passed this bill. It would be my hope that the House can now move this measure forward so that we can get this bill to the President's desk for signature.

FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT, JUNE 1971

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I include a release highlighting the June 1971 civilian personnel report of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures, together with a summary of Federal employment changes during fiscal year 1971, ended June 30, 1971:

THE MONTH OF JUNE 1971

Total civilian employment in the Executive, Legislative and Judicial Branches of the Federal Government in the month of June was 2,923,100, as compared with 2,879,767 in the preceding month of May. This was a net increase of 43,333, due primarily to regular seasonal employment and summer employment of the "disadvantaged" under youth opportunity programs.

EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Civilian employment in the Executive Branch in the month of June totaled 2,882,937. This was a net increase of 42,111 as compared with employment reported in the preceding month of May. Employment by months in fiscal 1971, which began July 1, 1970, follows:

Month	Employment	Increase	Decrease
July 1970	2,942,517		−1,594
August	2,901,856		−40,661
September	2,851,885		−49,971
October	2,838,664		−13,221
November	2,843,459	+4,795	
December	2,838,320		−5,139
January 1971	2,829,754		−8,566
February	2,834,209	+4,455	
March	2,834,899	+690	
April	2,844,772	+9,873	
May	2,840,826		−3,946
June	2,882,937	+42,111	

Total employment in civilian agencies of the Executive Branch for the month of June was 1,728,561, an increase of 29,733 as compared with the May total of 1,698,828. Total civilian employment in the military agencies in June was 1,154,376, an increase of 12,378 as compared with 1,141,998 in May.

The civilian agencies of the Executive Branch reporting the largest net increases were Veterans' Administration with 9,791, Agriculture with 8,536, Interior with 3,857, Transportation with 2,030, Justice with 1,719 and NASA with 1,052. The agency reporting the largest net decrease was Treasury with 3,768.

In the Department of Defense the largest increases in civilian employment were reported by Navy with 6,117, Army with 2,788, Air Force with 1,916 and Defense Supply Agency with 1,295.

Total Executive Branch employment inside the United States in June was 2,694,471, an increase of 51,507 as compared with May. Total employment outside the United States in June was 188,466, a decrease of 9,396 as compared with May.

The total of 2,882,937 civilian employees of the Executive Branch reported for June 1971 includes 2,522,195 full time employees in permanent positions—an increase of 2,973 from the preceding month of May (See Table 2 of accompanying report.)

The Executive Branch employment total of 2,882,937 includes some foreign nationals employed abroad, but in addition there were 97,682 foreign nationals working for U.S. agencies overseas during June who were not counted in the usual personnel reports. The number in May was 98,057.

LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES

Employment in the Legislative Branch in the month of June totaled 32,433, an increase of 1,196 as compared with the preceding month of May. Employment in the Judicial Branch in the month of June totaled 7,730, an increase of 26 as compared with May.

DISADVANTAGED PERSONS

The total of 2,923,100 reported by the committee for June includes 59,958 disadvantaged persons employed under federal opportunity programs, an increase of 37,368 over the preceding month of May. (See Table 4 of the accompanying report.)

SUMMARY FOR FISCAL YEAR 1971—ENDED JUNE 30, 1971

For many years the Committee, in its statement accompanying the monthly personnel report for June—the last month of the fiscal year—has summarized the changes in federal civilian employment during the year ending. Following this practice, changes during fiscal year 1971 are summarized below:

Total civilian employment in the Executive, Legislative and Judicial Branches of the Federal Government was 2,923,100 as of June 30, 1971, as compared with 2,981,865 in June a year ago. This was a decrease of 58,765.

LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES

Employment in the Legislative Branch in June 1971 totaled 32,433, an increase of 1,566 as compared with June 1970. Employment in the Judicial Branch in June 1971 totaled 7,730, an increase of 843 as compared with June 1970.

EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Civilian employment in the Executive Branch totaled 2,882,937 in June 1971, as compared with 2,944,111 in June 1970, a net decrease of 61,174 during the year.

Total Executive Branch employment inside the United States in June 1971 was 2,694,471, a decrease of 37,934 as compared with June 1970. Total employment outside the United States in June 1971 was 188,466, a decrease of 23,240 as compared with June a year ago.

Civilian employment by the military agencies decreased 64,831 during fiscal year 1971, and there was a net increase of 3,657 in employment by the civilian agencies. Employment by civilian agencies in June 1971 totaled 1,728,561 as compared with 1,724,904 a year ago. Civilian employment by military agencies totaled 1,154,376 in June 1971 as compared with 1,219,207 a year ago.

The major change during the fiscal year was the 64,831 decrease in civilian employment by the Defense Department. Among the civilian agencies the largest increases were reported by Veterans' Administration with 10,599, Justice with 5,038, Transportation with 4,399, Treasury with 4,258, Tennessee Valley with 3,553 and Department of HEW with 3,104. Environmental Protection Agency increased 1,781 since December 1970 (when it was established by transfers mainly from Interior and HEW). The largest civilian agency decreases were reported by Commerce with 23,227 (due to 1970 census activities), Post Office with 12,305, Interior with 2,870, and NASA with 2,014.

Full-time employment in permanent positions in Executive Branch agencies totaled 2,522,195 in June 1971, as compared with 2,552,571 in June 1970—a decrease of 30,376. Reduction in the Department of Defense totaled 67,138 during the year, offset by a net increase of 36,762 in civilian agencies. Civilian agencies reporting the major increases in full-time permanent employment were Veterans' Administration with 10,138, Justice with 4,649, Transportation with 4,610, Treasury with 4,115, and Commerce with 3,008. The largest decreases were reported by Interior with 1,970, NASA 1,745, Selective Service with 1,096, and AID with 1,009.

CHANGES IN FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYMENT, AS OF THE END OF FISCAL YEARS 1961–71

Federal civilian employment changes, fiscal years 1961–71, in Executive agencies—showing defense agencies, civilian agencies, and totals—follows:

Fiscal year-end (as of June 30)	Department of Defense	Civilian agencies (except Defense)	Total
1961	−4,725	+41,062	+36,337
1962	+27,111	+50,292	+77,403
1963	−19,582	+32,621	+13,039
1964	−20,183	−7,780	−27,963
1965	+3,955	+22,590	+26,545
1966	+104,395	+125,511	+229,906
1967	+164,474	+77,443	+241,917
1968	+14,384	+37,979	+52,363
1969	+24,569	−4,822	+19,747
1970	−122,411	+26,160	−96,251
1971	−64,831	+3,657	−61,174

In addition, Mr. Speaker, I include a tabulation, excerpted from the Joint Committee report, on personnel employed full-time in permanent positions by executive branch agencies during June 1971, showing comparisons with June 1970, and the budget estimates for June 1971 and June 1972:

FULL-TIME PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT

Major agencies	June 1970	June 1971	Estimated June 30, 1971 [1]	Estimated June 30 [2] 1972 [1]
Agriculture	82,912	84,252	85,600	87,300
Commerce	25,427	28,435	28,400	29,600
Defense:				
Civil	30,297	30,063	30,900	31,300
Military	1,129,642	1,062,738	1,079,500	1,061,600
Health, Education, and Welfare	102,297	104,283	105,300	102,100
Housing and Urban Development	14,661	16,030	16,000	16,700
Interior	59,349	57,379	58,000	59,100
Justice	38,013	42,662	43,600	46,800
Labor	10,217	11,371	11,600	12,100
Post Office	565,618	564,782	585,200	590,500
State	23,618	23,398	23,600	23,700
Agency for International Development	14,486	13,477	14,000	11,100
Transportation	63,879	68,489	69,600	71,900
Treasury	86,020	90,135	93,500	100,400
Atomic Energy Commission	7,033	6,920	7,000	7,000
Civil Service Commission	5,214	5,324	5,500	5,900
Environmental Protection Agency [2]		5,959	6,700	8,900
General Services Administration	36,400	38,076	39,900	41,600
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	31,223	29,478	29,900	28,400
Office of Economic Opportunity	2,387	2,478	2,500	2,500
Panama Canal	14,635	13,967	14,800	14,900
Selective Service System	6,665	5,569	6,500	6,500
Small Business Administration	4,015	4,004	4,100	4,200
Tennessee Valley Authority	12,657	13,612	13,300	13,300
U.S. Information Agency	9,989	9,773	9,900	9,900
Veterans' Administration	148,497	158,635	154,400	160,800
All other agencies	27,420	28,998	29,700	31,200
Contingencies			5,000	10,000
Subtotal	2,552,571	2,520,287	2,574,000	2,589,300
Public Service Careers		1,908	[3] 4,900	
Total	2,552,571	2,522,195	2,578,900	

[1] Source: As projected in 1972 budget document; figures rounded to nearest hundred.
[2] Established as of Dec. 2, 1970, by transfer of functions and personnel from Interior, HEW, Agriculture, Federal Radiation Council, and Atomic Energy Commission.
[3] Source: Civil Service Commission estimate of persons in "entry" component for whom ceiling relief has been granted.

S. 23, ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTER ACT, INCLUDED IN HIGHER EDUCATION AMENDMENTS

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, I am proud to note that my bill, S. 23, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers Act of 1971, has been reported to the Senate by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare as section 504 of S. 659, the Education Amendments of 1971.

I am grateful for the vote of approval given the bill by the Education Subcommittee and by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and their respective chairmen, the Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL), and the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. WILLIAMS), as well as for the support of the bipartisan cosponsors of the bill: the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. BROOKE), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. FONG), the Senator from Alaska (Mr. GRAVEL), the Senator from Michigan (Mr. GRIFFIN), the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. HRUSKA), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. INOUYE), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), the Senator from

Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE), the Senator from Maine (Mr. MUSKIE), the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. NELSON), the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY), the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. SCOTT), the Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS), the Senator from Illinois (Mr. STEVENSON), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. TAFT), and the Senator from California (Mr. TUNNEY).

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the committee report on the ethnic centers bill, and the text of the bill itself, as approved by the committee, be printed in the RECORD.

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

SENATE REPORT 92-346, ON S. 659, EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1971

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

Section 504 of the bill creates a new Title IX of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 providing authority for the creation of Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers.

In recent years, increasing attention has been directed by educators and social scientists towards the subject of assimilation of people in American society. Many have become critical of the commonly held "melting pot" theory, whereby persons from every background would join together in one homogenous, harmonized, American culture. To the contrary, individuals from the various ethnic, racial, religious, and cultural groups that make up our country, have not joined together, and have maintained their own respective subcultures. Conflicts and misunderstandings between these various subcultures have often created tensions in society and have often contributed to prejudices and hostilities between people and groups. Educational materials, particularly in our elementary and secondary schools, have largely not contained any concentration of the history, culture, and traditions of the various groups making up our society. Too often, children have been encouraged, in their schools and in society at large, to disregard or look down upon their ethnic backgrounds and heritages.

The purpose ofthe Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers is to help provide focal points and national coordination for the study of different ethnic, racial, and cultural groups.

The Office of Education will be the governmental agency responsible for making grants or contracts and promulgating regulations and guidelines for the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers. Applicants must be non-profit public or private educational agencies, institutions, or organizations. In obtaining a contract or grant to establish and operate a center, an applicant must satisfy the Commissioner that the various activities specified in the Act will be carried out. The applicant must also consult with a local advisory council in planning, establishing and operating the centers. This Advisory Council must be made up of representatives of ethnic groups and cultural and educational resources from the area to be served by the centers. The Director of each center shall be selected by the Commissioner, but in consultation with and with the approval of the applicant.

Each center shall offer programs and courses of study relating to all the various groups represented in the area to be served by such center. The committee specifically does not envision centers devoted exclusively to single ethnic, racial, or cultural groups, since multiethnic centers would better serve the goals of comparative study and mutual cooperation between different groups. The centers are to develop curriculum materials for elementary and secondary schools and higher education institutions, make available and disseminate these materials, provide training for persons who want to use the materials, and cooperate with any interested persons and organizations in the communities being served by the center in promoting, encouraging, developing, or producing programs and activities relating to the heritages of ethnic groups. Each center is to exchange materials and information with other centers created under this act, and where appropriate, conduct joint projects. This provision is designed to help maximize the number of ethnic, racial, and cultural groups about which information and materials are available at each center, and to also help the Commissioner insure that as many different groups as possible receive attention at the various centers.

The bill establishes a National Advisory Council on Ethnic Heritage Studies, the members of which are to be appointed by the Secretary. The National Advisory Council is designed to assist and advise the Commissioner in providing this national coordination.

Centers are required to cooperate with, and utilize the resources of teachers, schools and educational institutions in the area, as well as any interested groups or educational institutions in the area, as well as any interested groups or persons in the area, such as ethnic groups, foundations, civic groups, fraternal organizations, and foreign students.

Funds appropriated under the act to a center can be used for establishing, equipping, and operating the centers, including expenses for staff, research materials and resources, academic consultants, and training. Thus, the centers can make contracts with outside persons or organizations for the production and development of programs and educational materials. Since the focus is on the educational and cultural output of the centers, the committee does not intend that money be used for physical construction of centers, and would encourage the Commissioner to develop guidelines to minimize administrative expenditures.

The concept of ethnic studies and ethnic groups extends beyond the traditional meaning given to immigration patterns in America. Mexican, Indian, Black, Puerto Rican, Asian, and other groups of people sharing a common history, identity, culture, or experience in America, are meant to be included as well as the various European immigration groups more commonly referred to in the term "ethnic group." A definition provided by one witness at the hearings provides an example of the breadth of interpretation to be given to the concept of ethnic groups and ethnic studies: "Ethnic groups would mean ethnic nationality, cultural, historic, racial, or groups whose members define themselves as a people claiming historic peoplehood." Another relevant attempt at defining "ethnic group" referred to groups "distinctive as subcultural groups within the national society by virtue of race, religion, language, or national origin." Any precise definition runs the risk of unintentioned exclusion, but these comments should provide a general operating guideline for the scope of ethnic representation envisioned in the act.

It is recognized that there are limited resources available for ethnic studies, and many persons and groups to compete for them. It is also recognized that each ethnic group will desire maximum concentration on the study of their own respective heritage. These centers can provide an important impetus to the study of ethnic groups, and can provide beneficial national coordination and cooperation, particularly as clearing-houses of educational information about ethnic group heritages. However, the success of these centers will require the close cooperation of all interested groups and individuals, and conscious recognition by these groups and individuals that every group and every project may not receive immediate attention. If all such groups and individuals recognize that the initial implementation of ethnic heritage studies centers is an important first step, and then work together to harmoniously build the centers into larger enterprises, the great potential for mutual understanding among all persons in our society can be furthered through these centers.

S. 650 "EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1971"

ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

SEC. 504. (a) The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new title:

"TITLE IX—ETHNIC HERITAGE PROGRAMS

"STATEMENT OF POLICY

SEC. 901. In recognition of the heterogeneous composition of the Nation and of the fact that in a multiethnic society a greater understanding of the contributions of one's own heritage and those of one's fellow citizens can contribute to a more harmonious, patriotic, and committed populace, and in recognition of the principle that all persons in the educational institutions of the Nation should have an opportunity to learn about the differing and unique contributions to the national heritage made by each ethnic group, it is the purpose of this title to provide assistance designed to afford to students opportunities to learn about the nature of their own cultural heritage, and to study the contribtuions of the cultural heritages of the ethnic groups of the Nation.

"ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

SEC. 902. The Commissioner is authorized to make grants to, and contracts with, public and private nonprofit educational agencies, institutions, and organizations to assist them in planning, developing, establishing, and operating ethnic heritage studies centers, as provided in this title.

"ACTIVITIES OF ETHNIC HERITAGE STUDIES CENTERS

"SEC. 903. Each center assisted under this title shall—

"(1) develop curriculum materials for use in elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education relating to the history, geography, society, economy, literature, art, music, drama, language, and general culture of the groups with which the center is concerned, and the contributions of those ethnic groups to the American heritage;

"(2) disseminate curriculum materials to permit their use in elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education throughout the Nation;

"(3) provide training for persons using, or preparing to use, curriculum materials developed under this part; and

"(4) cooperate with persons and organizations in the communities being served by the center to assist them in promoting, encouraging, developing, or producing programs or other activities in such communities which relate to the history, culture, or traditions of ethnic groups.

"APPLICATIONS

"SEC. 904. Any public or private nonprofit agency, institution, or organization desiring assistance to establish and operate a center under this title shall make application therefor in accordance with the provisions of this title and other applicable law and with regulations of the Commissioner promulgated for the purposes of this title. The Commissioner shall approve an application under this title only if he determines that—

"(1) the center for which the application seeks assistance will be operated by the applicant and that the applicant will operate such center in accordance with this title;

"(2) such center will be operated under the direction of a Director who will be selected by the Commissioner, in consultation with, and with the approval of, the applicant;

"(3) such center will carry out the activities described in section 903 and will offer

programs and courses of study related to all ethnic groups represented in the area to be served; and

"(4) such center has been planned, and will be established and operated, in consultation with an advisory council which is representative of the ethnic groups in the area to be served and of the cultural and educational resources of such area and which is appointed in a manner prescribed by regulation.

"(b) In approving applications under this title, the Commissioner shall insure there is cooperation and coordination of efforts among the Ethnic Heritage Studies Centers assisted under this title, including the exchange of materials and information and joint projects where appropriate.

"ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

"SEC. 905. (a) In carrying out this title, the Commissioner shall make arrangements which will utilize (1) the research facilities and personnel of institutions of higher education, (2) the special knowledge of ethnic groups in local communities and of foreign students pursuing their education in this country, (3) the expertise of teachers in elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education, and (4) the talents and experience of any other groups in the regional area to be served by centers assisted under this title such as foundations, civic groups, and fraternal organizations which would further the goals of the centers.

"(b) Funds appropriated to carry out this title may be used to cover all or part of the cost of establishing, equipping, and operating the centers, including the cost of research materials and resources, academic consultants, and the cost of training of staff for the purpose of carrying out the purposes of this title. Such funds may also be used to provide stipends (in such amounts as may be determined in accordance with regulations of the Commissioner) to individuals receiving training in such centers, including allowances for dependents.

"NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

"SEC. 906. (a) There is hereby established a National Advisory Council on Ethnic Heritage Studies consisting of fifteen members appointed by the Secretary who shall be appointed, serve, and be compensated as provided in part C of the General Education Provisions Act.

"(b) Such Council shall, with respect to the program authorized by this title, carry out the duties and functions specified in part C of the General Education Provisions Act.

"APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

"SEC. 907. For the purpose of carrying out this title, there are authorized to be appropriated $10,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and $20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973. Sums appropriated pursuant to this section shall, notwithstanding any other provision of law unless enacted, in express limitation of this sentence, remain available for expenditure and obligation until the end of the fiscal year succeeding the fiscal year for which they were appropriated."

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) shall be effective after June 30, 1971.

A DISTRICT ATTORNEY APPEALS TO THE JUDICIARY FOR THE RIGHT TO PROTECT HIS PEOPLE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as the crime rate soars to the extent that the law-abiding citizen in many instances is either afraid or too disgusted to report crime, it behooves us to reexamine the cause of the crisis.

Crime has approached the commonplace, to where it is almost accepted as the American way of life. Control of crime is the prime responsibility of any civilized government to its people. If crime is not controlled, there is no domestic tranquillity and the general welfare is not promoted.

To our liberal colleagues, I can but call their attention to the massive expenditures of taxpayers' dollars for education, rehabilitation, legal aid, and court reforms, with a comparison to the crime rate to prove the fallacy in theories that massive outlays of money cure, control, or eliminate crime. To the contrary, the statistics tend to indicate that the greater the amounts of money poured into exotic theories of crime prevention, the faster the crime rate increases. The greater the Federal intervention and intermeddling in the affairs of local and State police and courts, the greater the breakdown in crime control and the more rampant crime statistics become.

On July 21, at pages 26607–26608, I had extended a speech by Justice Walter B. Hamlin of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, taking to task the role of the U.S. Supreme Court in coddling criminals and nurturing crime. Justice Hamlin felt that even the overruling of Mapp against Ohio would benefit humanity.

Now I am in possession of a copy of correspondence from Mr. Shirley G. Wimberly, Jr., assistant district attorney for the Orleans Parish in Louisiana, addressed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Wimberly presents the views of a segment of our crime control machinery seldom heard from, the prosecutor. He sums up his 2 years as assistant district attorney by calling attention to the new changes in criminal justice through habeas corpus proceedings after trial and conviction, removal from State to Federal courts, injunctions, and civil rights actions involving police officers. As he says:

It was becoming evident that the District Attorney and the City Attorney were spending more and more time in the Federal courts defending themselves against all manner of claims by convicted criminals.

And it's all free, of course; doesn't cost him a dime. Free lawyers, free transcripts, free everything. What is there to lose? No matter that he is guilty as sin. If the lawyers look hard enough they'll find some error in the State proceedings for the Federal judge to scrutinize.

Mr. Wimberly concludes by recognizing the extension of Federal Questions by far-fetched theories to confer trumped-up jurisdiction to Federal courts to so cripple and handicap the State judicial system that it may break down completely.

Since I believe that victims of crime also have constitutional rights, and I believe in an adversary system of justice as intended under the Federal system which includes States, I insert Mr. Wimberly's letter and application for certiorari, mandamus, and prohibition against a U.S. district judge in the RECORD at this point:

JULY 23, 1971.

The Honorable the JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIRS: The attachment to this letter was drafted by me last December with the full intention of filing it; however, search as I might, I could find no jurisdictional authority, leaving no alternative but to pursue the now completed appeal to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. (No. 71–1042, filed Feb. 24, 1971 and entitled *Leonard J. Bastida v. Hon. Matthew S. Braniff, Judge, Div. B, etc., et al.*)

The Fifth Circuit recently affirmed the decision of the district court (with the exception of the prohibition against further participation in the case of Judge Braniff and myself), and remanded the case, meaning in effect that we are now imminently faced with another mandate to retry the defendant within certain specified time limits or discharge him from custody.

Whether or not we will appeal the decision; whether the State can afford the expense of such an appeal; whether the public would be endangered by the release of the defendant, are not the questions which are of greatest concern to me at this time. Their resolution will be left to my superiors. I now speak as a member of the legal profession and a citizen of the State of Louisiana.

For at least two years now, as an Assistant District Attorney, I have watched my case load increase—first gradually, then with alarming rapidity, and for those two years I have wondered why. It seemed the harder we worked the greater the load. What could be the reason? Was the crime rate increasing that much? We have had for 2 years now, two additional sections of court (for a total of ten); why wasn't the load stabilizing?

During those two years I had also noticed another phenomenon: a drastic increase in the number of habeas corpus proceedings, removals, injunctions and civil rights actions involving police officers. It was becoming evident that the District Attorney and the City Attorney were spending more and more time in the Federal Courts, defending themselves against all manner of claims by convicted criminals.

After much thought and contemplation it became apparent to me that the first phenomenon (the increase in case load) was directly related to the second (the increase in habeas corpus and other federal proceedings), not because of the drain on manpower and resources, but because of the atmosphere which had been created among the criminal element.

It goes without saying that the incarcerated criminal, be he awaiting trial or already convicted, is intensely interested in the processes which bear on the length of his incarceration and that of his fellow inmates. When he sees more and more of his fellows successfully circumvent the appellate system of the State through the use (and abuse) of the federal habeas corpus, ultimately to gain thereby either freedom or a new trial with its attendant possibilities of a reduction in sentence, he, too, decides to have a go at it. Why enter a guilty plea when all of these tempting avenues to possible freedom are open for the asking. And it's all free, of course; doesn't cost him a dime. Free lawyers, free transcripts, free everything. What is there to lose? No matter that he's guilty as sin. If the lawyers look hard enough, they'll find some error in the State proceedings for the Federal judge to scrutinize.

As I write this, I'm looking at the voluminous file in the Bastida case. It's over 4 inches thick. (The average burglary case is about ¼ inch thick). I'm looking at the numerous briefs, memoranda and transcripts and thinking of the thousands of man hours which have been expended. I must ask why, and is it right and just. Is it

just for a federal district court judge to substitute his individual judgment for that of the several justices of a state supreme court? I asked this question last December, and I ask it again, this time in the light of the decision of this Honorable Court in the case of *Younger v. Harris* (Feb. 23, 1971), in which it was so eloquently stated:

"The precise reasons for this long-standing public policy against federal court interference with state court proceedings have never been specifically identified but the primary sources of the policy are plain. One is the basic doctrine of equity jurisprudence that courts of equity should not act, and particularly should not act to restrain a criminal prosecution, when the moving party has an adequate remedy at law and will not suffer irreparable injury if denied equitable relief. The doctrine may originally have grown out of circumstances peculiar to the English judicial system and not applicable in this country, but its fundamental purpose of restraining equity jurisdiction within narrow limits is equally important under our Constitution, *in order to prevent erosion of the role of the jury and avoid a duplication of legal proceedings and legal sanctions where a single suit would be adequate to protect the rights asserted.* This underlying reason for restraining courts of equity from interfering with criminal prosecutions is reinforced by an even more vital consideration, the notion of 'comity' that is a proper respect for state functions, a recognition of the fact that the entire country is made up of a Union of separate state governments, and a continuance of the belief that the National Government will fare best if the States and their institutions are left free to perform their separate functions in their separate ways. This, perhaps for lack of better and clearer way to describe it, is referred to by many as 'Our Federalism,' and one familiar with profound debates that ushered our Federal Constitution into existence is bound to respect those who remain loyal to the ideals and dreams of 'Our Federalism,' The concept does not mean blind deference to 'State's Rights' any more than it means centralization of control over every important issue in our National Government and its courts. The Framers rejected both these courses. What the concept does represent is a system in which there is sensitivity to the legitimate interests of both State and National Governments, and in which the National Government, anxious though it may be to vindicate and protect federal rights and federal interests, always endeavors to do so in ways that will not unduly interfere with the legitimate activities of the States. It should never be forgotten that this slogan 'Our Federalism,' born in the early struggling days of our Union of States, occupies a highly important place in our Nation's history and its future."

I ask now, as a lawyer and as a citizen, that your Honors invoke the Younger doctrine here in Louisiana, and take whatever steps are necessary to restrain the federal courts from undue interference in the orderly processes of State criminal justice. We must have relief from this system which is rapidly becoming oppressive—a fact which is dramatically illustrated by the Bastida case.

I respect and revere the federal system as created by our Constitution, as I do the great Writ of Habeas Corpus and will fight with my last ounce of strength to preserve them. But that system is of necessity administered by men, and man unfortunately was not vested by his Creator with natural immunity to the temptation to abuse power and become tyrannical.

If the relief requested herein is not granted and the abuses referred to are not curbed, it is respectfully suggested that the end result will be catastrophic. The State justice system will become so clogged by federal intervention that it will break down completely. And if this ever happens, God help the citizens of this City and State!

Respectfully,

SHIRLEY G. WIMBERLY, JR.,
Assistant District Attorney, Parish of Orleans, State of Louisiana.

[Supreme Court of Louisiana]

STATE OF LOUISIANA VERSUS LEONARD BASTIDA, APPLICATION FOR CERTIORARI, MANDAMUS AND PROHIBITION

(Information For Violating R.S. 14:62)

To: The Honorable, the Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana:

The petition of the State of Louisiana, on the relation of Shirley G. Wimberly, Jr., Assistant District Attorney for the Parish of Orleans, State of Louisiana, with respect represents:

That on the 1st day of December 1970, United States District Judge Fred J. Cassibry issued an order to the State of Louisiana to produce the entire transcript of the State Court proceeding which resulted in the re-conviction of Leonard Bastida on May 28, 1971 in Section "B" of the Criminal District Court for the Parish of Orleans, said order to be complied with within 15 days from the date thereof or said Leonard Bastida will be released.

That an appeal to this Honorable Court from the aforementioned conviction has been granted, the order therefor having been signed on November 16, 1970 with the return date of January 15th, 1971.

That heretofore, the said Leonard Bastida has had the benefit of two complete jury trials, three evidentiary hearings on Writs of Habeas Corpus, plus innumerable pre-trial and post-trial hearings on the pleadings, including applications to this Honorable Court for Writs of Review on at least two occasions. (A more complete chronolgy follows:)

Nov. 29, 1966—Jury trial—found to be guilty as charged.

Dec. 12, 1966—Sentenced to serve 9 years at hard labor in the State Penitentiary.

Jan. 17, 1967—Filed motion for appeal.

Feb. 9, 1967—Withdrew motion for appeal.

Sept. 4, 1968—Filed application for Habeas Corpus.

Oct. 25, 1968—Application For Writ of Habeas Corpus denied.

Dec. 17, 1968—Applied to Supreme Court of Louisiana for Writs of Review.

Jan. 16, 1969—Application for Writs denied by Supreme Court.

June, 1969—Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus filed in U.S. District Court for Eastern District of Louisiana.

May 5, 1970—Writ granted. State order to re-try Bastida within 60 days or suffer consequences.

May 13, 1970—Conviction and sentence set aside on motion of State.

May 27, 1970—Application for review of trial court's denial of motion for continuance of trial date denied by Supreme Court.

May 28, 1970—Tried and found guilty by 11 jurors of 12 after 13 minutes of deliberation.

June 4, 1970—Filed motions for new trial and appeal.

That thereafter, the defendant, apparently not satisfied with pursuing the ordinary course of justice in this State filed in the United States District Court an action which has been entitled "Miscellaneous", purporting to be in the nature of another Habeas Corpus;

That this action was allotted to Section "E"—the same Section of Court which had heard the original action and which had forced the State into either re-trying the defendant or suffering his release upon the citizens of the State of Louisiana;

That after another full evidentiary hearing held on September 9th, 1970, in Judge Cassibry's Court, during which evidence was heard and arguments and memoranda supplied, on the identical issues which are now before this Court on appeal, the matter was taken under advisement. Now, some 2½ months later, Judge Cassibry refuses to rule in the matter unless he is furnished with the entire transcript of the re-trial in order to "determine the facts, and dispose of the matter as law and justice require."

The "teeth" in Judge Cassibry's most recent order consists, as before, of a threat to release the defendant unless his demand is complied with, this time within only 15 days;

Your Relator avers that no law or precedent exists either in Federal or State jurisprudence for the review by a U.S. District Court of the entire transcript of the record of trial of the State prosecution which is presently pending appellate review by the State's highest Court;

That to permit such an exploratory examination would be to permit a district court judge to ignore the very existence and authority of the Supreme Court of the Sovereign State of Louisiana, an eventuality which, in Relator's opinion was never provided for or intended either by the Constitution or the Congress, and especially not in a habeas corpus proceeding.

That, if the aforementioned order for production of transcript be not stayed and further action in the case prohibited, the State of Louisiana will suffer irreparable harm in that Judge Cassibry will order the discharge and release from further prosecution of the said Leonard Bastida, the defendant in the aforesaid case;

Relator further avers that the State of Louisiana has no right of appeal from the execution of the order complained of to this Honorable Court, nor does it have a right of appeal to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, that body being without jurisdiction since such jurisdiction is now, by virtue of the defendant's appeal, exclusively vested in this Honorable Court by the Constitution; (Louisiana Const. Art. 7, Sections 2, 10).

Relator further avers that due notice of the intention of Relator to make this application to this Honorable Court has been given to the Honorable Judge Fred J. Cassibry, Section E, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana, and to the attorneys for the defendant.

Wherefore, Relator prays that a Writ of Certiorari issue from this Honorable Court, according to law, directed to the Honorable Fred J. Cassibry, Judge of Section E, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana, in the case entitled *State of Louisiana* v. *Leonard Bastida*, No. 195-878, Section B of the Criminal District Court for the Parish of Orleans, information for violating R.S. 14:62, directing and ordering said Judge to send up to this Honorable Court the record in said cause, and that this Honorable Court do issue its order prohibiting and forbidding the Honorable Fred J. Cassibry, Judge as aforesaid, from attempting to execute and enforce the aforesaid order, or allowing same to be executed or enforced by ordering the discharge of the said Leonard Bastida, and ordering said Judge to cease and desist from further interference with the orderly processes of justice in the State of Louisiana under the guise of the Federal habeas procedure.

Relator further prays that the Honorable Fred J. Cassibry, Judge of Section E, United States District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana, be ordered to show cause if any he have or can, on a day and hour to be fixed by this Honorable Court, why the Writ of Prohibition prayed for herein should not be made perpetual and why he should not be ordered and directed to cease and desist from further interference in the disposition of said cause No. 195-878; and for all general relief.

SHIRLEY G. WIMBERLY, JR.,
Assistant District Attorney for the Parish of Orleans.

NOTICE OF INTENTION TO APPLY FOR WRITS

State of Louisiana Versus Leonard Bastida, No. 195–878, Criminal District Court, Section "B"; Information for Violating R.S. 14:62

Hon. FRED J. CASSIBRY,
Judge, Section E,
U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana.

DEAR SIR: I hereby respectfully notify you that I will apply to the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana in the above-entitled and numbered cause for Writs of Certiorari, Mandamus and Prohibition and such other Writs as may be necessary, to have the order of Your Honor requiring the State of Louisiana to furnish a transcript of the trial in the said case stayed pending the outcome of the appeal taken by the Defendant herein to the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana.

Respectfully,

SHIRLEY G. WIMBERLY, JR.,
Assistant District Attorney for the Parish of Orleans.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *December —, 1970.*

NOTICE OF INTENTION TO APPLY FOR WRITS

State of Louisiana Versus Leonard Bastida, No. 195–878 (Criminal District Court, Section "B"; Information for violating R.S. 14: 62.

GEORGE M. STRICKLER, Esq.,
STANLEY H. HALPIN, JR., Esq.
JOHN P. NELSON, JR., Esq.
606 Common Street: Suite 304,
New Orleans, La.

GENTLEMEN: You are hereby notified that I will apply to the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana in the above-entitled and numbered cause for Writs of Certiorari, Mandamus and Prohibition, and such other Writs as may be necessary to have the order of the Honorable Fred J. Cassibry requiring the State of Louisiana to furnish a transcript of the trial in the said case stayed pending the outcome of the appeal taken by the Defendant herein to the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana.

Very truly yours,

SHIRLEY G. WIMBERLY, JR.,
Assistant District Attorney for the Parish of Orleans.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *December —, 1970.*

THE STEEL INDUSTRY; THE NATION'S BULWARK

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD
OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Prof. Reuben Slesinger, associate dean of the University of Pittsburgh, has written an excellent paper on our Nation's steel industry.

The tone of Professor Slesinger's work is indicated early when he states:

In spite of much public confusion and belief to the contrary, the domestic steel industry in the United States is the most efficient in manpower utilization, is a leader in technological developments, provides a broader range of products than any other steel producing Nation, and is possessed of as great or greater technological flexibility than its competitors in meeting changing customer demands.

He goes on to suggest what remedies the steel industry must take to strengthen its international and domestic prominence.

I would like to commend the following paper to my colleagues for its engaging thoughts and observations about this very important and dynamic industry:

THE STEEL INDUSTRY: DIAGNOSIS AND HEALTH REPORT

(By Reuben Slesinger)

Though faced with many economic problems and classified as a dying industry by many publicists, the domestic steel industry fundamentally is healthy. The steel industry services the largest domestic market for steel anywhere in the world, and this market has a significant future growth potential. In spite of much public confusion and belief to the contrary, the domestic steel industry in the United States is the most efficient in manpower utilization, is a leader in technological developments, provides a broader range of products than any other steel producing nation, and is possessed of as great or greater technological flexibility than its competitors in meeting changing customer demands.

THE PROBLEMS OF TODAY

The primary focus of the current concern over steel lies in the financial problems of many of the producers, as witnessed by the fact that the industry's return on net worth in 1970 of 4.4 per cent ranked it 40th among 41 manufacturing groups. The outlook currently is for some slight improvement. The low return on net worth, however, does not mean that the industry is dying, is technologically obsolete, and should "close its doors." On the contrary, a growing and healthy steel industry is essential not only for the continued dynamic growth of the economy, but for national security reasons as well.

Unfortunately, the steel industry currently is reflecting an unusual demand-supply situation influenced by the 1969–70 recession and the uncertainty of a strike or no strike in 1971. As a result, much forward buying took place early in 1971, but by mid 1971 the industry already had begun to slacken from its peak production levels of spring, 1971. But, the basic problems of the industry lie much deeper than current uncertainty over labor negotiations. Hence, it is essential that the industry find some solutions to the problem of improving its financial position.

Two primary factors are responsible essentially for the industry's current problems: costs have risen rapidly, well beyond the gains from improvements in efficiency, productivity, and increased prices and many domestic markets have been eroded significantly by imports and, to some extent, by domestic economic conditions, that first caused firms actually to cut back because of recessionary conditions and cautious forecasts of the future for many basic steel-using industries.

The last few years have witnessed a sharp increase in the prices the steel industry pays for most of its purchases, ranging from increased costs of raw materials to rising costs of a wide variety of services, taxes, and interest charges. Presently, it does not appear that these rising costs will abate or drop. Examples of such increases over the last 2–3 years include: iron and steel scrap—40 percent; metallurgical coal—67 per cent; fuel oil—73 percent; nickel—42 percent; railroad freight rates—29 per cent. Prices of all purchased materials, supplies, and services are estimated to have risen 20 per cent from 1968–1970. In addition, announcements already have been made for further increases in the prices of coal, fuel oil, and transportation rates, and each day brings further such announcements.

UNIT LABOR COSTS AND PRODUCTIVITY

Unit labor costs also have risen, but not as rapidly as the costs of raw materials and other purchased items. Unit labor costs have risen because of a combination of higher hourly labor costs, which have been going up at a rate of about 6 per cent a year, and a sluggish rate of increase in output per man-hour. The latter is the product of a number of factors of which the most important have been: lack of growth in volume of business, break-in problems on new, large, and sophisticated production units, disappointing cost performance, and the continuing allocation of a substantial proportion of capital expenditures to activities which make little or no direct contribution to improvements in output per man-hour. The last category includes pollution abatement expenditures and expenditures intended to improve product quality and customer service. Though these latter expenditures are necessary, they do raise unit labor costs, in the short run at least.

A recent release of the Bureau of Labor Statistics [1] shows that total compensation of production workers in the basic steel industry was $5.32 for each hour worked in 1969, a 20 per cent increase over 1965. Compensation, it should be noted, includes more than the pay workers receive for time on the job; it also includes pay for vacations, holidays, and other leave and employer expenditures for a variety of legally required and private insurance, retirement, and welfare programs for their employees, and other fringe benefits, Pay for actual working time, the major component of compensation, amounted to $4.05 an hour, 61 cents more than 1965, or 76.0 per cent of total compensation in 1969.

It is important to note, further, that employment costs stood at almost an index of 300 (281.7) compared to a 1950 base, whereas the Consumer Price Index on such a base was 152.4 in 1969. The index for actual average hourly earnings was at 241.9. Thus, the basic steel workers enjoyed a substantial gain in real earnings over the two decades, 1950–1970. Average hourly earnings for actual working time averaged $4.09 in steel in 1969 compared with $3.19 for all manufacturing. Preliminary estimates place hourly employment costs currently at about $5.68 in contrast to about $1.80 for Japan.

In spite of the foregoing, domestic steel workers are among the most productive in the world, except in some of the very new plants in Japan. On the average, however, a domestic steel worker produces approximately 85 tons of steel in 1,000 man-hours compared to approximately 58 tons for his Japanese counterpart. However, the lower wage for the Japanese worker (only about a third of that of the American worker) offsets much of the almost 50 per cent productivity advantage.

A disturbing matter in connection with production and productivity, however, is not so much the *actual* output per manhour but the *rate* of change in that output. Output per manhour rose steadily from a low in 1960 to a peak in 1966, followed by a decline in 1967. A further rise took place to a new peak in 1969 (about 26 percent above a 1957–59 base), only to drop again to about 122 in 1970. It is this challenge to get this rate rising again which is one of the basic problems in the steel industry today.

COSTS AND MARKETS

Steel, just as all other industries, has experienced a substantial rise in its costs of plant and equipment, stemming from higher costs of construction labor and, until recently, rising interest rates. Since steel has substantially higher capital requirements than manufacturing industry as a whole and it is much more heavily affected by increasingly stringent anti-pollution regulations, these increasing costs weigh heavily on rate of return. Steel also has been especially hard hit by changes in the federal tax laws which discouraged capital expenditures. The

[1] Bureau of Labor Statistics, United States Department of Labor, USDL 71–269, May 14, 1971.

loss of the investment tax credit alone substantially reduced the funds available for more efficient facilities. At recent rates of capital expenditures, which averaged over two billion dollars annually between 1966–1970, the loss of this credit would reduce profits by more than $100 million a year, a matter of great importance to an industry whose earnings after taxes in 1970 were less than $600 million.

Another problem facing the steel industry is the reduction in the aggregate demand for steel products in the last few years. As noted above, Federal anti-inflationary fiscal policy was directed, among other things, at reducing capital expenditures, outlays for which steel is a heavy component. The general sluggishness of the economy since late 1969 also has reacted to slacken demand for a number of items, all of which are steel users.

To some extent, some increases in prices have helped steel gross revenue. But, these increases, which have been much smaller than those put into effect by foreign producers for both their domestic and export markets, have fallen short of compensating for increases in costs as the sharp decline in steel profits shows very clearly. Moreover, prices actually realized by the producers, after adjustment for changes in mix among major product categories, rose less through 1969 than published steel prices on which the official wholesale price index is based. Profitability is a factor closely related to volume of output, and so steel firms are very concerned about any diminution in aggregate demand. Because of the special importance of fixed costs, for example, a mill that might earn $15 a ton when operating at 65 percent of capacity might find its per ton earnings doubled when operations rise to a 90 percent level.

FOREIGN COMPETITION

Imports have continued to account for an important share of domestic business even though demand abroad was high through the middle of 1970 and the steel producers of the European Common Market and Japan were subject to selfimposed limitations on exports to the United States. The failure of those producers to honor their commitments on maintaining 1968 proportions of exports as to product and geographical distribution plus substantial increases in imports from countries not covered by those limitations, however, hit certain domestic producers particularly hard, notably those manufacturing stainless, alloy, and tool steel, and those serving the Pacific Coast. In addition, the tendency of foreign producers to export the more expensive specialty steel, both alloy and carbon, had a disproportionate effect on the revenues and employment of the domestic companies. The temporary increase in exports from the United Sttaes experienced in 1960 and 1970 did little to alleviate this, since those exports were confined largely to low-value, low labor content, semifinished products for further processing abroad. In addition the expansion in exports was a somewhat temporary phenomenon during the boom, and in general exports once again have declined substantially.

Though difficult to quantify its magnitude, a little-noticed but potentially important development is the import into the United States of steel origintaing in the Common Market and Japan, but arriving through countries not parties to the voluntary limitations, which is increasing in importance. To some extent, too, the temporary boom in Europe particularly stimulated exports from the United States, but there are many signs that this form has ebbed.

Though foreign producers also have been experiencing increases in their unit labor costs and costs of materials, the substantial cost disadvantage of the domestic industry has not been reduced. In general major producers throughout the free world now appear to have about the same costs for raw materials and fuel, but there are major differences among them in unit labor costs, to the disadvantage of the domestic industry. That disadvantage is in the range of $20 to $25 per ton relative to European producers and $40 to $45 per ton relative to Japanese producers. The average domestic selling price of steel mill products is presently about $195 per ton. Major producers abroad, especially in Japan, have been expanding their capacity at a very rapid rate. This, coupled with a high rate of utilization, has enabled them to take more prompt and full advantage than the domestic industry of modern technology, much of it developed in the United States. As a result, unit labor costs in Japan and the European Economic Community have fallen relative to those in the United States.

Revenues were also prevented from rising in proportion to increase in costs by the adoption early in 1970 of a 12-month price guarantee by a number of steel companies. Though the move may have been aimed at competitive sales advantages by the guaranteeing concerns, the move also was made on the assumption that the government's efforts to slow down inflation would be successful. As matters turned out, the prices of the principal materials, supplies, and services purchased by the steel companies continued to rise and, in some cases, even to rise at an accelerated rate while demand declined.

STEEL TECHNOLOGY

It has become commonplace to accuse the steel industry of a lagging and obsolete technology. This is far from the truth, however. As a whole, the domestic industry utilizes the most advanced steelmaking technology in the world. This is reflected in its more efficient manpower utilization although this advantage has been declining. Much of the latest technology employed by major steel industries is the product of research and development efforts by the domestic industry. The erroneous assumptions about domestic steel technology argue that the most important developments occurred initially abroad and they have been adopted much more rapidly by foreign steel industries than by the domestic industry. This proposition is based on incorrect assumptions and a misreading of facts.

To begin with it is important to keep in mind the fact that an integrated steel mill covers a vast number of different processes, of which those involved in the manufacture of iron, raw materials, are only a part. The other processes include beneficiation of materials and the rolling, drawing, and finishing of final products. In these areas, which account for better than half of the total investment in plant, and more than half of operating costs, exclusive of raw materials the domestic industry has long been the technological leader.

Further, it is important to recall that in the free enterprise system, the capital resources of any industry are limited at any given time and, consequently, choices must be made among a number of investment opportunities. These choices are influenced by such factors as market requirements, the cost and availability of materials, the relative savings to be achieved by modifying existing facilities rather than building new ones, the rate of market growth, and the condition and balance of existing plant at the time an investment decision is made. The conditions, both financial and economic, under which the principal steel industries of the world make investment decisions differ radically from country to country. Hence, international comparisons are hard to make and their results often are open to question.

Japan frequently is cited as the example of technological advance since it has been able to increase its steel-making capacity from less than a million raw tons in 1946 to more than 100 million tons today. But, it is important to examine the Japanese experience more closely before using it as a norm for the United States.

At the end of World War II, Japan found itself without a steel industry of any importance. Its immediate objective was to rebuild its industry as a necessary part of reconstructing the nation's economy. Since Japan has no iron ore or oil and a very limited supply of coking coal, principal raw materials had to be imported and paid for. This led to the decision that steel should be one of the "target" industries to be given favored treatment in capital allocation with the objective of making it fully competitive in world markets. The United States looked on the restoration of Japan's steel industry as an essential part of the reconstruction of Japan and assisted by providing funds and technology on a massive scale.

By the mid-1950's, the capacity of the Japanese industry had returned to its prewar level and was ready for the takeoff. Assisted by technology imported principally from the United States, an ample supply of raw materials from properties largely developed and financed by the United States, a geography which reduced the cost of transporting raw materials, a rigidly protected home market and ready access to the United States market, and an energetic labor force paid much less than any other in the industrialized world, the Japanese have been able to double the size of their steel industry every five years ever since. This has had a profound effect on their ability to make use of new technology, still largely developed abroad. Since most of the Japanese facilities virtually all are brand new, an obvious set of production economies ensue.

An inadequate home supply of steel scrap makes this ingredient of steel relatively more expensive than it is in the United States and pig iron made from iron ore relatively cheaper. It is this relationship which has encouraged the use of very large and efficient blast furnaces for the manufacture of iron and rapid adoption of the basic oxygen process which uses less scrap than other commercial steelmaking processes. The fact that much of the Japanese industry's rapid expansion has necessitated the construction of entirely new plants has further encouraged these developments. The basic technologies employed in Japan are not for the most part Japanese inventions. Ore beneficiation techniques came from the United States, many features of blast furnace design and operating practice came from the U.S.S.R., and the design of large basic oxygen plants which make their use possible are products of research and development in Europe and the United States.

Beyond the steelmaking process itself, the Japanese have generally followed the lead of the United States, particularly in the manufacture of plates and sheet products. Virtually all the sheet rolling and finishing equipment in Japan is of United States design. Continuous casting equipment, which is no more prevalent in Japan than elsewhere, is largely of Western European, United States, or Russian design. In general, individual Japanese plants make a narrower range of products than those in the United States. Thus, a smaller proportion of capital investment is directed toward expensive and labor-intensive finishing facilities. In addition, since virtually all of the Japanese industry was new, obviously it was built with the best technology of the time. It is a truism that any American steel firm, if it were to start from scratch would not end up with the same physical plant it now has.

At first, the Japanese were concerned with supplying their own domestic market. But, by the late 1950's, the backlog of demand for steel in the United States had been eliminated and the domestic industry entered a 5-year period of greatly reduced activity and unused capacity. Investment in new facilities was strongly affected by business

conditions, although some major projects were started in response to shifts in markets. This period also saw the beginning of the rapid rise in imports. In spite of these unfavorable circumstances, the domestic steel companies intensified their research activities, particularly in the fields of improving the quality of raw materials, product development, and cost reduction. The fruits of these activities are now in use around the world.

Meanwhile the revival of demand for steel in the United States during the latter part of the 1960's stimulated a massive capital investment program which is still going on. Largely because demand for steel in the United States increases at an average annual rate of about 2½ per cent and is not expected to accelerate on any long-term basis in the future, much of this program is directed to improving the efficiency of existing plants rather than toward any major expansion of capacity. Thus, the emphasis is quite different from that of the Japanese industry which is still concerned primarily with expansion. Moreover, the greater sophistication of the United States market forces the domestic industry to exert greater efforts toward improvement of existing products and the development of new ones. This advanced market demand accounts for the continuing heavy investment in finishing processes. An example is that while there are many double reduction mills for the manufacture of thin tinplate in the United States, only one is in operation in Japan. Public concern about the environment, which appeared earlier in the United States than in other countries, has directed a larger proportion of research and capital expenditures toward pollution abatement than is the case with other steel making countries. Though pollution and environmental outlays have much social benefit, they do not increase the volume of steel output nor its productivity. These thus become highly costly outlays as they involve expenditures, but with no product to sell from which the costs may be recouped.

STEELMAKING IN THE UNITED STATES

Now that we have reviewed the problems of the steel industry more generally, to get a more complete picture of the steel industry in the United States, let us examine some of the basic economic and technological characteristics of the industry. Capacity figures have not been published officially since 1960 when the American Iron and Steel Institute announced 148,571,000 tons as steel capacity. Some estimates ranging up to 190 million tons and plus have appeared in *Barron's* and *The Wall Street Journal*. The exact sources of these estimates is unknown, and one can only surmise that some of these figures have added all new steelmaking facilities but have not allowed for deductions because of shutdowns of old facilities.

The reason for suspecting that the 190 million ton figure is highly inflated is that the industry never has operated at a weekly rate as high as 3 million raw tons (156 million tons on an annual basis). For the eight week period (April and May 1971) output exceeded 2.9 million tons weekly, but never hit the 3 million ton level. Much of this current high rate has been occasioned by the strike buildup hedge. In the similar buildup in 1968, the peak weekly rate attained was 2,922,000 tons. Exhibit 1 appendix depicts weekly raw steel production rates back to 1966.

STEEL TECHNOLOGY

Though the domestic steel industry has been criticized widely for a technological lag, it is interesting to note that the BOF (basic oxygen furnace) method now accounts for a greater share of raw steel production in the United States than in the Common Market countries. Table 1 shows not only that a greater percentage of steel in the United States is produced by the BOF method, but also that actual tonnage so produced is greater in the United States.

TABLE 1.—GROWTH IN BASIC OXYGEN STEEL PRODUCTION, UNITED STATES AND EEC

[Thousands of net tons]

	EEC			United States		
	Total	BOP	BOP (percent)	Total	BOP	BOP (percent)
1960	80,287	1,777	2.2	99,282	3,346	3.4
1965	94,792	18,185	19.2	131,462	22,879	17.4
1970	120,185	[1] 53,730	44.7	131,331	63,332	48.2

[1] Estimated.

Source: EEC Iron and Steel and AISI.

The foregoing is an interesting comparison when one considers that American producers have been criticized often for being "slow" in adopting BOP. The process was invented in Austria, and there most of its relatively small volume of steel output is BOP. Her neighbors in the EEC apparently were not any faster than U.S. producers to adopt the BOP. These figures support the further contention that the process initially was applicable only for small vessels and was not suitable for the large scale American and European plants; and that it had to prove itself before the already efficient openhearths not yet written off financially could be retired. The large share of BOP in Japanese steel output, on the other hand, is due to the fact that Japanese capacity has expanded so rapidly in the last few years and that many of the plants are all new. Obviously they contain the most modern equipment, as do the new installations in the United States and elsewhere.

When it is necessary for a firm to seek new capital in a private capital-oriented economy, management is unable to scrap existing facilities and build new replacements at will without regard for earnings and a minimum acceptable rate of return for the investors.

FOREIGN COMPETITION

In examining the steel industry today, one finds illustrations of all the arguments pro and con free trade and protection. These have been well publicized on both sides of the argument. Let us examine, now, some of the factors that cause foreign trade in steel to be market by special considerations.

For one thing, the cost of ocean shipping from Japan does not constitute a very significant portion of the cost of delivering a ton of steel from Japan to the United States. Exhibit 2 (appendix) shows some representative recent examples of ocean *charter* rates and costs per ton. It is these rates which often make it difficult, if not impossible, to determine ocean transportation costs. Though the share of Japanese exports moving to the United States on ocean charters is not known, the amount is reported to be substantial. And obviously such low freight costs help Japanese penetration of the American market particularly in coastal regions. Low charter rates from Europe also help European penetration of United States markets.

Another factor that affects the structure of international competition is the encouragement of mergers in the countries of our major competitors in contrast to the strict enforcement of antitrust laws in the United States, which frown on mergers.

Recent years have witnessed a rash of mergers in the countries of our major competitors—and they have involved large producers as well as small ones. Exhibit 3 appendix 3 presents a list of the more significant mergers in recent years, among our major international competitors. These mergers are indicative of more liberal attitudes on the part of foreign governments toward mergers designed to promote rationalization and to eliminate excessive competition. If the Justice Department allows the National Steel-Granite City merger to go through, this might signal a change in attitude on the part of the antitrust division. Whether other mergers will follow is questionable; but there is no question that mergers would improve the position of the domestic steel industry.

Another area where domestic and foreign produced steel are compared is in pricing.

Exhibit 4 (appendix) compares published price changes in the home markets of foreign countries and the USA. With the exception of Japan, prices during and since the recent world steel boom have risen much more abroad than in the United States. It is interesting to note that before the recent world steel boom, producers in Europe complained bitterly about low prices, cut throat competition, and low profits, the result of which can be seen in the fact that iron and steel investments in the Common Market dropped almost 50 percent from 1964 to 1967; a situation which in part caused the bottlenecks in Europe when demand suddenly boomed toward the end of 1968. Clearly price cutting is not a universal remedy, as suggested by Dr. Houthakker in his remarks before the Subcommittee on International Trade of the Senate Finance Committee.[2] He states the steel industry appears ". . . to be handicapped . . . by a lack of price competition among domestic producers." He adds further that ". . . Since the demand for steel is subject to change over time, output had to vary excessively if prices are not allowed to help maintain equilibrium. This means that the industry must have excess capacity to be able to cope with demand at its peak." Examination of the output and price data do not support this assertion. The industry has operated at its highest rates during periods of higher prices and at its lower rates during periods of depressed prices. As explained elsewhere, the reasons for reduced output and excess capacity lie much deeper, and are generally associated with variations in aggregate demand for steel using products.

Though foreign trade theory dictates an endorsement of free trade, it is not feasible in practice to abandon an industry that employs as many people, marshalls as much investment, and contributes as much to the gross national product as does steel. One might ask: What happens to the displaced workers who are hurt by imports? It is not sufficient to argue, according to classical trade theory, that the displaced workers should transfer to other industries, especially when such transfer opportunities are limited.

It has frequently been suggested that there are several available remedies against imports so that quotas and other import restrictions consequently are unnecessary. Theoretically, this is correct. However, enforcement and interpretation have made some of these remedies less than meaningful. For example, domestic firms have participated in and have filed separate complaints involving the Countervailing Duty Statutes, but settlements are still far off. Several examples include:

Italian Transmission Towers—(Ad Hoc Industry Group): Countervailing duty complaint was filed June, 1966 and a special duty imposed May 1967. A portion of this case involving rebates of indirect taxes is *still pending after almost five years.*

EEC and U.K. Steel Products—(*United States Steel*): Countervailing duty complaints filed October, 1968 on the subsidy effect of indirect taxes and other export

[2] As reported in a release from the Executive Office of the President, Council of Economic Advisers, for release 18 May 1971.

incentives. *The cases are still pending after two and a half years.*

In the anti-dumping area, several complaints involving stainless imports from Japan are currently under investigation by the Treasury Department. In two complaints covering pig iron imports the Tariff Commission found injury to the domestic industry. With the exception of three other relatively minor complaints involving bar and/or bar imports from Canada into the Pacific Northwest and from Australia, all the anti-dumping complaints filed by various steel producers were dismissed, the majority by the Treasury Department.

The Adjustment Assistance provision of the Trade Expansion Act also had little usefulness—at least until about eighteen months ago. From passage of the Trade Expansion Act in 1962 through late 1969, all petitions (from all sources, not just steelworkers) were dismissed. In the last eighteen months, the Tariff Commission has interpreted the law more liberally and has awarded assistance in a number of cases, including some steelworkers. The inadequacy of the Adjustment Assistance provisions and the need for changes were recognized by the Administration in the Trade Bill of 1970 which, however, did not get through Congress.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

Despite the current problems, the steel industry has a future, but some positive action is imperative. The responsibility of the steel companies can be defined quickly. This is maintaining their efforts to develop better technology and to improve efficiency. A growth in domestic steel shipments of 2 to 3 per cent annually, together with the opportunities provided by changing customer requirements, is enough to warrant continuing investment in steel technology and production facilities on a substantial scale, if the financial returns on that investment are competitive with those of alternative investments or of other industries competing in the capital markets.

The policies adopted and pursued by the Federal government are also critically important.

The Government can assist in many ways, such as:

(1) Tax policies to encourage investment: As noted earlier, the principal method available to the industry itself for improving its competitive strength and profitability is the development and application of new technologies. The rate at which this is done depends on its ability to form or attract capital, a function of its financial performance. That ability is strongly affected by market growth. It is also affected by tax policy. Federal tax policy for the past few years has intentionally discouraged investment. This has struck at the steel industry by reducing the demand for steel from capital goods industries. The curtailment of capital available to the steel industry coupled with sharply rising construction costs threatens to reduce the industry's ability to add to its efficiency. Thus, a prime requisite to the restoration of steel's financial health is a more favorable tax program.

(2) The cost of pollution abatement: The effectiveness of capital expenditures by the steel industry has also been reduced by the rising proportion of such expenditures allocated to pollution abatement. This has now risen to about 10 per cent of annual capital expenditures and, in addition to the interest on such investment, it results in added annual operating costs equal to approximately 10 per cent of the aggregate amount invested in pollution control facilities. On the basis of steel's capital expenditures in recent years, this means that about $200 million is now going into pollution abatement equipment each year and the annual cost of operating and maintaining this equipment, presently estimated about $100 million is rising at an annual rate of $20 million. Again it is noted that these outlays are nonproductive in the sense that they yield no sales return.

The drag on earnings and available capital of the magnitude to which the steel industry is now subject puts it at a serious disadvantage with its foreign competitors, who do not yet have to bear such a burden, and in the capital market at home. So far, at least, too little attention has been paid to the economic implications of an all-out drive toward pollution control.

Rivalry among government agencies and lack of coordination between environmental authorities and those dealing with economic policies have exacerbated the problem. The government can help alleviate it by adopting tax or other policies which spread the financial burden more equitably over the economy.

(3) Imports: The most important single factor affecting the rate at which the industry's efficiency can be improved is growth in volume of business. The spectacular increases in output per manhour achieved by European and Japanese steelmakers can be traced to rapidly rising demand which enabled them to take full advantage of available technology and to do it quickly. As noted above, demand for steel is heavily influenced by the activity of the capital and consumer durable goods industries, which, in turn, is influenced by inflation, consumer confidence, and tax policy. In this country, however, domestic steel shipments are also affected significantly by the volume of imports. Growth is essential to preserving the continued strength of the domestic industry.

Principally because of differences in hourly labor costs, which no longer are offset by differences in output per man hour, the domestic industry is at a serious disadvantage. That disadvantage is aggravated by traditional policies of other governments which encourage exports, and assist their steel industries to acquire the capital they need. These combined disadvantages cannot be met directly by a private industry operating in compliance with the laws, especially the labor laws, of the United States. There is a possibility that these disadvantages may become less serious in the future. Costs abroad are rising rapidly, although not rapidly enough so far to make any significant near term dent in the cost gap. If the demand for domestically produced steel resumes its rise, if inflation is slowed down, and if the government adopts policies which encourage productive investment, the efficiency and financial strength of the domestic industry should improve appreciably.

Until those changes occur, continuation of the present voluntary limitations on steel exports to the United States, with certain changes needed to eliminate their most serious shortcomings, is essential.

Limitations on steel exports to this country, however, will not prevent certain trade abuses which have long been recognized in our laws. These include dumping and export subsidies.

The conditions that have led to the problems of the steel industry are not immovable. The losses of job opportunities, waste of resources, and risk to national security which would accompany the rapid deterioration of this essential industry are too great to be borne.

It must be remembered when discussing the status of the domestic steel industry and making international comparisons, that the United States industry is a part of the total free enterprise economic structure. To help keep such an institutional arrangement viable, profits are essential—at least the future prospect for profits. Profits are far less important in Japan than they are in the United States. It is highly unlikely that American steel producers could have 70/80–30/20 debt-equity ratios even if they desired them. In the Common Market, the typical debt-equity ratio is 60/70–40/30. Aside from profits, the next key challenge to the American steel industry is to try to get unit labor costs to show improvement as huge capital outlays are made in the future, which type of improvement has not taken place in the recent past.

EXHIBIT 1.—RAW STEEL PRODUCTION—1971

Week ending:	*Tons*
January 2	2,366,000
January 9	2,413,000
January 16	2,534,000
January 23	2,596,000
January 30	2,662,000
February 6	2,622,000
February 13	2,664,000
February 20	2,724,000
February 27	2,780,000
March 6	2,773,000
March 13	2,810,000
March 20	2,844,000
March 27	2,893,000
April 3	2,940,000
April 10	2,932,000
April 17	2,905,000
April 24	2,926,000
May 1	2,960,000
May 8	2,960,000
May 15	2,927,000
May 22	2,909,000
May 29	2,914,000
June 5	2,786,000
June 12	2,737,000
June 19	2,748,000
June 26	2,647,000
July 3	2,462,000
July 10	2,348,000
July 17	2,388,000

EXHIBIT 1.—WEEKLY RAW STEEL PRODUCTION AND INDEX OF PRODUCTION, JANUARY 1971

Week ending	Production net tons	Index
1970		
Jan. 3	2,603,000	106.7
Jan. 10	2,541,000	104.2
Jan. 17	2,549,000	104.5
Jan. 24	2,520,000	103.3
Jan. 31	2,546,000	104.4
Feb. 7	2,561,000	105.0
Feb. 14	2,530,000	103.7
Feb. 21	2,640,000	108.2
Feb. 28	2,690,000	110.3
Mar. 7	2,674,000	109.6
Mar. 14	2,658,000	108.9
Mar. 21	2,678,000	109.8
Mar. 28	2,720,000	111.5
Apr. 4	2,695,000	110.5
Apr. 11	2,644,000	108.4
Apr. 18	2,686,000	110.1
Apr. 25	2,707,000	111.0
May 2	2,593,000	106.3
May 9	2,618,000	107.3
May 16	2,625,000	107.6
May 23	2,609,000	106.9
May 30	2,670,000	109.4
Jnue 6	2,658,000	108.9
June 13	2,637,000	108.1
June 20	2,644,000	108.4
June 27	2,647,000	108.5
July 4	2,551,000	104.6
July 11	2,568,000	105.3
July 18	2,442,000	100.1
July 25	2,377,000	97.4
Aug. 1	2,406,000	98.6
Aug. 8	2,436,000	99.8
Aug. 15	2,470,000	101.2
Aug. 22	2,434,000	99.8
Aug. 29	2,438,000	99.9
Sept. 5	2,496,000	102.3
Sept. 12	2,516,000	103.1
Sept. 19	2,536,000	103.9
Sept. 26	2,466,000	101.1
Oct. 3	2,454,000	100.6
Oct. 10	2,440,000	100.0
Oct. 17	2,403,000	98.5
Oct. 24	2,397,000	98.2
Oct. 31	2,453,000	100.5
Nov. 7	2,329,000	95.5
Nov. 14	2,392,000	98.0
Nov. 21	2,363,000	96.9
Nov. 28	2,289,000	93.8
Dec. 5	2,379,000	97.5
Dec. 12	2,424,000	99.4
Dec. 19	2,369,000	97.1
Dec. 26	2,257,000	92.5
1969		
Jan. 4	2,351,000	96.4
Jan. 11	2,405,000	98.6
Jan. 18	2,513,000	103.0
Jan. 25	2,575,000	105.5

EXHIBIT 1.—WEEKLY RAW STEEL PRODUCTION AND INDEX OF PRODUCTION, JANUARY 1971—Continued

Week ending	Production net tons	Index
Feb. 1	2,604,000	106.7
Feb. 8	2,656,000	108.9
Feb. 15	2,697,000	110.5
Feb. 22	2,755,000	112.9
Mar. 1	2,750,000	112.7
Mar. 8	2,750,000	112.7
Mar. 15	2,800,000	114.8
Mar. 22	2,807,000	115.1
Mar. 29	2,826,000	115.8
Apr. 5	2,828,000	115.9
Apr. 12	2,821,000	115.6
Apr. 19	2,800,000	114.8
Apr. 26	2,817,000	115.5
May 3	2,834,000	116.2
May 10	2,784,000	114.1
May 17	2,817,000	115.5
May 24	2,810,000	115.2
May 31	2,800,000	114.8
June 7	2,776,000	113.8
June 14	2,771,000	113.6
June 21	2,769,000	113.5
June 28	2,715,000	111.3
July 5	2,577,000	105.6
July 12	2,568,000	105.3
July 19	2,600,000	106.6
July 26	2,635,000	108.0
Aug. 2	2,571,000	105.4
Aug. 9	2,565,000	105.1
July 16	2,604,000	106.7
Aug. 23	2,584,000	105.9
Aug. 30	2,635,000	108.0
Sept. 6	2,625,000	107.6
Sept. 13	2,695,000	110.5
Sept. 20	2,688,000	110.2
Sept. 27	2,730,000	111.9
Oct. 4	2,765,000	113.3
Oct. 11	2,766,000	113.4
Oct. 18	2,746,000	112.6
Oct. 25	2,796,000	114.6
Nov. 1	2,812,000	115.3
Nov. 8	2,730,000	111.9
Nov. 15	2,769,000	113.5
Nov. 22	2,784,000	114.1
Nov. 29	2,806,000	115.0
Dec. 6	2,766,000	113.4
Dec. 13	2,759,000	113.1
Dec. 20	2,723,000	111.6
Dec. 27	2,454,000	100.6
1968		
Jan. 6	2,650,000	108.6
Jan. 13	2,635,000	108.0
Jan. 20	2,697,000	110.5
Jan. 27	2,777,000	113.8
Feb. 3	2,821,000	115.6
Feb. 10	2,857,000	117.1
Feb. 17	2,826,000	115.8
Feb. 24	2,828,000	115.9
Mar. 2	2,862,000	117.3
Mar. 9	2,883,000	118.2
Mar. 16	2,854,000	117.0
Mar. 23	2,842,000	116.5
Mar. 30	2,885,000	118.3
Apr. 6	2,885,000	118.3
Apr. 13	2,893,000	118.6
Apr. 20	2,915,000	119.5
Apr. 27	[1] 2,922,000	119.8
May 4	2,904,000	119.0
May 11	2,896,000	118.7
May 18	2,844,000	116.6
May 25	2,860,000	117.2
June 1	2,857,000	117.1
June 8	2,798,000	114.7
June 15	2,776,000	113.8
June 22	2,790,000	114.4
June 29	2,785,000	114.2
July 6	2,697,000	110.5
July 13	2,667,000	109.3
July 20	2,621,000	107.4
July 27	2,561,000	105.0
Aug. 3	2,235,000	91.6
Aug. 10	2,068,000	84.8
Aug. 17	2,032,000	83.3
Aug. 24	1,963,000	80.5
Aug. 31	1,948,000	79.8
Sept. 7	1,862,000	76.3
Sept. 14	1,881,000	77.1
Sept. 21	1,886,000	77.3
Sept. 28	1,860,000	76.2
Oct. 5	1,881,000	77.1
Oct. 12	1,987,000	81.4
Oct. 19	2,026,000	83.0
Oct. 26	2,111,000	86.5
Nov. 2	2,080,000	85.3
Nov. 9	2,175,000	89.2
Nov. 16	2,194,000	89.9
Nov. 23	2,244,000	92.0
Nov. 30	2,356,000	96.6
Dec. 7	2,348,000	96.2
Dec. 14	2,369,000	97.1
Dec. 21	2,388,000	97.9
Dec. 28	2,297,000	94.2
1967		
Jan. 7	2,380,000	97.6
Jan. 14	2,450,000	100.4
Jan. 21	2,443,000	100.1
Jan. 28	2,373,000	97.3
Feb. 4	2,376,000	97.4
Feb. 11	2,482,000	101.7
Feb. 18	2,476,000	101.5
Feb. 25	2,582,000	105.8
Mar. 4	2,528,000	103.6
Mar. 11	2,464,000	101.0
Mar. 18	2,476,000	101.5
Mar. 25	2,472,000	101.3
Apr. 1	2,434,000	99.8
Apr. 8	2,385,000	97.8
Apr. 15	2,428,000	99.5
Apr. 22	2,385,000	97.8
Apr. 29	2,447,000	100.3
May 6	2,401,000	98.4
May 13	2,403,000	98.5
May 20	2,408,000	98.7
May 27	2,385,000	97.8
June 3	2,310,000	94.7
June 10	2,281,000	93.5
June 17	2,210,000	90.6
June 24	2,250,000	92.2
July 1	2,173,000	89.1
July 8	2,143,000	87.8
July 15	2,170,000	88.9
July 22	2,220,000	91.0
July 29	2,231,000	91.4
Aug. 5	2,237,000	91.7
Aug. 12	2,338,000	95.8
Aug. 19	2,318,000	95.0
Aug. 26	2,401,000	98.4
Sept. 2	2,428,000	99.5
Sept. 9	2,431,000	99.6
Sept. 16	2,469,000	101.2
Sept. 23	2,440,000	100.0
Sept. 30	2,457,000	100.7
Oct. 7	2,434,000	99.8
Oct. 14	2,498,000	102.4
Oct. 21	2,575,000	105.5
Oct. 28	2,561,000	105.0
Nov. 4	2,568,000	105.3
Nov. 11	2,577,000	105.6
Nov. 18	2,662,000	109.1
Nov. 25	2,707,000	111.0
Dec. 2	2,703,000	110.8
Dec. 9	2,723,000	111.6
Dec. 16	2,747,000	112.6
Dec. 23	2,747,000	112.6
Dec. 30	2,615,000	107.2
1966		
Jan. 1	2,185,000	89.6
Jan. 8	2,312,000	94.8
Jan. 15	2,400,000	98.4
Jan. 22	2,434,000	99.8
Jan. 29	2,440,000	100.0
Feb. 5	2,422,000	99.3
Feb. 12	2,530,000	103.7
Feb. 19	2,575,000	105.5
Feb. 26	2,626,000	107.6
Mar. 5	2,660,000	109.0
Mar. 12	2,692,000	110.3
Mar. 19	2,730,000	111.9
Mar. 26	2,709,000	111.0
Apr. 2	2,744,000	112.5
Apr. 9	2,686,000	110.1
Apr. 16	2,686,000	110.1
Apr. 23	2,720,000	111.5
Apr. 30	2,682,000	109.9
May 7	2,765,000	113.3
May 14	2,776,000	113.8
May 21	2,765,000	113.3
May 28	2,744,000	112.5
June 4	2,726,000	111.0
June 11	2,660,000	100.4
June 18	2,670,000	109.4
June 25	2,645,000	108.4
July 2	2,571,000	105.4
July 9	2,484,000	101.8
July 16	2,469,000	101.2
July 23	2,424,000	99.4
July 30	2,413,000	98.9
Aug. 6	2,454,000	100.6
Aug. 13	2,509,000	102.8
Aug. 20	2,501,000	102.5
Aug. 27	2,560,000	104.9
Sept. 3	2,575,000	105.5
Sept. 10	2,615,000	107.2
Sept. 17	2,670,000	109.4
Sept. 24	2,645,000	108.4
Oct. 1	2,615,000	107.2
Oct. 8	2,633,000	107.9
Oct. 15	2,607,000	106.9
Oct. 22	2,588,000	106.1
Oct. 29	2,551,000	104.6
Nov. 5	2,546,000	104.4
Nov. 12	2,560,000	140.9
Nov. 19	2,565,000	105.1
Nov. 26	2,528,000	103.6
Dec.	2,436,000	99.8
Dec. 10	2,383,000	97.7
Dec. 17	2,431,000	99.6
Dec. 24	2,377,000	97.4
Dec. 31	2,220,000	91.0

[1] Prior record.

Note: Weekly index of product on 1967 equals 100 or 2,439,701 net tons.

EXHIBIT 2.—COST OF FREIGHT FOR STEEL PRODUCTS FROM JAPAN, RECENT EXAMPLES OF OCEAN CHARTER VESSEL RATES

Date	From	To	Gross tons	Flag	Arrival	Rate dollars/G.T.
Mar. 10, 1971	2 ports in Japan	One port on U.S. east or Gulf Coast and 2 ports on Great Lakes.	24,000	Liberia	April	[1] 284,000 (11.83)
June 17, 1970	Japan	U.S. Gulf	5,000	Japanese	July	[1] 46,500 (9.30)
Apr. 15, 1970	do	do	15,300	Liberia	April	[1] 142,500 (9.31)
Jan. 28, 1970	do	do	13,900	do	February	[1] 8.25
Do.	do	do	25,000	Norway	Do.	[1] 190,000 (7.60)

[1] Lump sum.

EXHIBIT 3.—*Examples of steel companies mergers abroad*

West Germany

August Thyssen-Huette and *Mannesmann* merged tube making activities since January 1970. Mannesmann now has 25 per cent of EEC and most of the W. German tube production. August Thyssen is the leading European steel producer on the Continent (13.9 million net tons of raw steel in 1970).

Ilseder Huette and Salzgitter into a new company Peine-Salzgitter A. G. with capacity of about 5.5 million net tons of raw steel.

Hoesch and Dortmund-Hoerder merged in 1966. Hoogovens of the Netherlands, which had 42 per cent ownership in Dortmund-Hoerder has 14 per cent participation in the surviving company. It is rumored that Hoogovens may merge this year and plans for jointly operated new facilities are in advanced stages.

Röchling and Arbed of Luxembourg will jointly finance and build a 660,000 ton capacity wire drawing plant. Röchling produced 1.8 million net tons of raw steel in 1970, while Arbed produced 6.8 million net tons and is the leading steel company in Luxembourg.

W. Germany now producing about 50 million net tons of raw steel, had about 25 significant steel producers back in 1960. Through mergers, their number has been reduced to about eight major integrated steel producing groups.

Netherlands

Hoogovens' subsidiary Demka Steel and Sambre de Meuse of France merged after Dutch-French approval.

Hoogovens is the largest steel producing company in the Netherlands, of which Demka is a specialty division for wire, cable,

and tube products. Sambre of France compliments Demka's product line.

Luxembourg

Arbed and Hadir merged as of 1967. The new company accounts for nearly all of the Luxembourg steel production—close to 7 million tons in 1970.

Belgium

Cockerill-Phenix Works merger is authorized by the European Commission. Phenix produces galvanized sheets and tin plate.

Cockerill-Ougree-Providence and Esperance Longdoz have merged. The new company Cockerill is now the seventh largest steel producer of EEC with an output of 5.7 million net tons in 1970.

France

Usinor and Lorraine-Escaut since 1967. Usinor was a merger of several companies to build a plant and concentrate flat product plants in North France. *Lorraine-Escaut* made primarily non-flat products in E. France and tubes at plants in various parts of France. The tube making division is now transferred to Vallourec group.

Creusot (SFAC) and *Loire* (CAFI) two central France specialty producers of 24 plants.

Vallourec of France and *Tube de Haren* of Belguim, also *Tubes de Nimi* of Belguim.

France's 35 major integrated companies in 1960 have been reduced through mergers to only two giants—*Wendel-Sidelor* and *Usinor-Lorraine-Esaut* today. Both companies produced each 9 million net tons of steel in 1970 or together about 18 million tons of France's total 26 million tons.

Japan

Yawata and Fuji Steel merged into Nippon Steel which now is the world's largest steel producer (37.1 million net tons in 1970 or 36 percent of Japan's total raw steel output).

Nippon Steel is taking over *Fuji Sanki Steel Pipe.*

Shinko and Asahi Seikosho two Japanese wire rope producers affiliated with Kobe to merge into a new company—Shinko Kohsen Kogyo as of April 1, 1971.

Toshiga Steel and Nisshin Seiko merged. The new company name is Toshin Seiko.

EXHIBIT 4. STEEL PRICE CHANGES—U.S. AND FOREIGN

Summary

From December, 1968 through May 1, 1971 home market prices have increased approximately as follows (in percent):

United Kingdom	29
West Germany	24
France	23
Japan (Recent decreases indicate possibly)	0
United States (based on BLS Index Finished Steel; USS estimate through May 1)	16.6

DETAILS FOR EACH COUNTRY

United Kingdom

Increased 5% in June, 1969.
Increased 1–3% in November 1969.
Increased 10% in February 1970.
Increased 5% in October 1970.
Increased 7% in April, 1971.

Originally the British Steel Corporation proposed that the April, 1971 price increase average 15%. However, the Government directed the BSC to restrict the increase to 7%. When the financial results are announced for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1971, it is anticipated that the BSC will show a loss of $50 million or more. The BSC said that the 15% price increase was needed because of: cost inflation at home; heavy increases in the price of coking coal and scrap; and to pursue its program of modernization and expansion.

Reportedly, the BSC is expected to close four mills by the end of September of this year and possibly an additional six mills by 1973.

West Germany

Increased 10% in January, 1969.
Increased 8% in January, 1970.

Flat rolled products and merchant bars from 5.6% to 7.5% December, 1970.

Semi-finished products increased from 5.3% to 7.3% December, 1970.

Specialty products increased from 4% to 5% January, 1971.

Producers are still saying they intend to increase base prices during the First Half of 1971.

During the 12 month period preceding July, 1970, price of scrap was up 29% and coal and other solid fuels 26%.

Workers received an average 10% wage increase effective October 1, 1970. Typical comment: "There appears to be no end in sight to the wage conflict. Inflation must be checked and the labor-wage conflict must be dampened before economic conditions can be calmed down".

France

Increased 4% in October, 1969.
Increased 9% in January, 1970.
Increased 5% to 6% in April 1970.
Increased 3.5% on sheets and bars (Balance of steel products (60%) and specialty steels expected to be increased near future.) March, 1971.

Price increases were in part due to higher costs of coke, scrap, and ferro-alloys.

The French Government has encouraged producers to spread out their increases through stages. Price increase on balance of products during First half of 1971 could average 5% to 6%.

Japan

During 1969, prices were increased from 15% to 50% depending on the product. Early in the First Quarter of 1970, prices for certain steel products leveled off and began to decline. However, price increases of about 10% were made for specialty steels due to higher costs of scrap and ferro-alloys. From December 1969 to December 1970, prices for structurals, plates, and hot and cold rolled sheets declined about 18% while prices for other steel products remained relatively stable or increased.

In mid-December, 1970 steel producers announced that prices would be increased by 15% to 20% during January, 1971. Reportedly, cost of production increased from $9 to $12 per net ton by July, 1970. Because of these rising production costs, steel producers say they must increase prices. While increases made in January, 1971 restored prices to the high level achieved during the early part of 1970, significant price reduction started to take place during February, 1971, and continued in March. Indications are that present prices may be at approximately the 1968 level.

United States

In December, 1968, the BLS Finished Steel Price Index stood at 103.1 (1967=100). The most recent published BLS figure is 118.3 for March, 1971. It is estimated that the Index through May 1, 1971 will be 120.2. This would be an increase of 16.6% since the end of 1968. (Because December, 1968 was an unusually low proceeds month due to Bethlehem Steel's $25 per ton reduction in hot rolled sheets as of November 4, 1968, the measurement of U.S. price changes from 1968 may be more accurately portrayed by using October 1968 as a starting point. The BLS index for October, 1968 was 104.5; the increase from that month through May 1 is 15.0%.

MISSION OF MERCY

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, Erica Ginsburg is a 9-month old baby in my community who is suffering from bialiary atresia, a fatal liver disease. If a liver transplant is not performed this baby will soon die. Through the miracle of modern medicine, such liver transplants are performed at Denver Medical Center. Only two such operations are performed each year.

Young Erica is the first on the list to have such an operation. The operation must be commenced within three hours after the death of the donor baby in Denver. This would require that Erica be flown to Denver at the appropriate time, day or night.

However, only two commercial flights are available from Cleveland to Denver during a 24-hour period. It was our hope that the Air Force in cooperation with the Coast Guard would assist in the event that the emergency flight was required in the near future through its Medi-vac system. The Cleveland Office of the U.S. Coast Guard immediately established liaison with the family to assure that the baby would be flown to a nearby Air Force base and thus on to Denver. For that offer, we are very grateful.

However, the U.S. Air Force stated that it could not cooperate with a jet flight for the reason that it could not be in competition with commercial air lines or existing charter service. The Air Force suggested that the family charter a small jet for this purpose. That charter flight from Cleveland to Denver would cost the young family $2,700.00 one-way. This family is already over-burdened financially and the young father is a fourth year medical student. The family faces additional expense in establishing a household in Denver for 3 to 4 months after the operation and during recuperation.

The Wright Airlines of Cleveland, Ohio, in my congressional district, has indicated, under these circumstances, that it will provide the necessary transportation by charter jet, free of charge, to the family to meet this life-and-death crisis. If and when the transplant operation becomes feasible to save Erica's life, and in the event that either of the commercial jet flights are not available, this outstanding, public-spirited company, Wright Airlines of Cleveland, will fill this critical gap and help save a baby's life.

If it had not been for Wright Airlines' offer of assistance in this emergency, few alternative solutions remained, except a crippling debt on an already financially over-burdened family.

Our whole community and Erica's family owe a debt of gratitude to the public spirit of Wright Airlines for its concern and willingness to help. This kind of dedication to social needs deserves the commendation of the American people.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA FARM LEADERS REPORT TO HOUSE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the Agricultural

interests of Butte County and northern California were honored by the visit of the House Committee on Agriculture headed by the distinguished gentleman from Texas, Mr. POAGE, who is doing such a fine job as chairman of the extremely important committee.

Agribusiness is of great importance to northern California. It is the biggest single industry in our State and a major portion of the Golden State's export business in agricultural products. We in northern California have some unique situations as it relates to agribusiness primarily because of our specialty crops which are so important to our region.

We felt especially privileged to have Chairman POAGE and many members of his outstanding committee come to Butte County and northern California to see firsthand in the fields how our farming business is conducted and to discuss with the farmers themselves our purposes, our problems, our hopes, and our dreams for agribusiness.

During an evening meeting which concluded the tour nine outstanding leaders, each representing a special segment of the farming industry in northern California, gave brief outlines of their positions of the total agribusiness picture.

I know that the members of the committee benefited from the presentations made that evening. I certainly was extremely impressed with them and I thought I would like to share these views and comments with others in the Congress. Therefore I would like to submit for the RECORD the presentations made that evening:

ALMONDS

Presentation by Frederick S. Montgomery, Durham, California, graduate of Electrical Engineering, University of California, who operates 350 acres of almonds and walnuts as a family corporation and 560 acres as Vina Gold Orchards, Chairman of the Board of the California Almond Growers Exchange and a member of the University of California Agriculture Advisory Committee.

Chairman Poage and Distinguished Members of the House Committee on Agriculture: Viewed against the backdrop of depressed prices and serious surplus situations haunting many segments of agriculture today, the California almond industry is one of the brighter areas of production and marketing.

The California Almond Growers Exchange, a grower-owned cooperative, processes and markets over 70% of the total United States production which is limited to California. With its leadership and with the cooperation of major independent handlers, our Federal Marketing Order—operating since 1950—has brought stability to the industry and unparalleled market development and expansion, both domestically and abroad. An aggressive policy of new product development, adapting product form to consumer desires, coupled with major advertising and sales promotion, has resulted in creating a demand which the growers have answered with vastly accelerated plantings. Tax advantages permitting converting ordinary income to capital gain treatment have further encouraged many higher income, non-farm investors to develop new orchards.

A brief review of some changes during the last ten years will reveal some startling comparisons:

1. Consumer demand for California almonds in the export market has soared from 12,000,000 shelled pounds in 1960 to over 67,000,000 in 1970. Major export markets include Japan. The Scandinavian countries, England and Germany, long supplied exclusively by European-produced almonds, have become major users of California almonds because of superior quality and uniform grade and because of several short crops in Europe. Newly-developed markets in Czechoslovakia, South Africa, Russia, Yugoslavia and Austria will purchase in excess of 3,000,000 shelled pounds in 1971.

2. Domestic consumption has doubled since 1960.

3. We are now in the mail order gift-pack business. In this item alone, sales of the California Almond Growers Exchange have increased ten-fold since 1960.

4. The Exchange itself is spending well over a million dollars on national media advertising and greatly appreciates the work of your Committee in obtaining passage of the Almond Industry Advertising Bill which will be so necessary in the future to spread the cost of advertising equitably among all producers.

Despite all of the foregoing, we are faced with the prospects of serious overproduction in the very near future. New plantings are outstripping our ability to rapidly expand consumption. Only poor crops abroad have saved us from serious world oversupply during the last two years and enabled the successful disposal of the record domestic crops. A comparison of acreage figures for 1960 and 1970 shows:

Bearing acres: 1960, 89,600; nonbearing: 23,900; total, 113,500.

Bearing acres: 1970, 147,800; nonbearing: 87,500; total, 235,300.

The 87,500 non-bearing acres may be expected to produce 88,000,000 additional shelled pounds. Good growing conditions could soon produce a California crop in excess of 235,000,000 shelled pounds and a foreign crop of 220,000,000 for a world crop supply of 455,000,000 shelled pounds—or 100,000,000 shelled pounds more than current world demand.

Recent passage of legislation requiring capitalizing almond orchard development costs will tend to deter new plantings but it may not be a sufficient brake. Regrettably, it may have come too late to prevent the explosion in production during the next decade before markets can be expanded to create demand to match available supply.

The major problem facing the industry during the next decade will be marked development, both domestic and abroad. The importance of export markets for almonds cannot be overstated as they offer the best potential field to increase consumption. Expanding world trade will be essential.

Other problems facing the almond industry and other segments of agriculture center around three areas:

1. With growing concern for our environment, the public awareness of ecology, and the movement toward consumerism, it will be essential that careful, scientific investigation be made to support changes in or elimination of certain agricultural practices, now essential to effective, economical production. Emotional, non-scientific approaches to these problems can create great damage, both economically and ecologically.

Emphasis needs to be placed on funding expanded research into such areas as integrated biological pest control and the discovery of control methods for pests, weeds, brush, etc., which will have the least danger to man and the rest of nature.

2. Solutions must be found and regulations drawn to bring order and equity in farm employer-employee relations. A National Farm Labor Relations Act which would bring order to the chaos which now exists is essential. The secondary boycott as a tool to force employees to join unions which neither they nor their employers wish to have represent them must be prohibited. Effective machinery must be established to permit their free choice of union representation or total rejection thereof by secret ballot.

3. Strikes which threaten national or international commerce (such as the current West Coast dock strike) must be regulated and machinery established to minimize economic damage to innocent third parties. Currently, there are substantial tonnages of almonds awaiting export shipment, tied up by strike activities at the Port of Oakland. If this strike were to last for 90 days or more and we could not ship almonds into export, many European fall orders would be lost. This would be a major loss to both almond producers and also to the total U.S. balance of trade.

CATTLE

(Presentation by Elwin Roney, Chico, California, who holds a B.S. degree in Animal Husbandry from the University of California at Davis. He is ranching in Butte, Tehama, and Lassen counties, combination cow, calf and feeder operation. Past President of Butte County Cattlemen's Association, Director of California Cattlemen's Association and selected as Butte County Cattlemen of the decade, 1957–1967.)

Chairman Poage and Distinguished Members of the House Committee on Agriculture:

The cattle industry of California is faced with six major problems:

1. Imports
2. Cost-price squeeze
3. Taxation
4. Changes in Federal grazing practices
5. Pesticides, herbicides, and livestock health
6. Ecology

1. The inconsistent amounts of meat imports arriving on the West Coast cause gluts during some seasons. These gluts result in an unstable market for our product.

2. For the last 20 years, costs to produce have increased more rapidly than the price received for our product. Since 1950, our production costs have increased more than 40%. Today, we are receiving essentially the same prices for our animals that we obtained in 1952. Another important factor is that California agricultural labor costs are the highest in the Nation.

3. Taxes—after interest costs—are the next most expensive cost in beef production. Such are the result of assessing on inflated land values rather than on use. These inflated values are also resulting in hardships, particularly when inheritance taxes must be paid within nine months.

4. Increases in grazing fees and restricted numbers are escalating production costs. Recent studies have shown that costs of managing cattle on public lands in California are as great as those on privately owned lands at the present time.

5 Healthy, well-fed cattle are necessary for maximum production. Restrictions being placed on pesticides, herbicides, and animal health products are decreasing our production.

6. Ecology is a broad problem. Our short-term ecologists are not basing many of their conclusions on scientific fact. In one instance, a report stated 900 cattle, grazing 28,000 acres for three months, contributed 75 per cent of the nitrogen pollution in an 80,000 acre foot lake. When the scientific facts were established, the cattle through their ability to convert forage nitrogen into meat protein, were beneficial by removing large amounts of forage nitrogen which is a potential source of pollution.

Outlook: I believe most cowmen owning less than 1000 cows will soon be a thing of the past. Short-term financing, increased costs, and other costly production problems will bring this about.

Inflation trends will cause production costs to increase. Beef prices will not keep pace. These circumstances can only result in the intensification of the cost-price squeeze.

Population increases and demands for more services can only mean more taxes.

Numbers of cattle grazing on public lands will be forced to decrease because of pressure demands from people. Increased fees, decreasing numbers, and possessory interest taxes on permits will reduce beef production on these lands.

With improved methods of transportation, health problems are increasing. More restrictive use of pesticides, herbicides, and animal health materials will reduce supplies of red meat to consumers.

We expect a greater impact from well-meaning but misinformed and misdirected ecologists.

When the corporations and conglomerates become the major sources of production, supplies will be controlled, and beef prices will rise.

Recommendations: At times, excessive beef imports cause drastic reductions in the price the producer receives for his animals. One factor which would aid in reducing this problem would be to set monthly quotas on meat imports.

A concerted effort should be made by government to slow down inflation.

Your recent legislation to reduce the use of capital gains have been beneficial to the bona-fide cowman. Continued efforts along these lines will help stabilize some of our production problems.

More equity is needed in the collection of income taxes. Need also exists to reduce the danger of inheritance taxes wiping out the continuation of the family operation.

Grazing can be beneficial to public lands. Future legislation controlling use of these lands should be based on recommendations in the report of the Public Land Law Review Commission.

Results of scientific research should be used in decisions made regarding herbicides, pesticides, animal health products, and ecology problems. Adequate funding should be continued to develop information and products for decision making and maximum production.

I thank you for the opportunity to make this presentation to the distinguished members of the House Committee on Agriculture who are present at this affair.

Feed Grains

(Presentation by Mr. George M. Stutz, Red Bluff, California. Mr. Stutz was educated in the local schools in the Chico, California area. He has served as Chairman of the Tehama County ASCS Committee for 10 years. He was area director of the California Sugar Beet Growers Association, and active in cooperative matters particularly the funding and establishment of the Chico Bean Growers, which is a cleaning and supply cooperative located at Nord, California.)

Mr. Chairman and Distinguished Committee Members, for the record, I am George M. Stutz. I reside at Route 1, Box 540, Red Bluff, California. My occupation is farming and I farm various cereal grains, row crops and orchards in the counties of Butte and Tehama.

You are to be complimented for including this hearing in Northern California on your busy itinerary. Seldom do we have this opportunity. I trust my remarks will cause you to become aware of some of our situations so that your future actions can be tempered by the remarks presented here.

My comments will focus on feed grains and I will identify with the following subjects:

Soil depleting base and conserving base
Timely announcements
Farmers faith in government programs
Can efficiency be improved?
Today, a dollar from the market
Conclusion

First I will comment on the aspects of the Agricultural Act of 1970.

I personally feel that under the set aside program for feed grains there should be but one soil depleting base on a farm which would include corn, grain sorghums, barley, oats and rye. With this done, conserving bases should be eliminated since they would serve no usefulness. Having but one base would eliminate harassment of one crop from the other by a particular feed grain not being included in a program some years and being overplanted by participating farmers.

Program announcements should be made not only before planting time but before plowing time. An example—land on the west side of the Sacramento Valley was summer fallowed in March, April and May of this year for the 1972 crop. Just this past week the Department of Agriculture announced that barley is included in the 1972 program. The Department takes pride now in that barley is being announced in the program prior to "planting time" and I emphasize "planting time" for 1972.

To have timely benefited us, last week's announcement should have been made January or February at the latest of this year, before "plowing time".

Another important fact is that farmers should not be left to second guess what crops will be covered in our Agricultural Programs that are a law of the land.

My point here is that in 1968 and in 1971 barley was left out of the feed grain program. For the same reason as pointed out in my example above, the announcements both years were too late. A farmer could not plow or plant a substitute crop and consequently his gross income was reduced in many, many instances by as much as one half. Why didn't he summer fallow his normal acreage? Because the farmer was led to believe barley would be included in the feed grain program in those years. Not only was a farmer hurt financially, but his faith in farm programs administered by the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service has been greatly weakened. Present and future programs will be looked at more skeptically for fear there would be announcements made by the Department of Agriculture too late for the farmer in this part of the country to adjust his cropping pattern for the year.

About 20 years ago economists were stating that farmers should improve their efficiency of production. This was true at the time, as there were many areas for streamlining an operation so that it would return more dollars to the farmer. Farmers since then have updated their operations. Today, within his financing ability, his ability to further economize is minimal. In other words, the big slack has been taken out of the line. Where do we turn now? To the market place and that is where we as farmers need your help to make this accomplishment.

In conclusion, I would like to leave you with this comment. I cannot conceive in this day when we are capable of putting man on the moon that we cannot exert some of these energies and technical knowledge abilities to inventorying our farm feed grains nationally. With our need established for our domestic consumption, export, carryover needs, emergency supply and a safety tonnage for drought, disease or crop failure, farm programs can be so manipulated to encourage or discourage production so that a realistic dollar can be obtained from the market place by the farmer. If we can do this with sugar beets, why can't we do this with feed grains?

Gentlemen, thank you for this opportunity to appear before you.

Financing

(Presentation by Raymon Freund, Chico, California, who was schooled in Missouri and Arkansas. Employed in 1952 as field man for Chico Production Credit Association. Named Assistant Manager in 1955, Manager in 1965.)

Chairman Poage and Distinguished Members of the House Committee on Agriculture:

The continual shrinking margin in farm commodities is driving the legitimate farmer out of business. Since 1952, we have been in a period of diminishing returns. The farmer's only salvation has been increased per acre production, whether it be row crops, tree crops, grains, pasture, or any other farm commodity.

Through the past decade, we have seen farmers work long hard hours just to make enough to pay their property taxes, personal taxes, real estate payments, and interests on their operating loans. In many cases, appreciation in value of their real property has constituted their only gains.

This year, we are looking at a set-aside or drop on some of our major tree crops as high as 40%. We find it difficult to approve a budget to maintain 100% of an orchard in a husbandlike manner when a farmer can sell only 60% of his total crop. Increased production costs, lower selling prices, 20–30–40% set-aside or green drop have created a real problem in financing. Increased production costs and decreased selling prices have made production financing a near impossibility. The farmer is in real trouble when it takes as much, or more, to produce a crop than he receives in net return.

Shrinking returns make it increasingly difficult for the grower to meet his fixed items. The value of his real estate has reached its optimum; no longer is there a ready buyer for his ranch. Today, we are seeing good farm land sell at a price lower than five years ago. Why? The land is simply not capable of producing enough on today's depressed market to make farming a profitable enterprise.

The farmer has used modern practices and complied with all laws to produce a product that is saleable and finds himself selling his goods at depression prices. Yet, equipment purchases, repairs, and hired labor are at inflationary prices.

The outlook for improvement is dim. Increased plantings, to induce a larger gross return, will exert a detrimental effect for several years to come. Conglomerate farms put together by individuals in other industries, in many cases for tax purposes only, have had a very depressing effect on the man who is trying to farm at a profit.

Many large corporations of our country produce a product and say, "We want X number of dollars for it, and if you want it, that is what you pay for it." The farmer produces a product that everyone must have to sustain life. Yet, for some reason, can sell only on the basis of, "What will you give me for it?"

The only way a farmer can show a profit today is at the expense of another farmer. For example, last year, rains in the East did severe damage to the dry bean crop. As a consequence, growers in our area received a good price for their beans. There has to be another way. Industry cannot survive by this method.

Based on my own personal experience as a lending officer and Manager of the Chico Production Credit Association, the past two years have, without a doubt, been the toughest the farmers have faced.

Today, we have loans on our books that are in doubtful status. Two years ago, these same farmers were solvent and operating at a profit. We have refused financing to farmers in 1971 who paid their loans in full two years ago and ended the year with a profit. Today, many of these same farmers show deficits in their operations.

If there is not a reversal of this trend immediately, others who are still solvent today will be in trouble next year. They will not only be in trouble; they will be broke and out of the farming business.

From our point of view, in dealing directly with farmers, we need some real help in the following areas:

1. A positive method for adding increased operational costs on to the selling prices of agricultural products.

2. Provide a more stable market for farm commodities.

3. Ease the costs of money—don't let interest rates get out of hand as they were in 1970.

4. Stop beating down the farmer at the insistence of a few radicals and sob sisters.

Farming is still the mainstay of America. Unless the farmer can be relieved of having to subsidize other businesses in this great Nation, we will some day be asking, "What happened to the American farmer?" And, we will point down the road to bankruptcy and oblivion and say: "He went that-a-way."

FORESTS

Presentation by William H. Holmes, Strawberry Valley, California, who has a B.A. Degree in Wildlife Management from the University of Missouri and an M.S. Degree from Yale. Starting as a compassman for the Soper-Wheeler Company some 26 years ago, he has served as Company Forester, Vice-President and is presently President of the Company. Has served as a member of the Technical Advisory Council of the Forest Products Laboratory, University of California, since 1968 and was elected President in 1970.

Chairman Poage and Distinguished Members of the House Committee on Agriculture:

I represent a kind of agriculture that was not featured in our tour this afternoon. And although our farm contains some 70,000 acres, it ranks only third in size among farms of this type in Butte County. I am here representing the Tree Farmer. We are in the business of growing and selling forest products. We raise and merchandise sawlogs, pulp logs, poles, piling, and Christmas trees. As land owners, we are also involved in grazing, mining, and recreation. It is a business filled with risks from fire, insects, disease, and tax assessors. It is characterized by large capital investment, long periods of time, and low returns.

When I learned of the opportunity to tell my troubles to this distinguished committee, I was overjoyed. When I was told to limit my remarks to five minutes, I cried. I don't need five minutes, I need five days! Well, with this time restriction, what particular misery should I emphasize? What favor, or program, should I request? I finally decided that the one thing, above all else in this particular time, that you could do for the Tree Farmer would be to maintain a healthy skepticism as regards the frantic proposals of the new cult of environmentalists who would reshape the world to their design.

I am not suggesting that you turn a consistently deaf ear to these people, because much of what they want to do is worthwhile and should be done. Much of what they want to accomplish is long overdue and should have been started years ago. Much of what they aim for is in the public interest under anybody's definition. But ecology is not a moral crusade. It is a science; the study of the balance of nature. Its riddles will not be solved by instant guesswork programs. Rather, they will entail years of persistent and painstaking work.

What I am asking is that when you are warned of some imminently hovering planetary catastrophe, that you "keep your cool" and demand facts rather than hysterical rhetoric. Is the situation really as bad and as urgent as presented? Does the proposed program really solve the problem? If so, at what cost and at whose expense? Perhaps the basic question is: How should the need to protect traditional freedoms in American society be balanced against the need to preserve the physical environment?

Our problem is the instant environmentalist who just learned about ecology 90 days ago and now rushes forward with a program calling for a batch of laws regulating the Tree Farmer's business. We have been in business at this one stand for 66 years, and, God and the Tax Assessor willing, we hope to be in business another 66 years. At least, we are making our plans in that direction. And our only chance of success is to maintain our inventory by planting new trees, nursing our growing stock, and, above all else, protecting our soil. If it washes away—polluting the streams—it is lost forever (for all practical purposes)—and we are out of business. The point I wish to make here is that in Tree Farming, long-range profits are maximized with intensive conservation practices. In fact, the Tree Farmer was the original conservationist in the United States. However, we do look down our noses at these johnny-come-latelys and their simplistic solutions to what we know are complex problems.

These same folks that drive past a herd of Herefords and think of steak; pass a wheat field and think of bread and bakery goods; and pass a vineyard and think of wine, will drive past a stand of timber and never think of it in terms of tables and chairs and paper and 2 x 4's and shingles and plywood.

There are other peculiar inconsistencies. There is some devastation in connection with the harvest of almost any crop. Wheat, corn, and rice plants are destroyed in the harvesting process, and in the fall of every year agricultural fields are pictures of devastation. Yet, this annual occurrence is not only completely accepted, we have a national holiday, namely, Thanksgiving, to celebrate the event. In contrast, when the Tree Farmer harvests his crop, there are cries of rape and murder. This is, of course, basically silly, but the current hue and cry is too loud to ignore and swarms of environmentalists are exerting pressure to regulate or stop the tree harvesting process.

We can, I believe, have just exactly the kind of environment we are willing to pay for, and we should be willing to pay for a better environment than we now have. But it will not be industry that foots the bill, nor the Government. It will be you and me. We will pay the bill through higher taxes at the local and national level, we will pay the bill in terms of higher prices for the things we buy, and we will pay the bill with a lower standard of living—including more restrictions on how we live.

The point, it seems to me, is that the quality of life in America is, by definition, more than physical. And if it is necessary some day—even some day soon—to sacrifice the intangible aspects of quality for the sake of physical survival, it should not yet be accepted as obvious.

OLIVES

(Presentation by George Chaffin, Oroville, California, who has a B.S. Degree, Agricultural Economics, University of California, Berkeley. Actively engaged in production of olives, beef cattle, and numerous tree crops. Past President, Butte County Farm Bureau and presently Director, Olive Advisory Committee.)

Chairman Poage and Distinguished Members of the House Committee on Agriculture:

I have been involved in growing olives all my life. My predictions for the future of the industry are more uncertain than they have ever been.

California produces over 95% of the olives grown in the United States. The industry's major problems can be classed in three categories:

1. Over-production
2. Extremely high cost of harvest
3. Competition from foreign countries where workers are paid a much smaller wage scale and where rules and regulations are not nearly so strict in regard to the use of pesticides and cleanliness

Returning to the first category of over-production—In the years since World War II, bearing olive acreage in California remained fairly stable at about 25,000 to 27,000 acres. Then, in 1967, we had a crop about 15% of normal. In the following year of 1968, we had a bumper crop of over 70,000 tons and received a price of over $400 a canning ton. This crop came during a year when Northern California water was beginning to be delivered to the San Joaquin Valley. Growers there with newly-watered land were looking for a crop to plant. From 1968 to 1971, over 12,000 acres were planted. These plantings in the coming years will give us 40% more olives to market. Over 5,000 acres were planted by one stock-holding company in that area to take advantage of excess profits and tax loopholes as well as to put newly-irrigated land to use.

Primarily because of over-production, the price per ton delivered to the canner dropped from $400 in 1968 to about $250 in 1969 and $170 in 1970. This year's heavy crop is estimated by some people to exceed 70,000 tons. We anticipate a carryover of some 30,000 tons in the can. Consumption has been about 6 million cases or about 40,000 tons per year over the past ten years. We are also looking at 12,000 new acres that will come into bearing in the next few years.

Next, the extremely high cost of harvest. Many thousands of dollars have been spent in an attempt to develop a satisfactory mechanical harvester. Little, if any, success has been registered.

Last year, it cost a grower about $130 a ton to pick and deliver olives to the cannery. The average return to the grower was about $170 per delivered ton.

The average olive picker who helped harvest the crop picked by hand about 500 pounds of olives a day for which he was paid about $25. It required approximately 250,000 man days or gave employment to about 10,000 men for one month at a time of the year, "Oct. and Nov.," when few other jobs in agriculture were available. Over the years, olive growers spend over one-half of their gross return to harvest the crop.

It is in labor that imports with their lower harvest costs really hurt us.

Imports are the third and final major problem that plague olive growers. California olives have traditionally been processed in four ways:

1. Ripe
2. Green
3. Dried
4. Olive oil

In the years following World War II, cheaper foreign olives have taken over almost everything but the canned ripe olive market. The first offering of foreign ripe processed olives are now being tendered in the United States. Last year, Spain alone sent some 46,289 tons of processed canned green olives to the United States. It is difficult to stem the flow of these olives which were harvested with cheap labor and in questionable cleanliness.

In conclusion, if we are to maintain a stable olive industry in California, we must somehow find a way to compete with foreign olive imports. This, as I see it, can only be done by increasing tariffs and by developing mechanical harvesting to cut costs so we can better compete with Spanish and other foreign olives.

The California olive industry, through its state marketing order, has spent many dollars to increase markets and develop mechanical harvesting. The industry through its federal marketing order has done much to improve the quality of its product. The 40,000 ton, 6 million case consumption of ripe olives seems to rise all too slowly. The future of the olive industry with its 12,000 to 15,000 full and part-time employees and an industry that has gross annual sales of 35 to 40 million dollars is very uncertain.

How can the House Agriculture Committee help us in the years to come? One of the best ways to increase usage of olives is through the school lunch program. We have been having difficulty getting ripe olives placed in the program. It is hoped that the Committee will accord careful and favorable consideration to the recommendations of the

Olive Administrative Committee in the months to come with the objective of imposing the olive industry's economy.

Thank you.

PESTICIDES

(Presentation by James Mills, III, Hamilton City, California, who attended the University of California at Berkeley in the College of Engineering. He is Managing Partner of James Mills Orchard Co.; President, James Mills, Growers Service Co.; President, Butte-Glenn Citrus Association; Director, Sunkist Growers, Inc.; Member, Program Committee of Pear Zone; Member, Fresh Bartlett Pear Advisory Board; and Member, Control Committee, California Tree Fruit Agreement.)

Chairman Poage and Distinguished Members of the House Committee on Agriculture:

Thank you for this opportunity to address these few remarks on pesticides to you members of the Committee.

We, at James Mills Orchards Company, farm several hundred acres each of: Pears, Prunes, Oranges, and some Olives. We developed the property in 1912 and have operated it since then.

During this time we have watched pest control practices change from crude sprays of poorly refined oils, tars, copper and soaps to sophisticated chemicals that work only on specific targets. The old method was a shotgun approach—killing all insects—good and bad. Today we are acquiring the ability to pick our target and leave many beneficial insects, thus approaching an integrated system of biological chemical control of economic pests.

In this effort, we are hindered in many ways. Public research funds are being reduced or channeled into other programs; i.e., ecological problems. Government testing requirements in many cases are so costly and lengthy that developers of new products are discouraged, or the cost becomes prohibitive to the user. Unfortunately for us, it is not often possible to pass these increased costs on to the consumer.

Our goal, of course, is to produce safe, edible fruit at a cost that will leave us a profit. We must practice pest control if we are to produce an acceptable product. This applies to tree crops, vegetables, grains and all food crops.

To give you a specific example of how we use pesticides on one of our crops, Pears—In the winter there are two dormant, or prebloom sprays; during the blosson period, as many as twelve sprays or dusts of streptomycin to control fire blight bacteria; after petal fall and through harvest, three to five sprays for red spider mite and worms. There is only one thing worse than a worm in a pear, and that is one-half a worm!

This pest control costs as much as $200 per acre. We must constantly change materials to keep ahead of the pests' ability to develop resistance, to comply with government regulations, and to attempt to keep our costs down. Since so many of these materials are toxic in varying degree to man, it is necessary also to constantly observe every possible precaution to prevent injury to the employees during and after application. All of this requires a thorough, up-to-date knowledge of the pesticides being used and available for use.

I feel that we are progressing in the direction of more biological control, both through the introduction of beneficial insect predators and through selective breeding of plants resistant to insects, fungus, bacteria, etc.

This work of producing ever-increasing amounts of wholesome food cannot be left entirely to the farmers and private industry, but must be carried on in the publicly financed Agricultural Colleges, Research Stations, and by Extension Service specialists if we are to continue to produce food at the bargain price it is today.

PRUNES AND PEACHES

(Presentation by J. L. Sullivan, Yuba City, California, a graduate of Stanford University. He is a grower of pears, peaches, prunes, and cattle. Presently President, California Canners & Growers, a grower-canner cooperative with annual gross sales in excess of $110,000,000.)

Chairman Poage and Distinguished Members of the House Committee on Agriculture:

Growers of cling peaches and prunes in California are in the most serious depression since the early 1930's.

Three to five years ago, choice cling peach orchards were selling at $3000 an acre, while choice prune orchards were selling at $2500 per acre. At present, these same orchards are for sale at (clings) $1500 to $1750 per acre; prunes from $850 to $1250 per acre. Even at these low prices, under present marketing conditions, margins are so low that there is not enough cash generated to make payments on the land.

Eighty percent of the orchards in my immediate area are for sale. The fundamental reason for the chaotic condition is that we have an oversupply condition in both of these commodities.

Let us look at peaches first. Peach sales and plantings have been increasing in a healthy manner during the past twelve years when a number of several severe impacts caused the industry to reach its present disastrous condition. These follow:

1. Supplies of cling peaches and competing fruits increased dramatically.

2. Our exports, because of indirect subsidies by the Australian and South African industry, declined fifty percent.

3. The cyclamate ban destroyed approximately ten percent of our market.

4. The concentration of buying power into less and less organizations. Fifteen years ago we sold to twenty-seven canneries. Today it is under ten.

5. Inflation. Higher costs—which have increased in some instances over fifty percent during the past five years. Taxes, interest, maintenance and repairs, etc.

The California prune industry has more problems than the peach industry.

A. Through a combination of circumstances, we have an over-plant in prunes:

a. Short crops over a period of years.

b. The tremendous increase in prune juice during the late fifties and sixties which resulted in high prices at the time.

c. Large plantings have brought about these over-plantings.

B. In 1970, we had to virtually discard thirty-five percent (65,000 tons) of our crop. This year it will be forty percent (75,000 tons).

C. Presently, there are between one hundred and one hundred-fifty growers who have received "Dear John" letters from their packers, saying that they do not want their prunes in 1971.

D. Money-lending agencies are moving their funds away from prunes into other commodities.

E. As a result of countless gimmicks by our Western European Allies, our export market has been curbed significantly.

F. Inflationary costs, next to supply, are the greatest problem we have.

The immediate outlooks for both peaches and prunes are dismal.

In peaches, we shall continue with our research and quality control program; also, with our advertising, merchandising, and surplus control programs. Our tree pulling program has been most successful. Within two years, we hope that our supply will again be in a healthy relationship with demand.

The prune industry also has research, quality control, advertising, merchandising, and set-aside for surplus. In the latter area, there is room for improvement and we shall need your help.

Recommendations: We in tree fruit need more tools to work with in order to set the table properly. Congress can help directly or indirectly:

1. By passing the Sisk Bargaining Bill.

2. By insisting that our Government confront the Australian and South African marketers with their hidden subsidies. Should they continue, we should receive equal funds to combat shipping rates and merchandising subterfuges.

3. We should have the right to participate in allotment programs if we so wish.

4. Lending institutions, which start moving large funds away from agriculture, should be questioned by Congress.

5. Tax shelters for large income groups, both individuals and corporations who are investing in orchards, should be changed in an equitable manner.

6. The cyclamate indemnification bill should be passed as soon as possible. There are many growers who will be unable to secure a line of credit this December unless the bill is enacted into law.

With grower initiative and prudent assistance from Congress, we believe that the serious problems in the peach and prune industries can be solved.

RICE

(Presentation by W. Bruce Wylie, Colusa, California, who is a graduate of the University of California, Los Angeles. He farms rice and grain crops in Glenn County, and rice, grain, prunes and walnuts in Colusa County. He is Director and immediate Past President of Farmers Rice Co-op; Director and Treasurer, California Rice Research Foundation; Member, U.S. Department of Agriculture's National Rice Advisory Committee; Member, Rice Advisory Committee, California State Farm Bureau; and Director Sunsweet Driers, Inc., Riverbend Prune Drier, Colusa.)

Chairman Poage and Distinguished Members of the House Committee on Agriculture:

The rice industry is presently faced with five (5) major problems. These are:

1. The threat of a reduction in acreage for 1972 allotment.

2. A cost-price squeeze.

3. Diminishing demand for Public Law 480.

4. The current longshoremen's strike.

5. The effect of the European Common Market on U.S. rice sales.

These subjects are of deep concern to the California rice farmer, and I shall now elaborate on each in detail.

1. The main concern of most rice farmers is what program to expect for 1972. After a 10% cut in 1969 and a 15% cut in 1970, the California rice farmer cannot stand a further reduction in acreage.

In 1966, and again in 1968, rice farmers and agricultural businesses serving the rice industry, purchased equipment and enlarged their facilities in many cases to meet the Government's request for increased tonnage of rice to feed hungry allies. In most cases, part of these obligations still exist. On much of the rice land in Butte, Glenn, and Colusa Counties, rice is the only crop that can be farmed at a profit. Money is being spent by the California rice industry itself, under its own research program, to develop rotation crops that will return a profit to the rice farmer. Thus far, we do not have a reliable rotation crop.

2. The rice farmer is no exception to the cost-price squeeze. The cash return per cwt. to the rice producer today is approximately the same as it was in 1961 or even back to 1954–55. However, production items (with the possible exception of fertilizer) have doubled and in some cases have tripled in cost. As an example of this, the graph which I will attach to this presentation and give to the Committee—delineates the imbalanced relationship between harvester costs and rice market prices for the years 1960 through 1970.

To secure the yields necessary to survive,

fertilizer and spray bills often run in excess of $60 per acre.

3. The diminishing demand for Public Law 480 rice has had a definite impact upon the California rice farmer. The rice industry has done an outstanding job of feeding hungry people throughout the world.

4. The European Common Market is a real problem area for Southern rice producers.

5. The most pressing current problem is the longshoremen's strike and the railroad strike. In California, the balance of the 1970 rice crop as well as CCC rice has all been sold to South Korea. Yet, due to the longshoremen's strike, we are unable to mill and ship this rice. This situation is of deep concern to rice growers, particularly because there appears to be no effort to negotiate a settlement. Filled sales orders are being held at various ports and this could result in business being lost forever.

The outlook for rice is clouded. Much will depend on the policies set by our Government regarding PL480 rice sales and assistance.

As a member of the California delegation to the National Rice Advisory Council which met recently in Washington, D.C., we were briefed by representatives of the Department of Agriculture as to the present world situation and problems in rice. The various specialists and economists presented a dismal picture. If all information presented is allowed to stand without challenge, we are indeed in a serious mess. Their reports showed:

A. U.S. Dollar sales down.

B. World production up due to effect of the Green Revolution.

C. Heavy inventories in some countries.

D. Competition from concessionary sales by Japan, Thailand, U.A.R. and others.

E. Lack of demand for PL480 rice.

F. Loss of European Common Market sales to South America because of very high subsidies given to the South American rice producer.

It is impossible to recommend a meaningful rice program until we know Department policy on off-shore sales and the policy of administering the PL480 program. Lacking that information, several thoughts are put forth for consideration:

1. Leave acreage "as-is." Most farmers can ill afford *any* cut.

2. Correct the inequities experienced by U.S. exporters in selling to European Common Countries.

3. Aggressively sell U.S. farm commodities wherever possible.

4. We need to be certain our Government employees administering the various sales programs for agricultural commodities show and have complete concern for the U.S. farmer and his prime objective.

5. That the Department of Agriculture represent Agriculture—NOT Budget, Labor, Department of State, or some other country.

Thank you.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to conclude with a word of commendation for an old friend of mine and also for an extremely dedicated and knowledgeable public official.

The arrangements for this orientation tour and briefing in Butte County were made by Mr. Ernest E. Hatch of Oroville, who is one of the finest farmers I have known and Alva W. Mitchell, county director and farm adviser, Butte County Agricultural Extension Service.

The success of this meeting can be attributed directly to their organizing skills and their hard work in coordinating these presentations which I have today shared with you and our colleagues here in the House of Representatives.

We hear much about the problems of agriculture and about the problems of our Nation. When I see and know dedicated, hard working individuals such as Mr. Hatch and Mr. Mitchell and all of those whose presentations I have presented above, I have great faith in the future of our country and I know that agribusiness, as the farming industry may now be properly called, remains the backbone of our economy and the backbone of our society. We will be successful with fine people such as these working for the Nation.

Thank you.

AMERICAN LEGION ON OIL PIPELINE

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. The trans-Alaska pipeline is a vital issue in Alaska and throughout the United States. Oil to be transported via the pipeline is desperately needed, for several reasons. For one, the United States is experiencing a severe energy crisis, and faces an even greater one in the near future. Second, our current petroleum supply is now largely connected with events in the troubled and explosive Middle East. Third, Alaskan oil has a very low pollutant content, an increasingly important consideration. Fourth, the Alaskan economy is extremely depressed, with the highest statewide unemployment rate in the country, by far.

There are many other reasons for the need to build the pipeline soon, as recognized by the American Legion, Department of Alaska. Meeting in Ketchikan, Alaska, the Legion passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION No. 71-23

Whereas, a viable oil exploration and development program is vital to the defense of the United States; and

Whereas, a state of instability and military crisis exists in the Middle East where the United States imports over 50% of its fuel thereby jeopardizing the production and exploration and free flow of oil and related fuels necessary to the well being of the United States; and

Whereas, the defense posture of this Nation along with critical national civilian needs require the immediate exploration, development and processing of domestic oil reserves as soon as possible; and

Whereas, these critical needs can be met by the immediate exploration and development of the Prudho Bay Oil fields of Alaska by the respective United States oil companies of the field which contain some 500 billion barrels of oil with a resultant pipe line for transportation of said oil to the military and energy markets of the United States; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by the American Legion assembled in convention May 12 through 15, 1971 at Ketchikan, Alaska, that the Secretary of Interior, the Honorable Rogers B. Morton, be urged to issue forthwith without undue delay the necessary pipeline construction permits to the Alyeska Pipe Line Company for construction of the Trans-Alaska Pipe Line from the Prudho Bay oil fields to the southern seaport terminus of Valdez, Alaska or other appropriate seaport; be it

Further Resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to the Alaska Congressional delegation, National Legislative Committee of the American Legion, Governor of Alaska, Secretary of the Interior and other appropriate government officials.

NIXON WOOS REDS IN CHILE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the continuing threat of Communist revolution in Latin America is evident in the recent news coverage of "Dr. Castro's" disavowal of "new ties with the U.S.," and his statement that "the stars of Cuba and Chile shall go forward together to illuminate the path of Latin American revolution."

The administration, however, continues along its merry path of appeasement—it has even approved easy credit terms under the Export-Import Bank Act for military supplies for Chile. The administration does not seem to understand communism—whatever the Communists want, they give them, whether we are technically at war with them or whether they nationalize American industries within their borders and then threaten to refuse to indemnify the American owners for their losses.

I ask that a related news article be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

The article follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 5, 1971]

CASTRO DAMPENS TALK OF NEW TIES WITH U.S.

(By James Nelson Goodsell)

The possibility of some new sort of relationship between Havana and Washington has apparently been dashed by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

In a speech in which he pledged "Cuban solidarity with revolutionary movements in Latin America," Dr. Castro took a number of verbal swipes at the United States.

"We are not seeking conciliation of any kind with Yankee imperialism," he said. "There will be no concessions of any kind to the imperialist."

Dr. Castro spoke on the 18th anniversary of his own revolutionary movement which he linked with the struggles "of the oppressed" in Latin America.

The Cuban leader made no mention of the recent Nixon-administration overtures to Communist China, nor did he refer to recent United States congressional suggestions that the time has come for Washington to look afresh at the issue of policy toward Cuba with a view toward the reestablishment of relations.

HARD LINE SEEN

But his words appear to put a damper on the suggestions and seem to indicate he does not have any plans to take Cuba along the route that Peking is following in opening the door to Washington's overtures.

Cubanologists in the United States, in reflecting on the speech given last July 26 now that texts are available, regard the Cuban Premier's remarks as hard line, brooking little hope for any relaxation of the tension between Washington and Havana.

On the other hand, some observers note that during the past year Cuba and the United States have on several occasions carried on negotiations on such issues as the return to the United States of skyjackers and on the exchange of prisoners.

Indeed, on one recent occasion, Dr. Castro

permitted the daily refugee airlift plane from Cuba to Miami to carry North Americans who had been held in Cuban confinement for several months. Such a concession appeared to be a possible breakthrough on the use of the airlift for other purposes than ferrying Cubans wanting to go into exile.

EVENTS GO UNMENTIONED

Dr. Castro's speech made no mention of these events, however.

It did include a lengthy review of Cuba's economic situation. Dr. Castro admitted numerous problems, but his speech this year was a much more hopeful accounting of Cuba's economic arrangements than his speech last year. He indicated that statistics he had with him during his 2½-hour speech show a gradual improvement in the economy despite "contrary factors." He ticked off these points:

The failure to meet the revised sugar-harvest goal of 6.65 million tons was the result of a prolonged drought and "technical breakdowns" in some sugar mills. The harvest, completed just a week before he spoke, totaled just under 6 million tons.

The drought that affected sugar also hit tobacco, rice, and cattle production. In addition, a swine disease, which has now been controlled, forced the destruction of a sizable number of pigs.

Production in both light and heavy industry increased in the first six months of 1971—with some increases as much as 15 and 20 percent more than in the first six months of 1970.

It was obvious that this last point gave Dr. Castro a sense of hope that some of the island's economic problems were behind him. But he called on Cubans to face whatever domestic economic or foreign political challenges "resolutely, valiantly, and decisively." He promised Cubans additional hard times ahead, but held out some hope for improvements in the future.

He also appeared buoyed by the presence on the platform of Chilean Foreign Minister Clodomiro Almeyda. He spoke in warm terms of Chile's new Marxist-leaning government.

"The stars of Cuba and of Chile shall go forward together to illuminate the path of Latin American revolution," he said.

THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF SOVIET INVASION

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, August 21 is the third anniversary of the Soviet invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia. It was 3 years ago that Soviet tanks rolled into Prague and snuffed out the bright flame of personal freedom which had begun to flicker in the brave Czechoslovakian people.

Since that time, the seeds of individual liberty planted by Mr. Dubcek and his courageous followers have withered completely. All dissenting voices have been squelched, political trials have been held, the party has been purged, and Mr. Dubcek has been unceremoniously relieved of all duties and forced to return to private life. What fate the future holds for him cannot be guessed, but it is bound to be uncomfortable.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia reminded the United States, and the world, that the Soviet Union has not forsaken the use of armed might to accomplish its goals. Just how far the Brezhnev doctrine might be taken is unclear, but what is clear is that we must never drop our guard. Whether a similar step might be taken by the Soviets in Greece or the Middle East, where there is ample evidence of Soviet interference, cannot be divined.

But the Soviet Union does have the capability, and the demonstrated determination to impose its iron-fisted will upon socialist countries which deviate from the Moscow line.

This is a situation which free men everywhere must constantly guard against.

OAKLAND CITY COUNCIL CALLS FOR QUICK END OF WAR

HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, I believe the greatest chance we will have to end finally this Nation's tragic adventurism in Southeast Asia will come when sentiment against the war develops in every neighborhood and community.

It is one thing for politicians in Washington to pontificate against the war; it is something different when the people and their local elected officials speak out.

I am very encouraged by the recent action taken by the Oakland City Council in passing the following resolution calling for "withdrawal of all American military force from Indochina by the earliest date possible".

I commend the members of the city council of this city which I represent, and I now place their resolution into the RECORD at this point:

RESOLUTION ON OAKLAND AND THE INDOCHINA WAR

Whereas, on June 16, 1971, the National Conference of Mayors adopted a resolution urging the President to withdraw all American troops from Southeast Asia by December 31, 1971; and

Whereas, continuation of the war has burdened the Nation with immense expenditures and has resulted in cutbacks of Federal funds needed in Oakland to fight poverty, provide jobs and housing, and to assist with other City needs; and

Whereas, service in Indochina exposes American troops to easy access to heroin and other drugs so that many servicemen are returning to the communities of this country, including Oakland, as drug addicts, thereby aggravating the many social and police problems already serious in Oakland and through the country; and

Whereas, the percentage of casualties among black and brown servicemen is far higher than their percentage in the total national population and since there is a high proportion of minority people in Oakland's draft age population, Oakland residents bear an especially heavy burden in continuation of this war. This City Council is concerned about all the citizens of Oakland who are being killed and injured in this conflict; and

Whereas, continuation of the war takes a heavy toll of death and destruction, increases dissension at home, erodes our Nation's position abroad and wastes our human and capital assets; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that Oakland has a vital stake in rapid termination of American involvement in the Indochina war and therefore the Oakland City Council hereby urges Congress and the President to adopt those measures which will insure a prompt end of this war and withdrawal of all American military forces from Indochina by the earliest date possible.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY CRISIS

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, this last May, for the third time in 5½ years, the Western world found itself in the midst of a serious international monetary crisis. All the usual signs were manifest. Vast sums of moneys surged back and forth across national boundaries; tourists were swept up in the confusion of rapidly fluctuating exchange rates; economics ministers met, adjourned, and met again; commentators talked at length of speculators, parity, exchange rates, the forward market, and the spot market. Most ominous was the description of the situation as a dollar crisis, and mention of the so-called revolt against the dollar.

Often, the complexity of these developments reached baffling proportions. But despite the jargon and the confusion of the moment, the real significance of events became clear. Very simply, the rationale for the dominance of the dollar in world finance has weakened. For years we have been unable to earn on our sales abroad and from investment by foreigners in the United States a quantity of foreign money sufficient to balance the quantity of dollars that we have spent abroad for imports, foreign investment, economic aid, and military assistance. The result has been a sustained international payments deficit.

For some time now we have paid lip-service to the need to correct our balance of payments deficit. The events of last May clearly emphasized the need to do much more than indulge in vague rhetoric and stopgap measures.

I have vigorously supported proposals which would effectively strengthen our currency. We must do everything possible to fight inflation. The exercise of Presidential authority to dampen down wage and price increases in the vitally important construction industry deserves the support of all Americans.

At the present time I am cosponsoring two bills introduced yesterday which would enable the executive branch to deal more broadly with inflation and the related problem of unemployment. In sponsoring these measures I am not criticizing, but rather am seeking to strengthen the President's economic plans.

The first measure would establish a Wage-Price Board, with the authority to publish standards by which decisions with respect to wages and prices can be measured in terms of their inflationary impact on the economy. The Board would then seek the cooperation of all segments of the economy in avoiding

actions which are inconsistent with its recommendations.

This legislation complements the authority the President has under the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 to freeze wages and prices temporarily with the objective of promoting economic well being and growth.

The second bill proposes the establishment of a National Council on Productivity to replace the one established by Executive order. The new Council would work through regional and local organizations to be established from labor, management, and the public down to the plant level. In addition to establishing a local organizational structure, this bill would strengthen the existing Council by providing it more specific operating guidelines, as well as adequate funding for staff. The objectives of this Commission would be to enlist the cooperation of labor, management and State and local governments to promote increased productivity. In this way we may work to insure that our goods and services regain their dominant place in the world market.

I support the accelerated depreciation measures that have been implemented by the Government, and proposals to reinstate the vitally important investment tax credit. By encouraging industries to invest in new, more advanced equipment, these measures will help make our producers more competitive. I support legislation to expand the operations of the U.S. Export-Import Bank.

I also support the administration's imaginative proposal to found a Domestic International Sales Corporation which would allow American firms to set up domestic subsidiaries to market products abroad. Under this proposal, taxes on the products sold abroad by these sales corporations would be deferred until the profits were transferred back to the parent corporation, thus encouraging producers to expand their exports.

I am cosponsoring legislation to help relieve the steel industry from the onslaught of foreign competition. The Steel Trade Act of 1971 would limit imports in 1971 to approximately 15 million tons. It would provide for realistic product and geographic alinements and an import growth rate of not more than 2½ percent annually.

The United States Steel Corporation has recently shut down its Ohio Works in Youngstown, one of the largest steel mills in the State. Major layoffs have been announced by Republic Steel in Canton and Massillon and by other producers in Ohio. We must enact legislation to enable our country to compete on a more equitable basis. We must maintain a strong, viable steel industry for our national economic welfare and security. To be fully effective this measure must be temporary and coupled with the early enactment of the investment tax credit.

In these ways the steel industry and other American industries can regain their leadership in productivity and efficiency. Only then can American workers have meaningful job security. Only then can the dollar be truly strengthened.

The struggle to implement these important suggestions will not be easy, but it must be undertaken. The need for action cannot be denied. To illustrate the seriousness of the problem and to cite examples of heartening progress, I ask unanimous consent to that several recent news articles be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York Times, July 20, 1971]

NERVOUSNESS OVER THE DOLLAR AMONG EUROPEANS CONTINUES

(By Clyde H. Farnsworth)

PARIS.—All the signs point to continued nervousness over the dollar in Europe.

Over the last week the dollar has been sinking to new lows in Frankfurt. The price of gold is creeping higher.

There has been a speculative flurry over a possible upward revaluation of the French franc and many observers believe that with their newly acquired dollar holdings the French will take a tougher monetary line against the United States.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development reported in a recent study on the United States that European concern over the dollar is tending to check the expected upsurge in European purchases of American securities.

Meanwhile, the Swiss Parliament is debating the conditions attached to Swiss National Bank purchases of special American bonds denominated in Swiss francs.

In the fine print of the purchase agreement the United States was protecting from bearing any exchange loss.

The Swiss authorities are being critized for entering into the agreement, especially since Swiss francs over the last two and a half months have been worth 7 per cent more in terms of the dollar.

In a discussion last Friday, French Finance Minister Valery Giscard d'Estaing said the troubles with the monetary system lay in the way the American balance-of-payments deficits were being financed.

He objected to American pressure on foreign central banks to hold dollars in their reserves.

Some observers believe he was serving notice that France will play a harder game. This year France has already converted $280-million into gold to reduce its debt to the International Monetary Fund. The gold came from American reserves. There is now a growing expectation of further transactions of this type.

American gold reserves stand a little above $10-billion, against close to $30-billion of official dollar liabilities.

European monetary authorities, qualified sources report, would like the United States to finance its deficit by borrowing from the I.M.F.

As the United States goes into its credit lines with the I.M.F. the I.M.F. has increasing influence over American monetary policy. This would probably create major political problems within the United States.

But, as one source put it: "The Europeans feel this is the only chance they have of getting a reduction in the American balance-of-payments deficits."

Again today in Frankfurt the dollar fell to a new low against the floating German mark. It was quoted at 3.4660 marks to the dollar at its low for the day, and then recovered to 3.4730. The German central bank was not a seller of dollars in the exchange market today, as it had been last week.

[From the New York Times, July 22, 1971]

DOLLAR WEAKENS AS GOLD ADVANCES—MONETARY UNEASE CONTINUES IN EUROPEAN MARKETS

LONDON.—There were signs of further monetary unease today as the dollar weakened against the German mark and the French franc, and the price of gold leaped to its highest price in many months.

German monetary authorities hinted, meanwhile, that the increasingly higher valued "floating" mark will not return to its old parity of 27.3 cents—their first official expression on this point.

In London and Zurich, the major international gold trading centers, the price rose to $41.20 an ounce, an increase of 25 cents over yesterday. This matched the highest price reached so far this year.

Activity in these centers was spurred by the relatively heavy demand for gold in Paris, where the price reached the highest point in 21 months.

Paris is an internal market that normally has little effect on the international centers. But Paris-based rumors sparked the general upswing.

The essence of these was that newly swollen French dollar reserves would be turned in for gold conversions at the American Treasury, further draining American gold stocks.

According to the rumors, Washington would react by closing down the gold window, formally declaring the dollar was no longer convertible into gold. This would herald a set of new conditions for the monetary system.

Despite repeated and strong denials of any planned upvaluation, the franc again moved today to its upper fixed limit of 5.5125 francs to the dollar.

Market estimates placed dollar acquisitions by the Bank of France—to prevent the upper limit from being breeched—at $25-million.

Speculation on a higher value franc had subsided earlier this week. In the previous two weeks, the Bank of France took in about $500-million.

BANKING OPINION DIVIDED

Banking opinion both here and in Paris was divided over the question of French dollar conversions. There were some who felt the French did not really want to rock the monetary boat at this time.

They argued that because of the presently prevailing differences in monetary views between France and Germany, any precipitous changes in the monetary system could have unfortunate consequences for Common Market unity.

France and Germany are already at odds in an argument over the application of greater flexibility for exchange rates. The French say no, although there are signs they may be prepared to compromise later.

Other bankers argue that France's antagonism toward the reserve role of the dollar and the pressures the United States exerts to get other nations to hold surplus dollars may impel her to convert as a means of applying reverse pressure on the United States.

The German mark traded today at its highest rate ever. It took 3.4680 marks to buy a dollar, against 3.4750 yesterday. The old parity, before the mark was floated on May 9, was 3.66 to the dollar.

GERMANS TO BAR FLOW

BONN, July 21.—The Government today announced proposals to prevent large German and international companies from adding to the flow into West Germany of speculative money, particularly dollars, having an inflationary impact on the economy.

A Government spokesman, Conrad Ahlers, told a news conference here that West German companies that borrow large amounts abroad might be required to lodge part of that credit in an account with the central bank, which will pay no interest on the deposit.

[From the New York Times, July 27, 1971]

U.S. RESERVES FELL IN JUNE TO LOWEST LEVEL SINCE 1938

WASHINGTON.—United States monetary reserve assets declined an additional $307-million in June to $13,504,000,000, the Treasury reported today.

The largest part of the decline came from the previously announced use by the United States of $250-million of its automatic drawing rights in the International Monetary Fund. The loss of gold was $61-million, reducing the gold stock to $10,507,000,000.

The total of $13.5-billion of reserves was the lowest since 1938. Reserves at the end of June, besides the $10,507,000,000 of gold, included $1,247,000,000 of Special Drawing Rights, or "paper gold," $322,000,000 of foreign currencies, and $1,428,000,000 of automatic I.M.F. drawing rights.

[From the New York Times, July 29, 1971]

JUNE TRADE GAP WIDENED; COMPANY BORROWINGS RISE—MARGIN OF IMPORTS OVER EXPORTS WAS LARGER THAN APRIL AND MAY

WASHINGTON.—The already-poor United States foreign trade figures worsened further in June, the Commerce Department reported today.

Imports exceeded exports by $363.6-million, a bigger trade deficit even than in April and May. For the second quarter as a whole, there was an excess of imports over exports for the first time since the distorted period immediately following World War II in 1946. The deficit for the quarter was $803-million.

There was also a $372.3-million trade deficit for the first half. Yesterday, Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans told Congress there might be a deficit for the entire year, which would be the first in this century.

PICKUP HELD UNLIKELY

The poor trade figures give little encouragement that the nation's over-all balance of payments will improve. The payments deficit has led to rising uncertainty and occasional turmoil in world foreign exchange and gold markets.

Harold C. Passer, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs, said part of the "substantial deterioration" of the trade balance in the second quarter "is related to special situations, such as actual or potential strikes." But he said there were also "less transitory influences."

In the second quarter, exports actually declined by $275-million from the first quarter—a drop Mr. Passer attributed in part to "the slowdown in the rate of economic growth in many of our major markets abroad."

More important, imports rose strongly again, by $960-million over the first quarter.

METAL IMPORTS UP

Mr. Passer said imports of some metals, including steel, were increased in anticipation of possible strikes. He also said that "second-quarter trade also may have been affected by the expiration of longshoremen's labor contracts on the West Coast at the end of June and September of similar agreements at East Coast and Gulf ports."

Exports in June were $3,660,600,000 and imports were a record $4,023,200,000—the first time imports have passed the $4-billion mark for a month.

Mr. Passer said that "imports in the second quarter increased in almost all categories." In the first half, exports rose 5 per cent over a year earlier but imports rose 15 per cent, with strong gains "in a wide range of consumer goods and in industrial materials, particularly steel."

[From the New York Times, July 30, 1971]

HEALTH OF DOLLAR STIRS NEW WORRY—GOLD, SILVER AND THE STRONG EUROPEAN CURRENCIES IN HEAVY DEMAND—DEFICITS BEHIND RUSH—GAPS IN TRADE AND BUDGET NOTED, WITH ANOTHER BIG PAYMENTS LAG SEEN

(By Clyde H. Farnsworth)

PARIS.—Gold, silver and the "strong" European currencies were in demand in European markets today amid new anxieties over the health of the dollar.

The announcements by the United States of the second biggest budget deficit since 1945 and the third consecutive monthly trade deficit, together with expectations that another sizable balance-of-payments deficit will be reported for the second quarter, were behind the rush into gold.

In one of the biggest buying days of the last two years, dealers in Zurich and London said demand came from "everywhere," including the United States—even though gold ownership by American citizens is illegal.

The rise in silver was attributed principally to Americans.

FRENCH RESERVES SURGE

In another development, the Bank of France reported a surprisingly large increase in its reserves last week—$367-million—mainly reflecting dollar support operations in the exchange market.

One of the factors in the gold price rise has been the rumor that the French, with their newly swollen dollar reserves, will revert to traditional practices of demanding conversions at the American Treasury for gold.

This would further reduce American gold stocks and perhaps lead to a formal embargo on gold sales. Speculators see the resulting monetary turmoil culminating in a higher official gold price.

But, by the same token, it could also mean an end to gold as a monetary metal.

Gold was being sold at between $42.35 and $42.50 an ounce late this afternoon in London and Zurich after the formal London "fixing" at $42.275.

PERSISTENT SILVER DEMAND

The "fixing," representing the basic reference price, was the highest since June 3, 1969. It was nearly 20 cents above the reference price yesterday.

Silver, which has been demonetized by the United States and most other countries, has been out of favor as a monetary speculation for years. But yesterday some of the demand for gold rubbed off in the silver market, pushing the price to $1.60¾ an ounce from $1.58½ yesterday.

Silver dealers in London report that there has been quiet but persistent demand for the metal in recent months, and they anticipate still higher levels.

The West German central bank was still getting rid of unwanted dollars in the exchange market today. It unloaded $700-million to $800-million yesterday, according to Frankfurt bankers' estimates, and another $150-million was sold today.

The mark, which has been "floating" upward since May 9 under the influence of dollar sales, was trading today at 3.4610 to the dollar, representing nearly a 6 per cent premium over what had been the official rate.

The mark was floated following a flood of dollars into Germany. Sometime later this year it will probably be formally revalued upward, many observers say.

The upward float was intended to release the dollars into the market stream again and to check the inflationary boom in German business.

[From Time Magazine, Aug. 9, 1971]

THE BATTERED DOLLAR

For most of the last 20 years, the U.S. has emptied its pockets abroad with the abandon of a sailor on shore leave. European bankers have grown hoarse warning that the dollar outflow and resulting drain of U.S. gold reserves could eventually wreck the purchasing power of the dollar overseas and endanger the world's monetary system. Last week a succession of dismal developments gave those warnings a new and compelling urgency:

The Treasury Department reported that U.S. gold reserves have dipped to their lowest level since 1935. During June some $61 million in gold dribbled out of Fort Knox and into foreign hands. This reduced net reserves of gold to $9.96 billion—even though it has been widely felt that the U.S. would never permit its gold reserves to fall below $10 billion. According to the Treasury, the monetary reserves were $13.5 billion. But that figure included $2.7 billion in potential credits from the International Monetary Fund, which the U.S. can draw on if necessary, as well as more than $320 million in assorted foreign currencies. This leaves some $10.5 billion in gold, but $548 million of that is gold that the IMF has either sold or lent to the Treasury on condition that it is returnable to the IMF on demand.

The Nation's trade balance declined further in June. For the third straight month, imports exceeded exports. The June discrepancy was $362.6 million, the largest so far this year. Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans stunned a congressional subcommittee by telling it that the U.S. may run a trade deficit for 1971, the first since 1893.

The price of gold in European free markets reached a two-year high of $42.40. The rise reflected a growing feeling abroad that the U.S. Treasury is perilously short of backing for its pledge to swap dollars for gold at the rate of $35 per ounce, and thus may have to raise the official gold price, which would devalue the dollar. European central bankers are moving to liquidate their dollar holdings. Two weeks ago the Swiss Central Bank sold $50 million in dollars to an unnamed source for gold.

The immediate peril is that a big rush from dollars into stronger currencies or gold could easily set off still another monetary crisis, one which would make Europe's brief speculative spree last May seem mild by comparison. Already there are enough dollars circulating in the Eurodollar market to empty out Fort Knox several times over. The deeper danger is that European governments will clamp stern controls on the international exchange of money—particularly on the inflow of dollars—and that the U.S. will put equally rigid controls on the import of goods. In Washington, there is much discussion of imposing surtaxes on imports. Any of these steps would damage the system of free trade and investment, which has done so much to promote postwar economic growth. A much more prudent move would be for the U.S. to adopt an incomes policy, centered on wage and price guidelines. This would show skeptical Europeans that the U.S. is serious about curbing inflation—and thus strengthening the dollar.

[From the New York Times, July 15, 1971]

JAPAN SEEN EASING IMPORT CURBS

(By Brendan Jones)

An Administration official said yesterday that Japan was moving "at long last" toward a significant reduction of her import barriers, but asserted that her restrictions on foreign investment were still far from liberal.

The official, Robert McLellan, Assistant

Secretary of Commerce for domestic and international business, spoke on what he termed the "special problem" of Japan at a luncheon of the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry at the Plaza Hotel.

He said there was a beginning of improvement in United States-Japanese economic relations and signs that the Japanese Government was adopting a policy of more restrained "orderly expansion of exports" to the United States.

At a news conference and in his speech, Mr. McLellan said that sudden, large increases of imports from Japan, such as those of textiles and electronics products, had added to the domestic economic and trade difficulties of this country.

In seeking restraints on imports from Japan, he said, the Administration had wanted only a moderation of their growth.

TEXTILES STAND DESCRIBED

He added that the Administration would continue to seek agreements with Japan and other countries to ease the pressure of textile imports. Meanwhile, he said, the United States would carefully watch the workings of the Japanese textile industry's unilateral export restraint program which became effective July 1.

Although United States exports to Japan made an impressive gain of $1.1-billion last year to a total of $4.7-billion, Mr. McLellan observed, the rise in imports from Japan resulted in a $1.2-billion deficit for this country.

"Our continuing—and growing—trade deficits with Japan," the official said, "are of particular concern to the United States Government and United States business firms, first because they contribute so importantly to our global international payments problem, while Japan maintains import impediments as compared to the relative access afforded by the United States market to Japanese and other world suppliers, and secondly because Japan greatly restricts the opportunity of United States business to participate in her market through investment."

IMPORT QUOTAS EASING

Mr. McLellan commended the Japanese for accelerating their reduction of import quotas. Two years ago, he noted, there were 159 categories for import quotas. These have been reduced to 60 categories, he said, and are to be cut to 20 by the end of September.

Despite this liberalization, Mr. McLellan said, there still remain other forms of import restriction, notably an "administrative guidance" system under which the Japanese Government can, if it wishes, exert influence on business to discourage imports.

While the Japanese Government has also accelerated measures to open about 85 per cent of Japanese business fields to foreign investment, Mr. McLellan said, the foreign participation is limited to 50 per cent and to new businesses rather than existing companies.

In view of Japan's current position as one of the world's leading economies and the United States' own open investment policy, Mr. McLellan declared, "We do not consider this to be full liberalization."

"We think," he added, "that with its great economic strength and international payments surpluses, Japan can—and should—extend similar treatment to American investors, in its own best interests as well as ours."

[From the New York Times, June 14, 1971]

CENTRAL BANKERS SHAPING EURODOLLAR LENDING CODE—MOVE TO IMPROVE CONTROL OF MONEY FLOW EMERGES AT ANNUAL MEETING OF BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS

(By Clyde H. Farnsworth)

BASEL, SWITZERLAND.—Central bankers of the major industrial countries are working out a code of conduct for Eurodollar lending as part of stepped-up efforts to regulate the foreign dollar market.

Commercial banks would be advised to pay more attention to the creditworthiness of customers and to guard against lending long-term funds that had been borrowed on a short-term basis.

Central and commercial bankers have warned recently that the highly competitive conditions in the international dollar-lending field have caused lapses in normally prudent banking practice.

A code of conduct would serve as a reminder that the national authorities expect their banks to employ the same practices in the international market as they do domestically.

HIGH ON THE LIST

The problems of the Eurodollar market were high on the list of topics for discussion as central bankers from all over the world including Communist countries gathered here for the annual meeting of the Bank for * * *.

This institution, headquartered in Basel, plays the role of a central bankers' central bank performing a number of services for national banks. Some Eastern European countries are members, as well as most of the major Western countries. The central bankers from Eastern Europe use the occasion of the annual meeting to visit with Western colleagues.

The B.I.S. also is host at monthly gatherings of central bankers from the major Western nations. A highly conservative institution, the B.I.S. still records its accounts in Swiss gold francs, which no longer exists.

The United States has pledged its support behind cooperative international efforts to master the Eurodollar market and to obtain better control of the hot money flows that have led to recent currency crises.

OFFICIAL COMMENTS

As Secretary of State William P. Rogers put it at a meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris last week: "We are ready to join our O.E.C.D. partners in reducing incentives to short-term money flows seeking higher interest rates."

The United States has already made special Treasury offerings to mop up some of the dollars sloshing around in the $50-billion Eurodollar pool.

The Treasury is also tightening controls over transfers by American citizens abroad.

A whole arsenal of measures is being considered from the European side, but a fair amount of disagreement over their utilization still exists among Governments and within Governments.

One of the ideas is to establish reserve requirements on Eurodollar deposits. This would have the effect of restricting the size of the market and increasing the interest rates.

For such a measure to have any real significance, Britain would have to agree. This is because London is the biggest center for Eurodollar lending.

Informants said the British would agree to impose reserve requirements only on condition that a formula be worked out in which British banks would lose no more business than banks in other centers. That formula could prove difficult to agree on.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 2, 1971]

TRADE STRENGTH OFFSETS GLOOM OVER NATION'S DEFICIT

(By Brendan Jones)

The United States may see its traditional trade surplus vanish this year, but an examination of strengths and weaknesses in the over-all trade outlook indicates that gloom at this prospect may be premature.

The latest figures, of course, show the hard fact that the nation's trade balance ran a deficit—an excess of imports over exports—through three consecutive months, April to June, for the first time in 21 years.

As a result, an earlier surplus has been replaced by a deficit for the first half of the year of $372.3-million and as Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans warned in connection with the figures: "In 1971 the trade surplus may disappear altogether for the first time since 1893."

Among this country's important trade strengths is the export of "high-technology" products—jumbo jets, computers, business machines, electric and electronic apparatus and sophisticated industrial controls systems and instruments.

BIGGEST IMPORTER

And while warning of deficit, Mr. Stans also urged more incentives for research and effort to maintain technological leadership, which many experts fear is being threatened by countries such as Japan and West Germany.

In addition, the United States is unique in its trading versatility, in being able to export large quantities of machinery and manufactured goods as well as of raw materials and agricultural produce.

But the United States is also the biggest importer of raw materials and semi-finished goods, items such as ores, oil, metals, chemicals and in recent years, of a rising volume of consumer products—autos, appliances, textiles, leather goods—and industrial machinery.

The problem is that imports have been growing more than twice as fast as exports, although last year exports picked up sharply to a surplus of $2.7-billion.

The race between exports and imports has grown steadily closer and there has been a question of whether the United States was really trying harder, especially in export financing and credit.

One answer has been the pending bill to increase the Export-Import Bank's funding authority from $13.5-billion to $20-billion and to finance exports to Communist countries, including Communist China.

It has been estimated that such an increase could eventually add nearly $5-billion to exports.

At the same time, the rise in imports, particularly of consumer products combining low price and quality, has aroused fears of an import "flood," especially from Japan, and increased demand for import restriction.

The shift to trade deficit this year has demonstrated that the trade balance is still very close but imports from Europe and Japan could swing either way.

It is clear that much of the recent import rise has resulted from special circumstance—the expanding domestic economy, continued high consumer purchasing, threats of steel and dock strikes—all of which spur imports and stockpiling.

At the same time, exports have been slowed by reduced economic activity in both Europe and Japan.

Trade figures and a recent analysis of the trade outlook by the Commerce Department show there are still many strong areas of American exports.

Exports of aircraft, which rose sharply to $2.7-billion last year, are continuing to gain with delivery of jumbo jets and, according to the Commerce forecasts, will show a substantial increase this year.

Agricultural exports, which rose 20 percent last year to $7.3-billion, are continuing to rise. The Commerce report forecast a sharp increase for cotton and higher tobacco sales.

American exports of capital goods—industrial machinery and equipment—were up $2-billion last year to $14.4-billion. While demand has slackened with reduced economic activity abroad, this major export item is expected to show a gain for the year.

Exports of business machines—computers,

office and copying equipment—have nearly doubled the $900-million volume of three years ago and are continuing to advance.

STRONG EXPORT AREAS

Other strong export areas are coal, chemicals, construction machinery and scrap metal, but over-all, the Commerce Department report indicates a lower rate of increase this year for all nonagricultural products.

There are firm areas of strength also on the import side. While exports of passenger cars have slipped, car imports are up strongly and should easily top last year's volume of nearly $6-billion.

A good part of the car imports are coming from American subsidiaries in Canada under the automotive free-trade agreement with that country, but imports from Europe and especially from Japan are substantially higher.

Imports of the European and Japanese cars, however, are expected to ease in coming months.

Along with imports of leather goods, bicycles, motorcycles, those of household appliances, radios, TV sets and phonographs are maintaining a steady rise above last year's total of nearly $1.4-billion.

In the Commerce analysis, export forecasts by area specialists and foreign service officers, appear more optimistic than those on the over-all outlook.

Major countries in which increased demand is anticipated are Canada, Britain and Japan, while a more moderate rate of export growth is indicated for the European Common Market countries.

Exports to the Soviet Union and Eastern European Communist countries—up $100-million to $450-million last year—are expected to show another large increase this year.

Summing up, the Commerce analysis suggests that the growth of imports may be steeper than expected, but notes:

"With exports and imports at around $45-billion to $46-billion each, one percentage point shift in the growth rate of either would have an impact on the balance of nearly half a billion dollars."

A final question, though, is whether a country that has not had a trade deficit in 77 years still has the capacity to regain a surplus.

[From U.S. News & World Report, July 19, 1971]

HELPING U.S. BUSINESS SELL MORE ABROAD—INTERVIEW WITH HENRY KEARNS, PRESIDENT, EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

Q. Mr. Kearns, this country is now running a deficit in its transactions with other countries. Can that deficit be cut or eliminated?

A. Yes, there are a number of ways: One is to lessen our military commitments around the world—bring back some of our troops, or persuade countries where they are stationed to take over a greater share of their support.

Another way to save dollars abroad is to cut spending for foreign aid.

Still another possibility is to limit the spending of American tourists abroad. They account for a heavy outflow of dollars—2.25 billions a year. The Johnson Administration tried to cut that tourist spending and retreated from it very quickly. I think any Administration would have to do the same thing.

There also has been talk about the outflow resulting from American investment in other countries. But the investment of U.S. dollars overseas eventually returns money to this country in the form of earnings. The net today is on our side. But that's generally a long-range proposition.

The only way to get our international payments into balance any time soon is to increase exports. We need a trade surplus of 5 to 7 billion dollars every year, not just an occasional surplus. To achieve a real solution, a long-range program must be followed. We cannot depend on emergency measures that are usually counterproductive.

Q. What has been the trade picture recently?

A. Latest figures show that imports exceeded exports in both April and May, for the first time in many years.

For this year as a whole, exports will exceed imports by a narrow margin—possibly less than 1 billion dollars. Last year, the trade surplus was about 2.7 billion. In 1969, it was about 1.3 billion.

Q. Do you see ways to boost sales of U.S. goods abroad?

A. Certainly. I think the additional trade we need can be achieved. The markets are available, if we just generate the sales effort—get our manufacturers to go out and sell, and back them up with adequate financing.

Q. What about the argument that inflation here at home is pricing our goods out of world markets?

A. Personally, I reject that idea—and I do so on the basis of hard market research and analysis, not on theory.

Many things are involved in a business transaction. Price is only one. When you consider quality, reputation, service, interchangeability of parts and financing, then price recedes in importance.

Suppose you want to buy a car, and have $1,000 to spend. I come to you and say, "I have a car to sell you for $1,500, but you'll have to pay all cash." We can't do business. But you may be willing to pay as much as $1,800 if I agree to finance the purchase for you over a period of years. In that case, price becomes secondary to your ability to buy with the cash you have on hand and expect to have in the future.

Now it's true that in some products—radio and TV sets, textiles, shoes—our prices may be higher than for similar goods produced in other countries. On those products, it's hard to compete at this time. But we have thousands of other kinds of products where price is only one factor, and on those products getting out and selling is what counts. The potential buyer will not know about the other factors, such as quality terms, etc., unless a sales effort is made.

Q. Could U.S. companies do a better job of developing markets overseas?

A. Yes, there's no question about it. I've traveled throughout the world as part of my job, and everywhere I go, people say, "Why doesn't the American manufacturer come over here and sell his products?" With the exception of a few big companies that are international-minded, we simply don't do it. Most of our producers are preoccupied with the domestic market. They figure the opportunities at home are so broad and so profitable that there's no need to sell abroad.

Q. Are most businessmen confused or uninformed about how to develop foreign markets?

A. Yes, the apparent mystery of doing business abroad frightens many of the uninitiated. They are concerned about the risks, and fearful that it will cost too much to get into markets outside the U.S.

We will never get to the point where every American businessman will want to sell overseas. But remember that only about 4 percent of our total national output—the gross national product—is in exports. So we have a lot of room for expansion, though even today we are still the world's leading exporter by a sizable margin.

Q. Where does the Export-Import Bank fit into this?

A. We have a twofold job: First, we make dollar loans to foreigners who want to buy American goods and who can and will pay for them over a period of years. Second, we assure U.S. manufacturers and exporters that if they go out and sell their products abroad, they will be paid with no more risk than they take on a domestic transaction.

DOLLARS THAT STAY AT HOME

Q. Do you lend money to American companies that are in the export business?

A. No. We lend money only to foreign buyers of U.S. goods. Such a borrower might be a private company or a government agency. All of our loans are made in dollars. But the important aspect is this: All those dollars are disbursed not to the foreign borrower, but to the American company that is supplying the goods.

Let's say we are lending 100 million dollars to the Tokyo Power Company for a new power plant in Japan. We don't send a single dollar to Japan. The 100 million is paid out to U.S. suppliers and contractors. All the money stays right in this country. But, more important, the repayment on the loan, plus interest, comes back to the Eximbank in the form of dollars.

Q. What is your annual loan volume?

A. Out of total U.S. exports last year of about 43 billion dollars, we participated in the financing of 5.5 billion, through loans, insurance or other arrangements. That was an increase of 90 percent over the 2.9 billion of exports we helped finance in 1969.

Q. Is your program picking up steam?

A. Yes. This year we expect it to reach somewhere between 7 and 7.5 billion dollars. That refers to the value of exports supported and made possible by all programs, not to the net total of our loans.

Q. What is your estimate of total exports this year?

A. I don't think they will rise much this year—maybe they'll get up to 45 billion dollars at the most. One reason is the decline in aircraft sales overseas.

But, looking ahead, I firmly believe that we can reach President Nixon's goal of 50 billion dollars by the end of this fiscal year—in mid-1972.

Q. What sorts of products do you help finance?

A. Our loan portfolio covers just about everything you can imagine, from locomotives to diaper pins, from shrimp boats to jet aircraft.

I made a survey of our business in the first quarter of this year. We had 3,416 separate transactions in 143 countries covering 60 different categories of products, materials and sevices. Lately, the composition of world trade has been shifting toward things bought with long-term financing, such as power plants, aerospace products, steel mills. Here is where sales depend more on credit than any other single factor, and it is the area of greatest opportunity for U.S. manufacturers.

Q. How is a typical Eximbank loan handled?

A. Let's say a company in a foreign country wants to build a petrochemical plant. A representative from that company comes to us and says: "We want to buy equipment for this plant. How can you help us?" We ask him to give us preliminary details, the economic justification for the plant, the estimated total costs, the amount of equipment that will be supplied from the U.S. estimates of the plant's earnings, and so on. Assuming the project makes sense, we will offer a preliminary commitment, specifying how much we will lend, for how long, at what rate of interest and upon what conditions. He then makes his decision and contracts with the U.S. supplier.

Q. Suppose an electric-power company in a Latin-American country wants to buy generating equipment. Would a loan normally be initiated by someone from the Latin-American company, or would it come from a company in the U.S., such as General Electric or Westinghouse, that might want to sell the equipment?

A. It could come either way. Sometimes both the buyer and the seller request a loan commitment.

We respond to loan requests from the buyer, the seller or from a private financial institution, usually within two weeks—three weeks at the most—with a commitment on any transaction of any size.

Q. What rate of interest do you charge?

A. Six percent. We have had that rate for the past 2½ years. I see no reason to change it.

Q. That is below the current bank rate, isn't it?

A. Yes, and at times it is below our cost of money. In effect, we have, when necessary, been subsidizing the interest rate by drawing on some of the earnings of our capital and reserves. Frequently the ability of the American supplier to get the business will depend upon our ability to keep our interest charges competitive with those offered by overseas producers.

Q. Over the years, have your loan terms been competitive with what other governments offer to their exporters?

A. In our opinion, the way you find out whether or not you are competitive is whether you get the business, so a flat yes or no would be misleading. When we get right down to negotiating an actual transaction, our suppliers rarely lose business for reasons of financing when the term for repayment is five years or more. On medium-term loans—one to five years—we are competitive about half the time. We get about half the transactions in which we are asked to participate and lose about half. This is not an acceptable score. We expect to do better.

Q. Do you get competition from government lending agencies in other countries?

A. Yes, though no other country has a bank similar to ours. In the United Kingdom, for example, there is an agency called the ECGD—Export Credit Guarantee Department—which is an export-insuring institution. Commercial banks make loans to foreign borrowers, have the loans insured by the ECGD and discount them at the Bank of England. But the ECGD itself does not loan money.

France and West Germany have similar arrangements. In nearly all other countries the financing is provided by a combination of facilities.

Q. Do the Russians have an agency to help underwrite their exports?

A. No; they rarely lend on commercial terms. Their product-promotion efforts more closely resemble foreign-aid operations of the type handled by our Agency for International Development.

The Russians offered to finance the sale of 10 million dollars' worth of Soviet-made earth-moving equipment to Costa Rica recently for highway construction. They offered all kinds of incentives. But Costa Rica decided against it, and ended up buying U.S. equipment on commercial terms.

Q. Why is an export-import bank needed? Can't private bankers supply all the financing necessary for foreign trade?

A. No; they cannot do the entire job. Over the years, it has become clear, not only in the U.S. but in every trading country, that there is a place that government must fill.

Q. Why do you say that?

A. For one thing, there is the matter of risk-taking. You have all sorts of risks in international transactions that you don't have in domestic business—such things as periods of political instability, changing markets, ability to convert from local currency to dollars and the ability to collect debts. A government institution has a greater ability to collect than does a private institution.

Then there's the matter of length of terms on a loan. When large contracts or big pieces of equipment are involved—or factories, dams, irrigation projects and so on—the borrowing generally has to be spread out over a longer period of time than a commercial bank will or can undertake. Most commercial banks are limited to a lending term of five years.

Suppose a foreign borrower wants to get financing for a nuclear power plant with a cost of, say, 165 million dollars. A loan of that amount simply can't be paid off in five years. It takes that long to get the plant built. So normally there's an initial five-year grace period, with repayment over 15 years. Such terms cannot usually be supplied from purely private sources.

Right now, we are working on a program with Argentina to completely replace all the locomotives on their national railroad. This will run to about 175 million dollars. They will pay off that loan over a period of 12 years. The private-bank money must be supplemented by Eximbank for the last six years.

EXPORTS CAUGHT IN MONEY SQUEEZE

Q. Are money supplies and interest rates important, too?

A. Yes, indeed. When a country goes through a period of tight and high-priced money, such as we had in 1969 and 1970, the first casualty normally is export trade. That's because domestic customers get priority at commercial banks. So there is need for a facility that can keep credit flowing in the export market in periods of tight money.

Related to that is the cost of borrowing. An exporter cannot compare his cost of borrowing money with the interest rates paid by another company in his same town or State. He must relate it to the rates prevailing in the country where he wants to do business, and the rates and terms offered by a non-American competitor. Most trading nations generally have been able to maintain a relatively low rate of interest for their export transactions.

Q. How did the Bank get started?

A. It was set up originally as a division of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in 1934.

That was the period when President Franklin D. Roosevelt was negotiating to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. I'm told that one of the conditions the Russians placed on our recognition of their Government was that an institution would be set up here to finance Russian imports into the United States.

The Export-Import Bank was created within the RFC for that purpose.

It's interesting to note, however, that there never has been a loan transaction concluded between the Bank and the Soviet Union. Eximbank started out with a rather limited purpose and ended up with a far broader one. The Bank was incorporated as a separate entity in 1945, and is now an independent agency of the U.S. Government.

Q. Who put up your original capital?

A. The Bank was awarded the assets that were left from the RFC when it was liquidated—a billion dollars. Since then, Eximbank has never used any appropriated funds. When we need extra money to lend out, we borrow from the public money market or the Treasury.

Q. How much do you owe the Treasury now?

A. About 734 million dollars. The amount changes everyday.

Q. Is that the bulk of the money you use for lending?

A. No. In addition to the original capital of 1 billion dollars that was invested from the RFC, the operations of the Bank have built up more than 1.25 billion in reserves—out of earnings from loans. In addition, Eximbank is regularly awarded authority from Congress to obligate the U.S. Currently this authority is 13.5 billion dollars. The authority can be used in the form of borrowings from the Treasury for up to 6 billion dollars, and borrowings from the public in direct loans, debentures, shares, interest certificates or other obligations.

Under present federal budgeting procedure, early each year we are required to specify the amount we think we will need for the forthcoming fiscal year. This is called a "business plan." The Congress examines this business plan through the usual appropriations procedures and where justified, authorizes us to go ahead.

This can become very complex. To meet the increasing volume of need, we have asked Congress to increase our obligational authority to 20 billion dollars, and to exempt us from computations of the federal budget. That would permit us to plan and execute fund-raising as needed. It would allow rational and economical money management over a long period. If the legislative proposals are adopted, we propose financial planning on a five-year program. We could then issue securities for medium and long-term borrowings and not be dependent on unreliable and frequently costly short-term borrowings.

Also, from a management standpoint, the national interest would be much better served if we raise our money from the private money market rather than being dependent on borrowing from the Treasury. As matters stand now, we use the Treasury as our bank. Any income we get is deposited in the Treasury. When we need money, we draw a note on the Treasury.

That's all right as far as it goes. But under current budgetary process, it is not a good way to fund a bank—we simply do not know from year to year how much cash will be available to fund commitments made in the course of expanding export sales.

Q. Do you guarantee American investments in foreign countries?

A. No. We have nothing to do with investments. We only guarantee loans made by an exporter or a financial institution—U.S. or foreign—to pay for U.S. goods or services.

Q. Do you operate at a profit?

A. Yes. We made 110 million dollars last year, and this year we will make about 114 million. We pay the Treasury a dividend of 50 million dollars every year. Since incorporation in 1945, a total of 703 million dollars has been paid to the Treasury. The rest of our earnings go into reserves. This is how our reserves were built up to over 1.25 billion dollars since 1945.

COOPERATION WITH PRIVATE LENDERS

Q. Have you made innovations in your operations lately?

A. Yes, several. One of the most recent new programs is what we call participation financing. It's a way of spreading out our money so it covers more transactions, and of attracting more private money into export financing.

Formerly, Eximbank's general practice was to provide the entire credit to an overseas buyer of U.S. goods and services who qualified for a loan. Under the new participation arrangement, we share the loan with a private lender. The usual requirement is for a 10 per cent cash down payment by the purchaser, with our bank and a commercial bank sharing the rest of the financing on a 50–50 basis.

Sometimes, when necessary, the U.S. supplier also is asked to participate in the financing. When required, we are also prepared to guarantee the participating financial institution against losing money on the loan.

Q. Have you been able to draw commercial banks into this program?

A. Yes. Bankers are coming to realize that, far from being a competitor, we are working as partners with them in getting them business.

In the past two years, too, we have been guaranteeing loans made by banks in other countries for the purchase of American goods. Those banks lend the money that is then paid to the American producer, often as down payment on a purchase. We, in turn, may guarantee repayment on that loan.

Q. Are you expanding this sort of co-operative arrangement with foreign banks?

A. Yes, we are now in the midst of promoting an exciting new program that can be a tremendous stimulus to American exporters,

called the Co-operative Financing Facility. We go to responsible financial institutions in various markets of the world and say: "We are prepared to make available to you a line of credit in multiples of a million American dollars to finance purchases from the United States of equipment, materials, technology, services. You make the loan, you take the commercial risk. You put up half the money, and we'll put up the other half at 6 percent."

Now, we have tried this out and we think it is going to be a real boon to U.S. overseas trade. By the end of next year, we hope to have lined up local banks in 300 different cities around the world that will participate. In effect, we are going to put those banks—foreign-owned banks, or foreign branches of American banks—into the business of selling American products.

This means we can say to American companies: "Tell your salesmen that in Rio and Quito and in Paris and Luxembourg and in Singapore and Karachi, if they go out and sell your products, there's a bank right on the spot than can finance the sale. They don't have to scramble around for financing. It's right there."

And through the Co-operative Financing Facility we get twice the exports for our money, the co-operating institution gets twice the purchasing power from its money and the buyer and seller are efficiently served. One of the most important features is that smaller and medium-sized business and industry can now find financing when needed.

DEFAULTERS CUBA, RED CHINA, U.A.R.

Q. What has been the Bank's record on loan repayments? Has it ever lost money?

A. Since the Bank started, in the early 1930s, the total volume of transactions—loans, loan guarantees and insurance—has amounted to about 35 billion dollars. Actual losses have been only two hundredths of 1 per cent. In all that time, there have been only three defaults—Cuba, mainland China, and the United Arab Republic.

The U.A.R. is negotiating now to try to work out new loan payments and get back on schedule. The debt on mainland China has been paid off in part by the Republic of China. And we are hopeful that the loan to Cuba someday may be repaid.

We have had a few commercial transactions where companies have been unable to pay, but the total is infinitesimal. Even considering all delayed payments for all reasons, the total is less than one half of 1 per cent of the volume of business.

Now, I must add that this collection record is not wholly because the Bank's management has been wise in the loans written, though we try to use due diligence. The main reason it that a borrower simply cannot afford to default on an Export-Import Bank loan, guarantee or insured credit. If he is in trouble with us, there's literally no private institution in the U.S. that will lend to him. That's the case also with other export-financing institutions around the world, who are notified of any of our bad risks.

We do take a considerate attitude toward a borrower who runs into trouble. Sometimes when really necessary we will delay payments for six months or a year, to help him get back on his feet.

Q. Do you see particular countries where opportunities are the greatest now for U.S. companies?

A. The pattern shifts constantly. One day, we may be looking at Brazil as the most impressive market. The next day it may be Italy, or Japan or Korea.

Actually, at the moment, we are lending more for development in Japan than anywhere else in the world. Next in line are Brazil, then Mexico, Italy and Spain.

Frequently we are asked, "Why do you finance sales to a country like Japan that has a healthly dollar reserve?" Our answer: "Because we are convinced that the financing is necessary to make the sale." Even though the country has dollars, the actual borrower does not.

Q. Can you finance exports to any country?

A. We make loans or assist others in 143 countries or areas. We are prohibited by restrictions in our Authorization Act from financing exports to a Communist country, except where the President declares it in the national interest. The last four Presidents have done that in the case of Yugoslavia—the only Communist nation with which we currently do business.

A second congressional restriction prohibits our financing loans in any country that is in armed conflict with the United States. That rules out transaction with North Vietnam, and it also rules out any countries that do business with North Vietnam.

PROTECTING INVESTMENTS IN CHILE

Q. After the last presidential election in Chile, you put that country in a higher-risk category. Recently, the Chilean Finance Minister said he would welcome new foreign private investment. Will that alter your attitude toward Chile?

A. This is a delicate subject, because a lot of discussion is going on with Chile these days.

We make our decisions on a purely commercial basis, not on a political basis. We have large credits outstanding in Chile, principally to the owners of the copper mines that were privately owned and now have been expropriated. If and when the Chilean Government assures us that it has assumed the obligations of the companies it has taken over, we may be able to justify new extensions of credit.

Also we must take an interest in the just and prompt settlement of claims for nationalized private investments. Should the appropriate authorities in Chile give us meaningful assurances that these subjects will be fairly settled, then we would look at each individual transaction on its own merits.

Q. What about Peru?

A. We have a situation there similar to that in Chile, where we have outstanding credits to companies that have been taken over. We have not had a clear understanding with the Peruvian Government as to its intentions, or how it will service its debts to us.

We, of course, must take an interest in expropriated companies and in the attitude of the countries that take them over.

The actions in such situations largely determine the creditworthiness of the government concerned. If a country expropriates without prompt, fair compensation, we cannot assume they would honor an obligation to us when it may become inconvenient to pay.

Here again, we at Eximbank divorce ourselves from political considerations. We just look at these things from the commonsense point of view of a normal commercial financial transaction.

RESCUE AT SEA BY HELICOPTER

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. speaker, it is a privilege for me now to recount the details of a remarkable rescue operation recently carried out by men of the 5040 helicopter squadron and the 71st Air Rescue squadron. On July 26, the Alaskan rescue coordination center received notification that a seaman aboard the Korean merchant vessel *Pioneer* required immediate medical treatment for acute appendicitis. A public health physician diagnosed his condition as a life or death situation necessitating rapid transportation of the patient to surgical facilities. In a short time, a helicopter and an HC–130 refueling craft left Elmendorf Air Force Base and were in the air, with constant guidance provided by the Coast Guard Air Control. Refueling in the air from the HC-130 three times, the helicopter covered nearly 1,000 miles and successfully evacuated the patient to Kodiak Naval Station. After the mission, the USAF Flight Surgeon, Dr. Lineham, stated that the evacuation and operation saved the man's life.

Certainly this fine accomplishment deserves note. As an historical landmark, it represents the most distant rescue at sea ever carried out by a land-based helicopter. But more than that, this action showed a wonderful international spirit; a compassion as that within a family. Nations constitute a family, and it is acts such as these that will strengthen that awareness within everyone. The rescue was an impressive display of human courage and cooperation. It is reassuring to know that there are brave and resourceful men who will commit their full energies and willingly risk themselves to help a fellow man.

A OSTPOLITIK—SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATION WITH A CHANGING EUROPE

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, one of my highly respected constituents, Dr. Dennis L. Bark, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University, recently completed a study entitled "'Ostpolitik'—Soviet-American Relations With a Changing Europe."

I believe this study contains some very important points, and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

"OSTPOLITIK"—SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH A CHANGING EUROPE

(By Dr. Dennis L. Bark)

"By the early 1970s, the main centres of imperialist rivalry have become clearly visible: these are the USA—Western Europe (above all, the six Common Market countries)—Japan," so concluded Leonid Brezhnev in his "Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" delivered to the 24th congress of the CPSU on March 30 of this year. This observation, that there are divisions in the political, economic and military alliances uniting the nations of the West is not at all new. It has been pointed out by members of the Soviet government for twenty years. In the past, as in the present, such observations serve as reminders for those concerned with the progress of socialism in the Soviet Union and abroad, that the capitalist democracies will turn upon themselves in the struggle for domination generated by "imperialist rivalry."

If repeated often enough, one would reason, there are those who may eventually begin to perceive divisions of interest in the West, and even draw the conclusion that

solution to the problem lies in "accommodation" with one's neighbors in the East, that is glibly offered by the spokesmen for world peace in the Soviet Union. Thus the Soviet government, in accordance with the responsibilities thrust upon it as a major power, will continue to "consistently" pursue in the words of Secretary Brezhnev on March 30, " . . . its policy of peace and friendship among nations . . . [and] will continue to conduct a resolute struggle against imperialism, and firmly to rebuff the evil designs and subversions of aggressors. As in the past, we shall give undeviating support to the people's struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism."[1] At the same time the Secretary added in his speech to the congress delegates that one would do well to remember, and I quote, " . . . these words of Lenin's: 'Selfless devotion to the revolution and revolutionary propaganda among the people are not wasted even if long decades divide the sowing from the harvest' (Collected Works, Vol. 18, p. 31)."[2] This advice is certainly just as applicable for the consideration of Soviet-American relations with Europe as it is for the several thousand Communist party functionaries who sat through Chairman Brezhnev's 175 page speech. The point is quite simple. Irrespective of the time that lies between the sowing and the reaping, the harvest will be gathered. The logical question with respect to America's relations with Europe and the Soviet Union is what will be harvested and by whom.

For the first time in the post-war history of the Federal Republic of Germany the Social Democratic Party won the national elections held in September of 1969. Together with the Free Democratic Party, the SPD formed a coalition and elected Willy Brandt, the former Mayor of West Berlin, Chancellor of West Germany. In his first "State of the Nation" address of January, 1970 Chancellor Brandt, in reference to the Nixon doctrine, emphasized that it is necessary to proceed from an era of confrontation to one of cooperation with Eastern Europe in the 1970s. The policy he enumerated at that time has since become widely known as "Ostpolitik."

The concept itself is not new, for initiatives were also undertaken by the Chancellor's three predecessors to improve relations with West Germany's East European neighbors, including East Germany and the Soviet Union. But as Chancellor Brandt's emissary to the United States, Stefan Thomas, explained during a visit to Stanford University in October, the "new element" in West German foreign policy was the fact that the Socialist government of Chancellor Brandt enjoyed a better "esprit de corps" with the socialist governments of Eastern Europe than had its predecessors, the Christian Democrats and the Christian Socialists. With the "new element" firmly in hand the SPD-FDP coalition began in 1970 a series of negotiations with the Soviet Union, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria with the aim of reducing tension and achieving détente between East and West. For the first time in eleven years France, England, the United States and the Soviet Union began four-power talks on the Berlin problem.

To be successful Chancellor Brandt has made it plain that "Ostpolitik" must be based on the mutual recognition by all parties of the "existing realities" in Europe; that "patriotism demands the recognition of that which is . . . [and] the courage to recognize reality." This is not to say, as the Chancellor made clear in his January, 1970 address. ". . . that one views the reality as desirable, or that one gives up the hope that it can be changed in the course of time." He wisely emphasized indeed, that ". . . honesty obligates us to raise no demands whose fulfillment belongs to the province of the wishful thinking of the illusionist."

The two cornerstones of West German foreign policy are "security and détente" as defined in April 1971 by West Germany's Minister of Defense Helmut Schmidt, in a speech delivered at Princeton University. The basis for the success of "Ostpolitik" was summarized by the Minister in four points: (1) "The North Atlantic Alliance remains indispensable for safeguarding our security and the security of our Allies"; (2) "the political and military commitment of the United States in Europe is an essential prerequisite for the balance of power in Europe during the present decade"; (3) "surmounting and reconciling the hereditary enmity between Germany and France *were*—and preserving and deepening the present ties of friendship between these two countries *will be*—decisive factors in maintaining stability in Europe"; (4) "the attempts at achieving a politically unified Western Europe, which some day will possibly include a common defense organization, do not obstruct the road to Europe but rather prevent our missing opportunities for Europe as a whole."

These points are indeed all essential for the success of West German foreign policy. Their implementation in the conduct of "Ostpolitik" will be decisive for the success of the entrance into an era of negotiation and cooperation with Eastern Europe, and will also determine whether the Atlantic alliance will continue to be able to successfully preserve the freedom of the democracies of Western Europe. But equally important is the interpretation given the significance of the changes in atmosphere on the continent that "Ostpolitik" has already produced.

In the wake of the hectic diplomatic activity conducted by the West German government during the past year, the advocates of "Ostpolitik" cite with earnest conviction the constructive steps that have been taken toward achieving détente in Europe. It is not the intention here to assess the value of the treaties concluded between Bonn and Moscow and with Poland. Attention should be drawn, however, to several of the liabilities that go hand in hand with the conclusions, (1) that the Soviet Union is interested in achieving genuine détente in Europe, (2) that the embarcation on a course of détente with the Soviet Union is in itself sufficient to ensure peaceful coexistence on the continent, (3) that the achievement of détente will make the continued strength and unity of the Atlantic alliance obsolescent.

In the excitement and enthusiasm surrounding the promise of "détente" and the assurances of peace provided by the proclaimed goals of "Ostpolitik" the liabilities incurred by thinking with one's heart instead of with one's head become more elusive. Many arguments in justification of "compromise" agreements concerning Berlin, or the German Democratic Republic, or the Soviet Union, or Poland, or Czechoslovakia contain ommissions or excuses for intransigent Soviet behavior contrary to the mutual recogniition of "existing realities" in Europe, that would be inconceivable in a calmer atmosphere and where the balance of power on a political and military level has not been disrupted.

Since the conclusion of the Bonn-Moscow treaty ten months ago many have hailed the treaty with pride as a "milestone" in "German-Soviet" relations; although it still remains unclear whether the stone commemorates a reapprochement between one part of the German people and the Soviet Union or will stand as the stone thrown by Jason among the soldiers grown from dragon's teeth, who then turned on one another. Certainly the concept of "Ostpolitik" itself is to be welcomed. But the distinction must be made between the concept and the path chosen for its realization. "Change through rapprochement" is a captivating phrase. But détente, peaceful coexistence or accommodation are not absolutes. One must ask what kind of change? What kind of détente? What kind of accommodation? What kind of peaceful coexistence? Does change mean the consolidation of the status quo in Eastern Europe? Are Soviet offers of détente to be made on a selective basis to divide the nations of the West?

Is détente applicable only to the Soviet Union's relations with Western Europe or does it also include détente between the nations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union? Is accommodation to be offered the nations of Western Europe with the aim of forcing the United States from the continent? Do peaceful coexistence and détente mean genuine cooperation between the East and West or do they represent a Soviet attempt to co-opt the allegencies of the nations of Western Europe in an effort to weaken the United States as well as the Atlantic alliance? Will détente result in the initiation of an era of cooperation or is it intended to be of the mind that produced the following conclusion, contained in an internal memorandum from the SED party leadership in East Germany to its functionaries in May, 1971: "As the imperialists are increasingly forced toward peaceful coexistence, so will the ideological battle become more intense."[3]

It appears far from certain that the announced successes of "Ostpolitik" achieved during the past year, have so abruptly and unmistakeably halted the "cold war" as it was so suddenly begun twenty-five years ago. Many of the liabilities attendant to conducting foreign policy with the Soviet Union according to the dictates of emotion have become clearer in the course of the last several months. But the temptation still remains to fall pray to the charms of possessing the absolutes of peace and tranquility in a world that is constantly changing and with increased rapidity; and world moreover that is run by men subject to the human frailties that have produced the conflicts of the past and will produce the tragedies of the future.

It becomes clear gradually that the definition of détente is many-sided and that "Ostpolitik" cannot produce cooperation and peaceful coexistence merely by a unilateral declaration of good intention. Nor will it contribute to constructive solutions of the complex problems of European security, such as Berlin, or the division of Germany, or mutual balanced force reductions, without a sober understanding that Soviet willingness to participate in negotiations does not mean that its interests coincide with our own. Indeed the Soviet government devotes a great deal of time to proposing topics for negotiation that have nothing in common with solving the existing problems themselves, but whose negotiation would divert attention in the West from discussing the cause of the illness of Berlin for example, to finding remedies for the symptom of "West Berlin."

Many have cited with satisfaction the approval "Ostpolitik" enjoys in Western capitals. But many also have neglected to ask the embarrassing question in public why such hearty approval has been accorded the Soviet-Western German treaty in particular. Some would argue that it is because the treaty is tacit acknowledgment of the permanent division of Germany. With pride many have praised the Soviet government's repeated endorsement since August that an agreement on the "West Berlin" problem, that considers the interests of the German Democratic Republic as well as those of the population of West Berlin, would represent a contribution toward the mutual recognition of the existing realities in Europe. But just as many ignore that the problem is not with

Footnotes at end of article.

the Western sectors of Berlin, but with "Berlin" itself that was divided by the Communists in 1948. Many find also little that is incongruous with the continued existence of the Berlin wall and with Soviet assurances that genuine détente and peaceful coexistence are the guidelines of Soviet foreign policy.

What for example, are some of the liabilities of "Ostpolitik" as they affect the position of the United States and of the West as a whole, on the negotiations on Berlin? In the middle of June Secretary Brezhnev observed at the 8th congress of the East German communist party, held in the Soviet sector of Berlin, that "Berlin," the Soviet characterization for its sector of the city, has become "the capital of the German socialist state," from which "sounds . . . the voice of peace and friendship among peoples."[4] But ten months after the conclusion of the Bonn-Moscow treaty, a proclaimed milestone in the efforts toward détente in Europe that would contribute toward a solution of the Berlin problem, the four-power negotiations on Berlin have produced no result at all; albeit a great deal of optimistic talk, e.g., the conclusion drawn in *Der Spiegel* on June 21, that "thus far solely the GDR has disturbed the harmony." On a minimum of nine different occasions since August traffic to and from Berlin has been interfered with. But we have been told since September that the Soviet Union understands that détente in Europe cannot be achieved without a "satisfactory" Berlin settlement. The Soviet government is aware surely of this point. But it is doubtful that the Soviet definition of a "satisfactory" Berlin settlement is the same as our own, or that their proposals on Berlin are designed to serve the purpose of détente as we envision it.

Chancellor Brandt has made submission of the treaties between Bonn and Moscow and with Poland to the Bundestag for ratification subject to a "satisfactory" Berlin settlement. But there are strong indications that what constituted a "satisfactory" Berlin settlement in January of 1970, when the Chancellor pointed out that the Federal Republic has just as much right to be in Berlin as does the Peoples' Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, is being altered. Moreover this "Junktim" or connection between the conclusion of a "satisfactory" Berlin agreement and ratification of the treaties places Chancellor Brandt under pressure. Without a "satisfactory" agreement the Chancellor faces the alternative of admitting that his "Ostpolitik" has failed, with the attendant domestic consequences. Despite denials to the contrary, this means that the West German government may approve agreements on Berlin offered by the Soviet Union, that under normal circumstances would be rejected as "unacceptable." Should the Soviet Government make a proposal that the West would have to reject because it would detrimentally affect the political status of Berlin, the West, and particularly the United States, would enjoy the onus for "blocking" efforts for "peaceful coexistence." The Soviet Union would enjoy the advantage of moderation for having proposed any agreement at all.

Between the two bas'c alternatives facing the countries of Western Europe, that of accommodation with the Soviet Union as exemplified by "Ostpolitik", or that of a "new partnership" between a Western Europe and the United States that would require greater expansion and unity of the economic, political and defense community in Western Europe, the preferable alternative for the Soviet government is that of accommodation, i.e., "détente" and "peaceful coexistence." Because of the position of parity or impending superiority in many military and technological areas enjoyed by the USSR the Soviet government can afford to wait and see which road will be chosen in the West. The Soviet Union is now also free of any pressure to conclude an agreement on Berlin in the near future as a quid pro quo for Western concessions on other issues, e.g. the Bonn-Moscow treaty; in addition to the fact that the erection of the Berlin wall solved many of the problems that the proximity of a democratic form of government caused in Eastern European countries.

The significance this bears on the negotiations on Berlin is that the discussions now occupy a role that involves considerably more than merely agreements on "practical" problems confronting the divided city. Because the Soviet Union wishes to avoid jeopardizing the future of accommodation, any Soviet "compromise" proposal on Berlin must be considered with respect to the Soviet interest in allaying suspicion in the West that the road to "accommodation," as manifested by the current conduct of the "Ostpolitik," may be pursued by the USSR for the achievement of other goals. It is very likely that the USSR will propose a "compromise" agreement that the FRG, under the pressure of time, would deem "acceptable." Such a situation would save Chancellor Brandt's "Ostpolitik" from failure, contribute to the possible re-election of the Chancellor in 1973, give the Soviet Union an advantageous agreement on Berlin and assure ratification of the treaties; all of which is in the long term interest of the Soviet Union. The Soviet government will continue therefore to encourage proponents of "Ostpolitik" by advocating an all-European Security Conference, by proposing "MBFR" discussions, and by proposing as evidence of a desire for détente, agreements on "West Berlin." Alluring proposals designed to illustrate Soviet "good faith" will be interpreted by many as indications of the victories of "Ostpolitik," while the aims of the proposals are often ignored or discounted. A case in point is contained in the remarks of Secretary Brezhnev in his speech to the 24th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on March 30. The Secretary's remarks on Berlin were widely praised in the West, and particularly in West Germany, as a further indication that the Soviet government recognizes the "existing realities" in Europe today. Mr. Brezhnev referred to Berlin as follows:

"There should also be a settlement of the problems connected with West Berlin. If the USA, France and Britain proceed, as we have done, from respect for the allied agreements which determine the special status of West Berlin, from respect for the sovereign rights of the GDR as an independent socialist state, the current negotiations could be successfully completed to the mutual advantage of all the parties concerned, including the West Berlin population itself."[5]

The Secretary endorsed indeed, settlement of problems confronting the divided city, in itself a laudatory gesture. But he defined the problem as "West Berlin" and thus proposed that the solution be found for the symptom: namely alleged tension facing the West Berliners. He did not propose the discussion of the cause of those difficulties: namely the division of the city by the Soviet Union and the deliberate isolation of West Berlin. He thus sought to transform the "Berlin" problem into a "West Berlin" problem and to transfer the four-power status for "Greater Berlin" to "West Berlin."

If the validity of such assertions is left unchallenged, this type of tactic will surely continue to be used in the future. And it will continue to produce the kind of elated announcement, broadcast by CBS from San Francisco on June 16, 1971. Secretary Brezhnev, reported CBS, announced in a speech delivered at the 8th party congress of the SED in East Berlin that the Soviet Union is prepared ". . . to bring about an effective agreement to ease tensions in West Berlin."[6] The consequence is twofold: (1) An apparent Soviet willingness to compromise as a contribution toward détente in Europe, is broadcast to the public; (2) the Soviet assertion that the negotiations on Berlin are dealing with the "problems connected with West Berlin" is accepted without question and distributed by the Western media; thereby giving the Soviet assertion the seal of ligitimacy.

Thus the Soviet Union is encouraged, though unwittingly, to continue to pursue its present course; that of repeating public assurances that a solution for the "West Berlin" problem can be found if the recognition of the realities in Europe today is acknowledged by the West. Such statements as those made by Secretary Brezhnev at the 24th party congress of the CPSU or at the 8th congress of the SED will be interpreted by many throughout the Western world as they have been in West Germany: that they indicate a genuine Soviet desire for "compromise" on Berlin. The result is and will doubtless continue to be, that criticism accorded the present conduct of "Ostpolitik" will be discounted as invalid. The critics themselves will continue to be termed "'venerable pachyderms'." Those expressing criticism of Communism as the major threat to the democracies of the West will be ridiculed as "cold warriors." And the question will remain whether it is clear to those conducting "Ostpolitik" that the role of Berlin in the European theater is by no means reserved for the exclusive use of the West as a measure of Soviet "good faith" on the path toward "détente" in a positive sense.

PART II

In a speech in New York on June 17, commemorating the Day of German Unity in honor of those who revolted in East Germany in 1953, Chancellor Brandt stressed that, "We do not harbor illusions. One does not simply decide to have détente, or cooperation for that matter, they are processes which take time." The Chancellor's words were certainly appropriate. And it is precisely this question of time that continues to cause considerable concern about the long-term effects of "Ostpolitik." Following the treaties with Moscow and Poland there was great concern, that still remains, that the prospect of imminent accord with the East would undermine public support for the maintenance and improvement of the Atlantic alliance prior to détente becoming a reality in fact.

The necessity to keep apparent success in the proper perspective is paramount in conducting a responsible foreign policy. The shepherd-songs sung of "Ostpolitik" during the past fall have in the meantime fortunately, been replaced to some extent by a more sober evaluation in West Germany of the consequences of retarding the movement toward European unity and the formation of a "new partnership" between Europe and the United States in the 1970's. This reevaluation has been due in large part to the friendly criticism by many of West Germany's friends in the United States, such as General Clay, John J. McCloy, Dean Acheson and George Ball. They have warned that the desirability of détente may not eclipse the significance of the historical fact that a durable peace is ensured only by a viable defense. But despite the careful emphasis that the maintenance of a credible defense and greater unity in Western Europe are the prerequisites for a successful transition from "confrontation" to "cooperation," "Ostpolitik" has been conducted in a manner thus far that has altered the balance of power in Europe on the political level to the detriment of the West.

As President Nixon pointed out in his report to the congress in February on U.S. foreign policy, the nations of Western Europe "still look to America for leadership in European diplomacy and defense even while they assert their autonomy." At the same

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time "they still presuppose a strong American military presence in Europe even while they no longer act as dependent." [7] This situation poses problems for the future of "Ostpolitik" that should have been more carefully considered in West Germany before Chancellor Brandt found himself in the position of having to chide his supporters in the United States for undermining his policy in Europe. It is one of the ironies of "Ostpolitik" that while Chancellor Brandt has stressed repeatedly that the success of his foreign policy depends on the continued presence of American troops in Europe the ardent supporters of the Chancellor's policies in the United States, Senators Mansfield, Muskie or McGovern for example, are arguing for the withdrawal of American troops from the continent at the very time when the Chancellor is stating that it is imperative that they remain.

At the same time more care should have been given in West Germany and in Western Europe to the conclusions to be drawn in the United States concerning Europe's ability to make greater contributions to a European defense community, particularly if the nations of Western Europe conclude that independence requires the pursuit of foreign policies that must have a profound effect on the future of Europe's relations with the Soviet Union and the United States. As our friends in Europe have correctly pointed out to us in the past several years, we in the United States cannot remain the world's policeman. Neither may we withdraw into isolationism. The Europeans must recognize, however, that if the United States acknowledges that it must reduce its commitments of American troops abroad—in Southeast Asia for example—this reduction is bound to affect Europe. There is little protest from our NATO allies as President Nixon withdraws our forces from Vietnam. At the suggestion, however, that the Mansfield Resolution may be approved by Congress the hue and cry in Europe is heard very distinctly. This is an understandable reaction, for which there is a great deal of sympathy in the United States. But it should not come as a surprise to our allies in Europe that the advocates of the Mansfield Resolution are growing in number.

The independent conduct of foreign policy occasions privileges, but also entails obligations and responsibilities that are not always pleasant on the surface, if nonetheless desirable. Independence also demands the courage to recognize and assume responsibility. The Europeans must realize that it is more than likely in the not too distant future that sufficient pressure will mount in the United States to require a reduction of American troops on the continent. The problem is whether Western Europe will acknowledge the significance of this possibility and what will be done about it. The question is whether the governments of Western Europe, led by West Germany, will make not token, but major efforts to form the economic, political and defense community of Europe envisioned by Konrad Adenauer, that is necessary for the success of the "new partnership" with the United States, and that is the precondition for the fruition of an "era of cooperation" with the East in the 1970's. Or will the formation of the European community, and the "new partnership" of the West as a whole, become secondary to the capture of the chameleon of détente? In short the problem, if not simply solved, is simply stated—to quote from Raymond Aron in *Le Figaro* at the beginning of June, 1971:

"The U.S. of 1971 is profoundly different from the U.S. of 1961: the first world power ten years ago because of its conventional and nuclear arms, its technical preeminence, and its combination of liberty and determination, it has now lost its military superiority and its moral unity. Indifferent to the rise of the Soviet Union, the U.S. Senate is waging a guerrilla war against the executive, aimed at reducing the President's freedom of action and compelling him to liquidate without delay the war in Vietnam and other commitments abroad. It is not yet a return to isolationism but, without any doubt, a rejection of the imperial burden. Some may deplore this and others welcome it, but the fact remains: The American era is ending and Western Europe will have in the near future either to suffer Soviet hegemony or regain the will to exist." [8]

Whether "the American era" is ending is open to question, as is indeed whether this is an apt phrase at all. But it is certain, in the words of President Nixon in his report to the Congress in February, that ". . . it is no longer enough for us to concentrate simply on what we are trying to prevent; we need a clearer vision of what we are seeking to achieve." [9] With specific reference to "Ostpolitik" there are those in the Soviet Union who apparently are persuaded that the "vision of what we are seeking to achieve" is very clear; for the conclusion was drawn in the February issue of the Moscow journal *International Affairs*, that "the whole of 1970 was marked by the efforts on the part of the socialist states and the more realistically-minded West Europeans to find a way to European security." [10]

The encouragement given "the more realistically-minded West Europeans" in *International Affairs*, however, would appear to be of dubious value, particularly in view of the attempt to minister on a selective basis to the illusions of those in Western Europe who would welcome the continuation of the process of "accommodation" at the expense of the formation of the European community; in the simple conviction that the strength of the righteous ideal carries more weight at the negotiating table than the strength of unity in the Atlantic alliance. The impression remains strong that the realistic appraisal that ". . . we need a clearer vision of what we are seeking to achieve" is not accompanied by a realistic concept, (1) of what "Ostpolitik" can achieve, (2) of the short and long term effects of "Ostpolitik" itself, (3) of the short and long term goals of Soviet foreign policy.

Certainly this conclusion does not apply solely to West Germany or to Western Europe, but also to many in the United States itself. The consequences will not be long in forthcoming; for the future conduct of "Ostpolitik" will decisively influence Europe's "will to exist" as well as the "new partnership" between Europe and the United States. If the movement for "accommodation" with the Soviet Union proceeds at the flushed pace of 1970, and if the value of the unity and strength of the Western alliance continues to be an object of enlightened disapproval, the road toward "peaceful coexistence" will, without a shadow of a doubt, precipitate that ideological battle for political hegemony over Western Europe so subtely forecast by the Communist Party of East Germany in May.

In the United States the debate over the so-called "imperial burden" and the "American era" is continuing. In May we were reminded that ". . . the United States is seriously overextended throughout the world"; that "the signs of domestic strain are . . . obvious, the pressures for a reduction of military spending compelling." [11] We are told that we can no longer continue to assume the obligations of others and that the primary responsibility for national defense rests with individual nations themselves. It is also argued that it is "to miss the point entirely" should we wait for discussions with the Soviet Union on mutual balanced force reductions. "What is needed," it is suggested, "is an unbalanced and unilateral reduction of America's excessive share in Western Europe's ground defense." The advocates of withdrawal, and here certainly the discussion of the Mansfield Resolution has served a useful purpose, correctly feel that ". . . there is needed a fundamental reform of NATO's structure to place the primary responsibility for organizing European defense upon the European states themselves." [12]

The point that has been missed, however, is not whether we should withdraw or whether the Europeans should assume a greater share of the burdens. The Europeans must assume a greater share of the responsibility for their own defense and for the political and economic viability of their community. Nor can the United States continue, as it has between 1949 and 1970, to pay three times that of the European member nations in NATO expenditures. Indeed, by comparing the percentage spent by the United States and Europe over the past twenty years in relation to GNP, the United States has consistently spent twice that of its European allies.

The question is how to convince the Europeans themselves that it is in their own interest not only to assume a greater share of the economic, political and military burdens of the alliance, but in the context of a more closely-knit European community. The Europeans as well as many in the United States must be reminded that while there is an undeniable value in proceeding from an era of confrontation to one of cooperation with Eastern Europe, there is an even greater value in the preservation of democracy. As naive as it may sound, there are in Europe and in the United States many who must be convinced that democracy is worth defending—and who must be reminded that it is also worth attacking politically and militarily, to which the foreign policies of the Soviet Union have so well attested on repeated occasions. Moreover, if the democratic system did not have enemies, the desire to reach detente with Eastern Europe would not be nearly as compelling in the minds of many.

This is a simple point, but an extremely important one. Peaceful coexistence says after all nothing more, lest it be forgotten, than enemies will coexist with each other peacefully. Friends do not coexist with *one another*. They coexist with *others*. Were democracy the same as communism, there would be no talk of détente. And in addition, coexisting peacefully with one's neighbors means only that. It does not preclude the continuation and protraction of conflict on a political level.

To cite President Nixon once again from his speech to the Congress in February, he referred to the probable consequences of American withdrawal from Europe, before the Europeans have assumed, in Mr. Aron's words, "the will to exist":

"Accurately or inaccurately our allies would interpret a substantial withdrawal of American forces as a substantial withdrawal of America's commitment. Were they to conclude this was happening, they would not necessarily do more on their own to compensate; they would more likely lose confidence in the very possibility of Western defense, and reduce their reliance on Western solidarity." [13]

This is a strong possibility. Should America take unilateral steps to force the Europeans to assume a greater share of the burdens, it is not at all certain that a "new partnership" would emerge between Europe and the United States. There is also the danger, in the absence of direct American support on the continent, that the growing independence of the European nations would produce a false sense of confidence in their ability to deal with the Soviet Union. The consequences of a decision of this kind would be disasterous, irrespective of what form "accommodation" would assume. There are only two probable alternatives: (1) the So-

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viet Union, to cite Mr. Aron, would assume political hegemony over Western Europe, or (2) a new alliance would be created on the European continent. In either case the balance of power would change for the worse.

In this context Secretary Brezhnev's endorsement of discussions on mutual balanced force reductions with NATO, just prior to the vote taken in the U.S. Senate on the Mansfield Resolution, is not of little significance. The Soviet announcement and the decision to support participation of the United States and Canada in an all-European Security Conference has weakened the position of those who would withdraw American troops from Europe precipitately. Indeed, it contributed to the defeat of the Mansfield Resolution. Yet, many articles by Soviet journalists in May condemned the resolution's defeat as an indication that the opponents of "détente" had won another round in the perpetuation of the "cold war." Thus the Soviet position on relations with the West continues to be interpreted by many as the pursuit of genuine détente. The Soviet government has every interest that this interpretation, held by many of the advocates of "Ostpolitik" in Europe and America, does not undergo revision.

Prolonged discussions on mutual balanced force reductions, for example, would be ideal to preserve the faith and confidence of the supporters of "accommodation" that the Soviet Union does seek genuine accords with the West. It would take months, if not years, merely to define such problems as the criteria of "balance" or of "mutual," or of "national" vs. "NATO" forces.

It would be detrimental certainly to the Soviet Union's own interests, should the premature withdrawal of American troops from the continent product a reaction among the nations of Western Europe that would hasten the expansion of the European community; for this is also a possibility, just as a premature withdrawal might promote "accommodation." If the Soviet analysis is correct that the movement for "accommodation" will gather increased momentum at the expense of European unity, there is every reason to lend it support by proposing MBFR discussions and by encouraging the participation by the United States and Canada in an all-European Security Conference. But the Soviet Union will encourage simultaneously those who wish to withdraw before the European community has become a reality, on the assumption that American disengagement would product, in the words of President Nixon, a loss of "confidence in the very possibility of Western defense." Either course would serve to divide the unity of the nations of the West. to sow the seeds of neutrality in Western Europe and to advance the influence of Western communist parties.

In view of the increased advancements made by the Soviet Union in the nuclear and other technical fields a state of parity or impending superiority exists between the United States and Russia. It is accompanied by a simultaneous expansion in Soviet naval strength, particularly in the Mediterranean and in the Indian Ocean. At the present time there are more Soviet divisions, as a result of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, "deployed farther West than at any time since the close of World War II."[14] At the same time the faith of the Western democracies in their ability to solve their domestic problems is shaken. The significance of the threat to democratic government posed by Communism has become secondary to the claimed disparity between foreign and domestic expenditures. The Soviet Union can well afford to wait and let détente and accommodation take its natural course. Should the United States withdraw its troops from Europe before the European community becomes a reality, and the reaction were to result in greater efforts to establish unity in Western Europe, this too would not alter the balance of power to the detriment of the Soviet Union. The USSR would continue to enjoy parity or superiority in the military field, and a strong European community could prove an asset to the Soviet Union if its relations with China do not improve.

The course offering the best guarantee for the future security of the West is a combination of the latter points. Greater unity must be achieved in Western Europe and a "new partnership" on the economic, political and military levels must be formed between Europe and the United States. At the same time, but in a position secondary to maintaining and building upon the security and unity of the West, Western Europe together with the United States may pursue a foreign policy with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe that aims at making the transition from an era of confrontation to one of negotiation and cooperation—as long as the liabilities and advantages of peaceful coexistence are understood and remain clear in the West. It may not be forgotten in the illyria of détente and prosperity that we in the West consider peace as an absolute, as the object of our foreign policy. In the East peace remains a means to an end that has been defined with unmistakable clarity again and again: that of the overthrow of capitalism and the democracies of the West.

The Europeans have recently taken some constructive steps toward the furtherance of European unity. The meetings between Prime Minister Heath and Chancellor Brandt in April and between the Prime Minister and President Pompidou in May will have almost certainly positive consequences for the expansion and viability of the European community as a whole. At the end of June after many months and many years of negotiations the announcement was made that England may join the Common Market.

Over the next five year period our NATO allies in Europe have undertaken to commit a billion dollars in the improvement of NATO's infrastructure and their own armed forces. Yet the question remains whether the Europeans will accord the attention given European unity and a "new partnership" with the United States in the last three months the same priority in the future. It cannot be emphasized strongly enough how important the conduct of "Ostpolitik" will be in affecting the quality of security and the spirit of détente in the future. For it was the irresponsible interpretation of the successes achieved by "Ostpolitik" this past autumn and winter that produced the apparent reassessment of priorities on the continent that we have experienced during the spring.

The criticism of the conduct of "Ostpolitik" made during December and January served fortunately, constructive purposes. But there are still many who, if encouraged, will continue to seek "accommodation" with the Soviet Union at the expense of the Atlantic alliance. The problem remains, as President Nixon stressed in his report on "U.S. Foreign Policy in the 1970s," how to foster "a durable structure of international relationships."[15] In proceeding "toward new forms of partnership," the Nixon doctrine is not merely "the sharing of burdens," but must be the encouragement ". . . to participate fully in the creation of plans and the designing of programs."[16]

"If we are to found a structure of peace on the collaboration of many nations," the President continued, "our ties with Europe must be its cornerstone."[17] Equally, a durable "structure of peace" requires that the conduct of "Ostpolitik" is not guided by the misplaced zeal induced by the illusion that the new "socialist" element in West German foreign policy can serve as a panacea for the ills thrust upon Europe by the conduct of Soviet foreign policy. On the contrary, the fulfillment of "real European interests," to use a Soviet phrase, has nothing in common with the endorsement of the status quo in the East, or with the perspective that "peaceful coexistence" will contribute to European security if the West engages in the selective recognition of reality. As the course of events during the past year has indicated "Ostpolitik" has not yet contributed to a more stable Western alliance, nor has it produced the kind of agreements on Berlin, or with East Germany, or with the Soviet Union that foster constructive "change through rapprochement." The conduct of "Ostpolitik" thus far has produced confusion in Western Europe and in the United States. It has altered the political balance of power in Europe to the detriment of the West. It has sown division in Western Europe. It has not produced the Soviet recognition of "existing realities" in Europe. It has not resulted in Soviet concessions on any major European problem. And the Soviet-West German treaty resulted in the fulfillment of Soviet demands that the Federal Republic had denied the Soviet Union for twenty years.

The future determination by the West German government that "the alliance is and remains the most important element of European foreign and security policies" will be of paramount importance.[18] If Chancellor Brandt has indeed become "the spokesman of Europe"[19] he has the responsibility to make clear that emotional and contradictory analyses of Soviet foreign policy have no place in the conduct of foreign affairs. In such an atmosphere, where the realities of Soviet foreign policy are cited on a selective basis, the unity and with it the confidence of the West will disappear as surely as the Cheshire cat, where only the calico smile is left.

FOOTNOTES

[1] "Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." Delivered by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, March 30, 1971. Novosti Press Agency Publishing House. Moscow, 1971. p. 51.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[3] *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 15, 1971.

[4] *Neues Deutschland*, June 17, 1971.

[5] Leonid Brezhnev. *op. cit.*, pp. 43–44.

[6] As reported by CBS radio from San Francisco at 8:30 a.m., Pacific Daylight Time on June 16, 1971.

[7] "U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's. Building for Peace." A Report to the Congress by Richard Nixon, President of the United States, February 25, 1971, Washington, D.C., p. 26.

[8] As quoted in the *International Herald Tribune*, June 3, 1971, p. 8.

[9] Richard Nixon, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[10] Anat. Gromyko, "US Heavyweight in the European Ring," in *International Affairs*, Moscow, February, 1971, p. 17.

[11] David P. Calleo, "The Mansfield Amendment: Yes," in: *The New York Times*, May 19, 1971.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Richard Nixon, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[14] John J. McCloy, "The Mansfield Amendment: No," in: *The New York Times*, May 19, 1971.

[15] Richard Nixon, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[18] Quoted from a speech delivered by West German Defense Minister Helmut Schmidt at the Wilton Park Conference, Kent, United Kingdom on June 22, 1971. The speech was entitled, "Europe's Role for the Future." An English translation in excerpt form is contained in, "Relay From Bonn . . . ," Vol. II, No. 116, June 23, 1971.

[19] *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, June 19/20, 1971.

JOBS FOR LOW-INCOME YOUTH

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, a few years ago, I can remember a strong national concern for the high school dropout and the hard times he or she faced without a high school diploma. Since then, with many other causes vying for the attention of the public, it seems that great strides taken to reduce the teenage dropout rate, have gone virtually unnoticed. However, recently I learned of the Chester, Delaware, Lancaster County In-School Neighborhood Youth Corps. Despite the absence of front page national recognition the local programs are reaping impressive gains. The Chester County Intermediate Unit No. 24 that runs this program has given the children of the poor a job for the summer, at the same time the high school dropout rate has been reduced. To further explain the accomplishments of this program, as well as some impressions from those involved, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the excellent article entitled "25 Jobs Open for Low-Income Youth," written by Sylvia Smith, and published in the Lancaster New Era of July 13, 1971.

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

[From the Lancaster New Era (Pa.), July 13, 1971]

NEIGHBORHOOD CORPS HAS PLACED 140 YOUNG PEOPLE IN POSITIONS—25 JOBS OPEN FOR LOW-INCOME YOUTH

(By Sylvia Smith)

A Summer job program has placed 140 county students from low income homes in jobs across the county but there are still openings for 25 more young people.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) director Dennis Schmid, English teacher at McCaskey, said the federally-funded program pays an hourly wage of $1.60 to students who must work for a non-profit organization. The only obligation of the employer is to provide supervision for the young workers. The employer has no monetary commitment.

The Lancaster division of NYC originally received funds to accommodate 144 student employes this year. Schmid said the tally has recently been upped to 165.

SEEK AGENCIES

He said he and his assistants, David Gibson and Allen Hopkins, both members of the faculty of the Lancaster School District, are trying to locate non-profit agencies which are willing to take on a student.

Once the positions are located, the NYC trio will fill them with local students. He added they are still accepting applications.

Students who are placed in a job through NYC are restricted to 58.5 hours of work every two weeks. In addition, they must meet the federal standards for poverty and must still be in high school or planning to return to high school in the Fall.

MEDIATE DISPUTES

Schmid, Gibson and Hopkins are also charged with going to the job site to try to mediate any student-employer conflict which may arise.

An example of students and their jobs is:

Edith Carter, 18, is a secretary for Schmid and Hopkins. She obtained her job through NYC.

She said she enjoys her secretarial chores, but doesn't plan to make a career out of her commercial skills. Edith said she would like to become a registered nurse when she finishes high school.

VISITING HERE

A high school student from Virginia, Edith is in Lancaster visiting her family. She said her response to the NYC program is favorable and she is glad it gives youths who want to work a chance to get a Summer job.

Robert D. Curtis, head football coach at Franklin and Marshall College, has eight NYC youths working for him this Summer. Their jobs range from sodding the football field to sanding and painting the stands.

Curtis said he is pleased with the work the boys have done so far and says the college will probably participate in the NYC program next year if things continue on their present level.

EYE OPENING

The coach said working with these youths "opens my eyes to a few things I haven't faced for a few years. I came from a rather poor family and I had to do that type of thing when I grew up."

The work team is part of an 18-man crew composed of college work-study and PREP program youths as well as the high-school aged NYC boys.

The boys are now in the process of loosening the packed clay floor of F&M's practice pit.

The hard surface must be penetrated by picks and hoes before a tiller can finish the job. The indoor pit is just under the size of a football field. Once the job is finished, Curtis said, the pit will be used for football, lacrosse and baseball practices.

TRIO AT YWCA

A trio of young men is working at the YWCA doing ground maintenance, janitorial work and, as they put it "any odd job."

Pedro Moralez, 15, son of Mr. and Mrs. Louis Moralez, 336 S. Ann St., Patrick Ewell, 18, son of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ewell, and Thaddeus (Pete) Godwin of North Carolina clean up paper, pick weeds, vacuum floors and clean out the 'Y' pool.

"It's a good job. It's something to do," said Pat.

Pedro had a similar job last Summer which he obtained through the NYC. He said he learned about the program in school. He will be a sophomore at McCaskey in the Fall.

STAYING FOR SUMMER

Pete is staying in Lancaster for the Summer and heard about the program after he arrived.

Other NYC participants are working as babysitters, secretaries, janitors and police car washers.

ECOLOGY AND POLITICS: BROADCASTS BY KEITH MURRAY

HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, the Pacifica Foundation radio stations in Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif., New York City and Houston, Tex., represent one of the finest examples of imaginative and provocative public service media.

One of the most topical and penetrating series carried on the Berkeley station, KPFA, is entitled "Ecology and Politics," and is the work of Keith Murray.

I have gone over some of Mr. Murray's recent presentations and I find them fascinating. Therefore, I am putting them into the RECORD to share with my colleagues.

Pacifica and Mr. Murray deserve great appreciation for the important service they are providing.

The broadcast transcriptions follow:

ECOLOGY AND POLITICS, KEITH MURRAY, KPFA, FEBRUARY 5, 1971

The Greening of America by Charles Reich has now made a great splash on the best-seller lists. One indication of its landmark nature is that people seem to define themselves by their reactions. Social scientists pooh-pooh it because it doesn't conform to their academic dogma or present quantitative data. Left radicals and liberals are outraged or utterly confused. It conflicts with their dogma too. One reviewer confessed he really couldn't grasp Reich's concepts of the new consciousness. That did not stop him from tearing the book apart in detail. Herbert Marcuse has called the book a work of fiction. And it seems relevant that Eldridge Cleaver has just symbolically killed the hippie god Timothy Leary. Others find the book a perceptive synthesis of developments that already were largely evident to them. Perhaps such reactions are themselves the best validation of Reich's thesis of contrasting consciousness. Having said this I should state how it defines me. I buy it almost entirely.

But my purpose here is to show how the concepts of *The Greening of America* are intertwined with the concepts of ecology, and how an ecological framework gives shape and validation to the revolution of consciousness and how, in turn, that cultural revolution must take place if we are to preserve a livable earth. Reich clearly had little ecological or environmental input as such. Yet he unerringly arrives at the same place.

Briefly, Reich's thesis is that the rise of the corporate, technological state has robbed the individual of his humanity—his true aware and feeling self—and imposed a false self and set of perceptions that serve the bloodless, mindless purposes of the corporate state. First emerged Consciousness I, the individualistic, self-reliant, thrifty citizens who never could grasp that the American dream had shriveled into a cruel and rapacious myth. And then Consciousness II, which sought to reform the system through regulation, planning and public interest institutions, and ended up completing the corporate technological state. They are the new dealers and liberals. But the corporate state contained the seeds of its own destruction. It spawned Consciousness III, the new generation, rejecting the artificial values and the false manipulation of their lives in favor of a true sense of self, personal goals and open, honest relationships with others. For my purposes I shall usually refer to both I and II as old consciousness versus the new.

Now what does this have to do with ecology and the environment? First, the rise of the industrial revolution spawned a competitive market system and the growth of technology.

This alienated individuals from themselves and uprooted community relationships—substituting instead a false self imposed by the system. But also, "Modern society makes war on nature. A competitive market uses nature as a commodity to be exploited—turned into profit. Technology sees nature as an element to be conquered, regulated, controlled." To carry this further, the process detached people from their sense of interdependence with the environment, and led them to believe they were immune to the laws of nature that governed other animals; technology would see them through. Generations could get away with this as long as it was possible to plunder and move on. Now

the voracious demands of advanced technology and the realities of spaceship earth make it obvious that nature is finally going to call in her chips—obvious that is to the new consciousness. The old consciousness remains largely oblivious. This, I submit, defines the difference between the two as much as do other differences Reich emphasizes.

Reich describes the new consciousness as rejecting competition, crass consumption, and domination by a runaway technology, according to the dictates of the corporate state. This conforms precisely to what the ecological movement declares is necessary for survival: a no-growth economy, an end to wasteful consumption of resources and to the destructive impact of technology. The new consciousness is inherently ecological living. Is it so surprising that the young emerged from their communes and geodesic domes to adopt the ecological movement?

The market system institutionalized the competitive struggle for supposedly insufficient resources and set man against man, class against class. The new consciousness rejects competition in a society that now has the capacity to provide for all, in favor of cooperation and communal forms. In the animal world it appears on the surface that competition is the natural state. But in fact, the higher animals have evolved feedback mechanisms such as territoriality and peck order to prevent competitive conflict from taking place—it is destructive to the well-being of the species. And this feedback generally holds population densities at levels the environment can support.

Mankind has alway gotten away with rapacious competitiveness because there always were new lands and resources to exploit, and through the fruits of technology. Now we are approaching the limits of the earth's freely exploitable space and resources, and population is exceeding the earth's carrying capacity. Technology is beginning to destroy more than it provides. So it appears the cooperative instead of competitive culture is crucial to survival. Then population control is the equally crucial other side of the coin if such a culture is to be possible, and Reich should give that some consideration. It is difficult to conceive of facing a crisis of survival never before encountered in the history of the human species. To really relate to that may become the ultimate definition of the new consciousness.

Paul Ehrlich and Richard Harriman have written a new book called *How To Be A Survivor*. I note they endorse *Greening of America* as characterizing the kind of people it will take for mankind to survive on spaceship earth. But they have one reservation which I endorse. Apparently Reich is content to let the evolving consciousness change the system pretty much at its own pace and hole up until the bad times are over. They say the issues of survival must be forced as rapidly as possible—or "The bad times will probably kill us in our holes, and if they don't, they may well outlast us." But the disagreement is more apparent than real. Reich is content with his assumption that the corporate state is self-destructing—"The state is now generating forces that will accomplish what no revolutionaries could accomplish by themselves." With respect to the environment it is difficult to imagine that the state could self-destruct much more rapidly than it has recently.

Now listen to Reich, "It seems likely that the Consciousness II community, and particularly the concept of 'together', represent an effort to recover one of man's deepest needs and experiences. Man may not be a herd animal, but he is a gregarious, tribal animal and before the Industrial Revolution he usually lived within the 'circle of affection' of an extended family, and his work in the fields or at a trade was shared and done side by side."

Compare this to what I described in a broadcast a couple of years ago—the work of Dr. John B. Calhoun. Starting with studies on mice he evolved the concept that there is a primordial social constellation of about 12 individuals that has evolved in all animal species—the basis for more complex forms of social organization. He believes that man derived from his ancestors the need for relatively close social units of about 12 adults, and cited some evidence from both primitive and modern societies. Then I wondered what is the typical size of hippie communes—and I still do.

The modern technological state clearly generates high levels of physiological stress among the population. Yet efforts to link up specific causes and effects have not been very successful. For example, simple crowding is not an adequate explanation. It strikes me that new consciousness people are singularly free from stress, although they often choose to crowd themselves and experience a high rate of personal encounters. Reich describes various characteristics that suggest why this is so, including the ready acceptance of diversity and lack of competitiveness. Could the possession of a real consciousness of self be the key to the whole thing, in contrast to a false one that constantly buffets and pressures an individual in his encounters? Do new consciousness people get ulcers?

Now in a more political vein: Clearly the conflict is sharpening between the political, largely socialist left which seeks power through activist organizing, and those who would dismantle the corporate state through changing consciousness, with the substantial aid of drugs. As Reich puts it on the cover of his book, "There is a revolution coming. It will not be like the revolutions of the past. It will originate with the individual and with culture, and it will change the political structure only as its final act. It will not require violence to succeed, and it cannot be successfully resisted by violence. This is the revolution of the new generation."

Elsewhere he says, "What we have tried to show by the preceding discussion is that if consciousness III is to spread beyond youth, it must do so by a process that is just the reverse of orthodox left-wing theories of radicalization. It will not work to educate first, and change individual lives later. A change of consciousness must precede a new and enlarged understanding of our society, just as it has in the case of our young people, who first 'changed their heads', and then got new insight into the nature of the Corporate State. Radicalization comes only after a change of consciousness. The SDS strategy of showing the middle class the true oppressive nature of our society is thus mistaken—it begins where it should end. And radical New Left strategy is wrong for another reason. Confrontation, hostility, and guerrilla warfare cannot help to convert those against whom it is directed. The more people feel threatened, the more rigidly they adhere to their existing attitudes and patterns of life."

Thus there are two versions of what is truly radical and they are in substantial conflict. It has more to do with tactics than the essence of what needs changing. Political radicals are inclined to purge and alienate all but the true believers. Consciousness changers challenge people on their own ground and get under their skin. One might say that political radicals grimly cling to consciousness II, and the gulf that separates them from consciousness III may prove equal to the generation gap. Meanwhile, liberals are the very prototype of consciousness II.

Here then is the common denominator for my catalog of complaints about the radical-liberal attack on the ecological-environmental movement. I have observed a strange, driven urge to selectively nitpick or misrepresent points of objection in order to tear it down, rather than set it right, and an almost compulsive refusal to understand the central issues. For such baffling disabilities of perception and understanding I now find a highly satisfactory common denominator—they represent the old consciousness.

How else to explain James Ridgeway, who in *The Politics of Ecology* devoted almost the whole book to thrashing around about the falseness of pollution control programs because he thought that was what ecology meant and so he could put it down. He hadn't even a rudimentary grasp of the foundations of the ecological movement or the scope of problems it addresses—things that could be explained by the average long-haired youth you might stop on the street.

Then take the brittle, structural and futile one-world approach of the liberals—the United Nations buffs, foreign aid supporters and World Federalists—and compare it to contemporary proposals for what we must do to survive on spaceship earth.

I have previously described those who are hooked on economic growthmanship, uncontrolled technology, overconsumption, waste and class conflict as the Disabled American Veterans of the Industrial Revolution—unable to make the transition to a viable post-industrial society. They included, along with avaricious businessmen—organized labor, liberals and socialist idealogues. In retrospect that looks like the very distillation of old consciousness.

Reich comments on the sudden emergence of a radical new consciousness among youth, causing people to suppose it must be due to the infiltration of communists or influence by "a few left-wing agitators." Something like that happened in the sudden embracing of ecology by large numbers of the young generation. Old-style radicals figure the youth have been manipulated by Nixon to divert them from the true movement, or co-opted by corporations. I think the phenomenon represented the exhilarating discovery by new consciousness people that ecology provided a framework and a sense of purpose and urgency for a view of self and surroundings that they already had acquired. When it was put before them they instantly knew it was right, with or without the benefit of ecology courses. The perception of the issues that I have encountered among them is remarkable.

By contrast, I have for a number of years tried to reach political liberals with the same issues and sense of urgency. Often they would agree, and sometimes they would take a formal stand. But very rarely could I see that they really were reached—that it plugged into their perception of reality. In truth I believe that those who have clung to their status as "liberals" at this late date will be the last holdouts against the new consciousness or the ecological movement either one.

Conspicuously it is old consciousness people who think the ecological-environmental movement has been just a fad, like all the previous fads.

But here is a tentative rule of thumb to judge whether you and your friends represent the new or the old consciousness: do you think that in the past several years things are getting better? Or getting worse?

APRIL 16, 1971

I guess I could be described as a Theobald freak. That is, I look upon socioeconomist Robert Theobald as one of the most creative and valuable people in the public scene. He was among the earliest to recognize and interpret the effects of the cybernetic revolution. He first promoted the concept of a guaranteed annual income—so successfully that it went from heresy to commonplace in the span of a few years. At first Theobald operated within the assumptions of prevailing social and economic structures. But he has been developing and changing, as reflected in his most recent book, a collection of lectures called *An Alternative Future* for America. There he moved on to the belief

that structural socioeconomic changes are doomed to failure unless we profoundly change our view of the nature and purpose of man. That change roughly must be away from the view that man corresponds to rats run in Skinner boxes, motivated only by the carrot and stick, and toward the view that humans when given the chance can be self-actualizing individuals in the mode of Abraham Maslow.

Now Robert Theobald has evolved much further, in a new book to be published early in 1972. It is available in a pre-publication version, and that is what I want to discuss now.

Theobald finds us between two eras, one dying, the other struggling to be born. The dying era is the industrial era. It is characterized by linear thinking addressed to narrowly defined goals—never mind the secondary and tertiary consequences and interrelationships. Society can be described by a machine metaphor: an aggregation of assembly lines in which people become interchangeable cogs. Linear thinking came to be represented by linear organizations which dominate the conduct of the industrial era.

Perhaps a perfect model of a linear organization is the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Its role is to control floods by building dams and straightjacketing rivers so they run straight out to sea. Having done so with nearly all rivers, they now are reduced to straightjacketing neighborhood creeks. That they might sometime halt what they are doing, or weigh all the consequences, or manage watersheds or zone floodplains obviously is inconceivable to them. Upon a little reflection you can see that nearly all institutions in this society are linear, whether the Pentagon, corporations, universities or labor unions. Yes, and so is most of their opposition, especially of the doctrinaire socialist variety.

The alternative to linear thinking Theobald describes as follows: "The new style of thinking which developed concurrently with the environment movement can be described in terms of the growing ability to perceive reciprocity, connections and interdependencies. This process can be defined as 'systemic thinking': a person thinks systemically when he perceives connections, interdependencies and reciprocal relationships in the real world in which he lives." Systemic thinking pertains to a factual reality that is described by the field of ecology, and broadly corresponds to what I call ecological thinking.

Theobald states simply that we face certain disaster by continuing the linear pathways of the industrial era. The reasons are familiar ones—destruction of ecosystems, shredding of the social fabric, depletion of resources and the devastating gap between the haves and the have-nots. We must take a great leap into new ways of thinking and acting—from linear to systemic thinking and from the industrial era to what he calls the communications era.

The linear institutions of the industrial era are fatally incompetent to deal with what is needed to survive in the future. Their trends of both output and damage grow exponentially, when the system we require must necessarily operate on feedback mechanisms. This is most evident in our uncontrollable economic growth, and the obsolute economics that rationalizes it.

The old system was based on the principle of scarcity. When that system actually reached high levels of output, the result was excess. It became necessary to manipulate the desires of the public to create an ever growing market for this flow of goods. Scarcity and excess are but extremes of one continuum. Theobald defines abundance as quite another thing not on that continuum at all. It is the capacity to fully supply what everyone needs to live self-fulfilling lives, and it can be achieved only in societies organized under systems thinking.

To achieve the goals of the industrial era, its movers and shakers have relied upon structural authority. Quoting Theobald, "What is the basic rationale of the industrial era world-view? It is that man must be ruled by structural authority. Certain people are seen as capable of holding power. The orders they hand down from the top of a pyramidal structure are *always* valid and must *always* be obeyed.

"It was this assumption which made it possible to achieve such great feats during the nineteenth century. The railroads were built on the principle of structural authority. The assembly line is a perfect example of 'frozen' structural authority. The principle of structural authority was also necessary to industrial-era warfare which started under Napoleon but was carried to its peak of 'perfection' in the first world war.

"The individual within a structured authority system abandons his right to think for himself. In church and union, business and club, certain people hold structural authority and therefore have the right to wield power."

The alternative depends on the competence and knowledge of each individual, and so Theobald terms it sapiential authority. Clearly the foundations of structural authority are crumbling. Challenges to it can be seen at every hand—challenges to the infallibility of the Pope and the president—liberation movements—revolts in life styles—challenges to authoritarian teaching and authoritarian welfare. Perhaps this is most vivid in the relationship of students to their professors. Students no longer stand in awe of the fame and position of a professor. They measure whether he supplies them well with what they seek to learn. Such a view is anathema to most of their linear parents, to our linear governor, and of course to the linear professors, who are locked into this system of structural authority.

So we already have begun the necessary transition to a new culture and new system. But it is a perilous and difficult passage. Linear thinkers who wield structural authority will not relax their hold readily. This is obvious in the present period of repression and cries for law and order. Says Theobald,

"Many cultures have collapsed: there are more dead cultures than live ones. In all past cases, cultures have either decayed from within or they have been overwhelmed from without. New and vibrant cultures have taken the place of dying ones. Today, however, the survival of the world requires that the presently dominant cultures of the world change their own means of operation fundamentally—*without outside coercion and without internal collapse.*

"Such a task has never been accomplished, This task is made even more difficult because the required pace of change is far greater than ever before.

"We could succeed, however, because we have two advantages which have not existed at any previous time. First, we have the advantage of free time. Second, we have the advantage of an effective communications infrastructure."

The free time gives people the opportunity to explore a new sense of self and society, and to influence others in that direction. A principal justification for the guaranteed annual income is that it makes such free time available to those who will use it for such purpose.

The existence of an effective communications infrastructure means that systemic thinking, and new forms of organization based on information, can very rapidly be spread through the population. Theobald says, "The potential for change today is 'explosive' rather than incremental. We can no longer assume that change itself will be linear. Rather there will be 'burst' patterns of change. The consequences of change in several areas will be brought together either by intellectual thinking or will fuse through world events: the consequences will be an order of magnitude greater than the events to which our thinking and our institutional patterns are geared." He cites the space program as a successful example of systemic thinking, whether you favor its goals or not.

Because the transition into the new communications era is so difficult and fraught with peril, Theobald devotes much attention to the methods that should be applied to bring it about. He believes that because we are deeply involved in a high-technology culture, it would be fatally disruptive to tear it down and start over. And we would lose the capacity to bring abundance to the have-nots of the world. He criticizes what he calls a neo-Luddite streak in the environmental movement that calls for dismantling machinery and computers and returning to the simplified life-style of a time gone by.

Otherwise he thinks the environmental movement has foundered because it has largely remained caught up in the same linear patterns of behavior and action that caused the environmental crisis in the first place. This resembles the choice between calling a glass half full and calling it half empty. Because I am surprised by the amount of systemic thinking that *has* emerged recently in the environmental movement, where almost none could be detected among conservationists in the past. Further, it may have faltered, but I think it has not foundered at all.

Theobald dwells on the basic questions of how you cause people to change. He points out that minds are conditioned to screen reality in a certain way. Because reality is very complex there are many different screens that can be applied to the same reality. When two people argue they do not alter each other's views. More likely each will reinforce his existing view and strengthen his conditioned responses. Theobald says, "It seems that the effective way to alter conditioned responses is to enable an individual to perceive the importance of issues which he had previously not discovered. If this is carefully done, the individual will enlarge his pattern of thinking and will eventually find it necessary to reconsider his existing conditioned responses in the light of his increased knowledge." Old questions that seemed critical are more often bypassed than solved. We never settled how many angels could dance on the head of a pin. We just forgot about it.

Theobald discusses his ideas of different ways of communication and education that will further the process of change—these I shall have to leave for a different time. It seems his thinking here is incompletely developed. But so is mine and apparently everyone else's. Perhaps this should be the first priority for bright minds in the near future.

It should be obvious that the main thrust of left radicals violates all of Theobald's principles. They engage in frontal encounters that simply reinforce the conditioned responses of those they oppose. They seek to demolish linear institutions but are only equipped to substitute new linear ones of their own. Thus their only means of bringing about change is a clash of power, and most of the power resides in the establishment.

Meanwhile, the liberals are still engaged in tinkering with, improving and rationalizing the existing linear institutions, and so they become increasingly irrelevant.

You can see that Robert Theobald, in this new book, perceives the same reality as Charles Reich in *Greening of America,* but from a somewhat different angle. In the process of change they describe, the definitions of radical and liberal are becoming meaningless. So is the wisdom of linear thinkers in various academic fields which have rationalized the industrial era, most obviously economics and sociology. People who occupy those niches will have to change to help with the solution or they will be part of the problem.

What I have been discussing is a pre-

publication version of a book by Robert Theobald, apparently to be called *Habit and Habitat*. It can be ordered for $5 from this address: Personalized Secretarial Service, 5315 N. 7th St., Phoenix, Arizona 85014.

APRIL 30, 1971

Of late on these broadcasts I've been a messenger of apocalyptic change—the critical need for a massive social and economic transformation if we are to survive. I reviewed *Greening of America*, which says the corporate state contains the seeds of its own self-destruction and massive transportation will take place no matter what. I reviewed a new book by Robert Theobald who declares that the linear thinking and linear institutions of the industrial era must be transformed into the systems thinking and systems related institutions of a new communications era. And structural, institutional, unquestioned authority must give way to sapiential authority: that derived from valid thinking shared by the public. Theobald emphasizes that we are lost if this transformation is sought by tearing down present institutions so as to build new ones. He rejects the power trip of left radicals and instead seeks ways to change peoples' heads.

This is a far cry from serving up slogans of peace, brotherhood and nonviolence. It is much more purposefully based on the characteristics of human behavior. So what to do now is propose some models, or conceptual frameworks for bringing about this kind of change. To some extent I will just be codifying what is already going on.

Probably most of you are aware by now of primal therapy, and perhaps have read Arthur Janov's book *The Primal Scream*. His approach is based on the painful and frustrating experiences a human suffers in early childhood. The child may learn that simply by being himself he cannot count on parental love or having his needs fulfilled. He learns that to be accepted he must submit to his parents' definitions or who he may be. Each lesson is painful—perhaps severely so. When this process continues unrelieved the child must protect himself as a matter of survival. He gives up the struggle, adopts an unreal definition of self, and incorporates an armor of physical and behavioral defenses to protect him from the pain. This is neurosis. He goes through life wasting large amounts of his own and other peoples' energies through internal conflicts, tension and anxiety.

I suggest this concept of primal pain and neurotic defenses can be elevated to the social level. Consider the pain of the depression, which caused a generation to sell their souls for job security. More broadly, consider the whole industrial era, with its depersonalization and suppression of real feelings and satisfactions. The defenses—hollow consumption, psychomatic illness, aggressive behavior, liquor, the church and the like, all have been hardened into social and economic institutions. Other primal social pains might be group disenfranchisement—learning you can't really fight city hall—or the inevitability of grim and blighted surroundings, or the oppressiveness of racism. American liberals suffered the primal pain of McCarthyism and produced a neurotic left.

In primal therapy the patient is induced to relieve the hurtful experiences of his childhood—to really feel the pain. This may be a wracking experience, but once gone through the patient is free of any need to be bound up with that pain. Each episode of getting deeply into feeling the paint of childhood is called a primal. Now is it too far fetched to suggest that American society is going through some primals? How about the My Lai massacre and trial? It's as though the pangs of dehumanization, forced on the population since the earlier years of the industrial revolution, were being revisited.

From our present standpoint, the worst thing about a neurotic individual is his waste of energy—energy bound up in muscular tension or frittered away in anxiety and fruitless activity. In an entire society the flow of energy resembles that of a natural ecosystem. In an ecosystem energy from the sun is converted into plant material, which in turn supports a web of interdependent plant and animal forms. Any serious distortion or waste in the complex flows of energy will destroy or degrade the ecosystem.

In this society one can see little but the neurotic dissipation of energy from the system. War is the worst and most obvious. Due to society's conflict over sustaining its poor, much financial energy is wasted in monitoring welfare programs and administering endless rules. Much energy is wasted in empty consumption and in satisfying drives for wealth and power, or in class pitted for wealth and power, or in class pitted against class. Other energy is wasted in Red hunting and hounding people about their private vices. The society has been able to get away with this wanton dissipation of energy, violating the laws of a stable ecosystem, only by mining the stores of fossil energy in the earth that have accumulated over many millions of years. Here you can see why Theobald says that, in the midst of deprivation, our real problem is abundance, for much of that abundance is wasted.

The question now is, can social primal therapy be applied to cure this country of its neuroses? Janov finds that people cling grimly to their protective shielding, and seek diversions and excuses to avoid having their defenses challenged. So it would seem do social institutions. The power of rationalization is almost overwhelming. If one is to bring about change it behooves him not to strengthen the defenses and rationalizations of those who, individually or collectively, are responsible for the behavior of social institutions. You don't let them off the emotional hook; make them face up to their social primals. Much radical activity does precisely the opposite.

One of the newer techniques in therapy is called rolfing, after its originator Ida Rolf. Here the practitioner judiciously beats on the muscles and tissues of the patient. The purpose is to literally break down the mass of tissue and fiber interconnections that have frozen years of psychological burdens into the expression of one's physical bearing. Rolfing frees up the body, but surprisingly enough, it often opens up the suppressed feelings that became bound into the body in the first place.

I would like to introduce the concept of social rolfing. Here an institution or perhaps a segment of society would be judiciously beat upon until its rigid, frozen bureaucratic fibers are freed up and reconnected in a healthly fashion.

I think, in fact, a good bit of social rolfing already has taken place. Scientific and professional societies are rolfed by young dissidents at their annual conventions. The Catholic church is being rolfed. So are the universities, although their distorted postures are bound up in peculiarly resilient tissue growth. I would venture to say that bureaucracies that have been rolfed are much more greatly affected than outward appearances indicate. But social rolfing must be judicious to be useful. You can't help the patient if you frighten him away, totally anger and alienate him or damage his tissues and rupture his spleen.

There is an excellent little book called *EST, The Steersman's Handbook*. The author, Clark Stevens, charts a path for necessary social transformation, having fully recognized the linear nature of the institutions that must be transformed, in much the same way that Robert Theobald does. Stevens has developed the concept of resonance. EST people (the world refers to Electric Social Transformation, and the Latin word to be) being non-linear, systems types, have a great advantage at their disposal. They do not fear entering the establishment, but permeate and dissolve it. They take on the vibrational frequency of the establishment, achieve resonance and then with gradual out-of-phase timing, destroy it. To demonstrate his point, Stevens cites the model of the mongoose killing a cobra, as described in Norbent Weiner's *Cybernetics*.

"The mongoose begins with a feint, which provokes the snake to strike. The mongoose dodges and makes another such feint, so that we have a rhythmic pattern of activity on the part of the two animals. However, this dance is not static but develops progressively. As it goes on, the feints of the mongoose come *earlier and earlier in phase* with respect to the darts of the cobra, until finally the mongoose attacks when the cobra is extended and not in a position to move rapidly. This time the mongoose's attack is not a feint but a deadly accurate bite through the cobra's brain. In other words, the snake's pattern of action is confined to single darts, each one for itself, while the pattern of the mongoose's action involves an appreciable, if not very long, segment of the whole past of the fight. To this extent, the mongoose acts like a learning machine, and the real deadliness of its attack is dependent upon a much more highly organized nervous system."

Stevens adds, "The EST people with their comprehensive capability have the advantage of simulsensory awareness over members of the Establishment who are limited by separate-sense, compartmented habits of thought. The pattern of action of linear-minded men is 'confined to single darts, each one for itself,' while the pattern of EST action involves the entire, together, historical accumulation of mankind's capabilities." The concept of resonance could be extended to that precise tone that will shatter a goblet.

I think that the key to effective resonance is that by setting up a modest vibration you may call forth in response the vast energies of the establishment, thus greatly amplifying your effect. Pornography producers have been resonating the bluenoses in this way for years and made a mint.

A whole coterie of psychologists have sold themselves in the marketplace for the purpose of conditioning people to want and buy certain products, candidates or beliefs. They are betting that humans are ultimately nothing but glorified Pavlovian dogs. Suppose you bet otherwise and find ways to use resonance either to jam and reduce the conditioning or exaggerate it to a point that it becomes intolerable to the public.

Resonance can be applied to politics, but not if you are too simon pure to mess with the major parties. Ron Dellums is applying resonance in Congress. Looked at in this way, the Peace and Freedom Party was the work of fools. The presidential challenge of Congressman Paul McCloskey is a work of genius. I think in certain quarters the establishment also practices resonance. Thus agents infiltrate radical movements and vibrate them into irrational and self-destructive behavior. When you can't decide whether an action is the work of an agent provocateur or planned and carried out by the movement itself, you know their resonance has worked. Resonance roughly is what Berkeley City Manager William Hanley and UC Police Chief William Beale meant during the People's Park controversy when they advised a gathering of law officers to "force agitators to overplay their hands." Well, the agitators didn't, but I think they have many times since.

Perhaps you are thinking these approaches are futile when the name of the game in this country is power—massive, concentrated, interlocking political and economic power. In fact the basis for this power is remarkably fragile. Here I am persuaded by what Prof. Horace Gray, an economist and expert on monopoly, said back in 1963.

Gray said, "The corporate system has

evolved to the point where we now have the most highly concentrated private power structure in all history—a system in which a relatively few giant corporations effectively dominate the national economy." To this phenomenon he applies the term corporate collectivism. But, claims Gray, the foundations of monopoly power are not so secure as they appear. ". . . corporate collectivism does not and cannot restrict its control to purely economic activities but, in order to preserve its power, must reach out to control knowledge, government and public opinion. The latter, then, becomes the new and indispensable foundations of modern monopoly power . . . notwithstanding its outward facade of seemingly overweening power, corporate collectivism is extremely vulnerable and insecure . . . Because its hand is against every man, every man's hand is potentially against it. This is the Achilles heel of corporate collectivism, the area of its fatal vulnerability . . ."

"In the last analysis, the power thrust of modern monopoly is limited by its ability to control and direct public opinion. The public, as it may elect, can be either the source or the nemesis of concentrated power . . . No one is more acutely aware of this dual possibility than those who are responsible for the management of our giant corporations. They must control public opinion to achieve power, in the first instance, and subsequently maintain and increase it. This is the reason they assign such high priority to 'public relations', or the 'engineering of consent,' and devote such lavish outlays to it."

So, I say, lets get on with the social rolfing, resonance and social primal therapy. If you don't believe it works you haven't been reading your daily newspaper.

MAY 28, 1971

In a natural ecosystem plants convert energy from the sun into a usable form through photosynthesis. This creates the base for a complex web of life or ecosystem. It can be maintained only if energy is constantly recycled in a series of feedback loops that fulfill the requirements of all elements. If major loops are broken, or if there is important energy waste there are serious consequences. Species drop out or perhaps the whole system is degraded or destroyed.

Primitive human cultures functioned in essential harmony with these solar-based ecosystems. Even advanced agricultural societies modified a small portion of the earth's energy budget and thus created little disruption.

In a simple hunting or agrarian culture humans worked, and their energy output was rewarded with food and shelter. Development of the barter system permitted a measure of specialization and stability. Gradually a more complex social organization developed. This permitted more stability with protection for some of the vagaries of nature. It helped prevent wasteful competition for energy resources. Some of the energy budget was devoted to a system of authority, protection, and to amenities that suited the community beyond the requirements of mere subsistence. Energy flows were mediated through money and credit. Thus far these developments were consonant with the successful workings of natural ecosystems—at least so long as the population did not outgrow the capacity of the environment to support it. And they remained wholly dependent upon the stability and productivity of the natural systems around them. They adapted or they failed, and sometimes they did fail.

Then enter technological society, culminating in the industrial era. Here commenced what is undoubtedly the greatest hoax in human history: that a permanently viable economy had been created. All of western man's institutions have been based on this assumption—his economics, religion, politics and social organization. The hoax lay in the fact that industrial society was made possible only by plundering fossil energy that had accumulated in the earth over many, many millions of years. It was as though you based a general model for successful family life on a family that had inherited a million dollars.

This is not to say that by exploiting fossil fuels man has somehow sinned against nature. These great deposits simply imply that at certain times in geological history organic materials were inadequately cycled and became locked up in stored energy. Within limits this energy could be exploited on a semi-permanent basis.

But the great hoax did not stay within limits, resulting in a set of devastating consequences. The worst, of course, is that the fossil fuels are nearly gone, historically speaking. And extracting them takes an ever increasing share of the available energy, not to mention damage such as the Santa Barbara oil leak and Arctic devastation. But rather than adapt to that reality we gamble on being bailed out by the perfection of nuclear fusion. It is as though the family squandered nearly all of its million dollars but continued the same life style, confident that somehow they will inherit another million dollars. If they don't they will perish.

There are other consequences of the great hoax that are plain to see. Malthus was vilified because he based his predictions of the consequences of human population growth on essentially a solar energy budget. He could not forsee the great additional expansion made possible by tapping fossil fuels. In turn those fossil riches have so blinded society to biological reality that they cannot perceive that the malthusian principle is finally operative.

Those fossil riches have blinded society in other ways. There is more to the interacting energy cycles of a natural ecosystem than mere self-perpetuation. Necessity provided animal and plant species with a kind of genetically-based more equivalent. Each is enabled to play its role and is rewarded with its full share of energy flow.

But the availability of excess energy to humans invited gross distortion of such natural roles. The first thing to go was freedom of the human organism. One appreciates in animals their natural, genetically-mediated selves. Presumably animals do not become neurotic except in response to distortions of their adaptive place in the ecosystem—most notably when they are in the company of man. A human baby is born with this same natural self. It is a bundle of natural functions served by natural energy flows—capacity for love, sexuality, learning and work, all waiting to reach their full potential.

But western man had a mighty task: exploit that fossil energy and build an empire. So he could not let a baby develop its energy flows for natural functions. They were needed for the task at hand. So culture was pressed into service to mold the child into an artificial niche and especially to repress its sexual energy. Individuality had to be curbed, for in an industrial system one needs standardized, interchangeable units. Normalcy became defined as being well-adjusted. And so the entire fields of psychology and psychiatry grew up backwards, defining the abnormal adjustment of the human organism as normal.

The human, through his intelligence and command of technology, is capable of amplifying the impulses of his own internal energy deployment by many-fold. Thus a circular causality developed. The culture manipulates the developing child and creates artificial man. He in turn amplifies the misdirected energy from his repressed sexuality and natural self. The result is drives for power, exploitation and war. It is what Willhelm Reich called the emotional plague. But the maladaptation of internal energy flows has its consequences for the individual too—in hypertension, psychomatic illness, alcoholism, drug addiction and the like.

Political and economic power is the capacity to control energy on a large scale. A powerful politician can greatly amplify the effect of his own individual energy budget. When the energy resources of society are widely shared, with many rewarding feedback looks for diverse undertakings, available to all, there should be a satisfying and stable system. But people and nations cannot resist the urge to monopolize the resource. As a result a major share of their energy resources must be developed to defending what they hold—with armed might, increased police budgets, or even a staff of lawyers and propagandists. At worst powerful politicians succeed in amplifying their distorted internal energy flows into global war or cold war. With sufficient tyranny a system of imbalance may be stable, but it suffers the risk of revolution on one form or another, a further drastic energy drain however just it may be.

Plant and animal populations cannot violate the requirements of adaptive energy flows without getting their immediate comeuppance. The feedback effect through energy loops promptly acts to curb any excess—at least in a stable ecosystem. It is happening all around you; reproduction decreases, species withdraw from unsuitable habitat, etc. An ecosystem is a giant homeostatic mechanism; there is no other choice.

Industrial man, having declared himself independent of the laws of nature, was left without self-corrective feedback, without biological homeostasis. It could be supplied through wisdom. But a long life span helps conceal reality, and the human brain seems to have unlimited capacity for self-delusion and rationalization.

The cells of the body form in their own way tiny ecosystems. There are energy flows, feedback loops and homeostasis. When cells become deranged in a certain way they cease to be governed by self-limiting feedback and begin to multiply out of control. This is known as cancer. Cancerous cells drain the energy resources of the healthy cell ecosystems around them. Their only rationale is growth. Since they are out of control, cancer cells continue to multiply until they have destroyed the energy base upon which they depend. Then they too are destroyed.

Industrial man is a cancer upon the earth, sucking out its energy resources to support growth that is wildly out of control. This analogy has more than just shock value. In energy terms it has a shattering literal validity.

If there is one thing that characterizes the industrial energy-exploitive system it is waste. It is designed to flow through materials. The faster the flow-through the greater the growth of the system and the higher the so-called standard of living. The end product of this flow-through process is called pollution. Waste is necessary we say. Everything will be all right if we just clean up after ourselves. Well, everything won't be all right unless there is a drastic change to a systems economy with energy loopbacks through recycling and reuse. The issues are identical to natural ecosystems, none of which ever survived with a flow-through system.

Besides energy waste by design there is much energy leakage. There are innumerable ways in which we cause wasteful energy leakages. One is the maintenance of status. A current automobile magazine shows there is little inherent difference between a Cadillac and a Chevrolet Caprice, and asks whether status really is worth the $3,000 difference. Each time, there goes another $3,000 in energy leakage. I do not argue status is necessarily wholly without value to society, but it can be based on performance or wisdom with little energy drain.

You will recognize that I am using energy language to describe many issues commonly

discussed in other terms. This takes them out of the realm of speculation or fatuous controversy. A systems analysis of human affairs based on energy flows can make the fundamentals as concrete as the laws of physics and chemistry. What is more important, I believe that getting down to the reality of energy relationships will overturn much of what has passed for wisdom in many fields, especially economics, sociology and political science. It makes a farce of present definitions of radical, liberal and conservative and substitutes a politics of reality. It even provides the materials for a new morality, and the highest morality it seems to me is the survival of the species.

JUNE 11, 1971

Last broadcast I discussed the fundamental importance of energy flows and cycles in the human economy. Plants and animals are maintained in stable ecosystems only through the cycling of energy that supplies the requirements of all its elements. They have feedback mechanisms that prevent overexploitation. Human ecosystems are governed by the same principles but they are grossly violated by practices, without feedback, that wantonly flow through and waste energy resources. This has been possible only by depleting fossil fuels which have accumulated over many millions of years.

In addition to the gross waste and failure to recycle energy, there are many maladaptations of the human economy that can be identified through their underlying energy relationships. It is valuable to look upon the flow of money as closely analogous to the flows of energy in a natural ecosystem. There is one stipulation: money actually flows in the opposite direction from energy. You expend energy to do work and in turn you are paid for it. But that income can be spent for gasoline energy or to cause work to be done somewhere else in the system. So in general one can take some liberties and say where money goes, energy flows. Unless it is saved. In that case it corresponds to potential energy.

We live among sick and dying human ecosystems. Any metropolitan area you can name is obviously, on its face, a sick ecosystem. In a healthy model the energy-money flow would go to freely circulate goods and fulfill the needs of all elements. In practice that flow is grossly distorted and maladapted.

Take the San Francisco Bay Area. The natural flows of money, work and activity through the system are broken into geographical subdivisions called cities, counties and special districts. Such subdivisions might be appropriate if they reflected the natural infrastructure of the human ecosystem. In practice they are artificial constructs designed to capture and concentrate the resources of energy-rich areas and shelter the beneficiaries from the drain threatened by the poor ones.

The central cities are stripped of their energy resources by the flight of its economic elite to suburbia. The dregs are left to the minorities and the poor. And indirectly they pay through the nose for the costly utilities and other services to feed suburbal sprawl. Energy-rich industrial concentrations are sheltered from the drainage of taxation in enclaves such as Emeryville and San Leandro. Yet other maldistributions result from local manipulations of political power and social privilege. Urban redevelopment is one. This is a way to drastically alter a part of the human ecosystem and convert its money-energy potential to private wealth in selected hands.

All of this is perpetuated by devices such as home rule, zoning and refusals to equalize taxes. Maintaining these distortions of the regional economy further results in sheer energy waste—in gasoline and freeways, in stupid duplication of governmental functions, in competition for industry, etc. The net result is to concentrate wealth-energy in fewer and fewer hands, instead of permitting it to flow where needed—the very definition of a healthy ecosystem. The consequences you read about every day in your newspaper.

There would be no way to maintain this state of affairs were it not for vast inputs of fossil energy. Here is another net loss to the Bay Area ecosystem, for PG&E drains off a substantial chunk in both legitimate and illegitimate profits and ships a very large percentage off to eastern insurance companies and brokerage houses. In fact the rule seems to be: any process in the regional ecosystem that yields a net energy gain, meaning profit, goes into private hands. Any process with a net cost such as municipal services is paid out of the public's energy pool. Do you wonder why your taxes are so high?

If regional ecosystems were ecologically healthy they would operate on a largely self-sustaining set of energy interchanges. Interchange between systems would be on the basis of equal value. Population and industry would gravitate to those areas with the resources sufficient to sustain them. This is not how it works, as you know very well. A vast population is maintained on the desert and semi-desert of Southern California solely through the importation of water at high energy cost. Such maladaptations are perpetuated largely through bountiful governmental subsidies. Here is the answer to the touchingly naive radicals who believe there is no overpopulation in the U.S. as long as there are great expanses of land with low densities. They cannot grasp the enormous energy costs of placing people where the local resources won't sustain them.

This is one great virtue of the California Tomorrow Plan which I have discussed on a previous broadcast. It recognizes the basic integrity of regional ecosystems and would create the means for a healthy flow of money and resources within each system. It is, in fact, the first major plan I know of to translate the underlying realities of energy flow into political reality. Next to it the planning profession has operated in a fantasy world.

The principles that govern regional systems equally govern on a grand scale the components of what we now recognize as spaceship earth. Once again let us refer to the natural model. In a natural ecosystem there are many interrelated plant and animal species. Normally an invading form cannot break into the energy web of an established system and thus cannot become established. Occasionally there is an unfilled niche, most often as the result of human disruption. Then an alien invader may become established, and lacking the original checks and balances that controlled it, may run wild and capture an excess share of energy and degrade the ecosystem. There are famous examples: the codling moth, starling, the mongoose in Hawaii, the European rabbit which devastated Australia, or the red deer which has been ruining New Zealand's forests.

Perhaps it has already struck you—this is a model for colonialism, either economic or the old-fashioned kind. But there is this difference: the colonial population does not do so through superior adaptability, but only through its greater control of energy in the form of technology, might or the capacity to buy governments. For you know that man for man, westerners could not compete with Africans or southeast Asians in their home ecosystems. And once again you know where that energy comes from: it is mined from the earth's fossil fuels, much of it from the very countries that are being exploited.

It is further clear that the colonizing countries *must* plunder the resources of these less developed ecosystems as long as they maintain energy budgets far above the level that their own environments are capable of supporting, and as long as they insist upon flowing through and dissipating the energy instead of recycling it.

Now I want to shift to another facet of this subject, the area of competition. It is popularly believed that animals engage in constant active competition with one another for their share of resources. In fact they have elaborate mechanisms to largely avoid such competition. It is much too wasteful of energy resources. If competition is an energetic drain on an ecosystem, how are we to reconcile this with our supposed ideal of competition in the marketplace?

Here it is instructive to examine the situation where two very closely related kinds or animals are present in the same ecosystem. It is an almost unbroken rule that they cannot live together under exactly the same conditions, for they would directly compete for the same energy resources. If thrown together, one will be slightly better adapted and will prevail—meaning it was more efficient in extracting energy from the environment. There are two solutions to the problem. First, one species may replace the other geographically so they do not overlap. This is called competitive exclusion. Or second, the two, though very similar, may prove to divide up the habitat in subtle ways—different food, different shelter, different times of activity, etc. They found ways not to compete after all.

In human affairs a good example of competitive exclusion was the old west conflict between cattlemen and sheepmen. They couldn't coexist on the same range so one or another finally won out in each area.

Now in old-fashioned freemarket competition it was assumed that the seller with a superior product or the lowest price would win out in the marketplace. Another seller could replace him only with an improved product or an even lower price—in essence a more efficient use of energy in the economy. As alternatives, different sellers would dominate different regional markets with essentially the same product. Or very similar products divide the market with small but real differences. Some people like buttons, some like zippers. Up to here you can see that economic competition closely corresponds to the "competition" of species for energy in an ecosystem.

But what happens in fact? Concentrated economic power and price fixing eliminates price competition. True differences in quality and design largely become submerged and eventually disappear. Different companies' products converge upon the largest, most central market. Or is it the least common denominator? The products become marginally differentiated. Then vast amounts of money-energy are wasted in spurious competition of almost identical products—in flossy packaging and displays, in the store required for an excessive number of almost identical brands, in the trash that adorns automobiles and the sickening waste of annual model changes. And of course the huge advertising outlays to convince you that one brand of identical hair spray or deodorant is better than another. That is true competitive waste—the sign of a pathological system.

There is one basic reason the atrocities I have been describing could go on. Resources always have been regarded as free goods, except for the costs of extracting them. Compared to the cost of capital and labor, the supply of resources always appeared to be a limitless bounty. Even as the forests were stripped, the soil washed away and the oil and gas began to disappear, this wanton attitude remained and is built into our economics; resources are an expendible surplus. It is nourished by massive government subsidies that override any true energy-cost accounting. It is preserved in the very language of economists. They speak of externalities: those social, environmental and resource costs which lie outside their narrow dollar accounting for the business at hand. The externalities will have to show up on other people's balance sheets, including those of succeeding generations. You could say, some-

times quite literally, that one man's externality is another man's poison.

Once again I want to point out that I am using energy language to describe many issues that are commonly discussed in other terms. It is a loose portrayal and no doubt flawed in some particulars. The point is, thinking in this way gets down to the objective reality of how the human economy really operates. For no micro- or macro-economic gobbledygook can overturn the laws of energy. It can only obscure them.

DROUGHT IN WESTERN STATES AND IN FLORIDA

HON. PETER H. DOMINICK

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, today I wish to address myself to an extremely important matter arising out of the serious drought situation now affecting five Southwestern States as well as in Florida. I know that my colleagues in both the Senate and the House representing the stricken States will wish to consider my remarks with particular regard. However, because the effects of the drought are national in impact, because the administration is being called on to supply emergency funds to some of the affected areas, and because the issues I wish to raise concerning these requests are of a national character, I feel that my remarks should command broad attention.

We all recall the dust bowl years of the mid-thirties. Even earlier, in the period of 1910 to 1914 and, in fact, at 10 to 20 year intervals since just after the Civil War, significant portions of this country have experienced the hardships associated with drought: grazing land dried up, cattle and other livestock sold at a loss if at all, the horror of the fires that follow as the land becomes a tinder box, the death, suffering, and poverty which may last almost until the next drought in this continuing cycle. Surely all of us remember the 1951 to 1955 drought, and now, as weathermen in the Southwest see a similar situation developing, here we go again. Though not yet as long as the 6-year Dust Bowl of the 1930's or the drought of the 1950's, reports indicate that the present crisis is more intense.

In the thirties, there was nothing the farmer or rancher could do but pray for rain, and unfortunately for too long a time his prayers went unanswered. Today there is a difference. Today there is scientific technology available which, if put to proper use, can be of vast benefit to the farmer and the rancher in helping to break or shorten the drought, and perhaps, with a long range, carefully planned program, could move us away from palliatives toward preventing drought altogether. I refer to the technology of cloud seeding, or, as it is called in the scientific community, weather modification.

Weather modification is a practical reality. It has been used effectively throughout the world with dramatic success in checking drought and also in extinguishing raging infernos, devouring acres of forest land. And yet, as we in Washington read accounts of the widespread suffering and economic losses being experienced by people in the Southwest, there is no long range program in this country to cope with the existing drought or to prevent its recurrence 10 to 20 years hence. Weather modification is the unfortunate victim of a persuasive bureaucratic attitude—in segments of both the government and academia—that it must remain in the category of a research project—perhaps ad infinitum.

I would like to outline briefly the development of cloud seeding in the United States to show that we have failed to grasp the potential of this science. After a quarter of a century of permitting a special segment of the scientific community to sit on cloud seeding as if it were some kind of illegitimate egg, we are, I repeat, after a quarter century, at a point where we should be able to use it as a prime weapon to fight drought. Instead, we find ourselves being told that the egg isn't ready to hatch. "Maybe by 1974," says an expert from the Bureau of Reclamation.

Even more revealing is the fact that in the private sector there are a number of commercial meteorological firms, which over the years, at their own expense and through their own efforts, have advanced the technology of cloud seeding to an operational stage that is economical, scientifically sophisticated, and workable. But as I have said, government agencies and some groups in our universities seek to limit operations in favor of seemingly perpetual research.

I have no intention of criticizing research in any endeavor, and over the years valuable and important research has been conducted in the cloud seeding aspect of weather modification. Yet successful results of field work have been ignored. To use a familiar analogy, after the Wright Brothers proved that it was possible to fly a heavier-than-air craft, the research that followed and continues today was not to prove that one could fly, but rather to improve on the means and method of flight. In my opinion, far too much of the governmental activity associated with cloud seeding has been directed toward repeating what Doctors Schaeffer, Langmuir and Vonnegut—the Wright Brothers of cloud seeding—proved in 1946, without much emphasis on advancing the operational state of the art. It is important to note, also, that even before 1946, there had been a considerable amount of research and some success in cloud seeding here and in other parts of the world.

During the late 1920's and early 1930's a Norwegian meteorologist named Bergeron developed the theory which today forms the basis for seeding clouds from aircraft with dry ice to produce rain. This method was carried out in Holland by August W. Veraat. Subsequently, the Soviets established an Artificial Rain Institute in Moscow. But as with all sciences, cloud seeding has its research history which actually dates back to Plutarch. Yet it wasn't until 25 years ago that real success was achieved—both in the laboratory and in the field—and a kind of Kitty Hawk for the technology established.

Working for the General Electric Co. on problems of cloud icing on aircraft, Schaeffer, Langmuir, and Vonnegut proved in 1946 that it was possible to create ice crystals in the upper levels of super-cooled clouds, which under the proper conditions would add to or increase the amount of precipitation falling. Their discovery—while limited in application and primitive by today's standards—marked a real milestone, and news of it went around the world. Unfortunately, it was a discovery misused in the United States by a flock of quick-buck artists who traveled around the countryside convincing water-hungry farmers that they had the secret to the old Indian Rain Dance.

The farmer lost money, got no rain from the so-called rainmaker, and the importance of the 1946 discovery was downgraded and became obscured by law suits, misunderstanding, and much misinformation. Fortunately, there was a handful of meteorologists and cloud physicists in both the public and private sectors who recognized the promise of 1946, and they set to work devoting their energies toward a greater degree of research and development.

In 1947, Project Cirrus was mounted by the Army Signal Corps, the Air Force, and the Navy, with General Electric as the contractor. The project lasted 4 years—until 1951—and a great many experiments were carried out with much needed statistical information gained which laid the groundwork for more research. The project not only generated lines of inquiry but also gave rise to the controversy over scientific proof of results which is still raging and has plagued advancement of the field. For, quite frankly, over the years there has been a body of those engaged in atmospheric science which, for whatever reasons, has been completely hostile to cloud seeding, and this body has managed to impede cloud seeding progress, using "scientific proof" as their battle cry.

Nevertheless, as a result of Project Cirrus, and the work done by commercial firms in the private sector, the Congress voted in August 1953 to set up an Advisory Committee on Weather Control under Public Law 83–216. The committee's purpose was to make a complete study and evaluation of public and private experiments in weather modification. In 1957, the committee gave its report and recommendations. It reported that, yes, cloud seeding did work if carried out under proper atmospheric conditions. Under such circumstances, increases of 10 percent could be expected from clouds seeded in the eastern part of the country, and, because of the prevailing winds off the Pacific Ocean and the high mountain ranges in the west, averages of 15 to 20 percent could be expected there. The committee's recommendation was that its evidence be turned over to the National Science Foundation for further study, research, and evaluation.

The Congress gave its mandate to the National Science Foundation through Public Law 85–510, and therein the foundation was instructed to modify its research mission by adding an operational engineering function. I regret to

say that the foundation did not carry out its mandate, and its contribution to weather modification over the ensuing decade is largely a record of negativism, timidity, and basic research. I have referred in numerous hearings to the period in question as the "lost decade." Happily, it concluded in January 1966, when an authoritative report on weather modification was issued; it was presented by the National Academy of Sciences, a body established and supported by the National Science Foundation. And what do you think the report said? It said that you could get 10 percent increase in rainfall in the East and somewhat larger increases in the West. Nearly 10 years taken to repeat and verify what had been stated in 1957.

At the Senate Commerce Committee hearings in March of 1966, I said that there had been a group in the scientific community opposed to commercial seeding operations and that, as a result, a good deal of time and money had gone down the drain. I said, further, that we were right back where we started and that as a result of the hearings, the commercial operators had provided a fair amount of evidence that their operations could be successful under the proper conditions.

Now here we are, 5 years later, and while the weather modification picture has changed somewhat for the better within the Government, I continue to question how much the attitude toward the experienced commercial operator has changed. The fact is there are many places where he could be at work today, and he is not.

In fiscal 1971, the Bureau of Reclamation had 13 ongoing cloud seeding programs, all listed in the realm of experimentation and research. And the same label can be put on the weather modification programs being carried on by the National Science Foundation, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration—NOAA—the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of Defense.

On May 10, 1971, Gov. Preston Smith of Texas called on the administration to provide funds through the Office of Emergency Planning to mount a large cloud-seeding operation, utilizing Air Force planes and personnel. Officials of the OEP, the Bureau of Reclamation, NOAA, and the Air Force have joined in what has been labeled an experimental cloud-seeding program in south Texas. Two Air Force WC–130 planes were modified to do this work and conducted seeding operations with measurable success according to news dispatches from the area.

In the meantime, I know of at least two commercial firms of many years' standing and success which are eager and ready to go and have made offers to the drought-stricken States. These firms offer operations, not research, but as always, the scientific bureaucracy has moved to block action. A short time ago, NOAA officials were scurrying north from Florida to warn the OEP against listening to the claims of private firms which they termed "fly-by-nighters." When I mentioned this to an executive of a cloud-seeding firm, he replied, "You bet we're fly-by-nighters. We fly day and night when the systems are seedable, and I assure you we won't get caught on the ground when the weather moves in." He was referring to the fact that when south Florida got a heavy rain during the operation there, the NOAA group could not fly—their plane was caught on the ground because of a mechanical difficulty. Cloud seeding experts know that most seeding is done when it is actually raining, which necessitates short notice and preparation.

The rest of the world has not been so reluctant to move into the operational stages of weather modification. There are numerous examples of dramatic success, most accomplished by U.S. firms under contract to foreign governments.

The Soviets take their weather modification very seriously. The Israelis began operational cloud seeding after 6 years of research.

In 1967 in Labrador, Newfoundland, a U.S. firm was called in to help control forest fires raging along a 400-mile front, summoned by Newfoundland's Chief Forester when firefighters and water bombers were unable to control the blaze. The Chief Forester had predicted it would burn all summer, yet the cloud seeders, using specially modified aircraft and a new seeding product, had the fires under control in 5 days and extinguished in 10.

Two weeks later, lightning again touched off similar fires. The firefighters were no longer on the scene, but the cloud seeders came back, and in 3 days of operation, they had the fires out. The Chief Forester, impressed by the results, invited the company to carry out a program of preventive seedings on the dry timberlands there.

In 1967, Iran, one of the water-short countries of the Middle East, entered into a 3-year operational project with the same U.S. firm. No other modern-day cloud-seeding operation could compare with the intensity, duration, and success of the operation in Iran. In the first year, a 6-year drought was broken, and it was no longer necessary to ration water.

Over 3 years the increase in the water supply in the "target area" was 80 percent. Iran, free to cancel the contract at that time, renewed it and has now asked the firm for large scale recommendations. While the cloud seeding was going on with immense success, the Americans were also teaching the Iranians their techniques.

In the spring of 1970, Cyprus was suffering a severe drought. The Cypriots called on the same U.S. firm, operations were conducted, and in April of 1970, a large section of the island, where the seeding was conducted, received its heaviest recorded rainfall.

Mr. President, during all of this activity around the world, what were we doing at home—even as the present situation in the Southwest was beginning to develop? Among the agencies with the authority to take steps toward operational weather modification, the record is dismal.

In the summer of 1968, hearings were held in Denver by the Senate Commerce Committee on two weather modification bills. One of those bills, S. 2058, which I introduced in June 1967, set up the mechanics for a cloud seeding program in the San Juan Valley of Colorado. With my distinguished colleagues, Senators WARREN MAGNUSON, HUGH SCOTT, and HOWARD CANNON, I cosponsored S. 373, which sought to set up an effective and coordinated national weather modification program. One of the witnesses we heard on these bills was Mr. Bernard Power, president of the commercial cloud seeding firm I have been discussing, who gave testimony on the results of the first year of operation in Iran. Senator CANNON—who chaired the hearings—and I were equally impressed by what he had to say. His testimony is contained in the Report of Weather Modification Hearings—Serial No. 90–83—and I plan to enter it in the RECORD with other related material at the conclusion of my remarks. Key officials from both ESSA, forerunner of NOAA, and the Bureau of Reclamation also heard this gentleman's testimony, but no action was taken on the part of either body to seek further knowledge of the efficacy of the product or the dynamic type of seeding technique being employed in its use.

One excuse frequently offered by government agencies to explain the total lack of a long range, operational weather modification program is the lack of funds. They say that the snail's pace of the past quarter century is related to an absence of finances. However, Mr. President, in that period of time, hundreds of millions of dollars have been appropriated by the Congress for matters concerning the atmospheric sciences. Only a small portion of that figure has been alloted for related research and development in cloud seeding. Herein, I think, we get to the root of the trouble. It lies in the Congress.

In fiscal 1971, there were no fewer than eight major governmental agencies involved in the research and development of cloud seeding. They were the Departments of Interior, Commerce, Defense—including Army, Air Force and Navy—as well as the National Science Foundation and NASA. I am not referring to other aspects of weather modification such as hurricane modification or lightning and hail control—just cloud seeding. The total budget parceled out to these eight agencies for cloud seeding was approximately $10 million.

The amount of funding speaks for itself, and it points up the need to do some serious thinking about priorities. But dividing up this small amount in such a way that eight government agencies duplicate each other's effort toward a single goal doesn't make very good sense regardless of how you look at it. In nearly every session of Congress since 1946, there have been attempts to pass meaningful legislation which would centralize weather modification responsibilities. The result has been pretty pitiful: Legislation to set up a Scientific Advisory Committee in 1953; legislation to extend its life in 1956; legislation in 1958 to turn over the committee's recommendations to the National Science Foundation; and, finally, legislation to

relieve NSF of its mandate. In fact, since the 80th Congress, there have been in excess of 50 such attempts to get legislation on the record.

Still there's really no one in charge. We have the Federal Council for Science and Technology working out of the executive offices and under it, the Interdepartmental Committee for Atmospheric Sciences set up in 1959. Its job is to survey and evaluate the national research effort in the atmospheric sciences, to examine the role of the Federal agencies involved, and to make recommendations. I see it as a bureaucracy on top of a bureaucracy. So when you get right down to it, I repeat, there is really no one in charge, despite the fact that since 1951 a number of us, including Senators CLINTON ANDERSON and WARREN MAGNUSON, have been trying to put someone in charge.

As I said earlier, bills have been offered to no avail, essentially because one department of the government does not wish to find itself answerable to a second department. Doing nothing is a sure way to solve that problem, but it in no way makes for progress. The drought situation in the Southwest brings the problem into sharp focus. The need is now—but with no one taking the lead, people are frantically trying to put together a plan of action in the absence of any real program.

In a statement in 1968 I said:

> Clearly the time has arrived when a coordinated effort should be brought to bear on the significant problems which weather modification can alleviate. We need a balanced effort to avoid waste and duplication.

I was speaking then in behalf of the aforementioned bill, S. 373.

Recently, Dr. Robert M. White, head of NOAA, was quoted in the press as saying that the Federal regulation of weather modification is becoming a must. Dr. White said he could not predict what form such control would take but added that it was clearly in the cards and cited the need for a central agency. Certainly in my remarks I have tried to show why there is a need to centralize, but I do not think that NOAA or the Department of Commerce is that agency any more than I think the Bureau of Reclamation is. Nor do I feel that we can permit a situation to continue which all too frequently finds the commercial cloud seeder competing not with other firms but against Government agencies where there is no chance for him to prevail.

I hope, Mr. President, that my remarks will be of some aid in stimulating new hearings in the appropriate committees. I have been involved in trying to arouse interest in the benefits of cloud seeding for over 20 years—for nearly 10 of these I have sought with others here to bring about legislation to move the science forward. The hearings we held in 1966 were of great value because they were in depth and extensive—a great deal was learned. They shook some people up and got them moving in spite of the fact that this did not lead to the passage of legislation. I'm not recommending more hearings simply to add to the record, but in view of the drought situation—which unfortunately may be of long duration—in view of the fact that history suggests we will have another one before another 20 years pass—and in view of the technology which is presently available—I think that new hearings could at least generate a plan of operations.

There is no real plan now, as I said before. There are people trying to create one due to political pressure. I think the NOAA seeding operation in Florida earlier this year was a plan that for experimentation's sake may have been fine, but for ending a drought, it was too late and too little. I wish I could be more optimistic about the modest undertakings which have occurred in the Southwest, but again they are certainly too little and unquestionably too late. We must have new hearings to bring out the kind of information that would make it possible to set up a standardized plan of operation—a plan which could be set in motion to apply to any drought-affected area of the country. When a house catches fire, we don't stand around arguing about who is going to put it out. When drought strikes, we should be able to call on cloud seeding experts immediately, not after a drought has taken a firm hold, and for the future, we must be able to predict these droughts and prevent them by advance operations.

Mr. President, such a plan of operations can be formulated and, in my opinion, just as soon as possible.

I ask unanimous consent that the testimony of Mr. Power to which I referred in my remarks, a U.S. News and World Report article on the cloud seeding in Iran, and several articles on weather modification from recent issues of the Farmer-Stockman be included at this point in the RECORD.

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

SENATE COMMERCE HEARING ON WEATHER MODIFICATION BILLS S. 373 AND S. 2058

Held at 10:00 a.m. Friday, June 14, 1968, in Denver, Colo., the Honorable Howard W. Cannon, presiding.

Witness: Mr. Bernard A. Power.

Senator CANNON. The next witness is Bernard A. Power, Weather Engineering Corporation of America, President. We are happy to have you here, Mr. Power. You may proceed

Mr. BERNARD A. POWER (President, Weather Engineering Corp. of America). Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have already submitted a prepared statement, and with your permission perhaps I could just give a quick ad lib summary of what is contained in it.

Senator CANNON. Very well. Your statement will be made a part of the record and you may summarize from it if you wish.

Mr. POWER. My name is Bernard A. Power. I am a meteorologist. I am president of Weather Engineering Corporation of America. We are a commercial cloud-seeding company and have been engaged in seeding for water production principally for the past 14 years. The principal fields have been for increased reservoir supply, for hydroelectric power production and for forest fire prevention.

We have already at the previous Senate Hearings in 1966 and 1967 given evidence on the conventional seeding techniques that we have carried out over the past 14 years and the results achieved.

Just briefly I might say that they agree in general with the results found by the National Academy of Science's committee in their report published in January, 1966; namely, increases ranging from 20 percent up to slightly over 33 percent from continuous ground-based operations and continuous generator-type airborne seeding type operations.

What I would like to talk about this morning is not conventional seeding techniques with continuous burner type operations, but a new seeding device which has been produced by a research and development program that we have carried out since 1959.

In 1959 we were interested in developing a very high-yield type of cloud-seeding device for possible hail suppression operations. Hail suppression theory indicates that the chances for success are greater if the whole supercooled portion of the cloud can be converted to ice. Consequently, this pointed out the need for a very high output seeding device. So we began experimenting with an explosive technique for generating or vaporizing large quantities of silver iodide. As a result of this, there has been produced a product which we have called WEATHERCORD (R). It incorporates the silver iodide in a rope-like cord. The silver iodide is mixed with the detonating chemical and then sealed into the rope. The detonating velocity of the explosive is extremely high. Some 25,000 feet of cord can be detonated in one second. Consequently, with a typical loading of one gram of silver iodide per foot of WEATHERCORD, 25,000 grams of silver iodide in a single strand can be detonated in one second, either at a single point in space or over a linear or other geometrical path. Now, this technical capability in generating silver iodide is enormously greater in output than any of the conventional seeding generators that have been developed. A typical conventional ground-based seeding generator will vaporize between a few grams up to about 100 or 200 grams of silver iodide per hour. As I've mentioned, we can detonate, if required, as much as 25,000 grams in a single second.

Senator CANNON. What is the largest size that you have detonated so far?

Mr. POWER. 500 feet at the present time. In operations we have actually found it convenient to use 25 feet of cord in a single package. This would be 25 grams of silver iodide. The detonation takes place at about a thousandth of a second. One of these is usually found sufficient to accomplish the release of precipitation from a single cumulus cloud. It can be dropped either from an aircraft to detonate within the cloud at any given level or it can be detonated on the ground from a ground-firing battery, and the silver iodide is then carried up in the normal method of seeding from the ground.

Well, this WEATHERCORD device was sent for testing in 1964 to the National Center for Atmospheric Research here in Colorado. Laboratory tests confirmed the nuclei output found in our development work. Field tests and firings were made by NCAR on Old Faithful geyser in Yellowstone National Park during the winter months and on natural non-raining winter cumulus clouds over the Sierra Neveda Range in Central California.

The results of these NCAR tests have been described in a scientific report "The Laboratory and Field Evaluation of WEATHERCORD, a High-output Cloud Seeding Device" by Goyer, Grant, and Henderson, Journal of Applied Meterology, April, 1966. The NCAR tests on the supercooled clouds in California pointed up a rather new and rather remarkable effect; namely, the rapid growth of the cloud top following the detonation of the silver iodide in the WEATHERCORD package. Rapid glaciation and precipitation within 20 to 30 minutes occurred.

Now, the same type clouds have been seeded by standard conventional seeding methods from aircraft with burners for many years, and no observable effects were found to occur

from this type of small cumulus cloud of limited development. So that we had here a rather remarkable effect, and it seems to promise to us the possibility for the first time of a device which would actually make rain from a cloud by seeding rather than increasing rain as heretofore has been the case.

So we continued with tests on a re-designed package with the aim of developing a fail-safe ejection and firing method which would achieve the approval of the aviation authorities for operational use.

This was done in tests that were run out of Harmon Air Force Base in Newfoundland in the fall of 1966. Well, last summer, in July, 1967, we put this new designed WEATHERCORD package into operational use for the first time. In July there was a period of severe drought through the Newfoundland area. It's a wilderness area, mostly spruce forest with a rather limited soil retention of moisture and it dries out very quickly. They had a drought. The forests were dry. And a dry cold front came through the area with lightning, dry lightning, and some 90-odd fires were set off in a very long arc of about 400 miles. This was a very difficult area to operate in for forest fire prevention, and we were called in to seed with this new technique.

In five days of seeding the same effects occurred as were found in the NCAR tests in California. There was rapid growth of the cloud tops that were seeded. We could detect immediately increased internal turbulence in the clouds at the drop point and heavy precipitation usually resulted within 20 to 30 minutes. All fires were under control over this large area within five days and the whole area was thoroughly soaked within 10 days although the general drought pattern continued elsewhere. This was the general weather pattern. Everyone, all operating personnel, were then removed from the area. The fire danger was over.

But on a second occasion some ten days later, another dry front set another large number of fires, 25 more major fires in the same area. On this occasion we were the only personnel who were called back in just for cloud seeding, the aircraft with the crew. And on this occasion three days of seeding had extinguished all of these major fires and then the area was again generally soaked.

To retrace a moment, this WEATHERCORD technique was first exhibited in Washington at the International Water for Peace Conference last May. And as a result of that, subsequent to this meeting, a contract was negotiated in August of last year with the Government of Iran for a major three-year cloud seeding project using WEATHERCORD on three major watersheds in the Elburz Mountains in northern Iran just north of the capital city. These watersheds furnish water for hydroelectric power production, storage for irrigation and municipal water supply to the capital city. A six-year general drought had persisted in that area and the reservoirs were low. The WEATHERCORD seeding began in November, late November, and were completed on April 30th of 1968. This ended the first phase of the three-year contract which had been resumed in November of this year. At the close of the operations, although the precipitation, based on the preliminary analysis that we have made to date, was still below normal in the general surrounding area of northern Iran, all of the three reservoirs were filled or spilling and the desert agriculture closely surrounding this target area is green and flourishing. It is expected that they will have a bumper crop and the municipal water supply is assured and the problem of possible shortages of hydroelectric power have been solved, at least for this season.

Here again, the reaction of these middle eastern weather systems to the WEATHERCORD seeding has been startling-intensification of the cloud systems, increased cloud turbulence following the seeding, and then followed within 20 to 30 minutes by precipitation. We feel at this time that we can say the WEATHERCORD type of seeding is apparently 100 percent effective in the sense that every time that the device is used on supercooled clouds, precipitation results. This, of course, is not the case with conventional seeding. In conventional seeding techniques I think it is generally agreed that you get an increase in precipitation from an already raining cloud but not an initiation of the precipitation.

Senator CANNON. At what altitude were you making your drops in Iran?

Mr. POWER. Well, these are determined by the temperature levels that prevailed in the clouds. But in the winter cloud systems there, most of the drops were made between 17 to 22,000 feet, with a time-delay fuse that would allow a 2,500 feet drop of the package into the clouds. So that most of the detonations would take place between 13,000 and 19 or 20,000 feet.

Senator CANNON. Has our own Department of Agriculture indicated any interest in this system?

Mr. POWER. No, they haven't, Senator. As a matter of fact, I doubt if they know of the operation, since we have just returned from the first phase.

Senator CANNON. We have here in the bill where the secretary is authorized to carry out a program in such aspects of weather modification that would relate to the control of lightning and hail and the protection of vegetation from the effect of other weather phenomena. That might come within that.

Mr. POWER. Well, as I mentioned, we originally had the intention of developing this seeding technique for hail suppression. It has the technical capabilities of doing, I think an outstanding job in completely glaciating the clouds into which it is introduced. But the effects on increasing precipitation have been so startling that we have simply concentrated on that.

Senator CANNON. Do you have any estimate as to the amount of precipitation, let's say, that occurred in these reservoir areas or the runoff that you got in Iran after your seeding started?

Mr. POWER. Well, we are working on the evaluation. The data is coming in. I think we can say at this time that it seems to be considerably in excess of the increases that can be obtained with the standard cloud-seeding techniques either from ground or cloud operation or burner operation. We can see the effect visually. There is no difficulty in seeing the effects; that is, a glaciation which takes place almost immediately and then you have the precipitation followed in 15 to 30 minutes. This we can observe. We cannot observe it with the standard cloud seeding techniques. So we know there is a greatly increased effect and we feel that the eventual increases will be considerable in comparison to those established with other techniques.

Senator CANNON. Are you willing to tell us what we are talking about in terms of the cost factor, or is that something that you would rather not disclose as your company business? I'm talking about the Iran operation.

Mr. POWER. Well, I could describe what is involved in it. You need a heavy duty, all-weather twin engine aircraft or multi-engine aircraft. It has to operate under extremely severe weather conditions day or night, often without very adequate navigational aids. So you need a powerful aircraft. You need a crew that is operating most of the time on oxygen, or they would need a pressurized aircraft. So the aircraft expenses are much in excess of those that are required with standard conventional seeding. We have a figure which we have used which perhaps would give you some idea of the cost. We feel that the maximum cost for the water with this technique is less than one cent per thousand gallons for the minimum sized project area, and that this cost goes down very rapidly with a large sized area to a fraction of a cent, something in the order of a tenth of a cent for a thousand gallons.

Senator DOMINICK. Can you put that in terms of acre feet?

Mr. POWER. Yes. I think that on a large-scale operation, say, 10,000 square miles or larger, that the cost for an acre foot should be something not more than 30 cents per acre foot.

Senator CANNON. When you complete your evaluation on this Iran study, would you furnish the committee a copy of that?

Mr. POWER. Yes, we would be delighted to. I expect that this will be a matter of two to three months from now, but we will be glad to furnish it.

Senator DOMINICK. I think this is really great information that Dr. Power has given to us and I want to thank him for coming out all the way to Colorado to testify here.

You mentioned the altitude at which drops occurred or where the WEATHERCORD explosion took place as between about 13 to 15,000 feet, if I recall what you said.

Mr. POWER. The detonation is at 13 to 19,000 feet.

Senator DOMINICK. Did you have any estimate of the temperature of the clouds at that level before you dropped?

Mr. POWER. We have the temperatures. They haven't been analyzed as yet on an operational basis. We have the temperatures though. I would say that the general weather patterns and the general atmospheric structure, the temperature and cloud structure is not unsimilar to the cloud structure that you would have over the Upper Colorado in the winter season. The two areas are fairly similar. They are at about the same latitude. Iran is about the same latitude as Denver. It's on the eastern edge of about a thousand miles of mountains, high mountain ranges through Turkey, and it's about a thousand miles from a major source of water, the Mediterranean, as opposed to the Pacific here. So there is a fair comparison. The target areas are in high mountain ranges. The average height of the ranges is about 12 to 15,000 feet, with a few peaks higher.

Senator DOMINICK. Was your project conducted for the purpose of getting snow or water?

Mr. POWER. Eventually water. Of course, in the winter the precipitation is initiated as snow. But the eventual aim is water.

Senator DOMINICK. So your actual result in the Iran mountains then was to develop additional snowfall as opposed to water?

Mr. POWER. Snowfall and water rainfall. In March and April the precipitation reaches the ground as rain, although there is heavy snow on the mountain peaks.

I might mention that in regard to the temperatures in detonation, the effect of this on the clouds, we do know, of course, that the temperature of the cloud exercises a very important effect on the result of the seeding. But you can look at the thing either on the basis of an individual seeding of clouds or on the basis of the overall seasonal effect. If you find that your seeding technique is getting you over a whole season a net increase and this exceeds the cost of the operation, you have a net benefit from the operation. Now, if you can sharpen your operations to the point that you can select the clouds that are going to yield the maximum increase and avoid any decreases, if they should occur, then you could increase your efficiency. But I think we have been through this of course with the standard seeding technique over the last 20 years, that standard seeding produces a net increase. Now, that net increase could be increased if you could select your seeding occasions. But it's still a paying

proposition and yields an excellent benefit to cost ratio without this selection. I think that is for the future.

Senator DOMINICK. Thank you very much, Mr. Power.

Senator CANNON. Do you let that primacord reel out? Do you reel it out back of the airplane so that you get distance?

Mr. POWER. No. The research test used a method of allowing it to unreel. This was so there would be no possible coagulation in the initial burst. There is a very high concentration of particles and coagulation that would take place in a matter of seconds. But we found that this was not a matter of concern. So we now use a coiled package incorporating 25 feet up to, say, 50 feet of primacord. This is a dummy package. There are 25 feet of cord here. This is a simulated cord simply coiled around, and in the interior is the firing mechanism. This is the firing ring. In here is contained an igniter fuse, delay cord and plastic caps. So when the ring is pulled there is sufficient time that elapses to allow this to clear the aircraft by 2,500 feet.

Senator CANNON. That goes out as a package?

Mr. POWER. Yes, and completely disintegrates.

Senator CANNON. Then in going through this, you drop quite a series of these?

Mr. POWER. Well, we found that in a single cumulus buildup, a single cumulus head, that one or two of these is sufficient in other words, 25 to 50 grams is sufficient. If we are seeding in a layer-type cloud system on instruments, then we would be seeding in a geometrical path with drops being made at different time intervals.

Senator CANNON. That's very interesting. Thank you very much.

[From U.S. News & World Report, Sept. 15, 1969]

WHERE RAIN MAKING IS A SUCCESS

Latest technology is helping rain makers take the guesswork out of their business. In a Middle Eastern area similar to much of the U.S. West, enough water has been wrung from clouds to supply a city the size of Phoenix, Ariz. Earlier, there had been six drought years.

TEHERAN, IRAN.—The science of rain making appears to have come of age in this semi-arid country of the Middle East.

In the U.S.—where scientists first proved that rain could be artificially produced—the Government has been experimenting gingerly in an effort to get more water from the sky to ease critical shortages in Western States.

Here in Iran, two years of actual rain making have been completed. The payoff has been handsome.

Precipitation in a target area of 4,375 square miles in Northern Iran was increased by at least 80 per cent in the first year, says Mansur Ruhani, the country's Minister for Water and Power. Initial processing of data for the second year indicates another sizable gain is assured. In both years, three reservoirs in the target area have been filled to overflowing.

AN END TO DROUGHT

Before the rain makers came in the autumn of 1967, growth of Teheran had been slowed and irrigation of 715,000 acres had been hampered by six years of drought. Now there is adequate water for the city and for the irrigated land supplied by the three reservoirs.

"There is no doubt in our minds that it is possible to make rain," Mr. Ruhani recently told a staff member of "U.S. News & World Report."

Increased precipitation in the target area has been verified by a statistical firm in Canada which processed data from Iranian weather stations.

Additional runoff into the three reservoirs is estimated at around 1.5 million acre-feet of water each year—enough, for example, to supply annual needs for the burgeoning Phoenix, Ariz., region. An acre-foot of water is the amount required to cover an acre of land to a depth of one foot.

RIVERS IN THE SKY

Many U.S. Congressmen from Western States—particularly those dependent on the over-worked Colorado River—would like to see rain making used to ease severe water shortages. Says Senator Peter Dominick (Rep.), of Colorado:

"I am convinced that we need to accelerate the shift in emphasis from one of basic research to one of application. The best of these commercial rain makers are people of high competence who have proved what they can do."

A similar view is expressed by Representative Morris K. Udall (Dem.), of Arizona, who says:

"The rain makers appear to be on the verge of some significant breakthroughs. There is still the problem of public resistance. But I think if they concentrate on increasing the snowpack above the 9,000-foot level, where few people live and work, they will be accepted."

More water passes over the Colorado River Basin in clouds each week than the river produces in runoff in a year, which is 13 to 14 million acre-feet.

SEEDING THE CLOUDS

In Iran, the target area for the rain makers is a mountainous region strikingly similar to many parts of the American West.

A tracking station receives photos of cloud formations across the Middle East from the U.S. weather satellites ESSA and Nimbus. When storms suitable for "seeding" approach, the rain makers go aloft to intercept clouds over the target area. The seeding is done with a device known as "Weathercord," developed and patented by Weather Engineering Corporation of America, a company that operates out of Canada and the U.S.

This device incorporates a length of detonating fuse impregnated with a mixture of explosive and silver iodide. It is dropped at altitudes ranging from 17,000 to 22,000 feet and timed to explode and spew a concentration of silver iodide crystals into the heart of moisture-laden clouds.

"Weathercord" was tested in the U.S. by the National Center for Atmospheric Research in 1965. The scientists who made the tests reported that it provided "in unit time and unit volume the highest concentration of nuclei available from any known source." It is these nuclei that make rain or snow fall from clouds that otherwise would not release moisture. The scientists added:

"Although of a preliminary nature the cloud-seeding tests . . . strongly suggest the effectiveness of the large concentrations of freezing nuclei . . . in modifying relatively thin supercooled clouds."

As far as Iranian officials are concerned, "Weathercord" works. They have renewed the rain-making company's contract for a third straight year.

Added water in Iranian reservoirs is costing about 60 cents an acre-foot. That compares with a range of about $3 to $15 an acre-foot for irrigation water in the Western U.S.

[From the Farmer-Stockman, Aug. 1971]

RAIN CLOUDS CAN BE MADE TO GROW!

(By Ferdie J. Deering)

Nearly two years ago the current drouth was forecast in The Farmer-Stockman by our long range weather forecasting service, Dr. Irving P. Krick and associates. They have been providing reliable weather information for our readers for more than 25 years.

So we asked Dr. Krick how long the drouth might be expected to last. His reply caused us to conclude that something ought to be done about the weather. Dr. Krick said:

"In our opinion this drouth started in 1970 and will continue to spread, probably peaking out around 1975. Characteristic signs are readily apparent in areas such as western Oklahoma, West Texas, and southern New Mexico. We anticipate the drouth, as it develops, will spread northward and eastward, working on up into states as far north as Illinois."

Southern California had the driest January, February and March in some 80 years and Florida has been trying to increase rainfall to keep rivers flowing into the Everglades to save birds and animals. The drouth already is extensive and, if it should be prolonged as Dr. Krick's calculations indicate, we face a serious time ahead.

Federal aid, in the form of loans, grants and cut-rate livestock feed, has been made available in many counties in the drouth areas. A recent issue of U.S. News & World Report quoted D. W. Fryrear, director of the USDA soil and water research station at Big Spring, Texas, as saying "the prospects are that we're going to hit some pretty dry periods in perhaps five of the next seven years."

Newsweek magazine quoted John White, Texas agriculture commissioner, as saying "It may be the worst drouth in our history."

Municipal water supplies are being rationed in numerous cities and towns this summer, and many of them face critical shortages. Their lakes and ponds are filled with runoff water from pastures and fields, and in many areas there just hasn't been enough rainfall to produce substantial runoff. One rancher joked: "Out our way, we'd need two inches of rain just to make it run off the black top road!"

The city of Lawton, Okla., which had a successful experience with cloud seeding by Krick's firm in the 1950s and 1960s decided to try again, but with a newly formed company. For various reasons, apparently, the project missed favorable cloud seeding opportunities during the spring rainy season.

An editorial in The Lawton Constitution and Morning Press said: "It should be apparent to all by now that the City Council made a mistake when it hired a local group to conduct weather modification operations in the Lawton area this spring." It went on to say that in view of the "disappointing performance" the council "would do well to cancel this contract and again consider hiring a firm experienced in the art of rain making."

A Southwestern Oklahoma rancher made a deal with a Coloradoan who declared his mission was to help subdue the drouth. The rancher agreed to pay $250 if the efforts produced at least 1.5 inches of rain within 15 days on his ranch. At last reports, he had not had to pay, although the rainmaker was proposing to contract rain for all of Jackson county at 10 cents per acre.

In Florida and also in various parts of Texas, efforts were being carried on to produce rainfall by cloud seeding from airplanes, a method declared inappropriate for economically sound large scale operations by meteorologists more than 20 years ago. Not that silver iodide crystals, the materials principally used as nuclei to produce moisture condensation in convective cumulus clouds, cannot be distributed by plane; they can be. But only under limited condition.

"Seeding operations 24 hours each day are impossible when seeding with aircraft," said Water Resources Development Corp., Pasadena, Calif., in 1950. "When conditions are most favorable for seeding, they are most dangerous for flying." Subsequent experience has shown this to be the case, and use of ground generators properly located to take

maximum advantage of seeding opportunities at lower cost are now the more acceptable method.

Nevertheless, on June 23, it was reported that two Air Force C–130 planes had been flying daily cloud-seeding missions since June 6 in an experimental project to stimulate rainfall. Francis X. Tobin, an official of the executive office of the President, said that the government is not claiming that the missions have resulted in additional precipitation but noted that the San Angelo, Texas, reesrvoir which was dry in early April, contained 16,000 acre-feet of water.

Success has been claimed for a federal weather plane in cloud seeding operations in Florida this spring. Meteorologist Joanne Simpson reported that thunderstorms followed cloud-seeding flights over South Florida early in May but the rain failed to break a record drouth or douse a 15,000-acre brush fire west of Miami.

Still she said: "It looks as if we have been very successful. We tried to get the rain to hit that fire near Miami but the clouds just wouldn't co-operate." This project also is called experimental.

An interesting experiment was reported recently by Energy Systems Division of Olin Corp. near St. Louis in southern Illinois. Technicians there had observed a visible plume of smoke from an intentional fire on their premises develop into a cloud with sufficient activity to cause rain and cloud-to-ground lightning.

Subsequent experiments confirmed the observation. In one case condensation occurred at 5,000 feet and the resulting artificial cumulus cloud measured 2600 feet in diameter and 1600 feet thick. Materials involved in this test were magnesium oxide particles, which apparently performed a function similar to that of silver iodide crystals. This does not prove that rain clouds can be formed, but it does demonstrate the effectiveness of certain nucleating materials.

In tests at the University of Denver, some 75 different compounds have been tested as cloudseeding nuclei, and 22 were reported to be effective.

In the 1950's, the City of Oklahoma City contracted with Water Resources Development Corp. to alleviate a critical water reserve shortage. When cloud seeding started March 15, 1955, Canton reservoir held only 1.411 acre feet of water. Three months later impounded storage was figured at 56,200 acre feet. A few days after termination of the contract, when water from the upper part of the drainage basin had reached the reservoir, storage amounted to 119,000 acre feet.

Two other Oklahoma City lakes also were filled prior to the end of the 3-months cloud seeding contract. Cloud seeding was accredited with 25 percent of the total gain, or about 50,000 acre feet, obtained at a cost of about 50 cents per acre foot.

As of Oct. 1971, the Big Bend Water Development Corp., Connell, Wash., will begin its 22nd year of continuously operated weather modification. Acting Secretary Ben F. Klindworth stated that officials feel they have had an average 20 percent increase in rainfall in the 220,000-acre project area.

The basic potential of cloud seeding to increase rainfall has been well known for more than a quarter of a century. In 1951, General Electric scientists were quoted in U.S. News & World Report: "There is no doubt whatever that heavy local rainfall can be brought about by seeding suitable clouds."

The distinction between making clouds and increasing rainfall from available clouds should be noted. In 1950, Dr. Irving P. Krick declared: "No one can make it rain when it isn't going to rain anyway. What the trained meteorological scientist can do is to help nature along by increasing the volume of rainfall available from any favorable cloud formation."

The U.S. weather bureau, now the National Weather Service, has resisted, denied and ridiculed the entire idea for years, and is widely regarded as being largely responsible for delaying application of weather modification knowledge.

In 1961, Congress authorized the Bureau of Reclamation to assume central responsibility for studying weather modification. Since then many millions of dollars have been spent on contract research projects, verifying what had been stated earlier, but to date the Bureau has not announced any plans for immediate use of what it has assembled in its voluminous research reports.

Much of this information has been published in a 531-page report titled "Project Skywater" (REC–ERC–71–2), available from Bureau of Reclamation, Division of Atmospheric Water Resources Management, Denver, Colo. It was briefly reviewed in the July 1971 issue of The Farmer-Stockman.

Earlier, April 10, 1971, to be exact, a news story from Washington quoted James L. Kerr, specialist in the Bureau's Atmospheric Water Resources Management program, as saying "it will be 1990 before rainmakers will be able to perform reliably in any part of the country."

Elsewhere in the same story, it was noted that the Bureau is increasing rainfall on a limited scale in experimental projects in several locations. Meanwhile, the Bureau's expenditures are running about $6.5 million per year to keep the research going.

In a speech delivered at Denver June 15, 1971, before the annual conference of the American Water Works Assn., Dr. Krick challenged the justification for the delay in application of research results. He said:

"It would appear that the lag in government acceptance of weather modification until the later 1960s has not given the various agencies involved sufficient time to carry out the necessary research and development, the training of personnel and other requirements to match the skill and experience available within the private sector of weather modification."

He cited evidence from operating projects where benefits are running as high as 200-to-1 in some agricultural areas. He also noted that benefit-cost ratios of the same order have been attained in municipal water supply, power production and forestry.

Editors of The Farmer-Stockman have examined much, but certainly not all, of the evidence that might be available on this subject. Here are our observations to date:

1. A need exists for continuous weather modification programs;

2. Research indicates the potential value of such a program;

3. To succeed, cloudseeding must be established on a long range basis, probably several years, over a wide area, probably several states;

4. Financing must be arranged for on a long-range basis;

5. Experienced private firms are available to do a good job.

[From the Farmer-Stockman, July, 1971]

PROJECT SKYWATER—RAINFALL PATTERNS NEED TO BE IMPROVED

Government weather scientists apparently are becoming convinced that nature's rainfall patterns can be improved.

Out of about 20 billion tons of water that flow daily over the continental United States, borne by prevailing west-to-east winds, only 10 percent is deposited as snow or rain on land areas. That which falls is unevenly distributed.

Man's efforts to do something about rainfall may be traced to prehistoric times. Success in them is not so readily identified. Within the past 25 years scientific procedures such as cloud seeding to produce more moisture from available clouds has been gaining in public credence.

For that reason an extensive program of research has been set up under the title "Project Skywater." In 1961 Congress authorized the Bureau of Reclamation, U. S. Dept. of Interior, to explore the potential of weather modification. This is being done under direction and co-ordination of the Bureau's Division of Atmospheric Water Resources Management, Denver, Colo., with studies contracted in more than a dozen states by various institutions.

Stated objectives of the work are to identify, explore, and establish the process by which clouds form and produce precipitation, and how these phenomena might be beneficially influenced by man.

The Bureau has recently published a compilation of research reports on these projects. Work done in laboratories, using scale models and computers, as well as field work, appear to substantiate in large measure previously advanced ideas regarding cloud seeding. Subsequent statements in this article are from these reports.

Meteorology Research Inc., one of the contractors, said that "summertime cumulus modification is on the threshold of a major breakthrough" toward operational weather modification. However, it was assumed that it would be profitable to seed isolated cumuli in the southwestern United States "only under certain environmental conditions."

One aim of cloud seeding is to increase the size of clouds so they will produce more rain. To be effective in "stimulating the dynamics" of isolated clouds, it was pointed out that the seeding must be done early enough in the cloud's lifetime to insure that the nucleation occurs during the growing period.

Studies show that seeded clouds grow larger in horizontal as well as vertical dimension, have a longer rain period, and have a higher rainfall than do the non-seeded cumuli. Studies were concerned with developments in both warm and cold cloud formations.

Texas A&M University made some 1,000 aircraft penetrations of warm clouds to evaluate their potential for precipitation. Most of the clouds studied were 6,000 to 10,000 feet in vertical dimensions with bases at about 4,000 feet above sea level. These clouds invariably were found to yield at least light rain by the time they have reached this size. Failure of many of them to grow larger was thought to be due to the dissipating effects of the rain.

Values of the maximum and average water contents for a cloud unit varied greatly. Water content tends to change with height, increasing up to levels about 9,000 feet above base, with a suggestion of a rather radical decrease above that. Relative water contents of the warm cumulus clouds in Texas tended to be larger than those of subtropical oceanic clouds and of hurricane clouds.

The Texas A&M report observes that although a cloud is not likely to continue growing after it reaches 10,000 to 13,000 feet, extracting available water might not be the only possibility. "This 'milking' logic assumes that nothing can be done to enhance the release of energy to make the cloud grow into something more productive," it says.

In the direct water extraction process, one would want to use very large nuclei which would form drops large enough to fall quickly without much added growth. In the energy-release method this would not be wanted because premature rainfall would stop the cloud's growth.

"Before seeding a cloud one must know what its intentions are," the Texas report notes. A cloud that is destined to break away into a big one under its own energy drive would not be suitable for seeding. A seedable cloud would be one that would be stunted in its growth if left alone.

The Northern Great Plains project began in 1969 in Western North Dakota. Aircraft equipped with silver iodide generators were used to seed suitable cold clouds either at cloud base or at cloud level. For comparison,

no seeding was done on one-fourth of the days when clouds considered suitable for seeding were present.

Physical factors that comprise a cloud's ability to produce moisture were long ago established as including temperature, moisture content, air flow, presence of naturally occurring freezing and condensation nuclei, among others.

Like a chemical catalyst, says the Northern Plains report, ice nuclei have the ability to trigger dramatic changes within a cloud—a conversion of water vapor to water droplets to ice crystals, with an accompanying release of heat. Without a sufficient number of ice nuclei, clouds even with great volumes of water may glower and threaten endlessly but still decline to send their moisture earthward.

Tools and techniques to accurately measure ice nuclei in the atmosphere are being developed. As storms are constantly in motion the ability to "target" rain or snow from a seeded storm to a particular area poses a major challenge.

Phases of this problem are being studied in several places. New Mexico State University undertook to measure diffusion processes of artificial nucleants into selected storm systems. It noted that actual dimensions of the nuclei plume are difficult to predict and that target and control areas cannot be precisely delineated.

At South Dakota School of Mines & Technology a study was set up to define effects of seeding over several thousand square miles. Illinois State Water Survey has tried to provide quantitative estimates of the effects of cloud seeding on crop production.

State of Washington set up a program to determine the mechanisms by which precipitation develops in water storms over the Cascade mountains, and to investigate the feasibility of increasing and redistributing snowfall in this area by seeding clouds.

Earlier work there indicated that material dispersed from ground-based generators was likely to be confined to the valleys rather than to be carried up into the clouds.

In California, Aerometric Research produced evidence that increases in precipitation from seeded convective bands was occurring in areas well removed from the seeding source. A dynamic response to seeding within the convective band itself was thought to be the reason for a downwind increase in precipitation, but the reason for a skip in rainfall between the primary seeding effect and the downwind area was described as "obscure."

Colorado State University used scaled topographic models and laboratory techniques to study the transport and dispersion of cloud seeding material over mountainous terrain. The potential for increase of winter precipitation is estimated at 30% in the Colorado River Basin Pilot Project area. Randomized operations on a 60% seed, 40% no-seed basis would yield an 18% increase in winter precipitation.

Techniques for seeding clouds are being tested at a number of locations, including acetone generators, pyrotechnic devices, fuses, and vertical-fall pyrotechnics. Although silver iodide crystals are the kind most commonly used, the University of Denver tested a total of 75 compounds as nuclei and 22 were found to be effective. The University of Nevada is searching for a fluorescent dye which can be traced but which would not reduce effectiveness of the nuclei.

This could be important for several reasons. One is the possibility that clouds may be inadvertently seeded by air pollution. In Utah State University studies, the geographic location of industries, population centers and traffic concentrations in the Salt Lake Valley suggested that a significant number of ice-forming nuclei are coming from these sources.

It was noted that existence of sufficient background nuclei over the Salt Lake Valley could affect the results of deliberate cloud seeding activities. Overseeding is a possibility.

In Florida, possible effects of nuclei from fires that burned some 52,000 acres of vegetation during the 1967 drouth were studied in an Environmental Science Services Administration project. It was shown that the rain fallout from the large cumuli was reduced slightly and rainfall from smaller clouds could be significanty reduced if they formed in the vicinity of the fires.

This same project revealed other problem areas that might arise in connection with cloud seeding programs. A series of cloud seeding experiments was reduced to a single effort in 1970 for two reasons. First, heavy rains and flooding in March damaged crops severely just before the April tests were scheduled. Then in April the tomato harvest was under way and growers did not want rain. A delicate public relations situation developed, with political undertones, and further cloud seeding was postponed.

Closely associated with this type of development is the question of who should decide when to seed clouds and how should responsibility be established in the event of damage or loss. A study of legal aspects of cloud seeding was set up at Harvard University.

One of the obstacles Harvard encountered was to find a way to prove "causation" in weather modification for the purpose of equitably compensating parties who may suffer losses.

The Harvard report cited several suggestions for creation of a federal regulatory commission to pre-empt the entire field of weather modification, perhaps set up along lines of the Atomic Energy Commission. Disagreement exists over which agency or agencies should have jurisdiction, in the event federal legislation is passed covering weather modification.

A major legal obstacle to holding states liable is the doctrine of sovereign immunity. The eleventh amendment would bar a suit by a private individual against a state in the federal courts, and it might not be possible to force a state to entertain lawsuits against itself in its own courts.

Obviously, human nature and varying requirements or preferences will add to the scientific problem of weather modification. Even though farmers may agree that more rain is needed, they may have a hard time concurring on a date if one has hay on the ground to be baled, another is preparing to plant, a third has crops that need watering, and a nearby rancher has stock tanks that need to be filled.

While weather modification may be regarded largely as a rural activity, it must be noted that water for lakes and reservoirs that serve cities and towns comes mainly from the countryside. Thus the potentialities for improved precipitation through cloud seeding should be of general interest to the entire population.

Editors of The Farmer-Stockman are convinced that we can do much more about alleviating our weather problems that we have done in the past. We will continue to provide our readers with a reliable long range weather forecast from a well-informed source that has had long experience in the business. We also will bring you available information about weather modification.

This could be the year we ought to do something about the weather besides complain!

[From the Farmer-Stockman, July, 1971]

OUR EDITORIAL POLICY—MORE RAIN WHEN NEEDED

(By Ferdie J. Deering)

It is now more than 25 years since Dr. Irving P. Krick returned from military duty and set up in business with the weather.

On assignment with the U. S. Military forces based in England, Dr. Krick had been successful in forecasting clearing weather needed for pinpoint bombing after Allied troops landed on the coast of France.

Back in the United States, Dr. Krick had undertaken to provide weather forecasting services needed by gas companies in regard to advance preparations for peak fuel loads, by bathing suit manufacturers who wanted to know when the weather would turn warm, and for other types of businesses.

Editors of The Farmer-Stockman had been trying to get the U.S. weather bureau to provide a long range forecast for farmers, but the best we could get was a report on what the weather had been in the same month a year earlier. In this country that isn't a whole lot of help. So we turned to Dr. Krick and he agreed to provide The Farmer-Stockman with a long-range forecast, first to be published regularly in any farm magazine. He's still providing the service.

About the same time, Dr. Krick advanced the idea of seeding rain clouds to extract more moisture from them. Other scientists had established that only a fraction of the moisture that crosses the country falls as snow or rain. They had also learned that this could be increased if suitable nuclei were provided for collecting moisture. Dr. Krick assembled the information, added some research of his own, and took the whole idea to the field.

Results of these efforts were some successes, other instances where hoped-for results did not materialize, and a considerable amount of controversy, largely generated by government bureaucrats. They weren't providing long range forecasts and they didn't believe in cloudseeding, but they didn't want anybody else fooling around with the weather, which they seemed to regard as their own "private public property."

After several years of profitless efforts to establish cloud seeding as a means of increasing available moisture, Dr. Krick was compelled to take his work into foreign countries to keep it going. The relentless attacks from Washington undermined public confidence in the theory, regardless of results.

The bureaucrats then turned their attention to each other, disputing which bureau should operate the weather and related services. Finally, the Bureau of Reclamation got its bid in effectively and in 1961 Congress designated it as the agency to explore the potential of weather modification.

In reviewing statements published in 1950 and 1951 by Dr. Krick, we find that a large percentage of the research merely verifies his claims. None of it contradicts his pioneering procedures, as far as we could determine. The major difference seems to be that Dr. Krick has tried his theories in the field, testing many different cloud formations and seeded entire storm systems, while much of the Bureau of Reclamation research has been done in laboratories and has yet to be fully field tested. One of Dr. Krick's projects in New Mexico has been in operation for 21 years and was green this spring when most of the surrounding country was still very dry.

[From the Wichita Eagle, Wednesday, Aug. 4, 1971]

MOISTURE WANTED—RAINMAKER GETS JOB UNCLE SAM TRIED FOR

OKLAHOMA CITY. — Gov. David Hall's Weather Modification Study Committee has recommended a California rainmaker over a federal water reclamation bureau to bring relief to drought-stricken southwestern counties.

The committee Monday recommended that Irving P. Krick's Water Resources Development Corp. of Palm Springs, Calif., be hired to seed a 10,000-square mile area of the state for a year beginning this month. The recommendation came after presentations by Krick and by Clement J. Todd, assistant chief of the federal Bureau of Reclamation's atmos-

pheric water resources management division.

Todd, who flew to Oklahoma City from his Denver headquarters for the session with the 14-member committee, said the government proposed a 1-month experimental rainmaking program for the entire state.

Committee members were critical of the federal plan's cost, which was limited, Todd said, to $210,000 for the one-month program. Most of the money, he said, would go for hiring airplanes for seeding the clouds.

Krick said he would guarantee to increase rainfall in the area 20 to 30 percent over usual amounts by employing silver iodide generators. The generators, he said, would produce 500 billion silver iodide crystals per minute which would be borne upward on the natural updraft into likely-looking clouds.

Krick was hired by Oklahoma City in 1953 to raise runoff into lakes. Later, he was declared not responsible for $70,900 in damages for which he was sued by three El Reno residents who blamed him for a 6.45-inch deluge which struck there in November 1953.

[From the Daily Oklahoman, Aug 3, 1971]

SOONER RAIN PANEL FAVORS HIRING OF KRICK—FEDERAL PROJECT DRAWS CRITICISM FROM COMMITTEE

(By James Johnson)

Gov. Hall's Weather Modification Study Committee Monday recommended that California rainmaker Irving P. Krick be hired for a year to make rain in a dozen drought-stricken western counties.

The move followed presentations by Krick and Clement J. Todd, assistant chief of the federal Bureau of Reclamation's atmospheric water resources management division.

Todd, who flew to Oklahoma City from his Denver headquarters for the session with the 14-member study committee, said the government proposed a one-month experimental rainmaking program for the entire state.

Committee members were critical of the federal plan's cost, which was limited, Todd said, to $210,000 for the one-month study.

The committee's recommendation to Hall was that Krick's Water Resources Development Corp., of Palm Springs, Calif., be hired to seed a 10,000-square-mile area of the state for a year beginning this month.

Krick said he would employ silver iodide generators located in numerous positions on the ground around the target counties.

The generators, he said, would produce 500 billion silver iodide crystals per minute which would be borne upward on the natural updraft into likely-looking clouds.

The idea, he said, was to make the clouds more efficient.

Krick said he would guarantee to increase rainfall in the area 20 to 30 percent over what it would have been otherwise.

Asked whether the broadcast submicroscopic silver iodide crystals could cause air or water pollution, Krick snorted, "Nonsense. You don't put out enough to equal a cigarette."

Todd warned that the federal atmospheric water resources management division considers Krick's system too broad in scope.

"We are very concerned about ground seeding of convective clouds," he said. "We think you will hit the ones you should and the ones you shouldn't."

Todd said the government's proposed 1-month study program would have employed airplanes for seeding specific clouds with fertilizer.

He said Oklahoma would have presented a good situation in which to study for the first time the hydroscopic cloud seeding program over a large area.

After the meeting, he said the government would not continue with the experiment if Oklahomans do not show a desire for the program.

Under the federal program, a C97 transport fitted with spray nozzles would have been leased from a California firm for the work, Todd said.

Light planes and radar would target the clouds to be seeded and then the C97 would have dumped liquid ammonium nitrate and urea into them.

The federal plan was scored as overly grandiose when Todd told of a separate light airplane bearing special equipment which would have flown through the rainstorm "acting as a flying rain gauge."

One committee member retorted, "We will measure the rain if somebody will produce it."

Todd said the plan would have been funded by the federal Office of Emergency Preparedness in response to a request by Gov. Hall for federal aid.

He said his Denver headquarters had told the OEP that a 2-month program would have been better.

Krick made no secret of his feud with federal rainmaking officials which he said dated back 20 years.

He said his once-extensive operation was curtailed after "the U.S. Weather Bureau put out a lot of divisive propaganda."

He said he didn't think much of the way the federal government makes rain, either.

"We have a superior method to chasing clouds," he said.

"We don't chase clouds and hope that they will produce rain somewhere where someone wants it."

Krick said we are entering a dry era which will culminate in 1975.

For the next 9 months, he said, Oklahoma will experience normal rainfall in September, dry weather from October through March and more moist weather in April and May.

[From the Daily Oklahoman, Aug. 4, 1971]

TEXAS LOOKING AT RAINMAKING

(By James Johnson)

DALLAS.—Texas agricultural leaders Tuesday indicated they will seriously study joining Oklahoma in a rainmaking program to break the drought.

In an informal session, representatives of many Texas agricultural interests and state officials heard Ferdie J. Deering, chairman of the Oklahoma Weather Modification Study Committee, tell of his committee's recommendation for Oklahoma to hire California rainmaker Irving P. Krick to seed clouds in the State's drought-ridden southwestern corner.

Afterward, John White, Texas agriculture commissioner, told other participants, "I'll be calling some of you tomorrow."

The group also took tentative steps toward organization similar to the Oklahoma committee. Don C. King, Fort Worth, secretary-general manager of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association, said he would urge White to name a formal committee which would select the area of Texas which would participate in the drought-breaking attempt if Texas decides to commit itself to a joint venture with Oklahoma.

Deering said Texas participation could be the beginning of a major wet-down program covering 300,000 to 500,000 square miles of the dry southwestern states. Such a program would include half of Oklahoma, he said, rather than the present 12 counties.

The group heard Krick, of Palm Springs, Calif., president of the Water Resources Development Corporation, explain that dry regions tend to spread and enlarge. However, he said that once an area is wet, the moisture which evaporates produces more local rain if clouds can be forced to precipitate. This is the rainmaker's job.

The sticking point for many was money. "We are interested in anything that will bring water," declared Charles Bragg of Stanford, executive vice president of the Rolling Plains Cotton Growers. "Our people would be interested in a large scale project." Bragg added that he thought such a project would require tax money.

"This looks like an opportune time to discuss such a project on an area basis," said J. T. Woodson, Waco, president of the Texas Farm Bureau.

Albert Harp, Lubbock, executive director of the Grain Sorghum Producers Association, received reassurance from Krick that rainmaking in one area would not deprive its neighbors of their share of rainfall.

Without committing the Texas state government, John T. Carr, assistant to the executive director of the Texas Water Development Board, summed up the state's philosophy this way: "We are in weather modification and there is no doubt about it."

McGOVERN'S CRIPPLED PLANE AND A MINOR MIRACLE

HON. JAMES ABOUREZK

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. ABOUREZK. Mr. Speaker. I am pleased to be able to share with my colleagues the following article which was published in the early 1960's regarding the fine war record of Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN. It follows:

MCGOVERN'S CRIPPLED PLANE AND A MINOR MIRACLE

(By Fletcher Knebel)

NOTE.—Top men of the Kennedy administration represent the full political flowering of the World War II veteran's generation. Almost all of the Kennedy officials fought against the Axis in 1942–45. Many had fine war records. Some looked at death more than once. These are the stories of what they did.

GEORGE S. M'GOVERN, ADMINISTRATOR OF THE FOOD-FOR-PEACE PROGRAM

It was cold and it was five days before Christmas, 1944. A formation of double-tailed B–24 Liberator bombers, more than 400 strong, flew from Italy toward Pilsen in German-occupied Czechoslovakia.

Mission: Bomb and destroy the Skoda ammunition works.

Twenty-eight bombers of the 455th group, 15th air force, clung tight together as they rode at 25,000 feet. Sunlight streaked their wings as they flew above the undercast and the dirty weather below.

Piloting the "Dakota Queen" was 1st Lt. George S. McGovern of Mitchell, S.D., 22 years old, six feet and 170 pounds. He was a serious but easy-spoken lad and he chatted with his co-pilot, 2nd Lt. Ralph C. (Bill) Rounds, another 22-year-old fresh from the University of Wichita in Kansas.

Occasionally he twitted Rounds, for the co-pilot had taken to reading the New Testament in flight "to keep his mind off the mission," a practice McGovern himself followed at times when the plane droned on under automatic pilot.

TROUBLE

About one hour short of the target on the long haul to Pilsen, the No. 2 inboard engine stopped dead. McGovern feathered the prop and increased power on the other three engines to maintain his place in formation.

"Any time you lost an engine up there," recalled Rounds years later, "there was no trouble back at base if you dropped out and returned. A lot of guys did it. But George decided to go ahead.

" 'So we're minus an engine,' he said. 'Let's go.' And I agreed."

The formation sighted the Skoda works and began the bomb run, racing through a hail of flak. Several small pieces of shrapnel picked at the skin of McGovern's plane. Then, 30 seconds shy of the drop point, the No. 3 inboard engine cut out.

The big motor lost oil pressure so rapidly that McGovern was unable to feather the propeller. It became an ugly runaway windmill, creating enormous drag and reducing the effective power of the big bomber bird to about one and a half engines.

ABOUT 600 MILES

McGovern's bombardier dropped the plane's stick of bombs on schedule, then the plane turned for home. It was more than 600 miles to the 455th's base south of Foggia in Italy and now McGovern and his crew of nine men were alone and unprotected.

The formation sped away as the cripple began limping home, mushing down about 100 feet every minute.

Sam Adams of Milwaukee, the navigator, urged that they should cut slightly east over Yugoslavia since the aerial chart showed fewer flak stations there. McGovern flew over Yugoslavia, heading toward the Adriatic Sea.

Down, down, down went the plane as the minutes dragged by.

When the plane came out over the Adriatic, it was down to 6,000 feet and now there began a frantic rush to lighten the plane. Overboard went nine heavy flak suits, long belts of machine gun ammunition. Waist hatch guns, oxygen tanks, chart table, anything that could be yanked up and jettisoned was hurled through the hatches.

At this low altitude the late afternoon sky was dreary. A fine drizzle fell from the overcast and the sun was only a memory. But one bit of fortune, if it could be called that, had come the way of the limping plane.

No German fighter had tailed the cripple. It was that time of war when the Luftwaffe, short of planes, was desperately defending the German heartland.

Suddenly flames shot from the No. 3 engine with its windmilling prop. As though from a dream, a paragraph from an army air forces "tech order" on the B–24 swam through McGovern's mind: When an engine catches fire, it takes an average of five minutes to eat through the firewall and explode the gasoline wing tank.

And then a minor miracle.

Dead ahead appeared the isle of Vis. If you look at a map of central Europe, you will see Vis as a dot off the coast of Yugoslavia. To McGovern and his crew, it appeared that minute as big as Sicily, for they had been briefed time and again about a British fighter air-strip on the island, a dirt runway that was used for Spitfires.

"COMING IN"

Rounds raised the Vis tower by radio and announced that a B–24, with one engine afire and another dead, was coming in for an emergency landing. McGovern made a steep diving turn toward the 2,400-foot strip, a half mile shorter than any he had ever tried to land a four-engine plane on.

As the Dakota Queen staggered down in flames toward the runway, the crew could see the results of other attempted bomber landings. On a hill that rose steeply from the end of the air strip were the charred skeletons of big American warplanes that hadn't made it.

"We've only got one try," thought every member of the crew. "We can't go around on this one."

McGovern set the wheels down at the very end of the runway, using every inch of flaps. Then he slammed on the brakes. The tires screeched and smoked with the effort, but—another little miracle—the flames in No. 3 engine went out with the suddenly reduced flow of air.

With both McGovern and Rounds on the yoke, the big plane lurched to a halt only a few feet from the end of the cleared dirt. Dead ahead were rocks and the start of a sharp incline. A British foam truck was already spraying the smoldering engine.

KISS GROUND

Like schoolboys at recess, the ten men poured out of the bomb bay of the Dakota Queen and rushed off the runway. Half of them threw themselves on the ground and kissed it, while McGovern and Rounds hugged each other. Several hours later a two-engine transport from Italy came to pick them up and the men laughed and sang in their bucket seats all the way back to Foggia.

For his handling of the distressed plane, the man who had left Dakota Wesleyan University in his junior year to fly for the army air forces got the Distinguished Flying Cross, but like many airmen, there were other missions he would never forget.

On his seventh bombing flight out of Italy, this one hitting an oil refinery near Vienna, Austria, he lost a right tire on takeoff and had to jerk the big bomber off the ground.

The tower gave him the option of returning, but he pressed ahead on the 10-hour mission, bombed the target and returned to land the plane safety on one tire and one battered rim.

FLAK, FLAK, FLAK

On his 35th mission in early May, 1945, McGovern flew with a formation which bombed the railroad yards at Linz, Austria. The Germans had pulled into the Austrian pocket, squeezed by the Americans from the west and and the Russians from the east. They lugged all their anti aircraft guns with them and the American flight that day had to dance across what looked like a fiery pavement of flak.

McGovern's plane was pierced by chunks of shrapnel which tore gashes in the wings and fuselage, slit the leg of a crewman, Tex Ashlock, and burst through the windshield between McGovern and Rounds to slam against the steel overhang behind them. The A.A. fire knocked out the plane's hydraulic system, but did not hit an engine.

McGovern and Rounds brought the plane back to base near Foggia after cranking down the landing gear manually and getting some flap by manual operation.

The crew had tied parachutes to stanchions beside the waist hatch and tossed out one chute on either side to brake the plane as it roared down the runway with nothing else to slow its speed. The plane went over the end and wound up in a ditch with the B–24's double tail sticking up ingloriously to the sky. One man cracked an ankle in the jolting stop, but there were no other injuries.

It was McGovern's last mission. Five days later Germany surrendered and the war in Europe was over.

CIVIL LIBERTIES REPRESSION: FACT OR FICTION?

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I strongly recommend the following article to my colleagues by one of Virginia's best known and highly respected lawyers, Lewis F. Powell, Jr., of Richmond. Mr. Lewis is a former president of the American Bar Association, a former chairman of our State Board of Education, and a member of the panel named by the President to study the Department of Defense.

The article appeared in the Richmond Times Dispatch and is a timely and scholarly discussion of civil liberties in our day. I commend it to you:

CIVIL LIBERTIES REPRESSION: FACT OR FICTION

(By Lewis F. Powell, Jr.)

At a time when slogans often substitute for rational thought, it is fashionable to charge that "repression" of civil liberties is widespread. This charge—directed primarily against law enforcement—is standard leftist propaganda. It is also made and widely believed on the campus, in the arts and theater, in the pulpit, and among some of the media. Many persons genuinely concerned about civil liberties thus join in promoting or accepting the propaganda of the radical left.

A recent syndicated article by AP writer Bernard Gavzer, cited several such persons. According to Prof. Charles Reich of Yale, America "is at the brink of . . . a police state" Prof. Allan Derswhowitz of Harvard decries the "contraction of our civil liberties."

The charge of repression is not a rifle shot at occasional aberrations. Rather, it is a sweeping shotgun blast at "the system," which is condemned as systematically repressive of those accused of crime, of minorities and of the right to dissent.

Examples ritualistically cited are the "plot" against Black Panthers, the indictment of the Berrigans, the forthcoming trial of Angela Davis and the mass arrests during the Washington Mayday riots.

The purpose of this article is to examine, necessarily in general terms, the basis for the charge of repression. Is it fact or fiction?

There are, of course some instances of repressive action. Officials are sometimes overzealous; police do employ unlawful means or excess force; and injustices do occur even in the courts. Such miscarriages occur in every society. The real test is whether these are episodic departures from the norm, or whether they are as charged part of a system of countenanced repression.

The evidence is clear that the charge is a false one. America is not a repressive society. The Bill of Rights is widely revered and zealously safeguarded by the courts. There is in turn no significant threat to individual freedom in this country by law enforcement.

Solicitor General Griswold, former dean of the Harvard Law School and member of the Civil Rights Commission, recently addressed this issue in a talk at the University of Virginia. He stated that there is greater freedom and less repression in America than in any other country.

So much for the general framework of the debate about alleged repression. What are the specific charges?

The attack has focused on wiretapping. There seems almost to be a conspiracy to confuse the public. The impression studiously cultivated is of massive eavesdropping and snooping by the FBI and law enforcement agencies. The right of privacy, cherished by all, is said to be widely threatened.

Some politicians have joined in the chorus of unsubstantiated charges. Little effort is made to delineate the purposes or the actual extent of electronic surveillance.

The facts, in summary, are as follows: The Department of Justice employs wiretapping in two types of situations: (i) against criminal conduct such as murder, kidnapping, extortion, and narcotics offenses; and (ii) in national security cases.

Wiretapping against crime was expressly authorized by Congress in 1968. But the rights of suspects are carefully safeguarded. There must be a prior court order, issued only upon a showing of probable cause. The place and duration are strictly controlled. Ultimate disclosure of the taps is required. There are heavy penalties for unauthorized surveillance. Any official or FBI agent who employes a wiretap without a court order in a criminal case is subject to imprisonment and fine.

During 1969 and 1970, such federal wiretaps were employed in only 309 cases. More

than 900 arrests resulted, with some 500 persons being indicted—including several top leaders of organized crime.

The government also employs wiretaps in counter-intelligence activities involving national defense and internal security. The 1968 Act left this delicate area to the inherent power of the president.

Civil libertarians oppose the use of wiretapping in all cases, including its use against organized crime and foreign espionage. Since the 1968 Act, however, the attack has focused on its use in internal security cases and some courts have distinguished these from foreign threats. The issue will be before the Supreme Court at the next term.

There can be legitimate concern whether a president should have this power with respect to internal "enemies." There is, at least in theory, the potential for abuse. This possibility must be balanced against the general public interest in preventing violence (e.g. bombing of Capitol) and organized attempts to overthrow the government.

One of the current myths is that the Department of Justice is usurping new powers. The truth is that wiretapping, as the most effective detection means, has been used against espionage and subversion for at least three decades under six presidents.

There may have been a time when a valid distinction existed between external and internal threats. But such a distinction is now largely meaningless. The radical left, strongly led and with a growing base of support, is plotting violence and revolution. Its leaders visit and collaborate with foreign Communist enemies. Freedom can be lost as irrevocably from revolution as from foreign attack.

The question is often asked why, if prior court authorization to wiretap is required in ordinary criminal cases, it should not also be required in national security cases. In simplest terms the answer given by Government is the need for secrecy.

Foreign powers, notably the Communist ones, conduct massive espionage and subversive operations against America. They are now aided by leftist radical organizations and their sympathizers in this country. Court-authorized wiretapping requires a prior showing of probable cause and the ultimate disclosure of sources. Public disclosure of this sensitive information would seriously handicap our counter-espionage and countersubversive operations.

As Atty. Gen. John Mitchell has stated, prohibition of electronic surveillance would leave America as the "only nation in the world" unable to engage effectively in a wide area of counter-intelligence activities necessary to national security.

Apparently as a part of a mindless campaign against the FBI, several nationally known political leaders have asserted their wires were tapped or that they were otherwise subject to surveillance. These charges received the widest publicity from the news media.

The fact is that not one of these politicians has been able to prove his case. The Justice Department has branded the charges as false.

The outcry against wiretapping is a tempest in a teapot. There are 210 million Americans. There are only a few hundred wiretaps annually, and these are directed against people who prey on their fellow citizens or who seek to subvert our democratic form of government. Law-abiding citizens have nothing to fear.

In the general assault on law enforcement, charges of police repression have become a reflexive response by many civil libertarians as well as by radicals.

Examples are legion. Young people are being incited not to respect law officers but to regard them as "pigs". Black Panther literature, in the vilest language, urges the young to assault the police.

The New York Times and the Washington Post reported, as established fact, that 28 Panthers had been gunned down by police since January 1968. Ralph Abernathy attributed the death of Panther leaders to a "calculated design of genocide". Julian Bond charged that Panthers are being "decimated by police assassination arranged by the federal police apparatus." Even Whitney Young referred to "nearly 30 Panthers murdered by law enforcement officials."

These charges, upon investigation (by the New Yorker magazine, among others), turned out to be erroneous. The facts are that two—possible four at most—Panthers may have been shot by police without clear justification. Many of the 28 Panthers were killed by other Panthers. There is no evidence whatever of a genocide conspiracy.

But the truth rarely overtakes falsehood—especially when the latter is disseminated by prestigious newspapers. Millions of young Americans, especially blacks, now believe these false charges. There is little wonder that assaults on police are steadily increasing.

The latest outcry against law enforcement was provoked by the mass arrests in Washington on May 3. Some 20,000 demonstrators, pursuant to carefully laid plans, sought to bring the federal government to a halt.

This was unlike prior demonstrations in Washington, as the avowed purpose of this one was to shut down the government. The mob attempted to block main traffic arteries during the early morning rush hours. Violence and property destruction were not insignificant. Some 39 policemen were injured. Indeed, Deputy Atty. Gen. Kleindienst has revealed that the leaders of this attack held prior consultations with North Vietnamese officials in Stockholm.

Yet, because thousands were arrested, the American Civil Liberties Union and other predictable voices cried repression and brutality. The vast majority of those arrested were released, as evidence adequate to convict a particular individual is almost impossible to obtain in a faceless mob.

The alternative to making mass arrests was to surrender the Government to insurrectionaries. This would have set a precedent of incalculable danger. It also would have allowed a mob to deprive thousands of law-abiding Washington citizens of their rights to use the streets and to have access to their offices and homes.

Those who charge repression say that dissent is suppressed and free speech denied. Despite the wide credence given this assertion, it is sheer nonsense. There is no more open society in the world than America. No other press is as free. No other country accords its writers and artists such untrammeled freedom. No solzhenitsyns are persecuted in America.

What other government would allow the Chicago Seven, while out on bail, to preach revolution across the land, vastly enriching themselves in the process?

What other country would tolerate in wartime the crescendo of criticism of government policy? Indeed, what other country would allow its citizens—including some political leaders—to negotiate privately with the North Vietnamese enemy?

Supreme Court decisions sanctify First Amendment freedoms. There is no prior restraint of any publication, except possibly in flagrant breaches of national security. There is virtually no recourse for libel, slander or even incitement to revolution.

The public, including the young, are subjected to filth and obscenities—openly published and exhibited.

The only abridgement of free speech in this country is not by government. Rather, it comes from the radical left—and their bemused supporters—who do not tolerate in others the rights they insist upon for themselves.

Prof. Herbert Marcuse of California, Marxist idol of the New Left, freely denounces "capitalist repression" and openly encourages revolution. At the same time he advocates denial of free speech to those who disagree with his "progressive" views.

It is common practice; especially on the campus, for leftists to shout down with obscenities any moderate or conservative speaker or physically to deny such speaker the rostrum.

A recurring theme in the repression syndrome is that Black Panthers and other dissidents cannot receive a fair trial.

The speciousness of this view has been demonstrated recently by acquittals in the New Haven and New York Panther cases—the very ones with respect to which the charge of repression was made by nationally known educators and ministers.

The rights of accused persons—without regard to race or belief—are more carefully safeguarded in America than in any other country. Under our system the accused is presumed to be innocent; the burden of proof lies on the state; guilt must be proved beyond reasonable doubt; public jury trial is guaranteed; and a guilty verdict must be unanimous.

In recent years, dramatic decisions of the Supreme Court have further strengthened the rights of accused persons and correspondingly limited the powers of law enforcement. There are no constitutional decisions in other countries comparable to those rendered in the cases of Escobedo and Miranda.

Rather than "repressive criminal justice," our system subordinates the safety of society to the rights of persons accused of crime. The need is for greater protection—not of criminals but of law-abiding citizens.

A corollary to the "fair trial" slander is the charge that radicals are framed and tried for political reasons. This is the world-wide Communist line with respect to Angela Davis. Many Americans repeat this charge against their own country, while raising no voice against standard practice of political and secret trials in Communist countries.

The radical left, with wide support from the customary camp followers, also is propagandizing the case of the Berrigans.

The guilt or innocence of these people remains to be determined by juries of their peers in public trials. But the crimes charged are hardly "political." In the Davis case a judge and three others were brutally murdered. The Berrigans, one of whom stands convicted of destroying draft records, are charged with plots to bomb and kidnap.

Some trials in our country have been politicized—but not by government. A new technique, recently condemned by Chief Justice Warren Burger, has been developed by the Kunstlers and others who wish to discredit and destroy our system. Such counsel and defendants deliberately seek to turn courtrooms into Roman spectacles—disrupting the trial, shouting obscenities and threatening violence. It is they—not the system—who demean justice.

The answer to all of this was recently given by former California Chief Justice Roger J. Traynor, who said:

"It is irresponsible to echo such demagogic nonsense as the proposition that one group or another in this country cannot get a fair trial. . . No country in the world has done more to insure fair trials."

America has its full share of problems. But significant or systematic government repression of civil liberties is not one of them.

The radical left—expert in such matters—knows the charge of repression is false. It is a cover for leftist-inspired violence and repression. It is also a propaganda line designed to undermine confidence in our free institutions, to brainwash the youth and ultimately to overthrow our democratic system.

It is unfortunate that so many nonradical Americans are taken in by this leftist line. They unwittingly weaken the very institutions of freedom they wish to sustain. They

may hasten the day when the heel of repression is a reality—not from the sources now recklessly defamed but from whatever tyranny follows the overthrow of representative government.

This is the greatest danger to human liberty in America.

THE NATION'S ECONOMY

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the July 31 edition of the Lynchburg News included an excellent editorial on the subject of the Nation's economy.

I ask unanimous consent that this editorial, entitled "Day of Reckoning," be printed in the extensions of remarks. The editor of the Lynchburg News is F. James Murdock.

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

[From the Lynchburg News (Va.), July 31, 1971]

DAY OF RECKONING

Fifteen years ago this nation handled one-third of the world's trade. Now we're down to one-fifth. June marked the third straight month that we imported more than we exported. For the first six months of the year, we have imported $373 million more than we sold abroad. At the rate we're going, we could wind up with the first annual trade deficit since 1893.

Why? The answer should be obvious: it just costs too much to manufacture American goods. We're pricing ourselves out of the market—at home and abroad. But nobody pays any real attention to this root cause, apparently. At a time when Japanese steel is flooding our home markets, our steel workers are considering a strike, which can only result in further driving up the price of our steel and thereby worsening its competitive chances. The railroads are striking. The postal and telephone workers recently struck, and won higher wages and fringe benefits, all of which will be passed on to their consumers. These consumers, caught in the squeeze, will have to raise the prices on their products. And so it goes.

In addition to driving up the prices of our products, those settlements are creating unemployment. Consider the case of the Frigidaire Division of General Motors in Dayton, Ohio:

Last November the United Auto Workers forced Frigidaire to grant them a new contract providing wage and fringe benefits comparable to those the auto workers got. The contract called for $2 more an hour than appliance workers in other companies.

The increased labor costs drove up the price of Frigidaire's products to the point where the company could not meet the prices of foreign and domestic competition. Sales dropped. So Frigidaire did the only thing it could do to stay in business: it began laying off workers. So far, 3,220 employees have been handed their pink slips in the last seven months—more than 25 per cent of the work force.

Our wage and fringe benefit demands have wrecked the textile industry—in comparison to what it once was—and are seriously menacing the shoe industry. We can no longer compete in the manufacture of radios and televisions—the market is dominated by imports.

But no attempt is made to hold down the price of manufacturing. Instead, business and labor look to the Federal Government to bail them out. But what can the Government do? Impose wage and price controls? What good will this do, unless wages and prices are rolled BACK to a point where our products can compete? And nobody, but nobody, is going to stand still for a wage cut during an inflationary period. The Government tried that a few years ago with the ill-fated surcharge tax. The theory was that if Government took more money out of the nation's paychecks, the people would have less to spend, and this would bring prices down. It didn't. Prices continued to rise, but people had less money to pay for them. And Government, of course, did not curb its deficit spending one bit, and this more than any other factor at the time contributed to the inflation.

There is one other factor which has adversely influenced our trade position: we are rapidly becoming a nation of service industries instead of a nation of producers and exporters. But the economy stands or falls on its production.

We would not be so bad off if productivity increases matched wage and fringe benefit increases, but it has not. The cost per unit could be held stable, or reduced, if productivity had increased. When it does not increase, the unit cost goes up, and therefore the price per unit.

Once upon a time our products were so superior that people found them a better bargain even at the higher prices. This is no longer true. And in some fields, foreign products are superior to ours, and cost far less.

There are no indications that Government is even considering curbing its deficit spending. Even those who blame the Vietnam war for the deficits, want to spend the money now being spent on the war, on welfare state programs, revealing that they want to continue the deficit philosophy.

There is only one way out of the mess, and that is to lower the price of our products in world competition. The only answer, other than a national wage cut, is to increase productivity. There are no signs that is imminent. Therefore, our trade deficits are bound to continue. And no nation, as no individual, can remain solvent while spending more than it, or he, earns. The nation already owes so much that there is serious doubt that it can ever pay it back, so that for all practical purposes, we are bankrupt. And the deficits pile up every year. We are paying $20 billion a year in tax money now on the interest on the national debt and the amount continues to rise. We are called the richest nation in the world, but the truth of the matter is, we are not. We are only living like it, and passing the bills on to our children. There must come a day of reckoning.

FREEDOM FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a year ago I addressed the House directing the Members' attention to a resolution calling for certain economic and diplomatic sanctions against the Soviet Union and their Warsaw Pact puppets who occupied Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

Czechoslovakia, at this moment, could be called the most captive of the Captive Nations since it suffered the great tragedy and dubious distinction of being pounced on by its Communist neighbors when faint stirrings of democracy and freedom developed in the country.

It is my intention, Mr. Speaker, to raise my voice at every opportunity in support of the restoration of freedom for the people of Czechoslovakia.

I wish to insert at this time part of the documents adopted by the Czechoslovak National Council of America at a rally here in Washington in May 1970; the points made are as valid today as they were at that time:

Hopes that Czechoslovakia would resume its splendid progress toward a modern democracy were shattered by a communist coup in February, 1948. For the next twenty years the communist regime lived on reserves accumulated by the 1918 generation, deceiving the very ones in whose name communist revolutions occur—the working class. Czechoslovak workers were never given the promised factories and became instead the prey of communist state-capitalism and Soviet neo-colonialism. Their wages were gradually reduced to about one-half of an adjusted pre-war level, as compared to earnings enjoyed by fellow-workers in the West. The whole nation was politically manipulated and there was no freedom of press, expression, or assembly.

The glorious spring of 1968 put an end to oppression and hypocrisy. Without violence, united behind new, young leaders, Czechs and Slovaks began to expose and correct past blunders . . . until the Soviet war machine mustered half a million troops, and subdued a small, peace- and freedom-loving country. In Washington, on the anniversary of that humiliating aggression and occupation, Czechoslovak democratic organizations called a Protest Meeting which was attended by many representatives of other exile and ethnic groups and won strong endorsement of many U.S. Governors, Senators, and Congressmen. By acclamation, the Meeting voted: August 21st shall henceforth be called the "Soviet Day of Shame." At home a valiant struggle for independence goes on . . .

THE THIRD ANNIVERSAY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN INVASION

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with profound sadness that I reiterate my support for the oppressed people of Czechoslovakia, as once again this year they commemorate August 21 as the "Soviet Day of Shame." On this third anniversary of the invasion of Czechoslovakia, her people are not forgotten as they continue in their efforts to achieve an end to the oppressive occupation of their small, freedom-loving country by the Soviet Union.

It is indeed commendable that in spite of the many setbacks for the cause of freedom, the fundamental aspirations of the people of Czechoslovakia or equal justice, personal dignity, and self-determination have remained unimpaired.

The intensive and far-reaching Soviet intervention into the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia continues unabated, in direct violation of the United Nations Charter provisions prohibiting all members from the threat or use of force against the territorial sovereignty or political independence of another state.

I cannot adequately express the profound hope of those of us privileged to live in freedom from this endless personal suffering, that our expressions of support will encourage and strengthen the brave people of this small country in their rightful quest for freedom and self-determination.

At few times in history have the people of the world so longed for peace and the end to all forms of aggression. Yet the Brezhnev doctrine is an open admission of imperialism and neocolonialism. Today, when self-determination is a universally accepted right of all nations, it is indeed shocking that the Soviet Union continues to violate the Charter of the United Nations by treating the east and central European countries as colonies—kept in check by military might. World War II ended more than 25 years ago. Surely Europe and the world can at long last begin to look to a new era of peace. But this goal of all mankind is unlikely to be realized unless peace is based on self-determination, personal and national freedom, and equal justice.

Mr. Speaker, once again I would like to clearly indicate condemnation of the brutal aggressions against the Czechoslovakian people, our deep concern over the continued oppressions being suffered by them, as well as our support for their continual resistance and rejection of Soviet dominance.

HAROLD WILLENS VISITS SOUTH VIETNAM

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, several months ago, Mr. Harold Willens, chairman of the Businessmen's Educational Fund, made an extended visit to Saigon as a temporary member of my congressional staff. He was privileged to meet with a number of American and Vietnamese leaders, and upon his return and subsequent study of the political situation in South Vietnam, wrote a long letter to Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker. I take the liberty of submitting a copy of that letter for inclusion at this point in the RECORD.

I particularly share Mr. Willens' concern that American influence in South Vietnam will pose a real threat to that country's ability to hold free and honest elections in October.

Without endorsing all of Mr. Willens' conclusions, I believe that his careful investigation and thoughtful suggestions are worthy of consideration by our colleagues:

JUNE 29, 1971.

Hon. ELLSWORTH BUNKER,
American Ambassador,
Saigon, Vietnam.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: When we were in Saigon recently, you were graciously generous with your time and assistance. My deep gratitude makes it extraordinarily difficult to write this letter.

For as one American to another, I am writing to plead with you to tender your resignation immediately as an act of personal sacrifice which would perform a high public service for the people of two countries. This urgent plea stems from two basic considerations:

1. Even if it is unjustified, it is undeniable that most South Vietnamese see you as favoring—and even acting to assure—the re-election of President Thieu October 3rd.

2. This widespread assumption makes an honest election impossible. Yet an honest election October 3 presents an unparalleled opportunity to end the war quickly through South Vietnamese self-determination while providing peace with honor for the United States.

I invited Dick Thompson of your staff to join us during my discussion with General Minh. Dick heard the General say that the chief obstacle to a fair election "is that most Vietnamese people believe that Ambassador Bunker strongly supports Thieu. Everyone has this impression." The same conviction was independently communicated by scores of Vietnamese with whom I discussed the election: representatives of divergent opinions, interests and organizations.

Almost without exception, the people I met believe that Minh would defeat Thieu if their countrymen could vote without feeling that they might lose their jobs—or their lives—by voting "wrong." And in total contrast to the view from the Embassy, Mr. Ambassador, all felt South Vietnam would be more likely to remain non-Communist if Thieu were defeated.

If that strikes you as bizarre, please give thought to these chilling words of the Pentagon Study: "the explanation of how the U.S. mission became detached from the realities of the political situation in Saigon in August, 1963 is among the most ironic and tragic of our entire involvement in Vietnam."

I respectfully submit, Mr. Ambassador, that if your presence insures President Thieu's reelection, and if the people I met are right about their own country, this October 3rd could witness an even more "ironic and tragic" misjudgment than that of August, 1963. For even though the choice is limited to two generals, one does stand for peace and reconciliation, the other for war and repression. If the people freely chose the former, there would be Vietnamization not of the war but the peace. The people of South Vietnam would be taking back their country from us and assuming the responsibility for guiding its destiny.

Let me hasten to assure you that the thoughts expressed in this letter have nothing to do with "instant expertise." Rather, I am sharing impressions with you as one who is free from the inevitable inhibitions of a subordinate. I am reporting to you facts and opinions candidly revealed to me by Vietnamese people your staff would probably never even meet.

As an example: one of your assistants estimated "several hundred" political prisoners in all of South Vietnam. Two ARVN officers on active duty with whom I met secretly and separately *each estimated about 100,000!* Their figure was corroborated by others in a position to venture an intelligent guess. They included former political prisoners among whom were women who had been in various prisons including Con Son. There they had watched South Vietnamese guards (paid with American tax money) torture other women to death by forcing bottles and eels into their sex organs. Mentioning Con Son reminds me, incidentally, how it shocked me as a businessman to learn that an American construction firm had accepted a $400,000 contract (again our tax money) to build additional "isolation wards" in that notorious prison.

The massive number and barbaric treatment of South Vietnamese political prisoners whose only crime is dissatisfaction with the Thieu regime caused General Minh to say: "if I were a Communist, I would infiltrate and make propaganda about this." Like all Vietnamese I met, with the single exception of the Prime Minister, General Minh believes the Thieu regime is driving anti-Communists into the hands of the Communists: that in terms of keeping South Vietnam non-Communist, the Thieu policies are counterproductive; that without ongoing massive American support, the Thieu government will quickly collapse.

General Minh would probably agree with your recent statement that "with two billion dollars a year in American assistance, South Vietnam has a reasonable chance to avoid a Communist takeover after the U.S. pulls out." But, like all his countrymen with whom I spoke, he feels such assistance should be economic rather than military, and that our assistance cannot prevent a Communist takeover once the feared and hated Thieu government is forced to stand alone.

It is important to stress that your presence unfortunately vitiates the possibility of an honest election and that your resignation would simply indicate American neutrality. It is also important to emphasize, Mr. Ambassador, that I hold no particular brief for General Minh. But the inescapable fact is that there can be only one issue of any consequence for the desperately war-weary Vietnamese on October 3rd. That issue is peace versus war.

And where are the peace candidates? The 1968 presidential runner-up Truong Dinh Dzu is in Chi Hoa prison serving a five-year sentence. Other anti-Communist nationalists are also locked up or locked out by an incredibly restrictive election law which your own staff people told me would never be passed after the Senate rejected it.

So there remains only one hope for a people sick to their bones of a war they don't want and disgusted with a government forced upon them by American policy and power. That hope is General Minh, a man who would probably prefer to avoid the awesome responsibility of reconciling and repairing his broken land at a time like this: almost any sensible man not driven by overpowering ambition would prefer that.

But this particular man is obviously as inwardly torn as his land and his people are outwardly torn. He spoke repeatedly of October 3rd being "our last chance to keep my country out of the hands of the Communists and to save something of our Vietnamese traditions and culture." Better than I, you know that General Minh is a dedicated non-Communist. And you know that he is not a crafty political creature who lusts for power with its attendant burdens. Yet this self-effacing, almost diffident man has been cast by fate as the only "peace candidate." He feels he can end the war quickly and prevent a Communist takeover.

Isn't that what you want, Mr. Ambassador? If it is not, then my words will be meaningless. If it is what you want, however, perhaps these words will strike a responsive chord. And then perhaps you will save human lives—American and Vietnamese—by a sacrificial act which will win you the plaudits of history, the love of many persons around the world, and, above all, self-respect.

For you, too, are cast in a fateful role. You are one of the few people whose personal reassessment of basic assumptions might cause similar reappraisal by the Administration. It is possible, Mr. Ambassador, that the Vietnamese people may know more than Americans in Saigon and Washington about how to end their war and keep their country non-Communist. If your heart and mind could accept that possibility and cause you to act in accordance with your colleagues in Washington might do the same. That would be the first time in many years that a U.S. Administration did what businessmen

must do constantly in order to survive: reassess basic assumptions.

Now comes the most difficult part of the most difficult letter I have ever written: trying to explain why I must release a copy of this letter to the press, who may, of course, choose to ignore it completely.

When I returned from Vietnam, I tried for weeks to meet with Dr. Kissinger. I wanted no one to know of our meeting other than Mr. Richard Smyser who was trying to arrange it. I wanted only to serve as honest broker, conveying the thoughts expressed here in the hope they might prompt the Administration to announce a withdrawal date. That, of course, would be the best way of all to free the South Vietnamese presidential election of the hovering American presence which will otherwise dominate that election and guarantee its "dishonesty." By now, most Vietnamese simply do not believe the Americans will ever leave. They *cannot* vote "freely" when they take for granted that American power and money will be available for whatever punishment "our candidate" may want to mete out afterward.

All this I wanted to tell Dr. Kissinger. Mr. Smyser expressed understanding of my reasons for refusing to communicate through an intermediary. But he was unable to obtain an appointment for me. He was not alone in trying and failing.

From this, I conclude that should you agree that your resignation would achieve American neutrality in the election; should you be wiling to make the personal sacrifice involved, others in the Administration would strive to dissuade you. Perhaps that will be more difficult for them to do if the question should become a public question.

It is my sincere hope, Mr. Ambassador, that you will read this letter in the spirit with which I write it. The ordeal of Vietnam has lasted long enough for all who are a part of it. October 3rd offers unparalleled opportunity to end it quickly and honorably. Your decision may largely determine whether or not that fateful opportunity eludes us.

Sincerely,

HAROLD WILLENS.

VEYSEY INTRODUCES FARM LABOR RELATIONS ACT

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to restore order in this Nation's embattled agricultural labor relations. My legislation will afford desperately needed protection to agricultural workers, consumers, and farmers alike, while establishing effective machinery to allow orderly, responsible union representation for our agricultural labor force.

Mr. Speaker, I consider the preservation of the individual rights of each of the three primary entities involved—worker, consumer, and farmer—to be a foremost priority. These rights have been overrun during the past decade of farm labor strife, due to the absense of legal guidelines.

We have seen farmworkers and their families harassed by misguided, though often well intentioned union organizing efforts. We have seen those same workers forced into unions against their will, while being denied the opportunity to elect their own union representation. And we have seen them lose many crucial paydays, and in some cases, their jobs—their livelihoods, because of the lack of legal protection.

There is no doubt that thousands of farm workers have a desire for effective union representation. And indeed, they have a right to it. However, agriculture is without the legal guidelines for collective bargaining machinery which has elevated the rest of America's working men and women to an economic level unmatched in the world. My proposal would guarantee American farmworkers those tools for collective bargaining, and the freedom to choose, by secret ballot, their representation.

As the farm labor strife heightened during the past 5 years, we watched as entire communities were cut off from the marketplace. Shippers, grocers, and eventually housewives, have been entrapped in the struggles between union and union, and between union and grower. At one time or another, virtually every American family has been affected either by intimidation, or by denial of food at the marketplace.

Once again, the absence of farm labor legislation has left us at the mercy of the law of the jungle.

My legislation would protect the right of every American to a freely accessible supply of the finest food our agriculture can produce. It would eliminate coercion and intimidation of consumers, grocers, and all others in the food marketing chain. My proposal embraces the basic concepts of current, time tested labor law to guarantee these protections.

Finally, my legislation recognizes that agriculture itself is a unique industry—that unlike steel, or mining, for example, agriculture deals exclusively with perishable, living production.

A prolonged strike at a critical time can destroy an entire crop—an entire year's investment—and eliminate not only the affected farming enterprise, but hundreds of jobs as well. We have seen this happen, with food rotting in the fields, and farmers going bankrupt, because of boycott and strike activities. Such losses are non-recoverable, both to the farmer and to the worker.

While my proposal recognizes a union's right to call a strike, it also includes measures designed to minimize losses when a strike is called at a critical time. This safeguard is vital if we are to protect the worker and his job, the consumer and his right to reasonably priced food supplies, and the farmer's livelihood.

This bill will cover more than ½ million workers—or 45 percent of all workers employed in agriculture. At the same time, it will apply to only the 2 percent of our Nation's larger farming enterprises. It will afford protection to those who need it most, while allowing necessary flexibility at the union organizational level and at the farm production level to settle labor disputes with a minimum of risk to all involved.

First, my bill sets up a comprehensive program for farm-labor relations. It is not merely an extension of the National Labor Relations Act. In many ways it parallels that act. I have taken this course after a great deal of study and thought. I know that agriculture is an industry with unique circumstances and problems—notably the perishability of its products and the seasonality of such of its employment.

Second, my bill establishes an independent farm labor relations board composed of three members to be appointed by the President. The members will be chosen for their knowledge of problems relating to agriculture and to agricultural-labor relations. I believe a board separate from the National Labor Relations Board is essential to meet the special needs of agriculture including the perishability of the crops. Speed is essential. My bill allows an individual to obtain a prompt 10-day injunction against an unfair labor practice.

Third, my bill will cover all employers who use more than 500 man days of labor during any quarter of the preceding years. In real numbers this means that approximately 535,000 farmworkers will be covered by this legislation. My intention is to include businesses who employ large numbers of workers, while leaving the small family farms unencumbered.

Fourth, my bill includes as a key protection to farmworkers the right to secret ballot elections. Farmworkers have been pushed, coerced, and threatened too long from both sides. With a secret ballot, they can choose without the threat of reprisal, whether or not they want to have a union representing them and, if so, which union that will be. It has been reported that a so-called farmworker leader recently stated that farmworkers are not familiar enough with the democratic process to deal knowledgeably with secret ballot elections. I have more respect for the intelligence of farm workers than that. Secret ballot elections are the only fair way for farmworkers to choose their representation. They are certainly capable of making these decisions.

Fifth, my bill provides, as another protection of farmworkers, that agriculture employers are prohibited from bargaining or contracting with a laborer organization until that organization has been certified by secret ballot election. Further, labor organizations are prohibited from harassing farmworkers or their families.

Sixth, my bill charges growers with responsibilities as well. A grower may not discharge a worker for organizational acivity. Farmworkers are guaranteed the right to organize if they desire and the grower must bargain with the representatives of his farmworker employees when a union has been duly certified by secret ballot election.

Seventh, if farmworkers do choose to organize, my bill assures that their employer will sit down with them at the bargaining table. I think this is a great step forward for farmworkers.

Eighth, my bill specifically prohibits sweetheart contracts between a grower and a labor organization, thus eliminating much of the pressure for the table grape type of boycott. In addition, it includes provisions similar to those contained in the National Labor Relations Act prohibiting secondary boycotts.

Ninth, my bill recognizes the disastrous effect a strike at harvest time can cause. As a result, I have included a one-time, 30-day "no-strike" period available at the option of the grower. This will assist those growers of sensitive seasonal crops but, of course, will not protect all the vulnerable periods during the growing year.

Tenth, my bill includes a provision identical to that contained in section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. While there is merit to many of the arguments proposed by the right-to-work groups, I do not believe that this is the place or time to fight that battle. I do believe that the 14(b) provision will allow the issue to be decided on a State-by-State basis.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that these provisions will contribute to stability in the agricultural industry. They protect the grower from having to bargain while subject to a union stranglehold. The consumer will benefit by being assured of a free flow of food from the field to the market. These measures can be administered by the Farm Labor Relations Board with all due speed which is critically important because of the perishability of the farm product. Thus, my bill gives farmworkers the benefits and responsibilities from which they have been excluded for 36 years. Their time has come. We must now see that farm labor organization-agricultural employer relations take place within legal guidelines rather than under the "law of the jungle." My legislation will assure that these guidelines exist. We must also see that the rights of the consumer are protected and my legislation will assure this.

PROGRESS TOWARD NATIVE LAND CLAIMS SETTLEMENT

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, the action of the Indian Affairs Subcommittee of the Interior and Insular Affairs in passing to full committee a bill to settle the Alaska Native Land Claims is an occasion for all Alaskans to cheer.

The bill is a fair one, which all Alaskans can support. It has begun its tortuous path through Congress quickly, and appears to be gaining momentum. Hopefully, it will pass the House this session, partly because it is cosponsored by 14 of the 17 members of the Interior Committee and has the backing of Chairman ASPINALL and Subcommittee Chairman HALEY.

The New York Times has reviewed these developments with favor in an editorial in today's edition. I would like to share that editorial with my colleagues, and insert it in the RECORD at this point:

LAND FOR ALASKA'S NATIVES

Alaska's native Eskimos, Aleuts and Indians have scored a notable victory in a subcommittee of the House of Representatives. It has approved a bill which, at least in terms of land, would finally do substantial justice to their claims, proposing to give them fee-simple title to forty-million acres. What is more, the measure is sponsored by Representative Wayne Aspinall, the powerful chairman of the full Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, who until now has favored "giving" the natives no more than a fortieth of that acreage.

Technically, under the Organic Act of 1884, 90 per cent of Alaska belongs to its native peoples, but they have been asking for only 17 per cent of it, or sixty-million acres. That would be the area, their spokesmen estimate, that would allow them to support themselves by hunting and fishing, as they have for ages past, in a region of the earth where the migrations of game cover vast stretches of land. The Senate last year offered ten-million acres, the House failed to act at all, and the Administration appeared to hope for a settlement of the claims that would involve no more than half of what the Senate proposed.

The atmosphere has been greatly changed now that the Administration itself, through the Department of the Interior, has agreed on the desirability of a forty-million-acre settlement—plus funds for native investments, loans and grants, to be paid out of mineral lease royalties and some appropriations. The combination of Administration support and Chairman Aspinall's blessing should go far to propel the bill through the House.

In the Senate much will depend on the attitude of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who heads that chamber's Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. In the past the Senator has favored a different approach altogether—one that would give the natives a stake in mineral and timber lands as well as some hunting and fishing preserves but all of it scattered and totaling at most some 26 million acres.

However well meant, the Jackson plan was viewed by native leaders as notice to the natives to abandon an ancient way of life and become assimilated. That is not a decision that should be made either by Congress or by white Alaskans. It is for the Eskimos, Aleuts and Indians themselves to make—and they would find little to recommend it in the experience of their distant cousins in what Alaskans call the Lower 48.

GOLD SLAVERY CONTINUES

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, The current financial crisis facing the United States and the failing confidence in the dollar is the subject of a recent editorial commentary by Barron's long recognized as a leading financial journal in America.

The editorial is extremely critical of the Treasury Department's recent move to halt trading in gold futures by the West Coast Commodity Exchange, Inc., of Calif. This action was, as the editorial points out, taken "without notice, formal hearings or the other key requisities of due process."

Furthermore, the editorial continues and points out that:

The Department hastily issued new regulations to "explicitly prohibit the trading in any form on commodity exchanges and the acquisition of American or foreign gold coins of any description for speculative purposes."

We are now free to go to Communist China. but we are not free to own our own gold.

This executive provision is totally and completely ridiculous as were the proceedings that led up to the Treasury Department's actions. The whole comedy seems to indicate an obsession of the administration and its leaders to insure not only the bankruptcy of America but of the American people. Our own people cannot even own gold or speculate in foreign gold coins. Yet, the administration feels it is duty bound to pay to foreigners on demand from our gold reserves depleting our own supply of the precious metal and allow foreigners to make us into laughing stocks of the world—we are in effect bankrupting ourselves by the provision that our own citizens cannot own gold, yet we must pay our foreign obligations from our depleted gold reserves simply on demand.

The courageous action on the part of the West Coast Commodity Exchange, Inc., was a giant step toward freeing our people from the dark ages of a depression-based law. The Gold Reserve Act of 1934 is antiquated; our people have the right to own gold for security and to protect their wealth; and the recent actions on the part of the Department of the Treasury in stopping trading in gold futures can only be an indication of the administration's fears over the American people having the medium to possess their own wealth without fear of government manipulation. Slavery was also once a "long-standing government policy."

So that my Colleagues can see the unreality of the Alice in Wonderland actions of the Treasury Department and judge the true import for themselves, I insert the editorial from Barron's issue of August 2, 1971, dealing with this subject and what the Treasury offers as a supposed justification for their actions in the RECORD at this point:

[From Barron's, Aug. 2, 1971]

"IN GOLD WE TRUST"—CONFIDENCE IN THE DOLLAR IS WANING AT HOME AND ABROAD

LOS ANGELES, Calif., July 12.—Public trading in gold futures in an open market will be introduced for the first time anywhere in the world with the start of a gold futures contract on the West Coast Commodity Exchange here on July 20, it was announced today. The announcement was made by David Callahan, president of the W.C.C.E., which inaugurated the first new U.S. commodity exchange in 50 years, on the West Coast, trading in silver, copper, sugar and cocoa, on October 15, 1970.

"Pending repeal or amendment of the Gold Reserve Act of 1934, delivery of W.C.C.E. gold futures will be made in gold coin (legal ownership of pre-1934 gold coins is specifically authorized by the Gold Reserve Act) certified and approved by the Exchange Board of Governors, in quantities representing the equivalent amount of weight and fineness of 200 troy ounces of gold.

"The W.C.C.E. president anticipates that the Gold Futures contract will attract international trading . . . (which) will generate a substantial in-flow of dollars and thereby assist in correcting the current U.S. deficit in our balance of payments. The effect of this international trading could strengthen the U.S. dollar, reverse the drain of gold reserves from the U.S. and aid in easing of the world currency and economic crisis.

Whether the noble experiment would have

achieved its purpose will be long debated wherever men gather to buy and sell. What's clear is that nobody will ever know. Less than a week after launching the first free market in gold futures, one where the price is "fixed" not by a handful of bullion dealers but by the forces of global supply and demand, the West Coast Commodity Exchange, bowing to heavy pressure from the U.S. Treasury, abruptly—and, so Barron's has learned, permanently—halted such trading. By the same token, in New York City the International Commodity Exchange (formerly Produce Exchange), which also was readying a gold coin contract, and the Mercantile Exchange, which had been set to start trading in placer gold (the precious metal in its natural state), have abandoned their plans. For the indefinite future, as for nearly the past 40 years, Americans—like the British, and unlike the citizens of any other nation in the Free World—will continue to be legally barred from owning gold.

However, there are rumblings and stirrings; more fortunate foreigners might even begin to suspect that the natives are restless. Thus, journalists whose views have faithfully tended to mirror those of the fiscal and monetary authorities lately have been printing heretical, indeed "unthinkable," thoughts on the touchy issues of devaluation of the dollar. Prior to the Treasury crackdown, 573 contracts, with a gross value $7.5 million, changed hands on the W.C.C.E., representing, according to a spokesman, "one of the highest trading volumes of a new commodity in the opening days in United States exchange history." Established dealers in gold coins, such as Coen-Messer and Stack's, recently have noted a surge of activity, while the Republic National Bank, one of the biggest in the business, has just imposed a limit of 10 to a customer. Meanwhile, in European financial centers, gold has climbed to over $42 an ounce, decisively above the $41 which once marked the upper reaches of a well-defined trading range, and within sight of the postwar high. In mid-July, from our Experts Corner, Messrs. George Chittenden, executive vice president of Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., and Stefan Jean Rundt, publisher of Rundt's Intelligence, grudgingly forecast 90 days of calm before the next monetary storm. The barometer is falling fast.

If one can't change the weather, to be sure, one can always smash the glass: that, in effect, is what the Treasury Department, on the local scene at any rate, has just tried to do. In the proces, it also has shattered any illusions that a so-called Republican Administration, with respect to financial matters, might be capable of taking a more enlightened or less doctrinaire stance. The notorious Gold Reserve Act of 1934, which prohibits Americans from owning the precious metal, specifically exempts coins minted prior to that year under the rules of the West Coast Commodity Exchange, settlement of all contracts was to be in pre-1934 English sovereigns, millions of which have been struck. Yet the Treasury promptly sought, through ominously worded press releases, to dissuade the Exchange from unveiling the gold futures contract. Then, without notice, formal hearings or the other key requisites of due process, the Department hastily issued new regulations to "explicitly prohibit the trading of gold in any form on commodity exchanges and the acquisition of American or foreign gold coins of any description for speculative purposes."

Couched in sweeping terms, the Treasury ukase, as noted, has alarmed at least one coin dealer into setting a limit on each transaction. For the time being, it also has cowed the Exchange—faced with the prospect of endless litigation, the W.C.C.E. has opted to beat a strategic retreat. Yet the mart has made a point: in just a few days of trading, despite a barrage of threats from Washington, a record volume of business was done, at prices which in knowledgeable circles evoked a good deal of surprise. Nor is this the only sign of mounting U.S. interest in gold. Thus, in New York City, Coen-Messer reports that by the end of July, sales had roughly tripled and were once again running at the peak rate of crisis-ridden May. Last week the firm was quoting U.S. 20-dollar gold pieces—double eagles—at $76, a price which, it adds, would have climbed much higher if the powers-that-be in 1969 had not permitted the shipment to these shores of British sovereigns. (Six weeks ago, by the way, the import of Mexican gold coins—the 50-peso piece, with a gold content of 37½ grams, sells for what Coen-Messer views as a bargain price of $67—also was quietly legalized.)

In the same vein, many Americans long have flouted the law by holding gold, either at home or abroad. In a recent series of articles which must have raised officials hackles, Sylvia Porter, well-known financial columnist, quoted an estimate by Franz Pick, "acknowledged expert in the currency and gold markets," that U.S. citizens today own 4,000 tons, worth over $5 billion. Last Friday, in a disquieting dispatch from Paris, The New York Times reported: "In one of the biggest buying days of the last two years, dealers in Zurich and London said demand came from 'everywhere,' including the United States." Even Congress is beginning to sit up and take notice: several lawmakers, including Reps. John R. Rarick (D., La.), Philip M. Crane (R., Ill.), James A. McClure (R., Idaho) and John G. Schmitz (R., Calif.), have introduced bills which, in effect, would repeal the prohibitions of the Gold Reserve Act of 1934.

Lack of faith in the once almighty dollar, in sum, is no longer the exclusive province of either the gnomes of Zurich or the sheiks of Araby; it has spread to Main Street. And the reasons are painfully clear. The federal budget, which closed out the 1971 fiscal year with a shortfall of over $20 billion, is evidently out of control; a larger deficit is shaping up in the current fiscal year. For the first time in the 20th Century, the U.S. balance of trade, once a bulwark of the nation's global accounts, has turned adverse, a trend which persistent currency unsettlement, and the mounting likelihood of further upward adjustments in foreign exchange, are bound to aggravate. The balance of payments, of course, is awash in a sea of red ink. Debasement of the currency proceeds apace.

* * * * *

Precious metal is by no means the ideal investment—since 1934, as Sylvia Porter rightly observes, it has risen a mere $6–$7 an ounce, a rate of gain which, especially adjusted for the cost of insurance, storage and the like, makes even the IOS funds (see page 3) look pretty good. What's more, as a Rothschild once said about the stock market, gold "will fluctuate," on occasion violently. At the 1969 year-end, to illustrate, it actually sold below $35 an ounce. Even the latest upsurge—though reportedly better financed, less speculative and more determined than most—may in its turn subside. But for the moment, and perhaps for the duration of the monetary crisis, the watchword seems to be "in gold we trust."—Robert M. Bleiberg.

UNDER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
FOR MONETARY AFFAIRS,
Washington, D.C., August 3, 1971.

Hon. JOHN R. RARICK,
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RARICK: This is in response to your request for a report on the Treasury's recent amendments to the Gold Regulations.

These Regulations, promulgated under the Emergency Banking Act of 1933, the Gold Reserve Act of 1934 and the various Executive Orders issued pursuant to the authority contained in these statutes, have for many years prohibited Americans from holding or dealing in gold without a license. Licenses are issued to permit the acquisition and use of gold for customary industrial, professional or artistic purposes.

In addition, the Gold Regulations permit the importation, acquisition and holding of gold coins of recognized special value to collectors of rare and unusual coins. Gold coins minted prior to 1934 are included among those considered to be of recognized special value to collectors of rare and unusual coins and thus are authorized to be imported, acquired or held without a Treasury license. The purpose is to permit coin collectors and dealers in numismatic items to acquire and sell gold coins for coin collecting purposes.

This provision of the Regulations has been interpreted by the courts in light of this purpose, and it has been held that such coins may be bought and sold only for numismatic purposes and not for the purpose of acquiring the gold bullion contained therein. *Farber* v. *United States*, 114 F. 2d 5 (9th Cir. 1940). The Regulation was not intended to permit, nor does it permit, the acquisition of gold coins for speculative rather than numismatic purposes.

On July 11, 1971, the West Coast Commodity Exchange announced that it would open trading in gold futures. According to the announcement, "pending repeal or amendment of the Gold Reserve Act of 1934, delivery . . . will be made in gold coin . . . representing the equivalent amount of weight and fineness of 200 troy ounces of gold." This was apparently based on the assumption that, because of the exemption in the Treasury's Gold Regulations as regards pre-1934 gold coins, the trading of such gold coins on commodity exchanges was permissible.

On July 15, because of the considerable public interest which had been generated by the announcement of the Exchange, the Treasury Department issued a statement to the effect that the terms and conditions under which Americans may acquire, hold, and use gold in any form are prescribed by the Gold Regulations, and that "these regulations do not permit the speculative trading in gold or gold futures as proposed by the West Coast Commodity Exchange." On July 20, the Exchange began trading in gold futures.

Obviously, in light of the long-standing Government policy against permitting Americans to speculate in gold, this could not be permitted to continue. On July 22, this Department amended its Gold Regulations to reaffirm and clarify the long-standing gold policy of the United States that speculation in gold in any form is prohibited. These amendments explicitly prohibit the trading of gold in any form on commodity exchanges and the acquisition of American or foreign gold coins of any description for speculative purposes. They will not, however, limit in any way the types of transactions currently engaged in by coin collectors or licensees under present authority.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL A. VOLCKER.

AGRICULTURE AND AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, the American Institute of Cooperation at Colorado State University invited the administrator of the Agency for International De-

velopment, Mr. John A. Hannah, to address their recent meeting at Fort Collins, Colo.

I believe that the remarks of this far-sighted public official will be of interest to all Members of Congress, and I include Mr. Hannah's speech in the RECORD at this point:

AGRICULTURAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

(Address by John A. Hannah)

Your invitation for me to be here this morning provides a welcome opportunity to renew long-standing associations and friendships.

The cooperative movement has been a part of my life—in my early days in rural Michigan, during my ten years as a cooperative extension worker and throughout my many years in university administration at Michigan State University. The cooperatives have played a vital role in bring this country to its pre-eminent position in world agriculture. I have deep respect for your people. It is a privilege to be a part of this program today.

The Agency for International Development and the Cooperatives of this country are associates of long-standing. We are celebrating ten years of partnership this year.

This partnership was formally chartered ten years ago in 1961 when Congress reorganized our foreign assistance program into A.I.D. It was stipulated that A.I.D. shouldn't "encourage the development and use of cooperatives, credit unions, and savings and loan associations" in its programs to assist the people of the developing countries. In August 1961 a special Advisory Committee on Cooperatives was organized to recommend a program for carrying out this mandate. Their recommendations have been the basis for a working partnership which extends to this day.

This partnership has yielded many success stories.

A.I.D. and the cooperatives share a deep affinity of purpose—a common concern to influence the lives of people in ways that will contribute to their well-being, and to the building of productive societies. It is this concern which has animated the partnership of the past ten years and which ensures its future durability.

II

My purpose this morning is to look briefly at agriculture in the lower income countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, in what we call the LDCs (Less Developed Countries)—where two-thirds of all the world's people live.

Hunger dominates the landscape. There are up to a billion and a half hungry or undernourished people in the less developed countries today. This is close to half the world's population. Some do not have enough to eat; others eat enough but suffer because their diet is deficient in protein, minerals or vitamins. It is estimated that more than 10,000 people die of malnutrition every day.

Food production has been rising steadily in the less developed countries and is now 35% higher than 10 years ago. But population has grown almost as rapidly. On a per capita basis, global food production per person is not much higher today than it was ten years ago.

If hunger is to be alleviated in the next thirty years the world must learn to grow three times as much food as it now does.

Fortunately, a hopeful beginning has been made. Research has produced high-yielding varieties of wheat and rice and other crops which, when used with the proper amounts and kinds of fertilizer and with water and pesticides, can greatly increase a farmer's yield. Farmers, particularly in Asia, are rapidly adopting the new wheat and rice varieties and the new cultural practices. Plantings have increased from 36,000 acres in 1966 to more than 44 million acres last year. As a result wheat production in West Pakistan jumped 50% in two years. India has achieved three successive record crops of more than 100 million tons of cereal grains per year. The Philippines is becoming self-sufficient in rice. It looks as though Vietnam may produce enough rice this year to support its needs, and significant increases in countries all over the globe.

All of this has been termed "The Green Revolution."

The Agency for International Development has played a major role in spreading this new technology. A.I.D. finances one-fourth of the cost of the International Research Stations of the IRRI in the Philippines, the CIMMYT operations in Mexico, the Tropical Agricultural Stations in Colombia and in Nigeria. We will fund one fourth of the beginning cost and operating expenses of the Livestock Disease Research Center in East Africa. We have helped finance construction of fertilizer factories and exports of fertilizer, pesticides, and water pumps to the developing countries. Our advisors have played a key role in helping countries develop farm pricing and marketing policies which have improved the incentive for farmers to use the new seeds and increase their production. We have encouraged the development of agricultural universities in many areas of the world.

The significance of the "Green Revolution" is not that it solves the food problems of the developing countries, but that it points the way toward a solution.

First, it proves that traditional farmers in developing countries will adopt modern methods of clear benefit to them. For years, the "backward, traditional" farmer was the despair of development planners in the poor countries. He was described as apathetic, illiterate, freighted with centuries of cultural and religious inhibitions and frozen in the farming practices followed by the generations preceding him. The "Green Revolution" has shown that farmers in poor countries like farmers here have a clear perception of their own self-interest. Given an opportunity to double or triple their yields, they will eagerly adopt new methods.

The "Green Revolution" has called attention to the role for production-oriented research in solving food problems. Ten years ago, efforts to improve agriculture in the poor countries were directed primarily toward importing techniques used in the West. Technology designed for large farms in the temperate zones often proved unsuitable or uneconomical for small farms in warmer climates. The "Green Revolution" has shown that research to develop technologies specifically suited for farming conditions in the LDC's can produce large pay-offs.

Matched against the enormity of the world food problems, the "Green Revolution" to date is a small step forward. But it has eased the food deficit in some of the world's most critical areas; it provides an impetus to attack the tasks of the future.

What are these tasks?

The first and most basic is to sustain and accelerate the present increases in grain production. There is much work to be done in extending the present technology, particularly to small farmers. The new wheats and rices—to be most effective—do best when used in areas with controlled irrigation. Unfortunately, adequately controlled water supplies are available to only a minor part of the arable lands of the less developed countries. For the "Green Revolution" to be fully effective we must have varieties and techniques which produce well in the dry lands, or the rain-fed lands where there is not too much rain.

Increases in grain production—which provide mainly calories—must be matched by increases in protein foods. Protein malnutrition affects approximately 60% of all people in less developed countries. It exacts a tremendous human toll, particularly among children. Child mortality in developing countries is of staggering proportions. Children under five in Pakistan and Brazil constitute under one-fifth of the total population, but account for four-fifths of all deaths; for 65% of the deaths in India, for 68% of all deaths in the U.A.R. (Egypt). The percentage of children ages one to four who die in Pakistan is 40 times higher than in Japan; and 80 times higher than in Sweden.

Deaths are measurable. Less dramatic and less visible is the toll among the survivors. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations recently reported that of the 800 million children now growing up in the developing countries more than two-thirds will "encounter sickness or disabling diseases either brought on or aggravated by protein-calorie malnutrition."

There is now clear evidence that malnutrition in infancy and during the fetal period may be associated with mental retardation. Severe malnutrition can lead to permanent brain damage. The continuing lag in ameliorating the world's nutrition problem may result each year in a new class of sub-normal children—listless, lacking in curiosity, unresponsive to stimulation, unable to learn, headed for unproductive lives.

The research and development dollars which have been focused on the worlds staples—wheat, rice, and corn—need to be stretched to include the heavier protein crops. This means continuing work developing grains with higher protein content such as the recently developed high lysine corns. It also means focusing increased attention on less familiar crops: cow peas, pigeon peas, chick peas, as well as dry beans, soybeans, and peanuts. These legumes are efficient sources of protein. In many less developed countries they form part of the traditional diet, including the diets for the poorest people. They are less costly than animal products. Protein from beef, the most expensive source, costs over thirty times as much as protein from soybeans, the cheapest.

On the other hand, in some areas animal production is an important source of protein. In sub-Sahara Africa today, there are approximately 120 million head of cattle—one-eighth of the world's supply. Yet they produce only one-twentieth of the worlds beef. Low production stems from marked seasonal variations in forage and water supplies which in turn imposes a system of nomadic grazing, high losses from disease, excessively slow growth rates, and inefficient marketing systems.

There is a clear need—in the next decade—for following the "Green Revolution" with a protein revolution.

The pattern which the United States followed—whereby migrations from the farm were largely absorbed in the cities—cannot be duplicated in the developing countries.

It is clear that by the end of this century—thirty years from now—the world must not only grow three times as much food but that it must provide jobs for twice as many people. Large increases in production must be obtained from millions of intensively worked small farms—by American standards very small farms of 1 to 20 acres each. The extremely productive U.S. system of agriculture cannot be transplanted around the world because of enormous differences in population densities and because the high cost of American style mechanization is much too expensive for the poor economies and the small farms of the developing countries.

Japan has achieved an agricultural breakthrough with an average farm size of two and one-half acres. Taiwan and Korea are following similar paths.

The point is that the search for a solution to the world food problem—for new grain varieties and protein foods—must be

a search for technology which small farms can use as well as large affluent farms. Increased attention must be given to insuring that small farms have access to the tools of modern agriculture—production inputs, credit, markets and technical advice. It is a twofold task—finding techniques to boost production on small farms; finding means to help small farmers—with their limited resoures—utilize modern agricultural techniques.

There is no doubt that farm cooperatives can be helpful in this task. They played a key role in Japan's agricultural growth. They have been central to the great progress in Korea and in Taiwan. Before the internal commotion in Pakistan of the past few months one of the most helpful demonstrations in the world was in Comilla.

Comilla Thana in East Pakistan is one of the poorest in the world. There are on the average 2000 people per each square mile. The average size farm is only 1.7 acres. Per capita income was $40 to $50 per year. Yet an energetic cooperative program has transformed the Thana or county. Rice yields increased 96% in five years. In ten years the assets of the Comilla County federation have grown to more than $5.0 million. The society owns two cold storage plants, a modern creamery, a rice mill, transport equipment and warehouses. Having visited this project many times from the time when it was only an idea to the last time a year ago—I hope it survives the tragic troubles of these days.

There is no doubt that the cooperatives of America can make a continuing contribution to development of agriculture abroad. There are opportunities for American cooperatives to help with unsolved questions of how best to bring the small farmer into the mainstream of agricultural development. We in A.I.D. will continue to call on your expertise to help us in answering requests for assistance from abroad. But your role need not be limited to an alliance with the government. There is room for cooperatives in this country to reach out directly to cooperatives abroad. There are opportunities—as has been done with the cooperative fertilizer plant in India—for the American cooperatives to extend their financial resources to help cooperatives abroad.

The question—I suppose—is why? Why should the American cooperatives respond to these needs? Why should we have a foreign assistance program? To put it more directly, what's in it for us? What's in it for you?

Agriculture and industry in the United States benefit as incomes go up in the lower income countries. Data from a wide spectrum of developing countries shows that for every rise of 10 percent in the real per capita income of lower income countries, their total commercial food imports from the U.S. increases about 16 percent. Countries that have experienced a substantial measure of economic growth, have substantially increased their imports of U.S. agricultural products. As an example, in the last ten years, U.S. commercial agricultural exports to Taiwan increased by 25 times. This is simple economics. As incomes go up there is more money to buy things—including exports from the U.S. They buy not only U.S. agricultural products but a wide variety of the products of our total industrial complex.

One dollar out of every seven of U.S. farm income is derived from exports. Two-thirds of the sales are to Europe, Japan, and Canada, but one-third comes from sales to the LDC's. In 1950 Japan imported $349 million of agricultural products from the U.S. In 1970, 20 years later, they purchased $1.1 billion of agricultural products from the U.S. The first time in history that any nation has purchased more than $1 billion worth of U.S. farm produce in a single year.

Working with the people of the lower income countries on their problems can be a mutually enriching process. Solutions found to problems there can be used here. For example: in plant breeding, research on germ plasm abroad can have direct applicability here. In health, years of research on human diseases in the less-developed countries has yielded results from which we too gain protection. This is true now of the dreaded human disease cholera, for which effective new means of treatment and control have been developed in Asia. Currently a cholera epidemic is a problem in the Middle East and North Africa and threatens elsewhere. The threat would be far greater had not intensive investment in research on cholera in Asia been made some years ago. We now not only have vaccines to help prevent it, but we have the know-how to cure and save the lives of those who contract it if it is detected early.

Our concern that food production be increased must be conditioned by a concern for how it is increased—a concern that increases in food production not fill people's bellies at the cost of disrupting their lives or pauperizing their souls.

In our country and in other industrialized countries, agriculture has grown largely by increasing the size of farms and substituting machines for human labor. Rapidly growing urban industries have absorbed the surplus labor from the countryside.

Urban unemployment in most less-developed countries is already high—more than 20% in some countries. Fed by twenty years of rapid population growth, the potential labor force in the LDC's will increase by 30% in this decade. Unemployment in the LDC's will substantially increase in the 1970s.

Even if we assume that urban employment increases at a high rate of, say 4 or 5 percent a year, it would take 50 years for a country such as Nigeria—which now has 80 percent of its people in agriculture—to reduce that percentage in agriculture to 60 percent. In the meantime, the absolute size of the agricultural labor force would have increased threefold.

There are, however, more fundamental reasons for continuing to be concerned with events abroad. Our basic national interest—the concern for peace and for the building of an orderly community of nations—is well served by this concern.

The problems of this world are not contained by boundaries. Diseases ignore national boundaries. Pollution flows across national boundaries. Trade and the exchange of goods and services vitally affect the well-being of all nations.

The sense of injustice, frustration, and bitterness which will accrue if the peoples in the less-developed world are unable to see progress toward a better life cannot be bottled up. Violence, too, flows across the national borders.

In conclusion let's take a brief look at the number one problem that faces the whole human race—the population problem. There are now about three and a half billion people in the world—three times the population of one hundred years ago.

In another 100 years, at the present growth rate, there could be as many as 30 billion people on this earth. If by the year 2040 we could reduce the birth rate to the number that would replace the population of that time or a family average of no more than two children, the world population would stabilize 70 years later in 2110 at about fifteen billion (½ of 30 billion)—still an awesome figure and more than four times the present world population.

If the world could achieve the two-child family by the year 2,000 (30 years from now—certainly not an easy task) the world population will stabilize 70 years later in 2070 at 8.2 billion—more than double the present population and an immense burden to place on the earth's resources.

We in the U.S. cannot ignore this worldwide problem, and concentrate only on our domestic concerns.

The U.S. has a profound national interest in participating in the international development effort. There can be no assured peace for Americans unless we join the other developed nations of the world in a continuing effort to develop a stable world order. We cannot ask ourselves where the United States will be in the next few decades without first asking where the world will be.

People in the poor countries no longer believe that God ordained that their children must go hungry and sometimes die because there is no food for them.

They are easily convinced that there is something wrong when in this decade of the seventies their people must die because there is no health care, no vaccines to prevent epidemic diseases, no clean water to drink, no education for their children—no schools—no books—no teachers.

Ladies and gentlemen, all of the people on this earth live in the same world. This is the world our children and their children must live in too.

It is unrealistic to plan for a better world for our children and our grandchildren unless we recognize that the kind of a world they will live in 30 years, 60 years, 100 years from now will be determined to a substantial degree by what happens to the world that the other two thirds live in.

There is really no alternative but for our country to join with the peoples of the other nations of the free world in a common effort to do our fair share to help those countries who want to help themselves improve the quality of the lives of their people too.

That is what foreign assistance is all about. That is what there is in it for all of us.

That is why the leaders of American cooperatives deserve credit and commendation for their continuing interest in and willingness to help provide better lives for all people everywhere. I urge that you keep up your interest and your good work. It is all worth the effort.

CITIES CUT SCHOOL CLASSES IN MONEY BIND

HON. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to draw to the attention of my colleagues to a most serious problem in our urban areas. I am speaking of the severe financial crisis facing our public school systems. A recent article in the Washington Post described in some detail the difficulties in maintaining current school programs in the face of ever rising costs. Most of the increased expenditures have resulted from recent collective bargaining agreements with teachers. But as teachers have received well deserved increases in compensation the city school systems have not been funded adequately to meet the costs. In my city of Chicago the school board, on the recommendation of our able Superintendent James F. Redmond, voted to close the schools for an additional 12 days in December. While this may seem like a drastic step the alternatives were far worse. The board could have cut our 4,700 jobs, many of

them teaching positions, or borrowed money against its 1972 budget. Either course of action would have been unacceptable in that it would only tend to aggravate an already dismal situation.

Mr. Speaker, I am making these remarks only to remind my colleagues of a situation of which I am sure they are all aware. Our financially plagued cities are unable to receive support from their similarly distressed State governments. We in the Congress must not turn our backs on the need for improved education, especially when the national administration seems unwilling to take the initiative. How ludicrous it is for us to extol the virtues of education to our urban young as a vehicle for escaping the poverty of our central cities and then stand by and watch our school systems die before our eyes. I would urge the Congress to investigate every possible means of assisting our suffering educational institutions so that the right of every American to a good education can be preserved.

At this time I would like to insert a copy of the Washington Post article which, I believe, contains a concise summary of the problem.

CITIES CUT SCHOOL CLASSES IN MONEY BIND

(By Peter Milius)

Chicago will simply shut down its public schools for most of December if Mayor Richard J. Daley and the state legislature can not come up with another $22.8 million.

Philadelphia cut out all extracurricular activities, including high school sports. It had to pay its teachers in scrip at the end of last school year. It is starting this year $68 million in the hole, is "going to open in September and carry on as long as funds permit."

Detroit let 200 teaching positions remain unfilled last spring, stopped repainting its old schools, put its maintenance crews on a four-day week instead of five and still finished with a $20 million deficit. Assured 1971–72 school revenue is $230 million. Projected school expenses—$280 million. So far, no answer to the dilemma.

These are three touchy examples of a national school money crisis building up in some degree in almost every school district as the new school year approaches. It is most acute and most dramatic in big cities. So acute that growing numbers of districts do not have enough money to stand still.

District after district is having to cut back on school services or, as the Chicago school board voted to do last Wednesday, close down the school system for months—if necessary.

"It's happening all over, and it's getting worse," says Sam M. Lambert, executive secretary of the National Educational Association (NEA). "It's the tightest year in the last 20."

The problem is no longer crowded classrooms from the postwar baby boom and rising enrollments; as it was in the 1950's and most of the 1960's. In big cities especially, enrollments now are stable, or even declining slightly.

PROBLEM: TEACHER PAY

Nor is the issue bringing down class sizes, adding remedial teachers, offering new foreign languages, or other improvements in service.

The problem now is finding funds to cover steadily increasing teacher pay.

In Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and elsewhere, the impending deficits are due almost entirely to pay raises sought and won in collective bargaining by those cities' strong teacher unions.

Boston's public school enrollment has held steady recently, yet its school budget "has doubled in the last five years, which is since collective bargaining began," says Leo J. Burke, the system's business manager.

It is difficult, however, for even the severest of critics to argue that teachers in Boston or elsewhere are driving taxpayers to rebellion and school systems into bankruptcy.

In Boston five years ago a beginning teacher with a bachelor's degree was paid $3500, according to Burke. Starting pay now is $7600, more than double the five-year-old figure—but still not a princely sum.

A few statistics suggest the national dimensions of the problem.

SALARY INCREASE

In the 10 school years from 1960–61 to 1970–71, public school enrollment nationwide rose 27 per cent, according to NEA calculations.

In the same period, public school expenditures rose 152.1 per cent.

Part of the cost increase was due to school improvement. The number of public classroom teachers rose by 45.4 per cent, more than half again as fast as such factors as enrollment, lower class sizes, and more course offerings.

But a larger part of the cost increase was due to pay raises. Teacher pay typically makes up three-fifths to three-fourths of school budgets, and average teacher pay went up 77.9 per cent in the 1960's, from $5449 in 1960–61 to $9,689 in 1970–71.

Meanwhile, taxpayers expressing their opinions.

In 1969, American voters approved only 56.8 per cent of the public school bond issues put before them—43.6 per cent of dollar value of the offerings.

In just that year, the total rejected was $2.2 billion. Compared with this, the total rejected in 1960 was $368 million—only 20.4 per cent of all bonds at stake in that year.

The game can be tough. In New Jersey, voters in most towns must approve, not just bonds, but whole school budgets at the polls each year. According to NEA's Lambert, this year they have voted down 153 of 440.

CITIES FARE WORST

The emerging teacher-taxpayer tug-of-war is strongest in cities, partly because teacher unions are typically more powerful there, partly because big-city tax bases are eroding and have more demands on them than do those in the suburbs.

Some cities manage to stay short of disaster. Los Angeles, Cleveland, Dallas and Miami think they can make it through the year without serious cutbacks—but without major improvements, either.

But New York, with all of its other problems, is $40 million short of what it needs to cover next school year's higher pay rates. And it hasn't yet decided how it will cut back to make ends meet.

The problem is also less acute here than in some other urban areas. Both the D.C. and Prince George's systems, respectively the nation's 13th and 10th largest, will be making some cutbacks this year. The District cutback is the first in recent memory.

The money crisis has produced various calls for reform. Some say the schools aren't giving the taxpayers their money's worth. "We must stop congratulating ourselves for spending nearly as much money on education as does the entire rest of the world—$65 billion a year on all levels—when we are not getting as much as we should out of the dollars we spend," President Nixon told Congress in his 1970 message on educational reform.

"Major new expenditures" should be preceded by "fundamental studies," Mr. Nixon said. "We will ask the Congress to supply many more dollars for education," but only "as we get more education for the dollar."

MORE FEDERAL MONEY

On the other side of the issue are those who say schools need more money now, in particular more federal money.

The federal government now supplies about 7 percent of public school revenues, the states 41 percent, local government 52 percent.

Key House Democrats recently introduced bills that would raise the authorized federal share to more than 30 percent in five years. They tried to tack their proposal onto the President's proposed $1.5 billion school desegregation bill, as a Democratic alternative to his revenue-sharing plans.

Last week the Democrats failed in a House subcommittee. They say that they will try again in full committee and on the floor. They think there may be enough public outcry when schools open in September to pass the bill.

Chicago began 1971 with a $646.6 million budget, up $85 million from the 1970 figure. The budget did not take account of about $50 million in pay and other compensation increases for teachers and other school employes.

The state legislature came through with some extra money, but not enough. Supt. James F. Redmond told the Chicago board last week that it had three alternatives: One was to shut down an extra 12 school days in December, a 6 percent cut in the scheduled 188-day school year. A second was to cut out 4700 jobs, many of them teaching positions, and thus increase class size. The third was to borrow against 1972 revenues.

Redmond urged the board not to borrow, because it already faced trouble enough in 1972. Contracts already negotiated will raise the payroll another $68 million that year.

The board voted for the December shutdown.

DEFERRED PAY BOOSTS

Philadelphia has already done what Redmond urged the Chicago board not to do: defer one year's problem to the next.

Philadelphia's teachers were supposed to get one pay raise in 1970 and another this year. The board didn't have the money for last year's pay boost, and asked the teachers to defer it. They agreed. Thus the board owes the teachers a total of $54 million in additional pay this year, and is faced with other cost increases besides. The state legislature may give it an extra $45 million. The rest, about $23 million, is nowhere in sight.

In Philadelphia, however, school officials by now are veterans in fiscal brinksmanship. "We've opened this way every one of the last three or four years," a spokesman said last week. "Something always comes through, and I assume something will come through this year, too. But I don't know what."

TRAINING NEW PERSONNEL IN THE BUSINESS OF WATER POLLUTION CONTROL

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gillman Laehy is general manager of Buffalo Sewer Authority and certainly a leader in his field. He is doing an outstanding job in directing the planning and development of a $76 million secondary treatment plant in Buffalo. I was pleased that I could assist in obtaining a $23 million Federal grant toward this project which, by the way, is the largest waste treatment construction grant ever made.

Recently, Mr. Laehy delivered a paper to the New York Water Pollution Control Association's 43d annual meeting entitled "Training of New Personnel to Meet Existing and Future Requirements." This is definitely a subject in which we all have an interest.

Mr. Speaker, I include the paper at this point:

TRAINING NEW PERSONNEL

Among many trends that one can discern in modern America there are two that have a direct bearing on those of us who are in the business of Water Pollution Control. The first can be described as the problem of image and the second is the desire of almost all of us to try to find simplicity in the midst of an incredibly complicated and technical age.

Marshall McLuhan, who was a fad several years ago, termed this second problem that of becoming a global village. The fantastic technology of our age, as complicated as it is, has helped us to become simple, in the sense that we have, because of our technology, become a global village. We are one community because of our communications networks, our instant media and total dependence upon each other for the goods and benefits of life.

But this has bred a sense of simplicity in public thinking that makes our jobs in water pollution control somewhat more difficult. For effective water pollution control in this day and age is no simple matter. Perhaps a brief history of our efforts in the Buffalo, New York, area will illustrate this.

The Buffalo area, like the rest of New York State, was originally populated with the Indians of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. Contrary to popular thinking, the Indians of New York were not savages but had a highly developed culture. They lived in permanent dwellings (the long house), in settled villages, with a regular government, were cognizant of farming techniques, trade procedures, etc. But the one thing that they did not have was an effective way to control sewage. As a result the average Indian village had to be abandoned after about 12 years. The disease resulting from lack of effective sanitation and sewage control made the village uninhabitable after that time.

The first white settlers knew the need to get rid of their sewage and so built sewers to handle it. The earliest sewers in Buffalo dated from about 1810 and were hollow logs. But with the vastness of the land they could not foresee that it would be possible to contaminate water supplies that seemed endless to them. And so they dumped their sewage into the Niagara River, whence it flowed over the Falls into Lake Ontario.

This dumping of raw sewage into the River was satisfactory until the early 1930's when a Typhoid Epidemic broke out in Tonawanda, New York, which is downstream from Buffalo. Thus it was that the Buffalo Sewer Authority was created and the present primary treatment plant erected in 1938. In the latter part of the great Depression there was no difficulty finding trained personnel to operate, maintain and manage the Treatment Plant. Operators either received on-the-job training or were given courses held locally by the State.

When the present plant was put into operation in 1938 it was considered one of the most modern and efficient plants in the world. However, the science of treatment has come of age and this is no longer true. The sewage is collected through 804 miles of combined sewers throughout the City of Buffalo, plus the effluent from several outlying communities. In Buffalo we are on the threshold of building a new 75 million dollar secondary treatment plant to meet the needs of this age, complete with phosphate removal to comply with the latest requirements established by the State of New York Department of Environmental Conservation. Actual construction is scheduled to commence in the summer of 1971.

Up to now the Buffalo Sewer Authority employs 260 people, 140 of whom are employed to operate the Treatment Plant. The new Secondary Treatment Plant will necessitate an increase in personnel of about 40, of which about 15 will be new operators. The training of existing personnel and new people is the challenge that we, and you, must face. Again, what seems simple, in this day and age is very complicated. To meet these complicated needs we have used or are using the following methods of education. Remember that in addition to new jobs, we are constantly needing more personnel to replace those who quit or retire. And many of our people who started with us in 1938 or shortly after that are now reaching retirement age.

We might divide our personnel into three categories: sub-technical persons, technical or treatment operators, and administrative and engineering persons.

We have no formal training courses for sub-technical personnel. They are trained informally "on-the-job."

But the training of plant operators is much more formal. There are, as you probably know, three places in New York State where courses in sewage plant operation are given. One is in New York City, one in Syracuse and one in Western New York. We are fortunate in having this operation in Buffalo—it is called the Great Lakes Laboratory, headed by Dr. Robert A. Sweeney, and is associated with the State University College at Buffalo.

Four courses are offered each year at the Great Lakes Laboratory for Grade II operators and two courses for Grade III operators. The Grade II operator course is ten days in duration and the Grade III lasts for five days. The successful candidate is qualified to apply for certification by New York State Department of Environmental Conservation in their particular grade. With the advent of the new Secondary Treatment Plant we intend to enter into an extensive training program through the F.W.Q.A. This program will be 44 weeks long and is subsidized by the F.W.Q.A. The program combines both class room work and on-the-job training.

Incidentally, for those of you who are not as fortunate as we are to have facilities for training operators right in your own communities, or near them, there is a new correspondence course being offered for plant operators. The February 1970 issue of the Journal of Water Pollution Control has an article on this correspondence course being developed by Kenneth Kerr at the Sacramento State College in California. It might be well worth looking into.

But our needs in Buffalo, in addition to trained technical staff, also are in the areas of administration and engineering. For these personnel we are looking to our local colleges and universities. Again we are fortunate to have seven institutions of higher learning within Western New York. Our main university is the State University of New York at Buffalo, the former University of Buffalo, which is one of the four university centers of the State University system. At the U. of B. we have graduate courses in sanitary engineering, and this will, hopefully, be a source for well-trained engineers in environmental control. We are also fortunate in Buffalo to have the Erie County Community College which has a series of courses in environmental health science. We look there for many of our highly skilled technical personnel. Two other colleges in the area, Canisius and Niagara, have courses in both business administration and chemistry. Hopefully, they can supply us with the management people we will need in the future—management people who are also trained in the sciences.

I should note here that this is our local approach to the problem of finding the trained personnel that we need now and in the future. But for those of you from other areas, I might suggest that you look to your local community colleges for people trained in Environmental Health Sciences. For example, there are courses offered in this area by Morrisville Community College, near Syracuse, Broome Technical at Binghamton, and Hudson Valley Community College in the Albany area. Other schools that are developing a curriculum in Environmental Health Sciences are: Suffern Community College, Delhi State College, and Niagara Community College.

Universities offering graduate programs in sanitary engineering include, in addition to the University of Buffalo, Syracuse U., New York University, Brooklyn Polytechnic, and R.P.I. in Troy, New York. This list is far from complete, but it shows that we do have sources for recruiting new personnel throughout the State.

I will not note here the many Federal and State assistance programs for training personnel in water pollution control because I am sure that you are aware of them. Suffice to say that we should be making use of them and we should have in our offices at least one managerial person who is an expert on the necessary "form-filling-out" and government "jargonese." This will enable us to make the most use of the resources that State and Federal Agencies make available to us every year.

But what I am pointing out is the premise with which I began: namely, that while the modern American wants simplicity in his life, it is rather a complicated life. But if we, who are in the business of water pollution control, can master the complications of modern sewage treatment and if we can maintain the professional and technical quality of our staffs, then we will be able to give to John Q. Public the simplicity he wants in one area of his life: a competent sewage disposal system that will help him to live in a pollution free environment. The end result is simple, it is the process that is complicated. And the key to the process is the recruiting of good personnel.

But let us turn to the other need that we see in America today. And this is the need for image. We live in a day of pre-packaged images, available for all who want them. Even candidates for President of the United States have to have the image that is expected of them. And according to recent reports this image is carefully planned and painstakingly executed. But this concern for image is apparent in all levels of society in the U.S. And it is very apparent to those of us who work at sewage disposal.

Writing in the October 1969 issue of Water and Sewage Works magazine, William D. Hiatt states that:

"Factors that influence people in their choice of an occupation are: a) recruiting; b) salaries and wages; c) social acceptance." This last is what I mean by image—social acceptance. He continues to say: "There may be other factors such as family ties and geography, but the three named are the important ones. Salary may ultimately be more important than recruiting, and social acceptance may be, without conscious consideration, the most important."

What he is saying here is that image is an important part of any job. People may not be aware of it, but they instinctively, without being aware of it, will choose that job which gives them the most social acceptance or image.

Now, we all have gone through the verbal "slings and arrows" that are cast constantly at workers in sewage plants. We know what the image is. And then we have to discover how to upgrade the image.

The image that we now have is partially a result of the media. For, as William Hiatt notes, the people know about sewage treatment from two sources: TV's Norton as played by Art Carney on the Jackie Gleason show, and, for the older generation, the Great Guildersleave on radio's Fibber Magee & Molly show (and later on his own TV show). Norton is the unskilled laborer who works all day long in the sewers and shows the marks of it. He is a bumbling idiot who does not know enough to come up for air now and then. He is the fall-guy who tags along for the fun and is the source of much of the fun because of his peculiar line of work.

But in the Great Guildersleave we have the other end of the spectrum—management. He is the head of the local water works and it is obvious that if he ever got down into a sewer he would not be able to find his way out. He is the primeval example of the hack political appointment. He knows little, but it is probably cheaper to give him a good job at City Hall than to have him on welfare. He is good at nothing but the bumbling use of words and is the butt of the jokes around City Hall. His main consolation is that there is one lower than him on the local totem pole and that is the dog catcher.

Like it or not, this is the image that most people have of those who work to keep sewage treatment up to date and who are the main ones working today in water pollution control. It is an image fostered by TV and radio; it is an image guaranteed to give the viewer someone he can look down upon.

It is with this in mind that we have to find the ways to upgrade the image of the professional and non-professional worker in sewage treatment. I think that the first step has already been taken by the change of terms. We now speak of "water pollution control" and this is a better description of what we do than sewage treatment. You may ask: "What's in a name?" And I would have to answer "plenty"! Our younger generation is perhaps more idealistic than any other in our history. And for the first time we are painfully aware that pollution of our environment could spell the end of our civilization.

This is a real challenge to our youth. And if we are to recruit the necessary personnel to run our complicated treatment plants and to plan new systems to meet the needs of the future, we will need these youth. They are the hope of the future and we have to give them an image that befits the important work we ask them to do.

The use of terms like "Water Pollution Control" and "Environmental Health Sciences" are aids in this recruitment. They aid all of us who want to be proud of the work we do. Certainly, it does sound better to say that we are engaged in water pollution control rather than sewage treatment. And it is more accurate! It more accurately describes the kind of work that we do. For what we do has more to it than the digging and cleaning of sewers.

A change of names is the beginning. But in addition to this we need constant publicity. And this means the use of public relations people and techniques. If Madison Avenue can be used to sell the detergents that pollute, why can we not use it to sell the remedies that will keep us if not pollution-free, at least pollution safe?

Public Relations is more than just selling an image. It is also the art of informing people. Information is one of its basic functions. Again our people want simplicity. They want toilets and sewers that work, but they are not interested in how they work, but that they DO! It is our task to keep them informed on the complexities of modern water pollution control. Unless they are aware they will not know or understand how important water pollution control is. And this could spell disaster for our society. But if the public is well informed, certainly this will do much for our image. And it will help to attract to our ranks the young scientists and engineers and technicians that we need today. This kind of information and the use of publicity to get it to the public are what we have in mind when we say that we need public relations people in our offices.

Finally, to have a good image, we must be adequately represented in the entertainment media. Very few entertainers would think today of telling an offensive ethnic joke. It would kill their career. And yet they see nothing wrong with jokes about sewer workers.

I think that it is time that we challenged the stereotypes created by the Nortons and the Great Gildersleaves. The entertainment media have to learn that by making a joke of our professions they are not merely hurting a segment of America, they are also holding back the vital work of combating pollution. They are holding back from us the highly-skilled personnel that we need. For who wants to go to work for a joke.

We have to challenge the entertainment media to take us seriously and to present our work in a light that will help us in the fight against pollution. As H. Rap Brown once said: "You are either a part of the solution or a part of the problem." And right now TV is a part of the problem. It must be made aware that it has to be a part of the solution. I would not be so bold as to say how they should do this. I *am* sure that they have enough experts to do the job. But it must be done. The Nortons and the Great Gildersleaves must be eliminated. Youth must be challenged to see water pollution control as one of the necessary facts of life today.

These then are a few ideas on creating a new or improved image for our profession. Is it really important? Well, to go back to what I said at the beginning, the Indians of New York State had a high degree of culture but it was held back by their constant need to move. Pollution was the fact of life that kept them from advancing or establishing really permanent villages.

The white man in America now has the same problem, only compounded. For he has nowhere more to move. He must now learn to live with his environment and this means controlling its pollution. And controlling it means a well-educated, highly skilled corps of people who are dedicated to water pollution control. This will come through our efforts to educate our personnel, but it will come mostly from the improved image of our work and workers, an image that will attract the young man and woman who is really the hope for the future. Without them and without our efforts there well may be no future. This is the challenge.

U.S. BALANCE-OF-TRADE PROBLEMS

HON. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Mr. Speaker, Benjamin Franklin once wrote:

No nation was ever injured by trade.

It is especially ironic that the proof of his fallacy will be the electrical industry.

The IUE in particular has been hurt especially hard over the past 5 years. They saw a 1969 balance of trade in consumer electronics at a minus $890 million. My figures from the Commerce Department for 1970 show a minus $1,270. You might have seen in the July 30 edition of the Times that Maurice Stans warned that—

The U.S. might have a negative balance of trade for the first time in this century. The United States' overall balance of trade in recent years has deteriorated from surpluses of $5 billion to $7 billion in the early sixties to $1 billion to $2 billion levels since 1967. In 1971 the trade surplus may disappear altogether for the first time since 1893.

The United States has found itself in this precarious position in part because of low tariffs on imports. For example, our tariff on television sets is 7 percent while Japan's is 21 percent. Japan also has a list of 123 major quotas which have effectively banned U.S.-manufactured products from its markets. Even though our TV's cost less, they have been kept from the Japanese market. Mexico is another example of a country which has taken enormous advantage of our lax policies. That Government has imposed restrictions in all areas which have Mexican counterparts. They will import goods which supplement their own industry but not allow any competition with its own industry.

Foreign governments appear to have more stringent laws protecting their own industry than the United States does. Our Government's policy considers management profit a higher priority than labor security and welfare, and its import and tariff policy is based on this premise. This country has been victimized more and more by dumping of foreign imports. Dumping—selling a good for a lower price here than in the foreign country from which it originates—is a criminal violation of title 15 of the United States Code. The enforcement of that code ras been reportedly nonexistent in recent years. It has gotten to the point where U.S. companies are filing complaints against European and Japanese manfacturers. This action is especially critical because of the thousands of jobs in the balance. This action is not as contradictory to Government complicity with industry as it first appears. The prosecution of foreign companies which dump is supported by the U.S. Government. The neglect of title 15 enforcement is probably due to bureaucracy more than anything else. Representative SILVIO O. CONTE, Republican, Massachusetts, is a prime proponent of cracking down on the dumping practice. He explains it this way:

By cutting their prices in this country they gain an unfair advantage over our domestic companies, then these same foreign countries block U.S. firms from selling in their homelands, allowing them to jack up the price of the same items that they sell at home.

The U.S. corporations themselves have aided and abetted this lax policy. Nonenforcement of title 15 also can be seen in light of the growth over the past 10 years of multinational corporations from the United States resulting in foreign subsidiaries and plants in foreign countries producing directly for the U.S. market. In the period 1969–70 U.S. electrical and

electronic industry has invested $2.5 billion in new plants and equipment in foreign countries. U.S. patents and licenses have also been leased to foreign manufacturers in exchange for royalties. This practice is especially repugnant when viewed as a way to obtain cheaper labor than here in the United States. GE, Westinghouse, RCA, Sylvania, Zenith, Emerson, Philco, Admiral, and Singer are just some of the companies fleeing to Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong where wages range from 15 cents an hour to 35 cents. In Japan where there are relatively powerful unions, wages have been brought to a level of $1 an hour. By working in these countries the companies enjoy the best of both worlds—they hire employees in the lower labor market and at the same time sell their products in the highest price market, the United States. The irony is that the electronics industry is a growth industry but it will grow in countries other than the United States. In addition to layoffs, the curtailment of growth perspectives in the electronics industry has also meant a shutting off of employment opportunities for minority groups. When Emerson TV Corp. closed its doors in June 1970, 180 blacks and Spanish-speaking workers who were receiving special training were laid off. The Zenith Radio Corp. of Chicago reported that close to 2,000 employees hired as a result of equal opportunity employment policies were laid off as a result of the shift to foreign labor.

Since 1934, this country has prided itself on being a "free trade" advocate. The end of World War II brought an increase in foreign imports which has increased steadily. This growth, particularly within the next decade, has been stimulated by a variety of factors: The disparity between U.S. and foreign labor costs of assembly and processing; severe and increasing competition in the United States from foreign producers; existence of U.S.-owned foreign plants initially established with the intent to expand in the world markets; benefits provided by tariff item 806.3 and 807; and the incentive offered by foreign governments to attract new industry. This boom in imports is shown very clearly in the statistics of the last few years. Total U.S. imports under tariff item 806.3 and 807 combined increased annually from $953 million in 1966 to about $1,842 million in 1969. While trade under both of these provisions rose sharply and without interruption over this period, most of the aggregate increase, $889 million, was accounted for by articles assembled abroad or containing U.S.-fabricated parts.

From a sample put together by the U.S. Tariff Commission it appears that in 1969 about 40 percent of the imports under this tariff provision was by U.S. concerns having an investment in the overseas assembly facility from which the imports were obtained; about 60 percent of this trade was by U.S. firms whose foreign establishments were primarily oriented to 807 operations. The remainder of the trade was largely by foreign concerns that on their own account obtain U.S. components for assembly into the products they export to the United States. A small part of the total trade was by jobbers or contractors with no financial interest in the foreign establishment from which the assembled article was obtained. The chart below explains this more clearly:

	807	806.3
Total U.S. imports 1969	1,649	193
Imports by firms with U.S. investments in foreign facilities	608	95
Firms whose foreign facilities are exclusively assembling U.S. material	376	82

The growing volume of imports particularly under items 806.3 and 807 has been accompanied by increasing expressions of concern by the AFL–CIO Executive Council and other labor groups. It is their contention that the duty allowance on U.S. materials has encouraged a shift of production facilities from the United States to foreign countries where wages are lower. This has resulted in the exportation of U.S. job opportunities.

The 806.3 and 807 provisions are provided for under schedule 8, part 1, subpart B of the Tariff Schedules of the United States—TSUS. Pursuant to the 806.3 provision articles of metal, except precious metal, that have been manufactured or are subject to a process of manufacturing in the United States and which are exported for processing and returned to the United States for further processing are subject to duty only on the value of the foreign processing. Item 806.3 has its origin in the Customs Simplification Act of 1956. The purpose of the provision was to facilitate the processing of the United States metal articles in contiguous areas of Canada during breakdowns or other emergencies at nearby plants. The explanation offered on the floor of the House at the time of passage was as follows:

> This provision would permit manufacturers to send into Canada principally for processing * * * when * * * they are unable to process that particular metal product within their own plants * * * I believe that there is no possibility that these particular products would ever be shipped to such countries as Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and so forth because of high transportation costs.

Needless to say he was wrong.

The principal articles entered under this item in 1969 are interesting to note: aircraft—primarily wing and tail assemblies and fuselage panels; aluminum sheet and strips, rods, and pipe and tubing; semiconductors, copper and brass strips, boilers and auxiliary equipment. In 1969, imports of aircraft parts were valued at $68 million.

Item 807 allows imported articles assembled in foreign countries with fabricated components that have been manufactured in the United States to be subject to duty on the full value of the imported product less the value of the U.S.-fabricated component. No further processing in the United States is required for the articles imported under this item. This means that there is no need to have any major adjustment made abroad allowing American companies to ship their parts abroad, have cheap labor put the product together and then ship the finished product back to the United States duty free and with substantial financial gain for their corporation.

American companies have devised all sorts of ways to increase their profit by importing goods into the United States. A major change which has gained momentum in the sixties is the soaring rate of investment of American companies in foreign operations. These investments combined with patent and license agreements with foreign companies have transferred American technology to plants throughout the world. Many of these foreign companies operating with American machinery and know-how pay workers as little as 15 cents an hour in Taiwan and less than a dollar in Mexico. In 1960, U.S. firms invested about $3.8 billion in plants and machinery in foreign subsidiaries. In 1971, the Commerce Department said that U.S. firms plan to invest over $15 million. These investment figures show that more than $8 billion will be invested abroad in manufacturing. This is about one-fourth of the $32 billion planned investment in manufacturing in the United States for this entire year. Westinghouse is a good example of a company which has gone through this type of growth. In 1950, Westinghouse had 67 licenses in 21 foreign countries. Today it has 200 licensing agreements in 38 countries.

It is interesting to note that in 1969 Ford was reported to be England's biggest exporter and IBM was the leading French exporter of computer equipment. During the past 25 years according to the estimates made by Harvard Prof. Raymond Vernon about 8,000 subsidiaries of U.S. companies have been established abroad, mostly in manufacturing. It is estimated that the annual sales of foreign branches of U.S. firms are approximately $200 billion or five times U.S. exports. The trend of the American based firm is probably best represented by an advertisement which was placed in the Wall Street Journal, July 15, 1970:

> If you have a patented product or a product that has a market in the U.S. we can help you find a reasonable licensor in Mexico.

An additional major change since World War II is the emergence of a new kind of business—the multinational firm. These are often American-based companies with plants, sales agencies, and other facilities in as many as 40 companies around the world. These multinational firms can juggle their production of parts and the finished products from one subsidiary to another in a different country. The multinational firms can juggle its bookkeeping and prices and their taxes. Their export and import transactions are within the corporation determined by the executives of the corporation, for the benefit and profit of the corporation. This is not exactly free trade. Surely it is not foreign competition. It is also interesting to note that these same companies are calling for the defeat of quotas in the name of free trade.

General Electric has over 80 foreign manufacturing facilities in 24 nations. Westinghouse has either a majority or working agreement with 40 foreign subsidiaries as to who controls the business. No longer can you classify these com-

panies as American but rather they are multinational conglomerates — see the list of the foreign bases of these American companies. No consumer electron products have been manufactured in the United States by Westinghouse since its Edison, N.J., plant was shut down in 1970. These products are now being manufactured by Japanese companies—Sony, Hitachi, and Finai—using the Westinghouse label. Radio components are being imported from other manufacturers in Taiwan and Hong Kong. GE has imported small-screen black and white TV sets from a Japanese company, Hitachi. GE has other joint ventures with Hitachi, Toshiba, and others, and during the 1969–70 strike entered into agreements with them to provide it with electrical and electronic parts. GE has fully owned affiliates in Hong Kong and Singapore with an average wage of $2 a day. GE overseas work has increased 107 percent since 1966 while its domestic work force has increased by only 20 percent.

It is easy to talk about this subject in terms of profit lost or accrued. It's also easy to view import statistics coldly and without much interest. The effect of all these statistics, however, has been an increase in the number of jobs lost to overseas markets. The aggregate number of workers engaged in the production of U.S. material for exportation and processing and assembly must be estimated. All of the material which I was able to get hold of cited different figures using different base numbers. The U.S. Department of Labor estimated that there was a loss of about 700,000 jobs in the 1966–69 period because of increased imports. This does not include an estimate of the loss caused by foreign trade barriers or the markets lost to the multinational firm. For the same period the BLS estimated that the number of jobs lost due to exports was 400,000. More recently the Department of Commerce disclosed that the unemployment in the electronic industry declined by an estimated 107,000 last year alone. The Commerce Department informed me that imports now represent more than 30 percent of domestic consumption of the consumer and that rougher times are ahead.

Mr. Speaker, I include a list of American-owned companies and their subsidiaries and affiliates:

LIST OF COMPANIES, SUBSIDIARIES, AND AFFILIATES

SINGER CO.

1. Subsidiaries:
Commercial Controls Canada Ltd. (Canada).
Friden (Holland) N.V. (Netherlands).
Friden S.A. (France)—86%.
Singer Co. of Canada Ltd.
Singer-Cobble Ltd. (Great Britain).
Singer Industries Ltd. Nigeria.
2. Affiliates:
Pine Sewing Machine Mfg. Co. (50% owned) which makes sewing machines in a plant in Utsunomiya, Japan.
Wholly owns Mastumoto Mokko Ltd. which makes cabinetware.
Owns 50% of Pine Tarnsportation Ltd.
Own 45% of Controls Co. of Japan.

TIME, INC.

Company publishers 6 international editions of Time Magazine.
Subsidiaries:
Time-Life International de Mexico, S.A.
Time-Life International (Nederlands) N.V. (with subsidiaries in England, France, Switzerland and Curacao).
Time International of Canada Ltd.
Little Brown & Co. (Canada) Ltd. 60% owned

AMERICAN METAL CLIMAX

1. Some subsidiaries are:
Climax Molybdenum N.V. (Netherlands).
Ama.: Exploration Quebec Ltd.
Amax of Canada Inc.
Kawneer Co. Canada Ltd.
Northwest Amax Ltd. (Canada) 75%
Northwest Amax Ltd. (Canada) 75% owned — the Climax Molybdenum Co. of Michigan owns the Climax Molybdenum Development Co. (Japan).

CUMMINS ENGINE COMPANY, INC.

1. Subsidiaries (wholly owned).
Cummins Diesel of Canada Ltd.
Komatsu-Cummins Sales Co. Ltd. (Tokyo-Japan). 51% owned.
2. Foreign Licensees, etc.
Komatsu Mfg. Co. Ltd., Tokyo, Fried's Krupp (Germany), Diesel, Nacional S.A. (Mexico) etc., Mexico City

LEVER BROS. CO. (UNILEVER LTD.)

Has interests all over the world, including Japan—subsidiaries and affiliates are not listed separately.

BOOZ, ALLEN & HAMILTON, INT.

International consultant firm in Canada, West Germany, France, Mexico, etc.

BELL & HOWELL CO.

1. Markets in U.S. a line of cameras produced by Canon Camera Co. Inc., Tokyo and sold as Bell & Howell—camera equipment.
2. Owns 90% of Japan Cine Equipment & Mfg. Co.
3. Wholly owned subsidiaries include:
Ditto of Canada Lt. Toronto.
Bell & Howell Canada Ltd. Toronto
Bell & Howell H.B., Sweden.
Bell & Howell France S.A. Paris.
Devry Institute of Technology of Canada, Ltd.
Other subsidiaries in Sweden, Belgium, Switzerland, etc.

INTERNATIONAL PAPER CO.

1. Subsidiaries:
Canadian International Paper Company.
British International Paper Ltd.
Canadian International Pulp Sales Ltd.
International Paper Company (Europe) Ltd.
International Paper (France).

CARRIER CORP.

1. Subsidiaries:
Carrier Air Conditioning (Canada) Ltd.
Camwell of Canada Ltd.
Toyo Carrier Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha (Japan) 75% owned.
Carrier International Sdn. Malaysia.
Carlyle Air Conditioning Co., Ltd., United Kingdom.
Carrier GmbH Germany.

BORG-WARNER CORP.

1. Wholly-owned subsidiaries include:
Arpic N. V. (Holland).
Borg-Warner Investments Pty Ltd. Borg-Warner (Canada) Ltd.
Borg-Warner Ltd. (England) which owns Marbon, Australia Pty. Ltd. (55%) Borg-Warner.
Australia Ltd. (75%) etc.
2. Affiliates (jointly owned):
Ube Cycon Ltd. (Japan).
Nsk-Warner KK (Japan).
Aisin-Warner KK.
York, India Ltd., New Delhi, India.

STANDARD OIL CO. (NEW JERSEY)

1. Company owns 70% of Imperial Oil Ltd. (Canada).
Company owns 23% of Interprovincial Pipe Line Co. (Canada).
Company owns all of Esso Eastern Chemicals, Inc., which coordinates chemical interests in Japan.
Southeast Asia, etc.
Company has extensive European, Latin American, Middle East and Far East holdings in Norway, Denmark, West Germany, Belgium, Venezuelan, Brazil, Argentina, Chile etc.

IBM

Has 17 mfg. plants in 15 nations, including Japan.
IBM World Trade Corp. & its subsidiaries operate facilities in 108 countries in 1969.

PEPSI CO.

1. Subsidiaries:
Paso de los Torros, S.A. (Uruguay).
Shani Bottling Co. (Pty) Ltd. S. (Africa)
Pepsi-Cola Italia S.P.A.
Pepsi Co. Oversea Corp., Food Enterprises Ltd. (Japan), Mike Popcorn K. K. (Japan).
Pepsi-Cola (Japan) Ltd.
Pepsi-Cola (Pakistan).
Pepsi-Cola Ltd. (England).
Pepsi-Cola Refrigerantes Ltd. (Brazil).

KIMBERLY-CLARK CORP.

1. Subsidiaries:
Kimberly-Clark of Canada Ltd.
Kimberly-Clark Pulp & Paper Co., Ltd. (Canada).
Kimberly-Clark Lumber (Canada) Ltd. (inactive).
Kimberly-Clark de Mexico S.A. (60% owned).
Kimberly-Clark Far East Ltd. (Singapore) 60% owned.
Kimberly-Clark Ltd. (England) 66⅔% owned.
2. Co. has property in Japan.

BOISE CASCADE CORP.

1. Company has foreign utility operations, mainly sale of electricity, conducted through subsidiaries in Ecuador, Guatemala and Panama—the subsidiaries are:
Empresa Electrica del Ecuador Inc.
Empresa Electrica de Guatemala, S.A.
Cia. Panamena de Fuerza y Luz.
2. Company has subsidiaries including:
Boise-Cascade International, Inc. which owns Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Company, Ltd. Mobile home and recreational vehicle plants in British Columbia, France, England, and The Netherlands.

CPC INTERNATIONAL

Principal Subsidiaries:
Clifford Love & Co., Ltd. (Australia)
Refineries de Maiz, S.A.I.yC. (Argentina)
Refinacoes de Milho, Brazil Ltda. (Brazil)
Canada Starch Co. Ltd.
Brown & Polson Ltd. (England).

LOCKHEED AIRCRAFT

1. Among the company's principal subsidiaries, wholly-owned, are:
Lockheed Aircraft Int'l. A.G. (Switzerland)
Lockheed Aircraft Int'l. Ltd. (Hong Kong)
Lockheed Aircraft Corporation of Canada, Ltd.
Lockheed Offshore Petroleum Services Ltd. Canada
Lockheed S.A. de C.U. (Mexico)
Lockheed Aircraft (Australia) Pty., Ltd.

CONTINENTAL CAN CO., INC.

1. Principal subsidiary:
Continental Can Company of Canada Ltd.

H. J. HEINZ CO.

1. Subsidiaries:
H.J. Heinz of Canada Ltd.
H.J. Heinz Co. Ltd. (91.16% owned) British Isles
Nichiro-Heinz Co. Ltd. (80% owned) to make and market Heinz products in Japan also in Australia, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, Portugal, Venezuela, Switzerland, Italy, Pago Pago, etc.

DEERE & CO.

1. Subsidiaries:
John Deere Ltd. (Canada)
John Deere Intercontinental Ltd. (Ontario, Canada)

John Deere (France)
2. John Deere S.A. Mexico 75% owned:
John Deere-Lanz Ver waltungs A.G. Germany (99% owned)
John Deere, Ltd., South Africa, 75% owned.

HEWLETT-PACKARD CO.

1. Company's European operations are handled by wholly-owned Hewlett-Packard S.A. (Switzerland). This company has 2 manufacturing subsidiaries and 9 marketing subsidiaries.
2. Affiliates:
Yokogawa-Hewlett-Packard, Ltd. (49% owned) makes electronic measuring instruments in a plant at Hachoti, Japan. The affiliate also handles companies marketing operations in Japan. Also in Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Australia.

SPERRY-RAND CO.

1. Main subsidiaries are:
Sperry Rand Canada.
Sperry Rand Ltd. (England).
Sperry Rand Italia, S.P.A. (Italy).
Vickers (Germany) G. mbH.
Sperry Rand Australia Ltd.
2. Affiliates:
Tokyo Keiki Seizosho Co. Ltd.
Nippon Univac Kaisha Ltd. (Japan).
Oki Univac Kabushiki Kaisha (Japan).
West & de Toit (S. Africa).

BRISTOL MYERS CO.

1. Subsidiaries:
Bristol Banyu Research Institute Ltd. (Japan).
Bristol Laboratories (Japan) Ltd., Bristol Industries Ltd. (Taiwan).
Bristol Laboratories of Canada Ltd.
Bristol-Myers Co. Ltd. (England).
Deutsche-Drackett Inc.
Bristol-Myers, Canada Ltd.
Bristol-Myers (Japan) Ltd.
Clairol (Japan) Ltd., Hair Coloring Industries (Japan) Ltd.

W. R. GRACE & CO.

1. Some subsidiaries are:
Dearborn Chemical Co. Ltd. (Canada).
Dubois Chemicals of Canada, Ltd.
Golding Bros. Canadian Ltd.
Howard & Sons (Canada) Ltd.
Leaf Confections Ltd.
Willard Chemical of Canada Ltd.
Leaf Belgium N.V.
S.A. Rene Weil, France 85% owned.
Hughes Bros. Ltd. Ireland.
N.V. Cacaofabriek de zoan (The Netherlands).

UNITED AIRCRAFT

1. Subsidiaries:
United Aircraft of Canada Ltd. 90.6
2. Affiliates:
Ratier-Forest S. A. France (15% owned) makes aircraft and missle components.
Precilec S.A. (France) 20% owned makes electronic components.
Orenda Ltd. (Ontario) 40% owned.

TEXAS INSTRUMENTS

1. Texas Instruments Japan Ltd. (owned equally by Co. and Sony Corporation).
2. Some subsidiaries are:
Geophysical Service International Ltd.
Texas Instrumentos and Electronicos do Brazil Ltda.
Texas Instruments Ltd. (England).
Indonesia Surveys S.A.
G.S.I. de Mexico, S.A. de C.V.

BENDIX CORP.

1. Some subsidiaries are:
Akebono Brake Industry Co. Ltd., (Tokyo) 10.3% owned.
Jidosha Kiki (Tokyo) 13% owned.
Bendix Taiwan Ltd. (Taiwan).
Ducellier et Cie, (Paris, France) 60% owned.
Jurid Werke Gmbh (Hamburg, Germany) 49% owned.
Bendix Mintex (Pty.) Ltd. (Australia) 51% owned.
Greenpar Engineering Ltd. (Essex, England).

AMERICAN MOTORS

1. Some subsidiaries are:
American Motors (Canada) Ltd.
Canadian Fabricated Products Ltd.
American Motors of South Africa (Pty) Ltd.
American Motors del Peru.
A.M.C. de Venezuela, C.A.
2. Affiliates:
IKA-Renault S. A.
Vehiculos Automotors Mexicanos, S.A.

M'DONNELL DOUGLAS CORP.

Some subsidiaries are:
Douglas Aircraft Co. of Canada Ltd.
McDonnell Douglas Japan Ltd. (Tokyo).

M'GRAW-HILL, INC.

1. Some major subsidiaries are:
McGraw-Hill Co. of Canada, Ltd.; McGraw-Hill Book Co. (South Africa) (Pty) Ltd.
McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Ltd. (England).
McGraw-Hill Book Co., GmbH, Dusseldorf, Germany.
Libros McGraw-Hill de Mexico S.A. de C.V.
2. Affiliates:
Technic Union, Paris, France (49% interest).
New Medical Journals Ltd., London England (50% interest).
World Medical Publications S.A., Brussels, Belgium (50% interest).
Nikkei-McGraw-Hill Inc., Tokyo (49% owned).
Tatu-McGraw-Hill Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, India (40% owned).
Penguin Publishing Co. Ltd. (Great Britain) 10% owned.

FORD MOTOR CO.

1. Ford Motor Company, Ltd., Britain, produces cars, trucks, commercial vans and Ford tractors, and is the 2nd largest producer of such items in the British Isles.
2. Ford Motor Company of Canada Ltd. (81% owned) is the 2nd largest producer of passenger cars and the largest producer of trucks in Canada.
3. Ford-Werke A/G produces Ford cars, light buses, pickups and vans, and is the 3rd largest producer of such vehicles in Germany.
Subsidiaries and branches:
4. Ford also has affiliates in many countries:
Ford Motor Co. S.A. Mexico.
Ford Motor Argentina.
Ford (Uruguay) S.A.
Ford Motor Co., Del Peru S.A.
Ford Motor Co., A/S Denmark 78% owned.
Willys Overland do Brazil S.A. Industria E Comercio (Brazil) 52% owned.

PARTIAL SUMMARY OF FOREIGN HOLDINGS OF MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES LISTED IN ADVERTISEMENT PAID FOR BY "EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR AMERICAN TRADE"

BOEING CO.

1. Wholly owns Boeing of Canada Ltd.; engaged in overhaul, modification, field service and spare part support for Vertol helicopters in Canada.
2. Is affiliated with and owns 10% of the largest aerospace company in Germany Messerschmidt Bolkow-Blohm GmbH.
3. Company planning to construct a $3.5 million structural fiberglass factory near Winnipeg, Manitoba.

NATIONAL BISCUIT CO.

1. Company has world-wide operations.
2. Some of the company's subsidiaries are:
Christie, Brown & Co. Ltd. (Canada).
Nabisco, Ltd. (England).
Fireside Food Products Co. Ltd. (Canada).
Griffin & Sons, Ltd. (New Zealand).
Nabisco-La Favorita C.A. (Caracas, Venezuela) 60% owned.
Kut-as-Sayyid Estate, Ltd. (Iraq).
Saiua Biscotti ed, affini S.p.A. (Italy).
Reid Milling Ltd. (Canada).
Nabisco-Fomosa, S.A. (Mexico).
National Biscuit (France).
Oxford Biscuit Factory Ltd. (Denmark).
Industrias Nabisco-Cristal, S.A. (Nicaragua).

HONEYWELL, INC.

1. Some subsidiaries are:
Honeywell Controls, Ltd. (Toronto).
Honeywell, A.B. (Stockholm, Sweden).
Honeywell, N.V. (Amsterdam, The Netherlands).
Honeywell Europe, Inc., (Brussels, Belgium).
Honeywell, S.A.I.C., (Argentina).
Honeywell GmbH. (Frankfurt, Germany).
Honeywell Defense Products Europe, S.A.R.L.
Oy Honeywell A.B. (Helsinki, Finland).
2. Affiliates:
Yamatake-Honeywell Keiki Co., Ltd. (Japan) 50% owned.
Yamatake-Honeywell Co. Ltd. (Taiwan)

CATERPILLAR TRACTOR CO.

1. Wholly owns:
Caterpillar of Australia Ltd.
Caterpillar of Belgium S.A.
Caterpillar of Brasil S.A.
Caterpillar of Canada Ltd.
Caterpillar Mexicana, S.A. de C.V.
Caterpillar Overseas Credit Corp. S.A.
Caterpillar France S.A.
Caterpillar (Africa) (Pty) Ltd. Johannesburg. S. Africa.
Caterpillar FarEast Ltd. Hong Kong
2. Affiliates:
Caterpillar Mitsubishi Ltd. Tokyo, equally owned with Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Ltd., Sagami, Japan.

AMERICAN EXPORT

1. American Export Industries owns 97.49% American Export Isbrandtson Lines, Inc.
2. Owns 95% of Premium Iron Ores Ltd. (Toronto).
Owns American Export International, Inc.

XEROX CORP.

1. Company is world-wide, some principal subsidiaries include:
Universal Microfilms Ltd. (England).
Xerox of Canada Ltd.
2. Company affiliates include:
Rank Xerox Ltd. (England) owner 50%.
Owns 50% of Fugi-Xerox (Japan).

CHASE MANHATTAN BANK

Has branches in many countries.

FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK

Has branches in many countries.

BANK OF AMERICA

Branches in many countries.

PFIZER, INC.

Produces in Japan—owns Pfizer Int. Corp. (Panama).
Owns 80% of Pfizer Taho Co. Ltd. (Japan).

KAISER ALUMINUM & CHEMICAL CORP.

Company has world wide foreign affiliates in Japan, England, Canada, Germany, Italy, etc.

MARCONA CORP.—SUBSIDIARY OF CYPRUS MINES

Has some world wide affiliates—has $250 million contract to provide.
Japanese Steel Makers with 4.2 million tons of lump ore.

GENERAL MOTORS CORP.

Has world wide holdings such as:
General Motors of Canada, Ltd.
Motors Holding of Canada Ltd.
Vauxhall Motors Ltd. (England).
Adam Opel (Aktienogsellschaft (Germany)
General Motors Holden's Ptg. Ltd. (Australia), etc.

CLARK EQUIPMENT

Company's products made world wide by licensees, some of whom are in Japan.
Subsidiaries include:
Canadian Tyler Refrigeration Ltd.
Clark Equipment of Canada Ltd.

Clark Equipment Ltd. (Great Britain).
Also in Switzerland, France, Venezuela, West Germany, Belgium, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Spain, etc.

QUAKER OATS

Subsidiaries:
Quaker Oats Co. of Canada Ltd.
Quaker Oats Ltd. (England).
Quaker Oats Co. (Germany).
Quaker Oats Co. (New Zealand).
Also in Mexico, Nicaragua, Colombia, Sweden, etc.

DELTEC INTERNATIONAL LTD.

1. Company is an investing banking business primarily in Latin America and Europe.

LITTON INDUSTRIES, INC.

1. Has plants world wide, including Japan.

CHRYSLER CORP.

1. Subsidiaries include:
Chrysler Antemp Ltd. (England).
Chrysler Australia Ltd.
Chrysler Canada Outboard Ltd. Canada).
Chrysler Canada Ltd.
Chrysler Antemp S.A. (France).
Rootes Motors Ltd. (England) owns 73.3%.
(Company entering into agreement with Mitsubishi Healy Industries Ltd. subject to Japanese government approval to form joint auto venture in Japan, (65% Japanese owned.)

Mr. Speaker, for decades the warning has been flashing before us. If Congress does not do something to alleviate the problem faced by American workers soon then Benjamin Franklin's assurances will be small comfort for those victim to empty promises.

One approach which has been called for is the following:

First. We must strictly enforce anti-dumping laws and statutes which impose penalties on subsidies of exports by foreign countries.

Second. Congress must pass quota legislation which would establish the right of foreign countries to sell in the U.S. market, but which would guarantee a fair share of production and jobs in this country for the American workers.

Third. Legislation requiring "truth in import and labeling" must be enacted. This would require American based companies who import for sale in the United States to carry a label on the face of the product citing this practice.

Fourth. Tax laws must be reevaluated in the face of financial manipulation by multinational corporations. I have entered a list showing the foreign affiliates of American companies and the operations which it undertakes in subsidiaries abroad. American corporations have used this device to unfairly escape paying taxes.

The problem is serious and calls for remedial action at the earliest possible date.

THE LOCKHEED LOAN AND THE PIGZTYE CAPER: NO RESEMBLANCE?

HON. RONALD V. DELLUMS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DELLUMS. Mr. Speaker, in light of the Congress' recent action subsidizing the failing management of the Lockheed Corp., I submit the following column by Art Hoppe.

Any similiarity between Lockheed's "problems" and those of Pigztye Productions is, probably, unintentional?

The article follows:

THE PIGZTYE CAPER

(By Art Hoppe)

Administration officials warned Congress last week that unless Pigztye Productions was saved from bankruptcy, the Nation faced riots, starvation and eventual annexation by Denmark.

A. Christopher Kent, head of the Big Business Administration, told the Senate Banking Committee that without $1 billion in Government-guaranteed loans, Pigztye would close its doors, throwing thousands of Americans out of work.

"Let us not forget, gentlemen," he said, "that Pigztye is the pace-setter in producing pornographic books, movies and other erotic material. This $20 billion industry is critical to our endangered economy.

"If Pigztye fails, investors' faith will be shattered, the stock market will nosedive, bread lines will spring up everywhere and the country will be flooded by cheap Danish imports."

Several Senators expressed doubts Pigztye could be saved. One noted that 10,000 small smut peddlers had gone out of business in the past year and suggested that smut was a glut on the market.

Kent replied that the small-time dealers went broke because they couldn't get Government loans. "After all," he said, "the Government isn't in business to help two-bit businessmen."

Pigztye's president, Portnoy Pigztye, told Senators consumer demand was as high as ever. He blamed Pigztye's financial problems on cost overruns, inflation, sun spots, high interest rates and erroneous astrological forecasts. He hotly denied Senate charges that corporate mismanagement was a factor.

The charges centered around Portnoy's son, Irving. Senate investigators said Irving had, over the past seven years:

1. Paid $2.5 million for the American rights to Spenser's "The Faerie Queene" on the grounds "a title like that spells socko box office with the Gay Liberation Front."

2. Turned down the American rights to "The African Queen" on the grounds that "very few gay libbers are of the black persuasion."

3. Wrote, produced and directed an $8 million sado-masochist film in which the sadist refused to whip the masochist on the grounds "this was the most vicious kind of sadism." It lost $8 million.

4. Made the most spectacular bestiality film of all time: a $21 million epic in Cinemascope that was the definitive word on bestiality. In fact, it contained not a single human actor. It lost $21 million.

5. Purchased an entire Walter Keane exhibition for $3.6 million on the grounds that "voyeurs go mad for exhibitionists."

6. Created, single-handed, the company's new slogan: "If It Isn't a Pigztye, It Isn't Pornography!"

* * *

The Senate unanimously passed a resolution condemning Irving for "managerial idiocy, financial imbecility, creative ignoramousness and downright coo-coo-headed stupid dumbness."

It then, of course, reluctantly came across with the $1 billion to save Pigztye Productions and the American economy.

Now that he had the billion, President Portnoy Pigztye was asked if he planned to fire Irving.

"Fire Irving!" cried Portnoy, aghast. Then he fingered the $1 billion check and smiled contentedly. "Why, without Irving, Pigztye Productions wouldn't be worth a nickel today."

GREEK JUNTA ACTS TO CONTROL PRESS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the following story appeared in the New York Times on August 5, 1971. It focuses on a proposal, drawn up by the colonels who rule Greece, that, if implemented, would effectively control reporters and foreign journalists in Greece. As proposed the law would, in fact, establish the ruling junta as the arbiter as to what may be printed.

A government which promulgates such decrees lacks real confidence in its ability to survive with free institutions. Implementation of this law should also be another, if not final, clear signal to those in the Executive Branch who implement foreign policy that the Athens Government is continuing its steady movement away from democracy.

Continued American support for this undemocratic government in contradiction to our NATO treaty commitments can only harm our long-term security interests.

The article follows:

ATHENS BILL BIDS THE PRESS HEED "TRADITION" OR FACE PUNISHMENT

ATHENS.—The Greek Government has drafted a seven-point "code of ethics" for reporters and foreign correspondents under which a journalist who fails to heed "Hellenic-Christian traditions" could be suspended from working.

Under Secretary George Georgalas, the military regime's chief spokesman, confirmed the draft at a news briefing today.

The draft is before the Consultative Committee on Legislation, which can make suggestions for changes. However, its suggestions are not binding on the Cabinet, which has the sole power of issuing the decrees that become law.

"The bill consolidates the freedom of journalists but also their responsibilities," he said. "We believe that freedom must be ruled by law and exercised with a sense of responsibility. If some of the foreigners disagree with our concept for freedom, law, responsibility, we cannot help it."

The draft law, reported by an Athens newspaper on Monday, provoked anger among journalists, who saw it as a fresh attempt to silence press criticism at home and abroad against the army-backed regime, which seized power in April, 1967.

The new code would require both Greek and foreign reporters to "serve the interests of the people and the nation, being inspired in this by the Hellenic-Christian traditions."

The code applies to foreign correspondents visiting Greece although not based there. The worst that could happen to them for any conduct the authorities view as infringing the code would be permanent disqualification. The code says nothing about expulsion.

For a lesser offense a visiting correspondent faces temporary disqualification—perhaps a three-month ban on journalistic activities. For still lesser infringements the sanction is a public reprimand, printed in the local press; lower still comes a fine up to $1,000 and a private reprimand, and the mildest sanction is a private reprimand.

Journalists would also be prohibited from reporting information "if its publication can harm the public interest." The bill does not explain who would determine what the pub-

lic interest was, nor does it outline the meaning of "Hellenic-Christian traditions."

The code would be enforced by a Government-appointed "council or honor" composed of one judge and two press union delegates, one each from the proprietors and newsmen. Two delegates each are slated for the higher council to which journalists could appeal.

The council would be empowered to impose penalties ranging from a reprimand to a fine of $1,000 and from temporary suspension from the profession to a life-long ouster. The draft says the members of the council are to be chosen by the minister in charge of the press and to be paid with Government funds.

Under the draft law, "violation of Hellenic-Christian traditions" involves temporary suspension, as does the recurring "violation of the rules of dignified demeanor" or the "exercise of the profession of journalism in a manner opposed to the public interest."

The penalty of permanent expulsion is for printing information related to the organization, composition or deployment of the armed forces or in case of a conviction for sedition.

Participation in journalists' unions shall become compulsory, but only after certifying the member's "loyalty"—basically the absence of a police record as a Communist. It is the minister in charge of the press who makes the decisions.

Publishers who employ journalists without identity cards or those disqualified by a council of honor may draw a prison term from one month to five years and financial sanctions. Unions must automatically expel members who are disqualified by the minister. All the public-relations employes of Government organizations became union members.

The code of ethics and the councils of honor are compulsory also for foreign correspondents, whether resident or visiting, Greek or foreign, according to the draft bill.

The Under Secretary refused to reply to a German news magazine correspondent who asked if the Government planned to obstruct by this bill the free flow abroad of news about Greece. Mr. Georgalas said there was "bad faith" in his question.

CON SON PRISON

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, as the following letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs indicates, the United States' involvement in the internal matters of South Vietnam is extensive. While the United States may be cutting back on its military combat activities, the civilian involvement of our Government in public safety programs appears to be expanding. The Agency for International Development as well as other executive agencies of this Government is actively participating in programs that support the activities of the government in Saigon.

Recently Mr. Theodore Jacqueney, a former Aid Cords Pacification and Development Officer, who recently completed an 18-month tour of duty in South Vietnam, discussed before a House subcommittee the building of 288 new isolation cells at Con Son Island Prison. According to Mr. Jacqueney, political prisoners, such as those who were in the tiger cases discovered last year by Members of Congress, are being transferred to this island prison. They are being removed from the mainland where they may prove embarrassing to the Saigon government during the upcoming election campaign.

Mr. Jacqueney stated further that there is an unknown number of political prisoners in South Vietnam. His report also indicates that men and women have been thrown into prison without being charged and at the whim of local governmental officials.

American support for intelligence, prison and police programs appear to be in direct contradiction to the democratic principles which this country espouses. The letter from the Department of Defense follows:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., July 6, 1971.

Hon. DONALD M. FRASER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. FRASER: This is in reply to your letter of May 19, 1971, regarding the Department of the Navy's expenditure in the Republic of Vietnam for the support of construction at Con Son Prison.

The advisory functions for the civilian prisons in the Republic of Vietnam are within the purview of the Agency for International Development. In order to be responsive to your request AID has provided us with the following information.

The new construction on Con Son originated from a decision of the Government of Vietnam to build new maximum security facilities there from their own resources. These consist of four new buildings designed according to more modern penal standards than the old French cells they are to replace. Decision to build the new structures followed severe deterioration of prisoner discipline after the old cells were vacated and the maximum security prisoners were housed among the other prisoners.

The first of the new buildings was completed in December under a "self-help" program of the Vietnamese Government utilizing prison labor. Because of the prolonged period of time required to complete the first building and the deterioration of prison discipline, a decision was reached by MACCORDS in Saigon to assist the GVN to construct more rapidly the remaining three buildings. A contract was negotiated through the Officer-in-Charge of Construction, U.S. Naval Facilities Engineering Command, with a U.S. construction company, Raymond, Morrison, Knudson-Brown, Root and Jones, utilizing local currency piaster funds. The approximate piaster cost of this contract is, we understand, equivalent to $400,000.

I hope this information will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely,

(S) DENNIS J. DOOLIN,
Deputy Assistant Secretary.

WHY THE TRANS-ALASKA PIPELINE SHOULD BE STOPPED

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the Interior Department is expected to issue the final environmental impact statement—as required by the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969—on the trans-Alaska pipeline in the near future. I believe there are some very basic and, as yet, unresolved environmental problems with the Alaska pipeline and I have been disappointed that this issue has not received the public or congressional attention I think it deserves.

Today, I am inserting into the RECORD an excellent article, "Why the Trans-Alaska Pipeline Should Be Stopped," which appeared in the June issue of the Sierra Club Bulletin. The author of the article is Congressman LES ASPIN, our young and able colleague from Wisconsin, who has been a leader in the fight against the Alaska pipeline. The arguments Mr. ASPIN presents in this article against the construction of the Alaska pipeline are cogent, forceful, and well-written. I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues. It follows:

WHY THE TRANS-ALASKA PIPELINE SHOULD BE STOPPED

(By Congressman LES ASPIN)

The question of whether the Interior Department should grant permits to a consortium of seven oil companies to build an 800-mile trans-Alaska pipeline is an important one, one that deserves far more attention than it has received in the past. It is an important question because the preservation of our last great wilderness may be at stake; it is important because the very way of life of the Alaskan natives—Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts—may be at stake; it is important because the effectiveness of one of the best anti-pollution laws passed by Congress—the National Environment Policy Act of 1970—is in jeopardy of being subverted by bureaucratic sleight-of-hand; it is at least equally important because it demonstrates in a very graphic fashion the oil industry's incredible influence over government policies.

In February, the Interior Department held public hearings in both Washington and Alaska to consider whether it should allow a 48-inch pipeline to be constructed over federal land from Prudhoe Bay in Northern Alaska to Valdez, an ice-free port in the south, in order to transport a very large quantity of oil discovered in the North Slope. The North Slope, which is owned by the State of Alaska, has been leased to the seven oil companies for $900 million. The focus of the Interior Department hearings was a draft statement on the environmental impact of the proposed pipeline, which is required by Section 102(c) of NEPA.

At those hearings several hundred people testified and a great deal of criticism was levelled against the draft impact statement—which concluded that any adverse environment effects resulting from the pipeline were "acceptable." Some of the basic criticisms of the draft statement were:

That it failed to adequately consider the possibility of the potential effects of a pipeline break due to earthquakes. The area surrounding the 800 miles over which the pipeline would go has been hit with 23 large earthquakes, with a Richter rating of 6 or more, in the last 70 years. Each mile of the pipeline contains twice as much oil as was spilled in Santa Barbara in 1969. Any pipeline break could be disastrous.

That the impact statement failed to consider adequately the ecological dangers involved in transporting the oil by tanker from Valdez to the West Coast;

That it failed to consider meaningfully the effect of the pipeline on the Alaskan natives' subsistence way of life. Specifically, that it did not pay enough attention to how the pipeline would affect migratory patterns of caribou, moose, and other animals on

which the natives depend for their food, and that it did not even require the oil companies to economically compensate the natives for any damage to their traditional hunting lands caused by an oil spill;

That the draft statement failed to consider other alternatives such as a Canadian pipeline route to the Midwest which would not go through earthquake zones or require the use of tankers, and thus would pose fewer ecological hazards.

The impact statement was not a thorough one and did not, I believe, meet the legal requirements of NEPA. In fact, there are some real doubts as to whether the impact statement was an honest one. At the pipeline hearings in Washington, I released some very important statements by Interior Department officials, critical of the pipeline, which were not referred to at all in the draft statement. These criticisms made the Interior Department report's conclusion little short of remarkable. Among the critical statements which the Interior Department chose not to include at all in its report were:

"Pipeline breaks or leaks could cause pollution of lands and waters that would be indescribable"; "A pipeline break at the wrong place at the wrong time could be devastating to a broad spectrum of the ecology of a significant area, affecting native food supplies"; "With miles between shut-off valves, any rupture would be catastrophic, no matter where it occurred."

Another document which I released the same day was a 38 page report by Harold T. Jorgenson of the Interior Department, which details many of the omissions and unfounded assumptions in the Impact Statement. Mr. Jorgenson concludes that the impact statement summary "seems too much to assume that what's good for the oil industry is good for the rest of the country." Although dated January 8, 1971, the Jorgenson Report was not mentioned in the draft statement and was still not public at the time of the Interior Department's hearings in Washington on February 16.

The second critical document that was kept from the public's reach was a 21 page report on the Impact Statement by the Alaska Office of the Army Corps of Engineers. This report is a surprising one because the Corps has frequently been criticized for failing to adequately consider the ecological consequencies of any of its own projects. Yet, in this report, the Alaskan Corps demonstrates a real concern for the environment and asserts that the conclusions of the impact statement appear to be "unsupported opinions which in fact, in many instances, they indeed are."

The Corps of Engineers Report criticizes the Interior Department draft Impact Statement for:

Failing to fully comply with the letter and spirit of the Environmental Policy Act;

Assuming without sufficient data that immediate development of the Alaskan oil deposits is necessary for national security;

Agreeing to stipulations that are "too general to support the positive assurances given throughout the report that adverse ecological changes and pollution potential will be eliminated or minimized by these stipulations."

Unfortunately, though dated February 5, 1971, the existence of the Corps report was not publicly known during the pipeline hearings held in Washington and Alaska. In fact, it was still bottled up in the Pentagon on March 5, when I placed it in the Congressional Record.

Another of the truly unfortunate aspects of the draft Impact Statement is its "key assumption" that immediate development of the North Slope oil is necessary for our national security—i.e. that we will have to depend for a significant amount of our oil from potentially hostile Arab countries. This argument is unfortunate because, first, it is untrue and, second, it has no place in an environmental impact statement. NEPA requires that the *ecological* consequences of a proposed project involving the government be studied, not that all the possible arguments for or against the project be included in an environmental impact statement. Moreover, it is not within the competence of Interior to intelligently evaluate the national security argument, and they did little to contribute to a rational discussion of the desirability of constructing the trans-Alaska pipeline by including such "key assumptions" in the draft impact statement.

It is true that one of the "key assumptions" on which the argument for the immediate construction of the pipeline is based is that it is essential for the national security. While this is not an appropriate subject for an environmental impact statement, it does deserve a thorough evaluation. The draft statement states that an annual 4 percent growth rate in domestic demand for oil through 1980 is the basis for its national security argument. Where Interior got this 4 percent projection remains a mystery. In a recent study of the trans-Alaska pipeline, two economists, Drs. Charles Cicchetti and John Krutilla of Resources for the Future, estimate that the highest possible growth rate for demand of oil through 1980 is around 3 percent. Their estimate is based on the five most recent projections of future oil demand made by government and oil industry sources. Those estimates range from a low projection of 2.34 percent to a high of 3.12 percent and are probably on the high side since they come from the government and the oil industry itself. The difference between the 4 percent projection used in the impact statement and the other estimates is very significant. If the 3 percent projection is correct, we will need 19,000 barrels of oil per day by 1980 rather than the 22,000 per day which the impact statement assumes will be needed. This would mean that America's dependence on oil from Mideast countries in 1980 will be 10 percent, not the 22 percent the impact statement maintains would be needed if the North Slope oil were not developed. In fact, our reliance on Mideast oil in 1980, if we do not extract oil from Alaska in the next 10 years, will be 10 percent. The Interior impact statement assumes we will need 14 percent even if we *do* develop the North Slope oil.

The draft statement's projected 4 percent rate of demand for oil is so exaggerated it can only be based on a combination of a long list of highly unlikely assumptions, such as:

That there will be no new discoveries of natural gas in the next ten years;

That the cost of coal production will significantly increase soon;

That there will be a tax on sulphur dioxide which would also increase the cost of coal;

That nuclear fuel costs will significantly increase soon;

That there will be no federal subsidies for fuel conversion;

That the development of hydroelectric power will not be increased;

That no significant changes will be made in the internal combustion engine;

And that there will be no further legislation restricting and regulating offshore drilling in the next ten years.

In other words, the 4 percent projection assumes that everything good that could happen to the oil industry will happen and that everything bad that could happen to the other fuel industries will also happen. The likelihood of all this coming true lies somewhere between the remarkable and the impossible.

The only conclusion that one could reasonably draw from all this is that the impact statement's projection for a 4 percent growth rate, on which its national security argument is based, is economically factually, and objectively wrong. Simply put, if the pipeline were not built for a long while it would not affect in any significant way the national security of the United States.

The next interesting question is: who will really benefit from the trans-Alaskan pipeline? Clearly, the oil companies will benefit. So would the State of Alaska, since it would get 20 percent severence and royalty payments based on the price the oil sells for at its point of destination minus the costs of transportation. But Alaska would also get royalties on oil transported via a Canadian pipeline. As a matter of fact, Alaska would make more money from the royalties from a Canadian pipeline, since oil sells for considerably more in the Midwest where the Canadian route would end than it does on the West Coast where oil from the trans-Alaska pipeline would end up. The Canadian pipeline would net between $30–70 million more in royalties for Alaska than the trans-Alaska pipeline.

Why then has the State of Alaska been such a staunch ally of the oil companies in their attempt to sell Interior on the trans-Alaska pipeline? That is a question for which there is not a particularly good answer. One reason, apparently, is because that's where the oil companies want the pipeline to go. Another is that the State believes that construction of the pipeline would create many jobs and help solve Alaska's economic problems.

But, a report by the Alaska State Housing Authority "in co-operation with the Local Affairs Agency, Office of the Governor," which I publicly released on May 5, concluded that construction of the trans-Alaska pipeline could actually hurt the economy of Alaska more than it would help. The report predicts that the number of job seekers attracted to Alaska if the 800 mile pipeline is approved would far exceed the 300 permanent pipeline jobs and could cause Alaska's unemployment to be the highest in the country.

"Already anticipation of the pipeline has had this effect and the social and economic impact on communities has been powerful. For example, in the Anchorage area during June of 1970, the unemployment rate climbed from 8.8 per cent to 11.2 per cent as immigrating job seekers joined the labor market," the report states. It predicts that a large influx of workers into Alaska would also place a large burden on cities to provide additional services such as housing, education and welfare without a proportionately expanded revenue base, and would cause competition between newcomers and Alaskan citizens—not only for the few permanent pipeline jobs available, but for non-pipeline related jobs as well.

The State Housing Study also cites the problems that the Alaskan city of Kenai has experienced due to rapid petrochemical development between 1960 and 1970. The report calls Kenai a "preview of the danger which could affect Alaska on a much larger scale" in the case of the pipeline. It states that since Kenai's economic boom "has passed, unemployment is rising to new highs, and population, work force, and payrolls are declining to a lower level. . . . In contrast, the pipeline project does not have a compensating measure of permanent employment to soften the impact of the shut-down of construction. The 300 pipeline and terminal maintenance jobs scattered from Prudhoe Bay to Valdez are only one-twenty-fifth of the construction employment at its estimated peak."

The fate of the trans-Alaska pipeline, and possibly of the Alaskan wilderness and its natives, rests with Secretary of Interior Rogers Morton. It is Interior's responsibility to issue the final impact statement which will either give the go-ahead to the trans-Alaska line and issue the appropriate permits, or refuse the permits and kill the trans-Alaska line. It is Interior's responsibility to pore over the voluminous testimony given at both of the public hearings

on the Impact Statement and to issue a final impact statement whose conclusion is based on thorough, relevant, and objective data. Unfortunately, I do not believe this will be the case. Several sources which I consider to be reliable have informed me that the decision to approve the permits for the trans-Alaska pipeline has already been made. Here is the scenario which they outlined to me: Interior officials were genuinely surprised by the amount of testimony given at the Washington pipeline hearings. They then decided that to make the final decision to approve the pipeline appear as credible as possible, Secretary Morton would make certain statements expressing serious reservations about the pipeline and the quality of the draft impact statement. Thus, when the granting of the permits was officially announced the decision would appear to be objective, inductive, and based on a thorough study of the evidence.

This is precisely what Mr. Morton did three days after the hearings in Washington when he testified before a Senate appropriations subcommittee. He told the subcommittee that the pipeline had "a great many problems" and that he had "a long way" to go before he would approve the construction of the pipeline. He stated that the issuing of the final impact statement could take as long as two years and noted that he was not under the same "pressures" to approve the pipeline that his predecessor, Mr. Hickel, was under. At a later date, Mr. Morton announced that the Interior Department would undertake a study of the Canadian pipeline as an alternative to the trans-Alaskan route.

These statements, taken together, gave many conservationists hope that the decision on whether to build the Alaskan pipeline would be made in fact, as well as theory, by the Interior Department and not by the oil companies. The New York Times, and others, including conservationist magazines, responded with laudatory editorials praising Mr. Morton for his insight and objectivity. However, when Mr. Morton appeared before the House Interior Committee in early May, he announced that he expected the final impact statement to be issued by this September. (In fact, it would not be possible to issue the impact statement much before then because the Alaskan Native Land Claims legislation has to be settled by Congress before any permits could be issued—in order to lift an injunction presently preventing the oil companies from beginning construction of the haul roads for the pipeline.) Also, in an amazing about-face that went almost unnoticed, Mr. Morton announced that he felt that NEPA did not *allow* the Interior Department to study the Canadian alternative because that would involve studying the environmental impact of land under control of a foreign country. Instead, he said he had asked the oil companies to discuss with the Canadian government the possibilities of a Canadian pipeline. What Mr. Morton did not say was that he was still free to pursue the possibility of a Canadian alternative even if one accepted his very questionable interpretation of NEPA. He was still free to pursue with the Canadian government, either directly or through the State Department, the possibility of a thorough study of the Canadian pipeline alternative being made. But instead, he sent the oil companies, which is somewhat like letting a quarterback call the defensive alignment (to use an analogy that this Administration should understand).

The one thing of which I am reasonably certain is that the permits for the trans-Alaska pipeline will be granted unless reaction against the proposed pipeline grows enormously in the very near future. The State of Alaska must wake up and realize that there is not an identity of interest between itself and the oil industry. We must all wake up and realize the extent of influence that the oil industry has in the government. Congress must realize that the integrity of one of the most important pro-environment bills that it has ever passed is at stake. It is important that the Administration and Congress begin to understand the distinction between a desire for increased industry profits and a valid national security agreement. Finally, we must all realize that the Alaskan wilderness and the way of life of many of the Alaskan natives may be destroyed if the wrong decision is made on whether to construct the trans-Alaska pipeline, and that this decision is an important one not only for Alaskans and the oil companies but for all Americans.

What can be done? We can put pressure on Congress to pass a bill I have sponsored which would require that the final draft impact statement be approved by Congress but only after a new draft statement is submitted and new public hearings in Alaska and Washington are held. We can also support a bill by Rep. John Saylor (R., Pa.) which would require Congressional approval of any pipeline permits. Through growing public concern, we can attempt to convince Secretary Morton to delay approval of any permit until the Canadian pipeline and other alternatives have been fully studied. We can ask the President to intervene personally in the issue. Things *can* be done to persuade the Government that the issue of the trans-Alaska pipeline needs to be very carefully and objectively studied. Government officials are not immune to logic and rationality. They only resist it.

NIXON'S COMMITMENT TO RED WORLD DOMINATION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, there should be little question as to why the Communists refuse to negotiate with the United States. President Nixon's recent actions beginning with his announced visit to Red China and Secretary Rogers' proclamation that the United States will work for Red China's admission to the United Nations are classic examples of the failures of U.S. foreign policy.

The President of the United States is actually giving in to the Communists in Red China and Russia without any concessions whatsoever. Mr. Nixon has in fact directed our U.S. representatives to throw our international prestige behind lining up votes to support a seat for Red China in the United Nations.

The end result is that the President of the United States singlehandedly has committed our Nation to fight for the Communists in their mission to gain world domination. Completely forgotten by the administration in its move to seat Red China in the U.N., is the uncontested fact that Red China is still technically at war with that very organization and the United States. Our POW's have been completely forgotten in Mr. Nixon's one-sided love affair with Red China. We give all and get nothing in return.

I insert the related news articles in the RECORD at this point:

[From Manchester Union Leader, July 30, 1971]

MUNICH, YALTA, NOW PEIPING—PRESIDENT NIXON SELLS US OUT

(By Robert Morris)

I write this before going to London to participate on a panel sponsored by the International Law Committee of the American Bar Association. The subject of the debate is the admission of Red China to the United Nations and the news of the President's trip to Peiping has just burst forth. Quite naturally I am greatly distressed.

The intonations of the President were remarkably akin to Neville Chamberlain's "Peace in our time" and his secondary assurances were like those of FDR enroute to Yalta. Munich and Yalta were two great black smudges in the chronicle of man's struggle for liberty and the prospect of Peiping now taking its place in a sort of trinity of betrayal doesn't make for pleasant projections.

A wise friend of mine in Washington has just phoned me to say "He must have something in mind." "He must be signaling someone." "Certainly he, of all people, must know the disastrous consequences of this announcement." "It can't be just an effort to 'normalize' relations." "There is something else involved."

I might have said something like that a year or so ago because I thought I knew Richard Nixon. But as we continue to decline under him as we did under his predecessors, I cannot but observe that he is not implementing his lofty expressions by day to day action and that is where history is made.

For instance, while giving lip service to the need of internal security, he has been downgrading it at implementation level, thereby demoralizing those who man the crumbling ramparts. So, as cause induces effect, revolutionary fervor is augmented and respect for authority diminishes. Incipient rebellion is in the air.

Presidential commissions on obscenity and pornography, on campus unrest and other areas that affect the moral fibre of the country, instead of clearing the air, actually contribute to the moral pollution that abounds.

We have been saying, with respect to the decline in nuclear, military and naval power, that it has been the weak Senate that has prevented his doing what he knows is necessary. Yet he has not utilized the Executive Commissions to mobilize personal opinion to demand security measures. That is how it must be done.

I remember well the President's first campaign announcement after his 1960 nomination. He said then that if elected he would work to extend liberty and freedom and to mobilize the executive agencies to carry on the cold war. Now, instead, we seem to be experiencing a demobilization of executive agencies for this high purpose.

Meanwhile, this announcement will crush the morale of our friends all over Asia and particularly among the captive nations.

Excuse me but I can no longer say, "He must know what he is doing." Someone other than the Richard Nixon I once knew seems to be pulling the strings. The prospects for Asia are now bleak indeed.

But then I say maybe Mao Tse-tung will refuse to see him and puncture the illusions of the silly planners. Things like that have happened before. Maybe that is what the President foresees.

[From Manchester Union Leader, Aug. 4, 1971]

DIPLOMATIC GIVE-AND-TAKE—(NIXON GIVES—PEIPING TAKES)

Secretary of State Rogers' announcement that the United States will vote to admit

Communist China to the United Nations, which "liberal" news commentators gleefully predict will mean that Red China will be able to grab Nationalist China's seat on the Security Council, demonstrates that the Nixon administration has embarked, perhaps irrevocably, on a course of appeasement in Southeast Asia.

The so-called "Two China policy" is a sellout pure and simple—a sellout of Nationalist China and every Asian nation that has reason to fear Red Chinese aggression, and a sellout of the millions of Americans who believed Candidate Nixon's 1968 campaign oratory when he said he would oppose Red China coming into the UN "because they at the present time are engaged in a course of aggression against members of the United Nations and do not qualify as a peace-loving nation, in effect, as the United Nations Charter does require."

What it all boils down to is the fact that President Nixon has reneged completely on the campaign pledge he made at Hillsborough, New Hampshire, on February 28th, 1968: "I think that until the Chinese Communists indicate they are willing to become civilized members of the community of nations, they should not be given the prestige of being in the United Nations."

Not only has Peiping not met the "certain conditions" for UN membership which Mr. Nixon set forth in that speech, but also it has refused even to assist him in selling the American people the lie that Red China is mending its aggressive ways.

Even as Secretary Rogers spoke on Monday the wire services were carrying a report that Red Chinese forces had moved in and occupied territory in Northern Laos!

This newspaper does not use the term "sellout" lightly. The record of the Nixon administration toward Red China has shown a consistent pattern of all give and no take.

The President has approved exchange visits of journalists, scholars and others. He has agreed to ending restrictions on the use of U.S. passports for travel to Red China. He has permitted unlimited tourist purchases of Chinese goods. He has vastly expanded trade with Communist China. He has relaxed currency controls to permit the use of dollars by Red China. He has relaxed the visa procedures for visitors and groups of visitors from Red China coming to the United States. He gave American oil companies permission to provide fuel to ships or aircraft proceeding to and from Communist China (with restrictions only on carriers bound to or from North Vietnam, North Korea, or Cuba). He has allowed U.S. vessels or aircraft to carry Communist Chinese cargoes between other than Red Chinese ports and agreed to U.S.-owned foreign flag carriers calling at mainland ports. He has guaranteed Peiping that we would not support an armed attack from any source against Red China.

In exchange, Peiping has conceded nothing. It insists that we recognize its sovereignty over Taiwan. It refuses to recognize our commitment to the Republic of China to assist in the defense of Taiwan and the Pescadores. It continues to hold American GIs and civilians in prisons where they are brutalized and propagandized around the clock. It continues to insist that the price of its own entry into the United Nations is the expulsion of the Nationalist Chinese representatives.

The Communist rulers of China are nothing if they are not pragmatic. Who can blame them for persisting in their intransigence when they can see that thumbing their noses at Washington is the best way to obtain U.S. concessions—increased trade, a visit by President Nixon, even membership in a United Nations organization with which it is technically still at war?

But while the Nixon administration is patting itself on the back over Henry Kissinger's cloak-and-dagger expertise, and while the President is smugly confident that he can turn his back on his campaign pledges without fear of political reprisal from those voters whose confidence he has betrayed, perhaps Mr. Nixon may yet pause to reflect on a comment he once made about the administration of his predecessor in the White House:

"The administration has failed in candor at home and in leadership abroad. By not taking the American people into its confidence, the administration has lost their confidence."

[From The Evening Star, Washington, D.C., Aug. 4, 1971]

U.S. Wooing Support at U.N. For 2 Resolutions on China

United Nations, N.Y.—The United States worked behind the scenes today to line up support for resolutions that would invite Communist China to join the United Nations and at the same prevent the expulsion of Nationalist China.

Diplomatic sources said U.S. Chief Delegate George Bush outlined the two resolutions and asked for cosponsors at a meeting of representatives from about 20 delegations yesterday at his office opposite U.N. headquarters.

The sources said the resolutions would be submitted for the General Assembly session opening Sept. 21 as soon as the delegations determined whether their governments would become cosponsors.

Meanwhile, Peking threw a charge of "double-dealing" against U.S. efforts to solve the China question in the U.N.

It accused Secretary of State William P. Rogers of lying in trying to push "the preposterous proposition of two Chinas."

"Rogers' so-called realities of the two Chinas are his sheer fancy," said Red China's official news agency in a broadcast from Peking. "The clumsy 'two-Chinas' trick played by U.S. imperialism is absolutely illegal and futile."

The first of the U.S. resolutions would offer the Communist regime in Peking a seat in the U.N., would specify that the Nationalist government on Taiwan would continue to be seated and would direct the specialized U.N. agencies to take the decision into account.

As a further safeguard to Nationalist China's membership, the second resolution would classify any resolution to expel the Nationalists as an "important" question requiring for its adoption a two-thirds majority of those voting.

This is the maneuver by which the United States barred Red China's admission to the United Nations last year. Asked at his news conference Monday whether the U.S. government was dropping its claim that Peking's admission was an important question, Rogers said the Nixon administration's decision to no longer oppose the admission of the Communist regime made this "academic."

Albania and 17 other friends of Peking already have submitted the annual resolution to seat the Red Chinese and expel the Nationalists. It calls for recognition of the People's Republic of China "as the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations" and the expulsion "forthwith of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek."

Adoption of this resolution would automatically throw out the two American proposals, and the United States will seek a special vote in the assembly to have its resolutions voted on first. "We will win," said one supporter of the U.S. plan, but some other diplomats were not so sure.

The Americans' "important question" resolution was approved last year by a vote of 66–52, with 7 abstentions, but the fate of the similar resolution this year depends on whether opposition to the expulsion of the Nationalists outweighs the recent swing in Peking's favor.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 2, 1971]

Peking Army Says U.S. Must Pull Out—Demands Withdrawal From All Asia—No Compromise With Nixon Indicated

(By James Reston)

Peking, Aug. 1.—Despite President Nixon's recent efforts to establish normal relations with China, powerful officials of the People's Liberation Army are mounting a campaign for total withdrawl of United States troops not only from Taiwan and Vietnam but also from Korea, Japan, the Philippines and Thailand.

During celebrations this weekend of the 44th anniversary of the founding of the Communist armed forces, the army for the first time opened a military exhibit in Peking to the foreign press and stressed the political functions of the armed services.

On the whole, the exhibit emphasized that the army was not only a fighting force but a work force and a production force as well. But the presentation ended with a statement that the army was "determined to liberate the sacred soil of Taiwan."

The climax of Army Day was a reception for the Central Committee of the Chinese party and the Peking diplomatic corps. During the reception—and in the presence of Premier Chou En-lai and Chiang Ching, Chairman Mao Tse-tung's wife—the Chief of the General Staff of the Army called for the withdrawal of all American troops from this part of the world.

"United States imperialism," said Huang Yung-sheng, "must completely withdraw its aggressor troops from Indochina, the southern part of Korea, Japan, the Philippines and all other countries and regions which it has occupied and stop its interference in the internal affairs of the peoples of the Middle East and the Arab people as well as the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

To the applause of the audience of more than a thousand people, the Chief of the General Staff added: "We are determined to liberate Taiwan. The United States must withdraw all its military personnel and military installations from Taiwan Province and the Taiwan Strait area.

"We firmly oppose any schemes of creating 'two Chinas, one China, one Taiwan or an independent Taiwan.' The liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair, which absolutely brooks no foreign interference."

"Peaceful Coexistence"

In his speech, the only one of the evening, Huang Yung-sheng said that China would not attack any other nation unless it was attacked. He said China stood for "The normalizations of relations between states on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence."

He added that Peking supported the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and specifically backed the seven-point peace proposal put forward in Paris by the "provisional revolutionary government of South Vietnam."

In short, there is no evidence here that the Chinese Government is preparing the Chinese people for any compromise with President Nixon on the Taiwan issue or anything else.

Mr. Huang's speech contained a denunciation of "Japanese militarism," which he said was being organized by "United States and Japanese reactionaries."

There has still been not a single word of official commentary or analysis here about the forthcoming Nixon visit or about the mission by the President's assistant for national security affairs, Henry A. Kissinger, who arranged the Presidential visit.

Officials here talk about what position President Nixon will take regarding membership for China in the United Nations, but they say they have no official information from Washington about his intentions.

"We are like the bridegroom in an old pre-

arranged Chinese marriage," said one official. "We are just waiting for the wedding day to see what the bride looks like."

Meanwhile, the official press and radio continue their propaganda against the Nixon Administration's policies regarding Taiwan, Southeast Asia and Japan and condemn the Nixon doctrine of encouraging Asian allies to defend themselves as a device to militarize Japan and "let Asians fight Asians."

[From the New York Times, Aug. 5, 1971]

PEKING DENOUNCES STAND OF U.S. ON U.N. SEAT AS A CLUMSY TRICK"

HONG KONG, Aug. 4—Peking's official press agency declared today that Washington was guilty of a "clumsy two Chinas' trick" that was "absolutely illegal and futile" in trying to seat the Peking Government in the United Nations while keeping the Chinese Nationalists there.

The agency, Hsinhua, was commenting on a statement issued Monday by Secretary of State William P. Rogers, who said the United States would support the seating of the Chinese Communist Government while opposing any action to expel the Chinese Nationalist Government on Taiwan.

FIRST PEKING REACTION

The Hsinhua commentary was the first reaction from Peking to the Rogers statement, which marked a major shift in United States policy.

While the agency directed its attack against Mr. Rogers, President Nixon, who has been invited to visit Peking, was mentioned only in passing.

The Chinese appear confident that they will be seated in the United Nations on their terms, and there is some feeling among diplomats here that Peking did not require or expect anything more from the United States than the position it has now taken.

"The United States stand seems likely to benefit Peking more than Taipei since it removes a major obstacle for Peking while it does not guarantee that Taiwan will retain 'two Chinas' plot," Hsinhua said, Mr. Rogers "vainly tries to continue to obstruct the restoration to the People's Republic of China all of her legitimate rights in the United Nations and insists on being the enemy of the Chinese people."

There was no suggestion that the United States action fell short of Chinese expectations or that it changed the climate that had made possible the invitation to President Nixon to visit Peking.

Hsinhua declared that the Rogers statement was "dished up against the background of the doomed utter failure of the U.S. policy of obstinately insisting on making itself the enemy of the Chinese people at the United Nations."

It noted that this year's Albania resolution, which calls for seating Peking in the United Nations while expelling Taiwan, had "won warm approval and support from more countries." It said that, faced with the predicament of becoming more isolated than ever, the United States Government had to "make some changes in its tactics."

Secretary Rogers was accused of sophistry in saying President Nixon was forging policies directed to the future while taking fully into account the legacies of the past and was seeking to accommodate the United States role to the realities of the world today.

"This is bare-faced lying," Hsinhua stated. "Everybody knows clearly that the legacies of the past Rogers talked about glibly mean the Chiang Kaishek clique, which has long been spurned by the Chinese people and this was created single-handed by U.S. imperialism through occupying China's Taiwan province and the Taiwan Strait by armed forces."

The agency said the Secretary's "so-called realities of 'two Chinas'" were "his sheer fancy" and declared that there was "only one China in the world"—the People's Republic of China.

"U.S. imperialism will never succeed in its plot if it insists on making itself the enemy of the Chinese people, obdurately pushing the 'two Chinas' scheme and euphemistically describing this as realities," it added.

It also condemned Mr. Rogers for saying the United States decision was fully in accord with Mr. Nixon's desire to normalize relations with China in the interests of world peace.

"This fully lays bare the counterrevolutionary, doubledealing tricks of U.S. imperialism, which says one thing and does another," the agency stated.

Hsinhua also attacked the "Japanese reactionaries" for working energetically both openly and behind the scenes with the United States on the "two Chinas plot."

Taiwan Province, Hsinhua said, "Is an inalienable part of China's territory" and the Chinese people "resolutely oppose 'two Chinas,' 'one China, one Taiwan' and other similar absurdities."

In conclusion, Hsinhua declared: "We are deeply convinced that the justice-upholding countries and people of the world will also never allow anyone under the signboard of 'two Chinas' to continue to forcibly occupy China's territory Taiwan and obstruct the restoration to the People's Republic of China of her legitimate seats in the United Nations."

The last sentence appeared to be a reminder that Peking is claiming not just a seat in the General Assembly but also the Chinese seat on the Security Council, now occupied by the Nationalists.

YOUR CONGRESSMAN BILL SCOTT REPORTS, AUGUST 1971

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I am continuing the practice of sending a monthly newsletter to constituents reporting on activities in the Congress and I am inserting a copy of this month's report in the RECORD at this point for the information of my colleagues.

The report follows:

SUMMER RECESS

Congress will continue the practice started last year of having a one month recess during the summer season. This year the recess will commence on August 6 and we will plan on being back in session on September 8. A beneficial effect of the proposal is that it has tended to speed up consideration of appropriation bills, which provide the necessary funds for the operation of the government and authorized projects, as well as other important measures. While I have several speaking engagements during August, they are not close together and Inez and I plan on spending a portion of the recess visiting around the state. Of course the Washington and Fredericksburg offices will be open and the staff will be available to serve you.

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEDURE

Some 11,800 measures have been introduced in the House since Congress convened on January 21. These measures have been referred to appropriate committees for consideration. While constituents often request a definite commitment on a particular measure, upon reflection, you can understand that no one Member of Congress is familiar with each bill and aware of its status. When bills are under consideration, they are subject to amendment in the committees and on the floor of the House. In fact, the measure we vote on may be entirely different from that originally introduced. Therefore, I hope that you will understand why I often feel it necessary not to commit myself to vote in a specific manner before having the benefit of committee hearings and reports. To do otherwise would prejudice the opportunity to make a decision at the time a vote is taken based on the facts developed in committee and during debate of the proposal on the floor of the House. Certainly this should not keep you from letting me know your views on a particular subject under consideration but to the contrary, your views are helpful in determining and arriving at my own position.

SALEM CHURCH DAM

The Public Works Appropriation Bill passed by Congress last week included $500,000 for further preconstruction planning of the Salem Church Dam during the 1972 fiscal year. You may remember that this project was authorized in 1968 and this is the third year preconstruction planning funds have been appropriated by Congress. The multipurpose dam will permit maximum use of one of Virginia's major natural resources, the Rappahannock-Rapidan River. It will help satisfy the increasing water needs of Prince William County and other counties to the south within the urban corridor; will reduce the danger of flooding in the Fredericksburg area; regulate the flow of the river below Fredericksburg, reducing pollution and controlling water quality all along the river; and help control salinity in the oyster grounds of the lower basin. There is some doubt as to whether the ultimate height of the dam will permit the generation of hydroelectric power but a reduction to a 230 ft. level, now being suggested, would still permit installation of power features at a later date. Regardless of height, however, there will be boating and fishing on the lake created behind the dam and camping in parks along its shores. Of course, you realize that construction will take time and it will be at least six to seven years before the project can be completed and operational.

NEW SOCIAL SECURITY FACILITIES

The Social Security Administration has advised that new full-time Social Security facilities will be located in Manassas and Fredericksburg as soon as the necessary staff and space arrangements have been completed. This should be of advantage to senior citizens with retirement problems. Of course our office will still be available to assist you.

MORE DOCTORS

The House recently passed a bill to increase the number of physicians and other medical personnel in the country. The measure provides for a pilot program to assist in the establishment of not more than five new medical schools located near and operated in conjunction with Veterans' hospitals. Existing government-owned land and facilities would be made available to states for new medical schools. It would also provide matching funds to existing medical schools to train students and promote cooperative arrangements among educational institutions affiliated with the VA. While the measure is aimed primarily at assisting veterans, it should help relieve America's estimated shortage of 48,000 physicians and 250,000 associated medical personnel. Our Committee on Veterans Affairs unanimously reported the bill to the House.

SCHOOL BUSSING

On Monday the House passed a resolution by a vote of 351 to 36 directing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to furnish documents containing a list of public school systems receiving Federal funds and engaging in the bussing of school children to achieve racial balance between the period of August 1, 1971 and June 30, 1972. This resolution does not require any concurrence by the Senate and does not have the force of law but indicates the concern of the Con-

gress with this policy. Some weeks ago at their request our office arranged a meeting for a large group of citizens from Chesterfield County and surrounding areas with Virginia Congressmen, representatives of the White House, the Department of Justice and Health, Education, and Welfare, to express their opposition to the forced bussing of children to obtain racial balance. Of course I believe in the neighborhood school concept and have sponsored measures to prohibit the bussing of children away from their home areas to obtain racial balance but it's difficult to obtain Committee action and to bring these measures before the House for consideration. Since the resolution considered Monday requested specific information from an Executive Department, it was a privileged resolution required by the House rules to be acted upon within one week and failure of the Committee on Education and Labor to act permitted the Committee to be discharged and the House to act upon the measure.

WAGE BOARD BILL

The House, by voice vote, passed a measure to assist blue collar government workers. It establishes a Federal Wage Advisory Committee, increases within grade steps from 3 to 5, provides additional pay for hazardous duty and for night work. In practical effect, it will result in higher income for Wage Board employees and is similar to a bill vetoed by the President last year. The dilemma is the desire to control inflation and not increase wages and prices knowing over the years that white collar government employees have received more benefits than blue collar workers. It was felt that this measure was justified in order to afford equality of treatment to all government employees. Should you desire a copy of my remarks, please let me know.

WAR POWERS

The House, by a voice vote, passed and sent to the Senate a resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the President should consult with the Congress before involving American troops in armed conflict and in the event he committed troops without prior Congressional authorization, that he report the circumstances requiring the action, the authority for it, the scope of activities and other information useful to the Congress in fulfilling its responsibilities. This resolution has no direct relationship to the present conflict in Vietnam but is a reminder to the President that the Congress has the power to declare war and a recognition of the President's power as Commander and Chief to defend the country in the event of an attack.

DRUG PROBLEMS

The rehabilitation experience of the Veterans Administration may soon be helping the fight against drug addiction. A house-passed bill from our Committee on Veterans Affairs would permit armed service personnel and veterans without regard to the nature of their discharge to receive treatment for drug addiction at VA facilities. A provision in the bill would keep it from being a precedent for extending veterans' benefits to anyone discharged from the armed services under conditions other than honorable.

SMUT PEDDLERS

We hear a great deal about pollution of air and water and of course this is an important problem. However, moral pollution is of equal importance. In the last decade there has been a considerable growth in the marketing of pornographic literature and the Congress is well aware of the growing concern of the people of the country regarding the mailing of unsolicited obscene literature to homes. A recent measure passed by the House will provide added protection to the public generally but the main thrust is directed against smut peddlers who focus their sales efforts toward minors. While some argue that no one can be corrupted by obscene literature and pictures, the same logic would indicate that the human mind cannot be improved by good literature or pictures which, to me, is untenable. Children trained with pornography will have difficulty growing into normal, stable adults. The courts have dismissed a number of cases in this field for lack of a definition of obscene and H.R. 8805 defines obscenity for general application and also defines obscene matter that is non-mailable to minors under the age of 17. Should you desire a copy of the bill or my remarks in support of it, please contact the office. It is hoped that this measure will help rid mailboxes of unwanted salacious material and especially prevent it from coming into the hands of youngsters.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT

The House voted to create a House-Senate Committee on the Environment. This joint committee will provide a clear focus on many of the difficult environmental decisions which must be made in the years ahead. It is hoped that the Senate will quickly approve this legislation so that Congress will be in a position to effectively carry out its responsibilities with regard to environmental matters. The committee would develop policies which would encourage the greatest possible public and private efforts to improve the quality of the environment.

SOMETHING TO PONDER

Democracy is where something is approved by a show of hands—not by a show of arms.

THE POTOMAC RIVER FESTIVAL

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, each summer since 1969 the Potomac Foundation in Brunswick, Md., has held a Potomac River Festival. The festival is from August 13 to August 15. This is an outstanding event in the Potomac Valley, and I would urge anyone interested in good fun, history, and recreation to attend. The aim of the festival is to draw attention to the recreational potential of the small community of Brunswick.

The Brunswick Recreation Commission met in 1969 and invited all other town organizations to become active in the Brunswick Visitors and Recreation Promotion, Inc. This group had the objective of attempting to reverse the tendency toward migration of young people, to renew community pride, to revitalize local commercial activity, to preserve historic and scenic areas, and to promote Brunswick's recreational potential. This group planned the first Brunswick Potomac River Festival in 1969.

The organization was renamed the Brunswick Potomac Foundation and sponsored the festival last year and this year. Featured during the festival are the local museums, an antique and flea market, flower show and sale, craft shop, and displays in the shop windows. Fishing in the Potomac is also highlighted. An art show is held in the museum with antiques and artifacts relating the history of Brunswick, the C. & O. Canal, and the B. & O. Railroad.

Also featured this year will be a hike leaving from Gathland State Park, a parade through Brunswick, and a horseshoe pitching demonstration. Jousting, Maryland's State sport, is also demonstrated. With all the activities at the festival, I feel sure it will be a great success and a source of enjoyment to all the participants.

INDUSTRIAL STATESMANSHIP

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to place into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial entitled "An Historic Speech" from the Valley Daily News, Allegheny-Kiski Valley, Pa., appearing on July 28, 1971. This editorial compliments Rober S. Ahlbrandt, president and chief executive officer of Allegheny Ludlum Industries, Inc. The article follows:

AN HISTORIC SPEECH

A speech delivered last May 24 by Roger S. Ahlbrandt, president and chief executive officer of Allegheny Ludhum Industries, Inc., is receiving national recognition as an expression of industrial statesmanship at its best. The address was given before the World Affairs Council of Pittsburgh.

Perhaps the highest tribute came when President Nixon, speaking in Missouri a few weeks later, gave expression to some of the views Mr. Ahlbrandt set forth in his address. His principal point was that a change in American foreign policy is necessitated by rapidly altering world conditions.

The Allegheny Ludlum chief made the point that for 30 years the keystone of all United States foreign policy has been a reaction based on seeking a top military security position. As a result, the U.S. economic supremacy which historically has been taken for granted is now being very effectively challenged by the world's new economic power structures while our own productive capacity retrogresses to an ever more unfavorable condition.

The situation which prevails today is primarily an economic challenge rather than a security threat and we had better prepare ourselves to compete effectively or face the consequences of that failure. He said that even a cursory glance at European and Japanese economic development in the past few years has shown an astounding growth with more to come. Both the USSR and the Republic of China loom as economic powers of great influence.

He discussed a series of reasons which include the manner in which various forces of government, industry, labor and finance in both the European and Japanese economies have mutually worked out very productive relationships.

He discussed how this leads to a satisfied and productive labor force, to the ability to carry a much higher debt load than domestic industry, how foreign industry can make better long-range plans since they do not have to meet short-term dividend requirements, and how government acts as a creative partner in the entire process.

The result is a type of effective competition that we never before have faced. It's a new situation and our only choice is the right strategy which will require the shedding of old concepts and ideas that no longer have any validity. It may not always be easy, but it will be necessary.

We agree with those who have called the

Ahlbrandt speech historic. It marks the Ludlum head as one of the most progressive among American industrialists and one of the clearest thinkers It is reassuring to know that the major industry in our community is headed by a man of such broad vision and who, at the same time, is able to grasp the stern economic realities of the world in which we live. He has demonstrated his right to be called a top-ranking industrial statesman. Our nation needs nothing more than more men of his kind.

JO HINDMAN ON REGIONAL PLANNING ISSUES

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, testimony relative to proposed legislation being considered by the various committees and subcommittees should reflect the views of every segment of the public which will be affected should the bill become law. Since the number of persons testifying with regard to any bill must naturally be limited, it would seem desirable to allow to testify those persons possessing the greatest knowledge pertinent to the matter under consideration.

In too many instances, there is little or no testimony in opposition to proposed laws. This is an unfortunate situation in those cases where proposed legislation contains highly undesirable features.

In the recent hearings held by the Urban Affairs Subcommittee, U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee on regional planning issues, it was unfortunate that the subcommittee members did not have an opportunity to personally hear testimony of and ask questions to Mrs. Jo Hindman, one of the most knowledgeable persons in the country on metro planning and regional government. Mrs. Hindman did submit written testimony which was received by the subcommittee on June 4, 1971, well in advance of the June 7 extended date for written testimony submittals. She was notified that her testimony would be considered, but that it would not be published in the publication of the hearings.

Mrs. Jo Hindman is nationally known as a writer, research analyst, former West Coast editor of the American Mercury magazine, and former national secretary of the Liberty Amendment Committee, U.S.A. She is the author of two books on metro government, "Terrible 1313" revisited—1963, and "Blame Metro"—1966. She has contributed articles to scores of national magazines and has for 7 years written a syndicated column entitled Metro News. I feel that she is eminently qualified to testify on regional planning issues and that her testimony deserves the study and consideration of our colleagues.

So that the Members may have the benefit of the expert testimony of Jo Hindman, I insert pertinent portions of her testimony submitted to the Urban Affairs Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress, presenting her comments, exhibits A–E inclusive and an article entitled "Metro Regional Governance":

THE PLANNED ECONOMY NOT ACCEPTABLE IN REGIONAL DIMENSION

These comments, the allied exhibits, and the article which follow are addressed to the five-point excerpt from the subcommittee letter of Jan. 11, 1971, sent to the various contributors invited to testify before the Urban Affairs Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States.

As a long-time research-journalist on regional planning issues, it is somewhat disconcerting to find that federal lawmakers are asking for comments, notably from a cadre with a pro-regional stance, to justify a national planning system ranging in size from a part of a major metropolitan area up to interstate combinations.

In a number of prior instances, historically speaking, the Planned Economy has confronted the American people. Each time, the citizenry has turned it down.

Each time the economic regimentation has been detected behind its several disguises throughout the years, free men and women have rejected it.

There is every reason to believe that once again in the United States, *Planned Economy* will meet its historic fate. Its innovative dimension of "regionalism" and piggyback bundle of "social reform" in 1971 fails to disguise the old spook, Planned Economy.

The five fundamental issues listed Jan. 11, 1971, commented on:

Point One (1) of the five issues asks that a new method of citizen representation be solidified into statutory law.

The method already exists and operates *administratively* in the dubious "Model Cities" program. The subcommittee's request appears to be an "after the fact" attempt to legalize an administrative regulation.

It would seem that legislators should review and reaffirm their oaths of office lest—if they approve an extralegal method of representation—they be charged with violation of Constitutional restraints.

(2) Spread before your subcommittee is a witness-recommendation advising continuance of the existing *status quo* in legislative drafting. Your committee has been advised to draft legislation which will be deliberately vague (Cf. page 203, Part 2-Regional Planning Issues, your subcommittee publication, 1971). Your request for precise operational guidelines to be "spelled out in the statute" proposed, has been met with the unworthy counter-suggestion that enabling legislation should contain "admittedly vague phrases as 'coordination' and 'planning.'"

I charge that that very practice exists, as exemplified in the evolution of and the operation of federal administrative Circular A–95 *et al* under Public Law 90–577, the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968. Presidential Memo and administrative lawmaking by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and its predecessor Bureau of the Budget (BOB), combine to wreak an insulting wrong against the American people. A–95 outlines the national regional clearinghouse network. (See Exhibit A, "Is World Rule Already Upon Us?", article by Jo Hindman)

The slippery art of the unsaid has conspired with the science of the half-told to ring down a curtain between the American people and their constitutional liberty. Illegal domination of the citizenry by the executive through the administrative rules and regulations gamut has grown to intolerable proportions which your subcommittee should endeavor to reduce.

Since "devolution" has been recommended to your committee by a prior witness, my comments on "devolution" are available in attached Exhibit B, a page from the Congressional Record, volume 115, part 14, page 18381. "Will Metro Devolution Phase Out U.S. Independence Day?" by Jo Hindman.

(3) and (4). The third and fourth points concerning the totalitarian collectivism of political power now concentrated in ten (10) regional appointed coordinators, puppet-reined to The Presidency, is clearly known by a large segment of the National constituency. American citizens are justifiably alarmed—and incensed. (See Exhibit C "Metro Regions Created")

Point five (5) requests a quantification of funds as a springboard for future extravagant spending on the proposed new layer of national regional planning bureaucracy. A challege is in the making: a taxpayers' rebellion. A notable instance occurred April 3, this year, in Minnesota where regionalism has advanced to an aggravated degree. (See Exhibit D "Minnesota World Citizens in Revolt," article by Jo Hindman).

Also included here is a photocopy of a 1971 IRS notice in which a district director threatens a taxpayer because of an "incomplete Form 1040." The instance reveals that fed-up taxpayers are withholding taxes at even the national level. (See Exhibit E, IRS letter Apr. 20, 1971).

The concept of "brutal decentralization" emerges in fact as *deceitful collectivism accomplished*. (Exhibit C).

The common denominator of truth is discarded for the studied fussiness of semantics meant to obscure, to conceal, and to mislead.

Political risks collapse in jerry-built schemes. Planning experiments are scattered about the nation like tinker toys that won't work. One of these, The Twin Cities Metropolitan Council (TCMC) is described in the following article, "Metro Regional Governance."

EXHIBIT A

[From the Valley Times, Dec. 17, 1970]

IS WORLD RULE ALREADY UPON US?

(By Jo Hindman)

Two federal laws in the United States have come out of the blue—United Nations blue-Model Cities (Public Law 89–754) and the region making Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968 (PL 90–577).

So important are they to the globalists that two U.S. Presidents and their staffs aided, and are abetting the two measures which will topple America as we know it.

"Model Cities" (enacted in 1966 under the title Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act) reaches into almost every facet of private life to dictate, control, regiment and dispossess. Implementation will bring a socio-economic-cultural upheaval to the U.S.A. on a regional scale as embodied in PL 90–577. Local Government will be replaced by regional governance.

The trick is accomplished by Congressional delegation of law making power to the executive sector of Government, a violation of the U.S. Constitution.

By Article I, Section 1 of the U.S. Constitution, citizens vested Congress with lawmaking power. Congress gave lawmaking power to the President who gives it to bureaucratic appointees.

Charted here is the actual process, as per the two laws named above:

President Johnson's lame duck Executive Memo of 11–8–68 transferred the legislative power Congress gave to him in region-making PL 90–577, to an administrative body which, under the Nixon administration, tightened the nuts and bolts of a regional network over the face of America.

Circular A–95, *the document produced, draws together the bureaucratic review and veto over plans embodied in the laws. **Their influence covers, in part: airports, hospitals, libraries, water, sewage, highways, transportation, land-use, natural resources, air, hous-

ing, jobs, income, welfare, schools, health, crime, culture, recreation, etc.

The whole conduit leads upward into the United Nations system of unlimited power, and downward through the domestic administrative rules apparatus that neatly bypasses our U.S. Constitution of limited powers.

When the U.S.A. joined the United Nations in 1945, a global general grant of power was conferred on Congress. Limitations placed on Congress by the Constitution were struck off by Articles 55 and 56, the UN Charter's power grant. Since the late U.S. Senator Pat McCarran's expose of the situation in the Congressional Record of January 28, 1954.

After World War II (1945) and under the aegis of UN Charter law Congress began legislation in areas not permitted by our Constitution. The foregoing list from "airports to etc." proves the point.

Regionalism is the geography of global law per Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. Administrative (non-statutory) law is the power used to control the outrageous system. Capstone is the federal Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 as amended * * * by which Congress gave administrative authorities/agencies the power to rule and regulate you.

Before you scoff, answer this. When was the last time you won a bout with urban renewal's nitty gritty, or zoning, or a court case to uphold your right to referendum? Or with any of Model Cities babylonian pursuits? Or with the IRS over your income tax? Or with gun law inspectors?

Almost endless and growing longer is the list of rule-making agencies which carry out the disgusting United Nations administrative dictatorship within the United States of America. Refs. *Circular A–95, 7–24–69, Exec. Office of The President, Office of Management and Budget (formerly BOB), Wash., D.C.; **Sec. 401 of PL 90–577, Sec. 204, Model Cities law; ***PL 79–404, Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 as amended (for 1967 amendment to prior amendments see, pp. 560–63 U.S. Government Operations Manual 1970–71) ****Ibid, Appendix C.

[From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 2, 1969]

WILL METRO DEVOLUTION PHASE OUT U.S. INDEPENDENCE DAY?

(By Jo Hindman)

On the Fourth of July, many Americans will celebrate the tradition of Independence Day. At the same time ironically, a certain segment of the population will accelerate the "devolution" of the United States.

Dictionary-defined as "retrograde revolution," devolution is equated as "a search for a new federalism" in the tenth (1969) report of the federal Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR). For almost two decades, perceptive citizens have resisted the deterioration as Metropolitan Government, or Metro, now called devolution.

A current stage of devolution is visible in legislation that moves in Congress as this is written. Metrocrats are busy daubing last year's framework—Public Law 90–577, with Metro mud—amendments.

The Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968 (PL 90–577) is the eight-title frame, with Title VII knocked out. Enough lawmakers had balked to quash the grant consolidation authority therein proposed for the U.S. President.

Under PL 90–577, regions pre-empt state and county governments, illustrating devolution in another sense. ACIR which created the measure, is placed in a key power position.

PL 90–577 came from one of ACIR's numerous studies. Ideas from the "Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System" (publication A–31, 1967) blossomed in bills introduced by members of the Senate and House Subcommittees on Intergovernmental Relations of the two congressional Government Operations Committees. PL 90–577 resulted.

Now, with the same backing, The Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1969 (H.R. 7366) is ready to daub in Title VII and add new Title IX to PL 90–577, featuring auditing and joint funding respectively.

The Grant Consolidation Act of 1969 may become the new Title X of PL 90–577; S. 2035 reintroduces the kicked out consolidation authority. Companion bill is H.R. 10954. House and Senate Subcommittees which approved the original PL 90–577 will hear both pending bills.

Grant packaging (consolidation) by The President is falsely ballyhooed as a correction of bureaucratic bungling and waste. Actually, the measure veils a devolutionary technique that switches legislative and executives powers, Whereas Congress constitutionally makes the laws, and the President signs or vetoes them, the pending bill, Sec. 1005(a), S. 2035 calls for the House and Senate to veto by resolutions of disapproval, or by silence permit the Executive Law to go into effect.

The chain of events typify the revolution incubated by Syndicate 1313, self-named from the communal address, 1313 E. 60th St. Chicago. The Metro syndicate units are too numerous to list here, but include National Municipal League of New York and the Council of State Governments (CSG) which is relocating in Lexington, Kentucky.

ACIR conceived, backed and controlled by 1313 *, expedites the self-seeking syndicate's monopoly over U.S. Government. ACIR funded by congressional appropriations, also accepts money from the U.S. Treasury** direct, also the Housing and Urban Development Dept., and Ford Foundation.

One of 1313–CSG's fifty state links, The Louisiana Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is designated as that state's agency to fulfill a requirement of Title II Sec. 201 of PL 90–577.* * *

1313 groups are backing the new PL 90–577 titles.

It is shocking that the U.S. Government can be kept under that type of syndicate attack while an oblivious American public celebrates an independence that is fast vanishing under 1313.

Re. *"ACIR Federal Beachhead" in Blame Metro by Jo Hindman; **ACIR 10th Report 1–31–69 and "Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System, Vol. I, 1967; * * * Louisiana Memorial To Congress Sen. Concurrent Res. 35, Louisiana Legislature, Cf. Congressional Record 1–6–69, p. H 126.

EXHIBIT C

[From the Register, Jan. 31, 1971]

METRO REGIONS CREATED

(By Jo Hindman)

United States Constitution, Article IV, Section 3, paragraph 1: "New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; *nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States,* or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as the Congress."

The United States has been divided into ten beggarly Metro regions by the pronouncement of a single man.

On the Day of Partitioning* a White House spokesman boasted, "The curious fact of the American national government is that there is only one 'single man' and he is called the President." That is the arrangement.

The reorganization powers to subordinate the American people under bondage have existed in the hands of U.S. presidents for more than 20 years reportedly. "No President has ever been willing to bite the bullet," according to the assistant to the president for urban affairs, "Now, we have done so."

Virtually every facet of the lives of American citizens has been brought under the hand of a single man. The pattern is simple: He divided the United States into ten regions, named the states to comprise each region, designated ten cities as regional capitals, moved into them skeletal field forces of five federal agencies—HUD, HEW, OEO, SBA and Labor, all of which comprise the ten regional councils. More agencies will be added later.

The action established embryonic Metro governance over the U.S.A.

This is the first time in the history of the American nation that the regional boundaries of the major United Nations—chartered domestic programs have been made co-terminus, under the administrative governance of the chief executive of the United States.

At first, the President announced eight Metro regions fanning out from Washington, D.C. To pacify Kansas City and Seattle which desired regional capital status, he upped the count to ten regions** Unless changed again, the new Metro alignment is as follows:

Region I (Boston): Conn., Maine, Mass., N.H., R.I., Vt.; Region II: (N.Y. City): N.Y., N.J., Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands; Region III (Philadelphia): Del., D.C., Md., Pa., Va., West Va.; Region IV (Atlanta): Ala., Fla., Ga., Ky., Miss., N.C., S.C., Tenn.; Region V (Chicago): Ill., Ind., Minn., Mich., Ohio, Wisc.; Regions VI (Dallas-Fort Worth); Ark., La., N. Mex., Okla., Tex.; Region VII (Kansas City): Iowa, Kan., Mo., Nebr.; Region VIII (Denver) Colo., Mont., N.D., S.D., Utah, Wyo.; Region IX (San Francisco): Ariz., Cal., Hawaii, Nev.; Region X (Seattle): Alaska, Idaho, Ore., Washington.

A White House spokesman said that "If you broke these regions up and put them in the United Nations Gazetteer they would be the "8th . . . 12th . . . 14th biggest and richest countries in the world."

The Metro federal regional structure seeks to transfer administrative governance (U.N. global ruling power) FROM the single man TO ten (10) federal directors in the 10-region national field.

One of the federal money bills to finance Metro governance in the nation was H.R. 2519 introduced by Congressman Reuss, January 1969, providing bloc grants if regional modernization conditions were met by the states.

To qualify for the promised bloc grants, the states enacted legislation enabling—or mandating in some instancest—he collectivizing of counties into sub-regions which, in turn, fit neatly into the federal 10-regions under the single man governance.

Following the White House 10-region coup, the same measure (H.R. 2519) was renumbered H.R. 11764 and reintroduced later 5–28–69 by the same congressman. Sections were added giving control over the proposed $22½ billion outlay to the "single man"—the U.S. President.

The 91st Congress, now ended, failed to approve the money bill. Watch for one like it to appear in 1971.

Refs. *White House press conference 3–27–69; **Statement by the President 5–21–69.

"The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened.)

EXHIBIT D

MINNESOTA WORLD CITIZENS IN TAX REVOLT

(By Jo Hindman)

Over the wires came the electrifying news, "World Citizenship has been declared over the whole State of Minnesota."

State Officials gathered at St. Paul to sign The Declaration of World Citizenship of the State of Minnesota, March 25, 1971 and verified by Governor Wendell Anderson's office. These signed: The Governor, Lt. Gov. Perpich, state senators Holmquist, majority leader: Coleman, minority leader; state representatives Lindstrom, majority; Sabo, minority; Speaker Aubrey Dirlam.

This is the second world unity paper signed in the state. Three years ago almost to the day, a former governor and various officials inked the Hennepin County-Minneapolis world citizenship pact, said to be almost identical with the new state document.

Governor Anderson was unavailable for comment on what the action implies.

The same question put to the chairman of the Concerned Taxpayers of Minnesota, Mrs. Joan Van Poperin, drew this: "The Declaration indicates take-over right now . . . we are in the position of citizens against World Government."

Mrs. Van Poperin sketched prior events of the week. Rep. John Bares, Jr. introduced a bill to repeal Minnesota's Regionalization Act of 1969, a radical piece of the world regionalization movement. The subcommittee hearings on March 23 were jammed with repeal citizens, many of them farmers coming from all points of the state.

A lawmaker said that he "believes in World Government." Asked why, by a constituent, the official reportedly replied that he "got new streets and new sidewalks through urban renewal."

The point is significant. Controversial urban renewal laws increasingly are attacked on the premise that they are unconstitutional, existing only because the United Nations global treaty has pre-empted the U.S. Constitution. Unprotected Americans are left defending themselves against present-day world law such as urban renewal and regional laws.

As this is written, a statewide protest march is scheduled on April 3 converging on the Minnesota capitol steps. The Governor and legislators are invited. Originally planned as a tax protest against the state legislature, the event undoubtedly will protest the world citizenship betrayal.

A press conference by CTM, 628 Stryker Ave., St. Paul 55107, dealt the cards. The words of Joan Van Poperin were picked up by TV, newspapers and radio. She said: "we have a tax crisis. Rates are 10 to 15 times what they should be. People are losing their homes. We want property taxes to be levied at one per cent (1 per cent) of the year 1967's assessed valuation. 1967 was picked because that year the legislature passed the law to change the tax bases due to regionalization." (Twin Cities regional government created in 1967 consists of St. Paul, Minneapolis and seven counties).

"We urge the repeal of the statewide Regionalization Act of 1969 which followed, putting all powers under appointed officials and taking away our right to vote on those representing us on tax matters. If the April 3 protest has no effect," she said, "We shall withhold our real estate taxes."

"As for world citizenship, if it can be forcibly imposed on Minnesotans, so can it be done to all citizens in these United States!"

EXHIBIT E

INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE,
April 20, 1971.

DEAR: We are in receipt of a Form 1040, dated February 23, 1971 for the year 1970 which is returned herewith because it is not acceptable as an income tax return. While you have recognized your obligation to file, submission of a Form 1040, signed in blank, does not comply with the pertinent provisions of the Internal Revenue Code in that you have not furnished any of the information required by law. The statutory requirements for filing and the criminal penalty for noncompliance are set forth in the attachment to this letter.

In this regard I invite your attention to the recent case of *United States v. Arthur J. Porth*, decided by the *United States Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit on April 10, 1970 (426 F.2d 519)*. Review of the case was refused by the Supreme Court on October 12, 1970. The Court of Appeals stated in part: "A taxpayer's return which does not contain any information relating to the taxpayer's income from which the tax can be computed is not a return within the meaning of the Internal Revenue Code or the regulations adopted by the Commissioner."

This letter, with attachment, constitutes notice to you of the legal requirements relating to the filing of income tax returns. Noncompliance could subject you to prosecution under Section 7203, I.R.C., reproduced in full in the attachment.

Very truly yours,

DISTRICT DIRECTOR.

EXHIBIT F

METRO REGIONAL GOVERNANCE AND WHAT'S BEHIND IT[1]

(By Jo Hindman)

Metro regional "governance" operates without sanction by the United States Constitution.

First, I will define GOVERNANCE, a dictionary word meaning control by regulations or restrictions. The word aptly describes METROPOLITAN REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE GOVERNANCE, or Metro, for short. Metro governance is the exact opposite of basic American Government because Metro controls the citizens.

On the other hand, the United States Constitution was adopted so that citizens could control the Government.

I define another word—METROCRAT—which I coined to designate individuals who promote Metro. A Metrocrat can be one of those civic leaders who join organizations which support pro-regional Metro; or a Metrocrat can be a bureaucrat at any level of government who aids and abets the takeover of American constitutional government by Metro governance. If a Metrocrat is a female, she can be and probably is a member of the League of Women Voters. If a Metrocrat is an elected official, he is the politician who shook your hand before going into office and is now shaking your confidence.

TWIN CITIES METROPOLITAN COUNCIL—TCMC

One of the most aggravated of Metro's numerous experiments is taking place in the Twin Cities region of Minnesota. The 1967 Minnesota state legislature created the TWIN CITIES METROPOLITAN COUNCIL—the umbrella of ruling power over the geography of the region that covers seven (7) counties: Anoka, Carver, Dakota, Hennepin, Ramsey, Scott, Washington.

The council TCMC consists of fourteen (14) individuals, members appointed by the Governer plus a fifteenth (15th) appointee, the executive director, required by law to be a "trained" Metro "expert."

All cities, towns, villages and boroughs within the 7-counties Twin Cities region (including Minneapolis-St. Paul) must risk veto of their affairs by first submitting their local plans to the TCMC. The TCMC makes its own rules and regulations under the state's administrative procedure provisions because the TCMC has been declared an *Administrative* agency. Action that is termed administrative lies beyond the control of the voters. More about TCMC in a moment.

In 1969, Minnesota got another dose of Metro regionalization, this time both multicounty and statewide. The Regional Planning and Development Act passed by the 1969 Minnesota state legislature outlined the commissions or ruling bodies to be formed over ten (10) of the state's eleven (11) regions. The 1967-created TCMC relates to Region #11. The Governor's executive order established the regions' boundaries.

Regions are the geography of Metro. Administrative rules and regulations are the power by which Metro hopes to control in the regions. Administrative rules are untouchable by the citizens, yet have the binding effect of law upon the citizens. I'll describe the method, later.

The regional governance is based on Minnesota's Joint Exercise of Power Act. Other states have similar laws; the laws permit cities and counties to jointly engage a function together—if, singly, they operate the function. Taxation is an obvious example. Water supply, sewage disposal, comprehensive planning and development are others.

It is the abuse of the Joint Exercise of Power law which is creating regional governments. The proper use of that law could solve the problems which Metrocrats claim cannot be solved without regional government.

Minnesota's two regional laws (1967 and 1969) are powerful. The 1969 statewide law gives to appointed commissioners permission to exercise ALL POWERS needed to carry out the duties of the Act now, or duties which may be imposed later. The commissions have review power over all local plans which apply for federal assistance. The commissions can receive state and federal grants for regional purposes—which is to say, to promote regional governance.

The commissions can levy regional taxes which would be in addition to current taxes. The TCMC (1967 law, can issue general obligation bonds without a debt ceiling and without voter approval. All the Minnesota commissions are to be under complete administrative executive control. The Governor and the State Planner are one and the same individual with power to merge regions at will. You can read these Minnesota laws in law libraries throughout the U.S.A. See Minn. Statutes, Chaps. 473 A through C, etc. Other state legislatures could copy and enact similar laws.

REGIONS IN THE U.S.A.

Regions can be county-size. The most notorious—Miami-Dade—is still staggering under a steady rise in taxation. In July 1970 taxpayers were slapped with a 32% hike in the county-size Metro's tax roll. The *Miami Herald* 7/30/70, a formerly pro-Metro newspaper, grouched: "As much as we regret to have to say so, the people of Dade County—all 1.3 million of them—are being had by their local governing bodies, Metro and the School Board included." The third layer of government, implied but not named, is Miami city taxation. The Metro county manager, whose Metro spending on functions taken away from cities, is blamed for the whopping tax rate. Reportedly, he has resigned. The taxpayers are left to face the mess.

COG'S—COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT

Throughout the United States, regions called COG's are being formed, using the joint exercise of power law. City councilmen, mayors and county commissioners join together and act as the regional governing body over each multi-county COG. The counties' boundaries, aggregated, form the region's geography.

EDA REGIONS—FEDERAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

There are multi-state regions: *Appalachia* is the granddaddy. Others: the *New England* multi-state regional development area; *Ozarka*, parts of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Missouri and Kansas; *Four Corners*, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico; *Coastal Plains*, on the southeast coast; also *Upper Great Lakes Region*. These regions are designated

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[1] Copyright by Jo Hindman 1970.

by the U.S. Secretary of Commerce under the Economic Development Administration. Minnesota is rather vaguely defined by an EDA map as being partly included in the *Upper Great Lakes Region*. More EDA regions are forming.

MINNESOTA'S FALL TO REGIONALISM

Minnesota regional law (Minn. Stat. Chap. 473A.15) has instructed the existing Metropolitan Transit Commission to so plan and conduct its work that if the legislature enacts legislation creating a single multipurpose Metro public agency, the transit function could be transferred and the existing transit commission abolished.

Who knows if the legislature will pass that multipurpose law in 1971 or later? The multipurpose Metro agency could gobble all commissions, in time. Coming into being, TCMC swallowed a pre-existing planning commission. The present merging powers given to the Governor-State Planner could cause the boundaries to be elasticized to form a giant region as a base for that mammoth single multipurpose agency. Its operations would be completely beyond the reach of voters and taxpayers control. Also, the function of taxation, already bestowed on the regional commissions, would be in prime position to be lifted to the mammoth all-inclusive agency that could cover the entire state of Minnesota, and in turn be engulfed by the Upper Great Lakes Region.

The Twin Cities experiment has been long in the making; its parts bob into view now and then; it will be a dread happening when TCMC's full scheme is unleashed upon Minnesotans. So far apparently, full implementation of TCMC has been marking time.

WHY REGIONALIZATION?

From the Metro viewpoint, regionalization helps Metrocrats gain control of wealth and the political power to get it. Regions provide a vast tax base on which to assess, and from which to collect "equalized" taxes. Metro's equalized taxation and *per capita* spending formulas TAKE from the regions' sparsely populated fringe areas, but SPEND heavily on the densely populated regional city cores.

Also, regions are vehicles to receive (and to match with regional tax dollars collected from all parts of the region) federal funds for regional purposes; or to veto local plans that conflict with regional comprehensive plans.

Regional ruling bodies are non-representative because regional officers do not represent the citizenry. Regional officers are appointed, or even self-appointed, as when signing a COG "agreement" (council of governments). But even if regional officers are elected mayors, city or county elected officials, when serving ("moonlighting") on regional ruling bodies, they do not represent the citizenry. For, to date, there are no regional constituencies, no regional elections, no regional voters.

Taxation on a regional basis therefore is TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION. Regional rule bypasses voters and taxpayers. In the case of Twin Cities Metro, the law has given the non-elected appointees the power to approve general obligation bonds without voter approval (Minnesota Statutes, Chapter 473C12).

THE METRO–1313 SYNDICATE

The foregoing nationwide regionalization movement as described did not "just happen." Steering Metro's regional governance is a deliberate guiding force—Syndicate 1313. The vast network of Metrocrat organizations and individuals operates out of three key locations, Chicago, New York and Lexington (Ky.). There may be a deliberate reason for the scatteration. If all Metro departments, offices and allied groups were collected on one site, or in one "capital" city, Metro would loom up unmistakably as a total governance in open clash with American Government.

1313 EAST 60TH STREET, CHICAGO

The most notorious of the Metro addresses houses the syndicate's administrative core at 1313 E. 60th St., Chicago, a corner location on the University of Chicago campus. The Spelman Fund, tax-exempt Rockefeller money, built the multi-story headquarters. A congressional investigating committee in 1954 discovered that Metro core as an aggregate of twenty-two (22) organizations. Because of that and other findings, The Special Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations—United States House of Representatives, was brought to a sudden death. In its final report, the dying congressional committee urged that 1313 should be investigated, but 1313 has *never* been investigated officially.

During the ensuing years, the 1313 core has added new groups and changed the names of others. Each 1313 group attends to its own peculiar task in Metro governance. The 1313 Center, as the syndicate cluster in Chicago now calls itself, publishes a bulletin entitled THIRTEEN-THIRTEEN. On its cover are listed these groups: American Public Welfare Association (APWelA), American Public Works Assn. (APWA), American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO), Building Officials Conference of America (BOCA), Council of State Governments (CSG), Federation of Tax Administrators (FTA), International Assn. of Assessing Officers (IAAO), International Institute of Municipal Clerks (IIMC), Municipal Finance Officers Assn. (MFOA), Public Personnel Assn. (PPA), Public Administration Service (PAS).

The last-named, PAS performs consulting and research projects, turning out studies, reports, recommendations and advice which, when adopted, results in the spread of Metro governance. In a list of jurisdictions, institutions and agencies thus served throughout the nation, we find listed the cities of Minneapolis, Rochester and St. Paul. Among the counties listed, we find Hennepin (Minn.). Among the Metro-propagandized states, we find Minnesota named.

The interlocking directorate of the 1313 Center reveals how the syndicate operates. Representatives of the 1313 units sit on each others boards. Each Metro group, such as PAS, maintains trustees who are officers in other groups of the syndicate. In addition to the groups named by the 1313 Center (above), PAS also has trustees from 1313's National Assn. of Housing and Redevelopment Officials (NAHRO), which is responsible for bringing urban renewal into the United States. Currently, individual members of NAHRO occupy administrative positions in local public housing projects. Other PAS-interlocked 1313 groups are: National League of Cities (NLC), International City Managers Assn. (ICMA), National Municipal League (NML).

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE, THE PARENT BODY, 47 EAST 68 STREET, NEW YORK

A magazine called the *National Civic Review*, published by NML keeps tab on Metro-1313 doings throughout the United States of America. Taking up a recent issue, we find Syndicate 1313 watching TCMC, reporting on the Twin Cities Health Board (7-counties); and the Twin Cities Metropolitan Transit Commission.

MINNESOTA AN NML TARGET

Allegedly "just an organization of citizens," NML publishes progress reports, a sort of Metro score card. The May-June 1969 issue of the publication. "State Legislatures Progress Reporter", features Minnesota prominently. Being published in May-June indicates that the incident described took place early in 1969 long before Minnesota citizens had an inkling of what was going on. The item says, in part:

"Seeking to bring more logical order into intergovernmental relations, a delegation of Minnesota legislators and other officials held a 3-day seminar in Washington with key federal officials and the state's congressmen. One of the subjects discussed was a proposal to divide the state into eleven (11) planning and development regions which would have authority to accept federal grants and to review all plans and grant applications of all local units of government within the regions . . . The governor would be given authority to designate each region by executive order."

That was the embryo of Minnesota's 1969 Regional Planning and Development Act. I am told that the law was passed hurriedly in the last days of the state legislative session, without the knowledge of the citizenry. And yet, Minnesota's state leaders were talking it over OUTSIDE THE STATE with federal officials. Is that government *of* the people, *by* the people, *for* the people? And the Metro Syndicate is watching it all.

ALL-AMERICA CITIES AND DISTINGUISHED CITIZEN AWARDS BY NML–1313

In passing, I mention the annual publicity stunts staged by 1313's NML with Look magazine. You can read about them in your newspapers. The ALL-America Cities prize is awarded to cities that are bulging with Metro projects, such as urban renewal, racist human relations commissions, public housing, mental health, etc. The Distinguished Citizen award goes to bankers, professors and businessmen whose services have benefited Metro.

GENERAL GRANT OF POWER—LOCAL

NML writes sample Metro city and county charters, also state constitutions. You can recognize a Metro charter or constitution by its "general grant of power," the exact opposite of "reserved power" charters and constitution's which are drafted under the Tenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Power-reserved-to-the-people charters and constitutions limit the ruling body, but . . .

Metro charters and constitutions give all power to the ruling body, stripping the citizens and voters of self-rule and self-government.

Metro's general grant of power is like a legal power-of-attorney. No sensible person in control of his faculties would give power of attorney to a stranger or to an enemy who could sell, give away, or otherwise dispose of the person's wealth and property. And yet, citizens who approve Metro charters or constitutions do essentially the same act.

METRO CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES

Early in September 1970, Americans were shocked by a proposal to junk our United States Constitution for a Metro constitution released by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, Calif. 93103, a Metrocrat dry dock for aging Metrocrats. Spokesmen for the Metro document were Robert Hutchins who turned a shovelful of dirt at the groundbreaking ceremony for the 1313 Center in Chicago, known then as the Public Administration Clearing House (PACH); also Rexford Guy Tugwell. Early in the Thirties, citizens in Chicago digging into the background of the mysterious gang at 1313, drew up a chart which listed individuals who were ringleaders. Tugwell was one of those named.

Of the Hutchins-Tugwell Constitution an eminent person wrote. "The constitution which has been produced by Rexford Guy Tugwell indicates the bureaucracy's most dramatic effort to destroy the existing Constitution and to impose their own (constitution), which would legalize and validate every crime against the people that has been perpetrated thus far, and prepare for the rest of the way to tyranny."

COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT—CED

In my travels about the country, I see the publications of the CED carried about by puzzled individuals who ask if "CED is Metro." I call CED Metro's headshrinker. That nationwide group of self-described business executives and educators pooled their so-called prestige in July 1966, and now call for a revolutionary abolishment of 80 per cent of local governments in the United States. A notorious 1313 name among the consultants to CED is that of Luther Gulick, now of the NML–1313 in New York. Gulick's name is to be found also among the incorporators of the original public administration clearinghouse (PACH), the notorious 1313 in Chicago.

NATIONAL SERVICE TO REGIONAL COUNCILS, A 1313 "FRONT"—NSRC

One of the new groups added to Syndicate 1313 is NSRC, formed by joint action of 1313's National League of Cities and National Assn. of Counties. NLC and NACo, smarting from criticism stemming from their pro-regional efforts which would abolish cities and counties, are attempting to escape the heat by delegating NSRC to provide service to regional councils. NSRC sent one of its trouble shooters to a conclave called by Oregon's Governor whose administrative district (regional) setup is coming unglued. The NSRC man stood up among county commissioners who opposed regionalization of their jurisdictions; he sided with the pro-region Governor.

Federal HUD (Housing & Urban Development Dept.) has given NSRC your tax dollars, $96,000 to assist "Operation Breakthrough"—the radical housing construction program, also to encourage regional councils to promote public housing.

1313 groups regularly appear before committees of Congress to promote Metro laws, or to defend Metro laws which are under fire. 1313 lawyers file "friend of the court" briefs under the name of 1313's NIMLO (National Institute of Municipal Law Officers).

Minnesota is linked to 1313's NSRC through the founding sponsors, NLC and NACo. The League of Minnesota Municipalities is a member of 1313's National League of Cities. The Assn. of Minnesota Counties is a member of 1313's National Assn. of Counties. Other states are similarly linked.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS

TCMC recently issued a warm welcome to a 1313 adjunct, the AIP. Article II of the AIP Constitution declares in favor of "planning . . . by the comprehensive arrangement of land uses and land occupancy and the regulation thereof." That gives you some indication of the sort of aggrandizers who are welcome to cross the threshold of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council in Minnesota's Region #11.

COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS—CSG

During a previous address in Minnesota, I mentioned the cumulative annual tribute up to 1959 which Minnesota sends to 1313's Council of State Governments. A Minneapolis resident took up where I left off, wrote to the Minnesota Governor who replied that from 1959 to 1969, the state paid an additional $118,909.83 to this single Metro unit.

CSG maintains a pipeline web into the fifty (50) states. Each state Metro-1313 unit bears a title: intergovernmental (or interstate) cooperation commission. CSG exploits this system to further regionalism and allied Metro projects.

CSG still maintains its 1313 E. 60th St., Chicago address but has moved headquarters to Iron Works Pike, Lexington, Ky. 40505. Long ago, CSG mapped the steps leading to regionalization of local government in the U.S.A. The steps are: city-county merging or consolidation, county-multi-county multi-county-district, multi-district-multi-state, multi-state-international. See the book The States and The Metropolitan Problem published by CSG, 1313 E. 6th St., Chicago.

CSG appears to be violating Article I Section 10(1) of the U.S. Constitution which prohibits alliances among the states. By contributing state tax dollars to CSG, the state become a party to the violation.

ACIR—"PORTABLE 1313"—FEDERAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Created by Congress in 1959, approved by U.S. President Eisenhower, ACIR is completely controlled by Syndicate 1313. The nominating system gives the syndicate majority control of the 26-member commission. Informally exerted influence adds many more Metrocrats to the ACIR board. That Metro vehicle writes voluminous reports, studies, sample state and federal laws and, belying its professed advisory nature, gets the laws enacted by routing them to state legislatures and to Congress. Both Government Operation Committees of the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives (specifically through the Senate and House subcommittees on Intergovernmental Relations) act as willing stooges for the Metro Syndicate. But . . . behind Metro Governance, there is more than the syndicate. . .

WHY METRO AGENCIES/AUTHORITIES HAVE SPRUNG UP IN THE U.S.A.

When Metro's geographical mergings-with-umbrellas-of-administrative-power become bogged down, or move too slowly, the Metrocrats resort to the functional approach, creating "authorities" to operate functions of Metro. Authority types include Seaports, Airports, Turnpike, Transportation, Urban Renewal, Housing, etc. Agencies and Authorities are Metro structures operated by administrative rules and regulations (non-statutory), made by appointees (not by elected representatives of the citizens).

Authorities and agencies are created to construct, operate, and maintain income-producing public facilities. Although a state has nominal power to exercise control over an authority, in practice, little if any control is exerted. The Massachusetts Crime Commission took a close look at Authorities and found a "relatively new and alarming potential for corruption." That was in 1965.

A decade earlier in California, a congressional committee investigating the Housing Authority of Los Angeles observed the Authority's strange political flesh—not state, not local, but a free-wheeling administrative agency composed of appointees separate and apart from all levels of government. That is one of the first-recorded "glimpses" of Metro incognito.

Metro administrators (managers) armed with administrative rules and regulations (false law not enacted by elected representatives of the people), operate Metro authorities and agencies with mighty power. That is the type of Metro administrative governance which destroys citizen self-rule and self-determination.

An actual instance involved an urban renewal agency in Kansas. Citizens of Coffeyville wanted a referendum on urban renewal. The city attorney advised the city council that it was not necessary for the council to put the matter on the ballot because urban renewal was an administrative function. The citizens took the matter to court. The lower court upheld the city council. Appealed, the higher court ruled the case "laches" which is to say—"too late"—even though the citizens had acted promptly. Significantly, the judge made no mention of the "administrative" angle, either relating to the function or to the agency, both of which are administrative by nature. Why are the courts ducking the issue?

Let us examine some actual documents, and let us study the "administrative rules" racket which gives false power to Metro authorities.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD COMPARED WITH FEDERAL REGISTER

The Congressional Record is published daily when Congress is in session. In it appear the debates and remarks of Senators and Representatives, also copies of bills introduced, and laws enacted. After the laws are signed by the President, they are published in the United States Code (U.S.C.). These are true statutory laws enacted by your elected U.S. representatives as provided by the U.S. Constitution.

In comparison, the Federal Register is published daily the year around. It is full of administrative rules written by bureaucrats in various federal agencies. Also the Executive Orders of The President are printed.

The Orders and the rules and regulations take on the effect of law when printed in the Federal Register. That's all that is needed—a printing press. But these printing press rules have the effect of law when imposed upon the citizens. The administrative rules and regulations are codified in a Code of Federal Regulations (C.F.R.).

The Processing Method: A law is passed by Congress, then handed to a bureaucrat so he can write instructions for all the employees of the bureaucracy to follow. Sometimes the bureaucrats go beyond the statute (law) and write their pet programs into the "printing press rules." The rewrite job published in the Federal Register then takes the effect of law and the pinch on the citizens begins.

If you request from your Congressman a copy of an Act passed by Congress and signed by the President, you will receive the law with statutory references (U.S.C.) published in the margins. You won't see the bureaucratic cross references (C.F.R.)—the Federal Register's printing press code—until you go to a book entitled "Public Laws and Administrative Materials." There, you will find the text of the law as passed by Congress plus something new, bold-faced type referring you to the "fine print" written into the Federal Register and codified in the C.F.R., and published in lengthy completeness in the Federal Codes Annotated, and having the effect of law.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE ACT OF 1946—PUBLIC LAW 79–404

Amazingly, Congress passed the federal law that put the lawmaking bureaucracy into business, namely the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946, later amended. By that Act, Congress set up procedure that yielded lawmaking authority to agencies in the executive sector of Government and further provided that the administrative rules and regulations shall be printed in the Federal Register. *Question:* Is the Act a violation of the U.S. Constitution Article I, Section 1?

Currently, the U.S. President, given rule-making power by Congress, in turn redelegates the legislative power given to him (unconstitutionally) by Congress, to appointed agencies which produce the rules under which Americans are needlessly suffering today.

A recent request for a copy of the Administrative Procedure Act brought an incomplete copy from Wash., D.C. not showing a recent amendment. For that 1967 amendment, go to the Government Operations Manual 1970–71, pages 560–63. It seems to abolish the former necessity of publication in the Federal Register in cases where an Executive (Presidential) Memo is involved.

The entire administrative rules process described above at the federal level has its counterparts at states' level. When a state receives federal assistance, it yields that portion of federally-funded state activity to Federal rules and regulations—the federal control we distrust.

ACTUAL EXAMPLES: CIRCULAR A–95; ALSO "MODEL CITIES" LAW

Let's follow actual cases to see how Metro regional governance takes self-government away from the citizens by using administrative rules and regulations on a regional grid. Some people call it "administrative rule and ruin."

Circular No. A–95 originated in the Executive Office of the President in July 1969 but seems to be a still-expanding document. By the date, you can see that A–95 is a Nixon administration document. It sets up a clearinghouse system to carry out sections of two federal laws: the regional Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968 (Public Law 90–577), and the Model Cities Act of 1966 (PL 89–754). The Johnson administration produced both laws.

In regional PL 90–577 Congress gave the President the power to establish rules and regulations governing regional review and veto of local plans and project involving federal funding.

Nixon was elected President on 11/5/68. On 11/8/68, President Johnson wrote a lame duck memo to one of his administrative bureaus called the Bureau of the Budget (BOB), now the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). The Executive Memo was published in the Federal Register 11/13/68 delegating authority to establish rules and regulations governing review of federal programs, and giving the coordinating role to BOB, or a like agency. President Johnson ordered "this memorandum shall be published in the Federal Register," and named the regional PL 90–577 law as his authority to redelegate the lawmaking power to payroll employees.

I have been told by a federal official that details of Circular A–95 are not required to be published in the Federal Register, perhaps because the President's blanket Memo transferred the legislative power that Congress gave him, over to an executive department to accomplish the specific purpose which A–95 embodies—the regional clearinghouse network now placed over all fifty (50) states.

Circular A–95 includes Section 204 of the "Model Cities Act" (formerly Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act). The coordination of parts of the two laws was assigned to the executive BOB, now known as OMB.

The "Model Cities" law provides for a radical and complete socio-economic upheaval in the United States. Examine the "Model Cities" rewritten law in the Federal Codes Annotated and you will find cross-references to F.C.A. Titles on Banks and Banking; Public Buildings, Property and Works; Public Health and Welfare whose sections, in turn, deal with urban renewal and relocation, etc., operations of which are run by the bureaucratic printing press rules.

Put into action, the Model Cities social-engineering structure becomes subservient to administrative rules and regulations and includes such nonsense as "street elections" without official voter lists but with members of the League of Women Voters in charge. The Model Cities structure completely bypasses constitutional representative government.

The Model Cities law also is an example of Congress legislating in an area beyond its jurisdiction—i.e. areas not permitted by enumeration in the U.S. Constitution, the overworked "general welfare" clause in the Preamble, notwithstanding.

The lame duck memo (LBJ) and the July 1969 (Nixon) A–95 circular illustrate why we have a Metro One-Party and not a two-Party system in the United States. Presidents may come and Presidents may go, but Metro and the Metrocrats go on uninterruptedly.

A–95 sets up an "early warning system" based on three types of clearing houses: state and regional clearinghouses designated by state Governors and metropolitan clearinghouses to be designated by the federal government. Local governments are under the web. All plans seeking federal assistance must be reviewed by the clearing-house system. "Early warning" means that local governments should notify clearing-houses that plans will be submitted.

Title IV of the regional PL 90–577, the region-making law, contains a delegation of legislative power FROM Congress TO The President.

Circular A–95 was the response to the President's redelegation of that legislative power to one of his executive offices. A–95 illustrates vividly how that delegated legislative power is turned into administrative rules written by non-elected bureaucrats.

Circular A–95 is being taken to and explained in various parts of the United States as a system that is required and must be submitted to in order to receive federal assistance. Reaction has set in against the forced regionalization that the Circular implements.

Section 204 of the "Model Cities" Act requires that a broad spectra of public facilities-type projects which seek federal assistance must be brought under the aegis of areawide comprehensive planning agencies—the clearinghouse system.

In brief, the lawmaking power (entrusted by American citizens to the legislative sector of government) is being conferred (unconstitutionally) upon executive appointees. Exercise of that power has produced the clearinghouse "planning network" that is now flung over the entire U.S.A. to force all independent units of local government under a dictatorship.

MINNESOTA AND TWIN CITIES METROPOLITAN COUNCIL—TCMC

The Oct. 1, 1969 federal directory listing state, metropolitan, and regional clearinghouses shows just one (1) Minnesota state clearinghouse (Governor's designation); it is the Minnesota State Planning Agency in St. Paul which he heads in his dual capacity as Governor-State Planner. No clearinghouse names appeared under Minnesota's regional clearinghouse section.

However, several federally-designated metropolitan clearinghouses in Minnesota do appear on the list. The Twin Cities Metropolitan Council (Minneapolis and St. Paul plus 7-counties) is one of the federally designated clearinghouses. Perhaps the first official act of the TCMC was the approving of plans for the federally-assisted "new community" of Jonathan, near Chaska, Minnesota. The remaining forty nine (49) states and their clearinghouses are likewise listed in the federal directory.

REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY OF METRO, LOCAL TO GLOBAL—BOX EXAMPLE

To summarize the regional geography of Metro, please envision one of those toys children play with—a nest of boxes, little boxes fitted into larger boxes. In our discussion, we have removed some of the smaller boxes from the cluster, each bearing labels such as city-county mergers, multi-county regions and so on. We observed that the State of Minnesota someday might lose its sovereign identity in the Upper Great Lakes Region, presently the regional creature of the EDA (Economic Development Adm.).

But these domestic Metro regions in the United States fit into an even larger box—a whopper labeled World Government.

Let's get the picture: Regionalization is the geography of Metro Governance. Metro in the United States is the domesticated version of Charter-Treaty law under the United Nations global organization. Starting with cities' and counties' regionalization, multi-county regionalization is being attempted in Texas, Florida, Kansas, Iowa, California, etc. We find State-level regionalization attempted in the tri-state New York-Connecticut-New Jersey area. International regionalization already exists on a hemispheric scale. OAS (Organization of American States) is the western hemisphere Region as set up by United Nations organization for easy control of North and South America. All nations on earth are slated for global regional subjugation.

You will find Regionalization completely outlined in the United Nations Charter. Chapter VIII of the Charter covers "regional arrangements;" Chapter IX declares "intergovernmental agreement" as a UN device; the vocabulary of Metro is there in the UN Charter.

GENERAL GRANT OF POWER—INTERNATIONAL

But what about regional world law—the power that rules? It is found in the UN Charter's General Power Grant—just as you find it in the local Metro city and county charters and state constitutions as drawn from the Syndicate 1313 samples published by the National Municipal League. Articles 55 and 56 of the UN Charter contain the International General Grant of Power and the implementing clause:

Article 55: "With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote: a) higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development; b) solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

Article 56: "All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the Organization for the . . . purposes set forth in Article 55.

When the United States ratified and approved the treaty of the UN, a chain reaction set in. "A ratified treaty confers on Congress unlimited power to legislate on the subject matter of the treaty without any other enumerated and delegate power whatsoever." (quoted from the late U.S. Senator Patrick McCarran's remarks in the Senate Jan. 28, 1954). Articles 55 and 56 of the UN Charter-Treaty conferred on the Congress of the United States the unlimited power to legislate on the subjects of civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. The "Model Cities" law is an example of Congress legislating under the aegis of the United Nations global mandate.

Bear in mind that our U.S. Constitution *limited* government to the functions listed in the U.S. Constitution, and *reserved* all other powers to the sovereign states or to the people (See Amendment X).

But the UN Charter has unshackled Congress, causing that body to legislate in fields not permitted by our U.S. Constitution. In addition to "Model Cities" PL 89–754, named above, another example is the regional Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968 (PL 90–577).

Not only does Congress unconstitutionally delegate its legislative power to the executive sector by PL 90–577 to implement UN's regionalization, Congress in the "Model Cities" law has legislated in areas which the U.S. Constitution has *reserved* to the states and to individual Americans.

That appears to be the present situation in its stark horror. The U.S. Senate approved the UN Charter whose general legislative grant empowered our Congress to legislate in areas not permitted by our U.S. Constitu-

tion. And Congress is so legislating beyond the constitution, to the sorrow of American citizens.

The UN Charter was approved by the United States in 1945. Have not our gravest problems overtaken us since that date?—regionalism and phoney "printing press laws" written by bureaucrats who lack constitutional authority to write laws. Reflection and meditation on your part undoubtedly will uncover other instances in educational, civil, economic, social and cultural areas.

The Metro–1313 Syndictae fits into the picture as the peddler of world law domesticated for the United States. 1313's various charters, constitutions and sample laws all throw power to the executive sector of government at any level.

WORLD GOVERNMENT CONSTITUTION

"A Constitution For The World" has been written by some of the same characters who produced the proposed new Constitution For The United States. The World Constitution, older of the two proposed documents, comes from the same place—the tax-exempt Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara (Cal.) 93103. The 1965 copyright on the document is held by Ford Foundation's Fund For The Republic. Ford Foundation has been and is a heavy contributor to Syndicate 1313, notoriously through the charter-constitution-writing National Municipal League and its affiliates.

DECLARATION OF WORLD CITIZENSHIP

Does it all sound 'way out? Then listen to this. I quote excerpts from a copy of "A Declaration of World Citizenship—A Joint Resolution of the Hennepin County (Minn.) Board of Commissioners, Mayor and City Council of Minneapolis, dated March 5, 1968:

Whereas, in recognition of the greatly increased interdependence of the world . . .

Whereas, aware that we can best serve our city, county, state and nation when we also think and act as *world citizens.*

Now, therefore be it resolved that we . . . recognize the sovereign right of our citizens to declare that their citizenship responsibilities extend beyond our city and nation. We hereby join with other concerned people of the world in a declaration that we share in this world responsibility and that our citizens are in this sense *citizens of the world. . . .*"

The Declaration means something, but *what*? Metrocrats don't go to so much trouble to make empty gestures.

Does the Declaration signal readiness for the TCMC region to be attached to a "hot line" leading to a not-yet-official World Manager or a Board of global regional managers?

Or does the Declaration mean that Minnesotans will be the first to pay the World Tax? A world tax has been on the drawing board for some time; maybe it is off the board and ready to be used.

TCMC

The Twin Cities Metro Council is an administrative form of government headed by appointees who can control regional webs of transportation, sewers, public works, etc. The power to get the tax dollars for spending has been given to appointees—not to elected individuals who can be recalled if they tax too heavily. TCMC regional inhabitants have no control over the ruling body. Nor can they vote on general obligation bonds and debt.

Other Minnesotans—yes, other Americans in other states—are jeopardized by the menace of the Twin Cities regional experiment; its pattern can be transplanted elsewhere by agents of the widely-flung Syndicate 1313 web.

CONCLUSION

Who is to blame? The 1313 syndicate, of course, for spreading the Metro governance. Congress is to blame for delegating lawmaking power to the President. Certain U.S. Presidents are to blame for redelegating that same lawmaking authority to irresponsible bureaucrats (Metrocrats). The U.S. Senate is to blame for putting Americans under the United Nations Charter-Treaty law and for keeping us there.

What is being done?

Attacking regionalism, two California counties—El Dorado and Placer—have taken the Lake Tahoe bi-state (Nevada-California) Metro region to court in California, declaring the region's unconstitutionality.

Challenging the "printing press laws," two cases against the Internal Revenue Service (income tax collectors) went to federal courts in Illinois and California. The California case is said to be on its way to the U.S. Supreme Court contesting the practice of employee-written definitions and misinterpretation of law.

Citizens in the fifty (50) states are asking why they no longer have a right to vote—especially on matters as weighty as urban renewal, regionalism, interest-bearing public debt.

What can other citizens do?

Citizens can petition to repeal regional laws, retire Metrocrats from office and refuse to vote Metrocrats into office;

Citizens can stop state tax dollars from going into the 1313 treasury in the form of assessments levied on the 50 states by 1313's Council of State Governments through Metro's 50 state intergovernmental/interstate cooperation commissions;

Citizens should expose the Syndicate 1313, ask for a congressional investigation of that concentration of political power.

All Americans should urge abrogation of the United Nations Charter and eviction of the UN headquarters from The United States of America!

UNFULFILLED PROMISES: MANPOWER PROGRAM FOR MIGRANT FARMWORKERS

HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr Speaker, I want to call to the attention of our colleagues another program which is supposed to benefit migrant farmworkers, but which may fail to achieve its objectives.

Several weeks ago the Secretary of Labor announced the beginning of a long-range comprehensive manpower for migrant farmworkers. During the current fiscal year about 6,000 noncasual migrants will be the target of home-base and in-stream programs costing $20 million to develop marketable job skills to equip them for stable, year-round employment.

The Department's press release painted a glowing picture of the program:

To assist migrant farmworkers attain economic independence and security and prepare them for year-round employment, the Labor Department program will:

Provide comprehensive training and job development in home base areas;

Provide assistance to persons who desire to settle out of the migrant stream.

Health care, educational assistance, food stamps, housing and other necessary supportive services will be provided through coordination with existing agencies in the local areas.

Upon closer examination, however, these words seem to be little more than rhetoric unsupported by much substance.

First, when members of the Agricultural Labor Subcommittee requested more details about the programs, the Rural Manpower Service supplied us with a document called the Last Yellow Bus. We were told that this would give us all the information we wanted. However, when Assistant Secretary Malcolm R. Lovell, Jr., appeared before our subcommittee to explain the program, he specifically repudiated the Last Yellow Bus, labeling it "a planning document for internal purposes only." He could not or would not tell the subcommittee which parts represented departmental policy and which ones did not. He promised a more definitive statement of policy, but none has been received in the months since his appearance.

I should note, in passing, that the so-called planning document dealt mainly with broad, general program objectives and said little about the details of how the program would be run, by whom it would be run, where it would be set up and in what time frame. I was particularly distressed by the Secretary's promise of coordination of supportive social services and my discovery that this facet of the program was not discussed at all in the Last Yellow Bus.

The Department claims the program is "comprehensive" because all available training and services will aid migrants both at their home base and in the stream. But the program cannot claim to be comprehensive when it will affect no more than 4 percent of the noncasual migrants during the first year and when it cuts off nearly a quarter of the migrant population from eligibility for important phases of the program.

I can understand that at the outset the Department will essentially be running a pilot program and obviously cannot reach a greater number of migrants. But I fail to understand the rationale for not including several east coast States that during the peak employment month of August 1970 had a migrant population that may have been as high as 50,000.

Thirty-seven Members of the House from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland have joined me in protesting this exclusion. We addressed a letter to Secretary of Labor James D. Hodgson requesting a reexamination of the dimensions of the program. The fact that the Secretary has allowed a month to lapse without responding to our letter shows contempt not only for 38 Members of this body of both parties, but for thousands of migrants in the east coast stream.

Allow me to explain the situation a bit more. Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and a few whites migrate along the Atlantic seaboard harvesting fruits, vegetables, and tobacco, and working in nurseries. The Labor Department, as I have noted, puts peak employment in this stream at 50,000 which compares favorably with the situ-

ation in the Great Lakes States—one of the areas to be served by the migrant manpower program—which has an annual inmigration of about 49,000. But no migrant in any State north of North Carolina will receive any benefits from the manpower program and the most conservative estimate of the number of migrants employed in the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia in August 1970 is 37,000.

The Department of Labor maintains that most of these farmworkers will be eligible to participate in the home base phases of the program because they come from the Southeastern region—Florida, North and South Carolina. But the same logic would seem to hold for the migrants in the Great Lakes States who also are interstate migrants with home bases largely in the South and the Southwest. In any case, why extend the possibility of benefitting from in-stream settle-out programs and supportive social services to migrants in the Midwest, but deny them to those on the east coast?

Moreover, between 30,000 and 35,000 Puerto Rican farmworkers annually leave the island in search of employment in the east coast stream. These migrants are eligible for neither home-base nor in-stream phases of the program. This is outright discrimination against a significant portion of the migrant population.

If the first year of this so-called comprehensive manpower program for migrant farmworkers is essentially an experiment or pilot project, then I contend that the evidence gathered from this experiment will be inaccurate and biased because the sample of 6,000 migrants will not adequately reflect the composition of the migrant population.

Finally, I want to point out that even though many phases of the program—and perhaps the whole project—will be run by contracts with local, migrant-based organizations, all aspects of the program will be under the control of the national office of the Rural Manpower Service, that is, the Farm Labor Service. The Department of Labor is now conducting an investigation of charges of ineffectiveness, bias, grower control, and outright fraud in the Farm Labor Service and a lawsuit filed by Migrant Legal Action, Inc., has called for the abolition of the agency and its replacement by a worker-organized and operated service. I question the wisdom of assigning a multi-million-dollar manpower program to an agency under investigation and whose dedication to migrant is doubtful.

I am very worried about this manpower program and the way the whole situation has been handled. I hope the Rural Manpower Service will become the chief advocate and protector of migrant interests, but on the basis of past history I am not at all certain this will come about. Congress must very carefully oversee this new program and make sure it is designed and implemented in such a way as to achieve its worthy objective.

THE FUTURE OF UNITED STATES–RED CHINA POLICY

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, between the commentaries on ping-pong diplomacy and the first visit by a U.S. President to Red China, much thought will have to be given to just what our new international policy will be with respect to this nation of 800 million people.

On the one hand, it is argued that a country with approximately one-fifth of the world's population and a sizeable share of its land resources cannot be ignored in the negotiations for world peace. Yet on the other hand, valid questions are raised about the attitude of the Peoples Republic of China toward the rest of the world.

No real benefit will come by offering the Communists a new forum for spouting propaganda of world conquest and against "imperialist aggression." However, if a real basis for common understanding and a mutual recognition of international human rights can be established, the citizens of the whole world will gain by the evolution of a true state of peace on earth.

In an effort to contribute to the discussion, Mr. Speaker, I will place in the RECORD at this point an editorial from the New York Sunday News of August 1, 1971, which comments on President Nixon's planned trip to Peking and puts forth some serious questions to consider. I commend the item to my colleagues:

COMMITTEE OF ONE MILLION

Committee of one million—Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations (Suite 500, 1735 DeSales St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; Dr. Walter H. Judd, chairman) is reacting in an interesting fashion to President Richard M. Nixon's planned visit to Peking, Red China.

The committee has drawn up a set of seven questions which it hopes the President will put to Red China's Premier Chou En-lai when the twain meet face to face.

We find these questions so illuminating and provocative of thought that we print them in full:

1—When will you release the American servicemen whom you have held as prisoners for as long as 20 years?

2—Do you now accept the United Nations designation of Communist China as the aggressor in the Korean War?

3—Do you now concede that you committed genocide [deliberate extermination of a national or racial group] in your invasion of Tibet as the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva has so stated?

4—Do you admit that you are responsible for the deaths of thousands of American servicemen in Vietnam through your supplying most of the small arms and ammunition to the Viet Cong?

5—Will you now apologize to my country and to me personally for describing me as a "chief butcher" and an "arch criminal" in your official publications?

6—Are you now prepared to abandon Mao Tse-tung's philosophy that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun?

7—Do you still believe that the U.S. is an "imperialist aggressor" and is surrounded by "running dogs"?

Take 'em away, Mr. President, and let's see Chou wriggle off those seven hooks if he can.

CONGRESSMAN BRADEMAS HEARS THE VIEWS OF INDIANA CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, several days ago, while at home in my congressional district, I had the pleasure of meeting with a group of certified public accountants from several northern Indiana counties.

We engaged in a candid discussion of a number of problems which they, as certified public accountants, encounter in their relationships with the Federal Government. In particular, this group of CPA's told me of some of their difficulties in faithfully representing their small business clients.

One of the major impressions I took away from the meeting was the resentment that many small businesses have against the Internal Revenue Service. I was advised by the certified public accountants that the procedures of the IRS are, on a number of occasions, inconsistent and arbitrary and, moreover, that it has often proved virtually impossible to communicate with the computerized branches of the Internal Revenue Service.

The participants at this meeting even drew comparisons between their experiences with the IRS and the treatment suffered by the American colonists at the hands of the late George III.

Mr. Speaker, I am naturally distressed that any segment of the constitutency I represent should be so resentful of an agency of their government. While remonstrating against the tax collector is probably one of the oldest of human activities, the intensity of the feeling displayed by the professional men and women with whom I met seemed to me to indicate more than the usual level of dissatisfaction.

I take this time, therefore, for two reasons. The first is to draw attention to this kind of criticism of the Internal Revenue Service.

Beyond making this point, however, I should like to express the hope that others of my colleagues in the House of Representatives may find it useful to arrange similar meetings in their own congressional districts with certified public accounts. My own experience, as I have indicated, proved most helpful in enabling me to learn of the concerns of these professional persons and to express my own views on a number of issues of interest to them.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I should like to include the names of those who participated in the certified public ac-

countants' meeting in Indiana to which I have referred. They are:

Joseph J. Newman, South Bend, chairman; Betty Lehman, Goshen; Joyce Griffey, South Bend; Sophie Newman, South Bend; Dorothy W. Poe, LaPorte; Richard E. Clare, Elkhart; Robert L. Stephan, South Bend; David A. Bloss, South Bend; Roger K. Griffey, South Bend; John M. Taylor, South Bend; David S. Stewart, Plymouth; Hugo Tomchak, South Bend; Richard L. Seago, South Bend; Stanley E. Rigby, Berne; Walter Rose, Fort Wayne; Donald S. Flagle, Elkhart; O. E. Dickerson, New Castle; and E. J. Dickerson, New Castle.

EDNA SPIES HONORED

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, June 20, a reception was held in Dixon, Iowa, honoring Mrs. Edna Spies, whose retirement this year ends a 34-year career as a teacher and educator.

Mrs. Spies' distinguished record is worthy of high praise and honor. Her devotion to the teaching profession and her students is worthy of emulation.

Several newspaper accounts of Mrs. Spies' career appeared upon her retirement. They detail why she is so loved and respected by those who know her.

The recognition she has been accorded is well-earned and well-deserved.

The articles follow:

MOST OF ALL, SHE WILL MISS THE CHILDREN

(By Elsie Ryan)

A face here. Another there. Tears remembered. Laughter shared. And so short, so short.

"It was an exciting, challenging rewarding career," reminisced Mrs. John (Edna) Spies, Dixon, Iowa, who is retiring this year after a lifetime in education.

And she'll have a new and special memory June 20 when the Dixon American Legion Post 353, auxiliary and juniors, honor her at a special reception from 2 to 5 p.m. and 7 to 10 p.m. in the Dixon Legion Hall.

All students, former students, their parents, friends, relatives and the public are invited to the event given in recognition of her retirement from North Scott Community School System.

Her 47 years in education were spent as an instructor in the rural schools of Scott County, Delmar Consolidated School, Iowa Soldiers Orphans Home (now the Annie Wittenmyer Home) Davenport, Calamus Community School and North Scott School, plus four years as a director on the Davenport Township School Board and nine years on the Scott County Board of Education of which she also served as president.

One of her most lasting achievements was establishing the Scott County Bookmobile—the first of its kind in America.

Mrs. Spies graduated from a Normal Course (at that time offered by Davenport High School), with the class of 1924, and later took additional work at Coe, Marycrest, University of Iowa and Drake University.

Her teaching career once included a battle to raise the salaries of teachers in order to attract them from the higher paying jobs they had taken during World War II. She was successful. Then came the time when the market was flooded and teachers were "a dime a dozen." And there were some school boards who wouldn't hire a married teacher.

"During the depression years," Mrs. Spies recalls, "salaries dropped from $125 and $150 a month to $40 and $50 . . . when they got paid. Banks closed, there was no money, and some teachers taught an entire year without pay. One board treasurer felt sorry for us and gave us a small check for Christmas. The only difficulty was . . . the bank closed before we could cash them!" "I'll miss all the activities in rural schools . . . the variety shows, community plays, the box socials, the big picnics, the way the children recited the Lord's prayer and the pledge of allegiance, and the dandelions . . .

"I think one of my dearest memories is the hands of youngsters bringing me spring bouquets of dandelions.

And there was the billy goat that broke loose and came into the school. And the day I was playing ante-over and jumped to catch the ball to save some little ones from getting hit, I fell over a tree stump with a sharp edge and passed out. Those children knew just what to do! They dumped several buckets of water over me! I was drenched!

"I'll never forget the day the children caught a skunk at noontime, and when they came in I was very much aware of it. So I dismissed school early.

"Another time all the boys were baking cookies for Mother's Day when Harry Banze, Scott County superintendent, walked in to give some reading tests. The boys all wore big aprons and no one thought to take them off, just sat down and took the test. Mr. Banze chuckled over it, said it always felt like coming into a home when he came to my school. The children gave him a big sack of cookies to take home.

She once was dubbed 'Fussy Fanny' by a school director, the late George Keltin, because, "I was so particular about how the bulletin boards went up and how we painted along the trim."

"So many beautiful experiences, love and cooperation . . . I'm going to be lost. I do think television is affecting children in their grades, and the working mothers are telling a tale . . . children are left too much on their own. And children now are engaged in too many outside activities. It leaves them no time to think, to read and let their minds grow."

Her students are scattered all over the world. She is proud to say she has a photo of each and every one of them (over 1,000). Included in her memory book is the Little Flower Valley rural school's winning float in the first Davenport Mardi Gra parade at Halloween.

"Rewards of teaching cannot be measured in dollars and cents. It's how much I helped the children develop into adulthood, their professions, their successes, accomplishments, their morals, their ability to meet the 'ups and downs' by standing on their own two feet, and most of all, their success as parents."

She and Mr. Spies are themselves the parents of four children, all of whom she taught during World War II. They are Larrimett, superintendent of Cold Rolling Mill Plant at Alcoa, Tenn., where he lives with his wife, Carol, and two daughters; Capt. Gordon Spies, now serving his third tour in Vietnam. (His wife, Judy and two children live at St. Augustine, Fla.) A daughter, Darlene, wife of Dr. Russell Peacock, and four children live in Ballston Spa, N.Y.; and Mrs. Ronald (Beverly) Mangravite, Fort Lee, N.J., is administrative assistant of the rehabilitation department at New York University Medical Center, Goldwater Memorial Hospital, New York. All the children, except Gordon, will be home to help their mother celebrate.

Her great love for her family, her pupils and her interest in school is demonstrated by her unique gift which she dedicated to all her students . . . a memorial plaque, a flag pole and flag standing in Scott County Park.

Her family was reared on the farm settled by Jacob Heller in 1836. "I'm studying geneology, tracing our family tree on both sides. It's quite fascinating. We have a lot of teachers, ministers, professors and doctors in the background. Many founded cities in the east.

"We also plan to travel a lot, and will see more of our children . . . but I'll miss the children, oh, I'll miss them."

RETIREMENT TRIBUTE FOR FORMER CHEROKEE WOMAN

Mrs. Edna Smith Spies, Dixon, Ia., a former Cherokee resident, will be honored at a special reception given by Dixon American Legion Post 353, the auxiliary and the juniors in recognition of her retirement from the North Scott Community School system.

The event will be held in the Dixon Legion Hall from 2 to 5 p.m. and from 7 to 10 p.m., June 20. The public which includes many former students are invited to the reception commemorating her services to education as an instructor, school board member and for her contributions to the welfare of the community.

Mrs. Spies' retirement brings to a close an exciting, challenging and rewarding career of 34 years as an instructor in the rural school in Scott County, Delmar Consolidated School, Iowa Soldiers Orphans' Home, now called Annie Wittenmyer Home at Davenport, Calamus Community School and North Scott. In addition she served as director of the Davenport Township school board and as president of the Scott County Board of Education.

Daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. John Smith, residents of Ida and Cherokee counties, she grew up in these communities, graduating from eighth grade at Pilot Township No. 8 (known as the Banks Perry School) in Cherokee County.

Among the relatives in this area are the John Mann, Robert Graham families of Cherokee, the William Smith family, Quimby, Hawley Smith of Storm Lake. She has contact through frequent visits and through her membership in the Cherokee County Historical Society.

She attended and graduated from the Normal Court (Teacher's Training) then offered at Davenport High School with class of 1924 of which Dr. David Palmer was then president now president of Palmer School of Chiropractic.

SEVERAL GENERATIONS

She has been engaged in educational work ever since, a profession she cherishes. She has touched the lives of several generations, teaching children and grandchildren of former students, an accomplishment of which she is justly proud. She has taken, through the years, additional work at Coe, Marycrest, University of Iowa and at Drake University.

Mrs. Spies recalls many interesting episodes from her teaching career, including the depression years when salaries dropped from an all time high of $100–$150 per month down to a low of $40–$45, and the closing of banks when she and Davenport township teachers taught a whole year without pay. She also recalls how the treasurer of the board feeling sorry for them wrote out a personal check for a small sum on his account at the bank for their Christmas. But that bank closed its doors before they could cash the checks. . . . "But," she says, "life went on just the same and we all survived."

Then there was the time she shook the old "pot-bellied" stove on a cold morning and the stove started to topple over. Fortunately,

the director and his children walked in at just that moment, he grabbed and helped hold the stove up while his son pushed bricks under the broken leg.

She also remembers being called back into the teaching field because teachers were leaving their low salaried jobs for high pay in defense plants during World War II. She sparked a drive to raise salary schedules to help keep teachers in the schools where they were so badly needed.

She also remembers the days when school boards wouldn't hire married teachers.

Edna and her husband are the parents of four children, all of whom she taught during World War II. They are Larrimett, superintendent of Cold Rolling Mill Plant, Alcoa, Tenn.; Capt. Gordon, now serving third tour in Vietnam, his family residing at St. Augustine, Fla.; Darline, wife of Dr. Russell Peacock, Ballston Spa, N.Y.; Beverly, wife of Ronald Mangravite, administrative assistant of the Rehabilitation Department at New York University Medical Center. Eight grandchildren complete the circle and all except Gordon expect to attend the reception.

Mrs. Spies' greatest love is her family, her students and the school which is exemplified by the Memorial Plaque, the flag and flag pole erected and standing in the Scott County Park which she dedicated as a memorial and tribute to all her students.

MRS. SPIES TO BE HONORED AT RECEPTION

Mrs. Edna Spies, Dixon, will be honored at a special reception given by the Dixon American Legion Post 353, Auxiliary and Juniors in recognition of her retirement from North Scott Community School System, on Sunday afternoon, June 20th, from 2:00 to 5:00 and from 7:00 to 10:00 P.M. in the Dixon Legion Hall.

Her students, former students, the parents, friends, relatives and the public are invited to the reception commemorating her for her service to education as an instructor, school board member, her interest in our youth and her contribution to our communities welfare.

Mrs. Spies' retirement brings to a close an exciting, challenging and a most rewarding career of 34 years as an instructor in the rural schools of Scott County, Delmar Consolidated School, Iowa Soldiers Orphans Home, now called Annie Whittenmyer Home, Davenport; Calamus Community School and North Scott School. She served four years as a director on the Davenport Township School Board and nine years on the Scott County Board of Education of which she also served as president.

She acquired her teacher's training in the Normal Course then offered by Davenport High, graduating with the class of 1924 and she has been engaged in educational work ever since, a profession she cherishes. She has touched the lives of several generations, teaching grandchildren of former students and an accomplishment of which she is justly proud. She took additional work at Coe, Marycrest, University of Iowa and Drake.

Mrs. Spies recalls the depression years when salaries dropped almost out of sight; when the banks failed and the teachers in Davenport Township taught school a year without pay, and how the board treasurer felt sorry for them and wrote each of them a personal check for a small amount on another bank so they would have some Christmas money. Well — that bank joined the ranks along with the rest and closed its doors before they had a chance to spend a cent. Believe it or not, they all survived.

During her years as president of the Scott County Rural Teachers Association and remembering why she was recalled into the class room during World War II because teachers left their schools for higher pay in Defense Plants, she sparked a drive to raise salary schedules to keep teachers in the schools. That was like pulling teeth, but they won out. What a contrast to then and now!

She and Mr. Spies are the parents of four children, all of whom she taught during Second World War. They have eight grandchildren. They are Larrimett, Supt. of Cold Rolling Mill Plant at Alcoa, Tenn., where he and his wife Carol, and daughters, Holly and Jill reside near by at Maryville. Captain Gordon Spies, now serving his third tour in Vietnam. His wife, Judy and daughter Melinda and little son, Jason, reside at their home at St. Augustine, Florida. Darlene, wife of Dr. Russell Peacock, and their children, Craig, Jama, Larrimett and Richard reside at Ballston Spa. New York. Beverly, administrative assistant of Rehabilitation Dept. at New York University Medical Center at Goldwater Memorial Hospital, New York, and wife of Ronald Mangravite, residing at Fort Lee, New Jersey.

All of Mrs. Spies' family will be home to honor their mother and former teacher on June 20th, all except Gordon, who will be unable to attend.

Mrs. Spies' book of treasured memories include not only those of her students and family, but also those honors from President Harry S. Truman, Iowa Governor, William Beardsley and the National Citation awarded by Ted Malone over N.B.C. in recognition for having founded and established the "Scott County Bookmobile," the first in Iowa and the Nation—which was dedicated as a Memorial to the school children, teachers and servicemen in Scott County.

Her book also includes honors from Congressman, Fred Schwengel, Thomas Martin, Senator Guy Gillette, the late Walter Beuse and "Man of the Week" honors from the Davenport Press.

Vivid are her recollections of her students. She states with pride that she has a picture of every student, which numbers over 1,000. Her book includes a picture of the three Calamus Jr. High Boys who "Spelled" to win the three top honors and championship in the same Clinton Co. Spelling Contest.

Mrs. Spies feels that teachers' rewards aren't measured by dollars and cents. It's the child's life's work, their success and accomplishments, their morals and mainly their success as parents that count.

Her greatest love is her family, her pupils and interest in school which is exemplified by the Memorial Plaque, the flag pole and flag standing in Scott County Park, which she dedicated to all of her students.

Mrs. Spies was elected President of the North Scott P.T.A. for 1971–1972.

Although she is retiring and has many interesting hobbies, it is a safe bet that she will keep her eye on school affairs and the future of her boys and girls.

RED CHINA: THE WORLD'S NO. 1 HEROIN PRODUCER

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, it is ironic that many of those who are expressing such grave concern over the drug problems of American soldiers in Southeast Asia are also among the advocates of our new policy toward Communist China and are supporting the admission of Peking to the United Nations.

It is ironic because this same regime in Peking, which so many are now embracing as a friend, regulates the largest heroin traffic in the world.

Dr. Robert W. Baird, of Help Addicts Voluntarily End Narcotics—HAVEN—recently testified before an ad hoc committee during the observance of Free China Week.

Dr. Baird's remarks and legislative suggestions are well worth remembering by those who are concerned with drug problems among our young soldiers, and also by those who so readily accept the idea that Communist China belongs in the United Nations.

The remarks follow:

REMARKS OF DR. ROBERT W. BAIRD

Dear Senators, I want to thank you so very much for the privilege of allowing me to appear before your committee this morning to present my reason why I am against the acceptance in the U.N. of Red China. I just hope that this committee will listen to some of my words, it is sometimes rather dismal to come down to Congress year after year and I have been down here since 1964 telling them of the dangers of addiction in the Armed Services. I have been before many of our luminary senators such as: Javits, Jackson, Muskie, Kennedy, Dodd and had warned them back in 1964 of the G.I. problem. In fact, in 1966, I brought some GI's with me down to Washington and one of the very GI's that I brought to testify about the dangers in Vietnam of drug addiction has just recently died. Year after year I have been down here warning of the dangers of addiction and now 7 years later a holocaust. It fell on deaf ears of our leading Senators.

Here are some of the newspapers clippings that I have brought to show. Despite these warnings, I was criticized in the New York Times June 16, 1966 that there was not one addict in the Armed Services. It can be frustrating but right now angry, so many kids needlessly hooked. In fact, Senator Javits on June 15, 1966, said he would look into this matter. I wish he had acted with the same promptness as he did with the female lib movement of the girl pages, as he should have when I pleaded with him in 1964. I trust that this will not happen here.

In regards to Red China despite the fact that we are confronted with misinformation from the Federal Government agencies that Turkey produces 80 percent of the heroin that finds its way into America, think that is an out and out myth and is typical of many people who head drug programs who are totally oblivious to the real fact of drug addiction, one cannot be close to the problem of drug addiction in an ivory castle under sterile situations such as in a hospital or a Veterans Administration or general's desk or head a law enforcement agency and never being on the street level to hear the story as it is which slowly infiltrates down to the grass roots level to the patients that we doctors have to see. There is no doubt in my mind that the leading producer of heroin in the world is undoubtedly Red China. I feel that at this time probably Red China is responsible for producing close to upwards of 50,000 tons of opium a year. How do I come about this statistic. In the Pravda newspapers September 1964 the Russian Communist stated that Red China was making at least 500 million dollars a year from illicit traffic of opium. This is predicated on them producing somewhere in the neighborhood of 32 thousand ton of raw opium. When one considers the conversion factor of 25 per cent into alkaloids those are substances that become morphine and heroin, this is enough to supply a quarter of a billion people for a minimum of a year. So you can readly see that this is really big business in a large

way. The American people and our American officials have been extremely naive about Red China and its importance. I told this at a hearing August 1964 before Senators Javits, Muskie, Dodd, McClellan, Jackson and repeated the urgency in May 1966, and again in June 1966 telling them about Red China sending dope through Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam.

It is no surprise that Hong Kong at this time has over a hundred twenty thousand addicts. Hong Kong is only a small community which is 326 square miles, and yet in order to supply this where is all the heroin coming from? It comes from the mainland of China which is right at their back door, which then finds its way into Hong Kong because Hong Kong has no room to grow the large poppy plants and to go through the procedures of harvesting then extracting it to morphine base and converting this into heroin. In fact, in 1965 a report from behind the Iron Curtain came out that there were large plants for converting morphine into heroin base in Chinese mainland. Out of one plant alone and this information comes from the U.N. hearings May 2, 1952, one of the morphine factories in West China produced 300 pounds of morphine a day, this is equivalent to 54 ton a year or 109,500 pounds, or 54,000 kilograms of morphine.

One shipment alone that was discovered coming out of Red China was worth 20,000,000 dollars. Some of the large cities which are responsible for drug production is Tientsin and Canton, and here the People's Republic of China have an absolute governmental monopoly on the production of morphine, opium, and heroin under the opium prohibition bureau of the People's Government.

Is it any wonder that Hong Kong, Japan, Macao, Singapore and Korea and Malayan Penisula are lucrative markets with such a tremendous area of production. The Southern Province of China which is called Yunaan has at least a million acres which can be used for producing opium and which I feel is in active production at this point. In 1956 poppy acreage was 6 million MOW (0.15 acres equals one MOW) and increased to 9 million MOW by 1965. Is it any wonder with a big American market? This represents one million acres.

The evidence of heroin goes back to the fifties in which when I testified before Congress telling them about our boys getting heroin from Indochang and Seoul and Pusan where they were getting this from the Koreans which undoubtedly had come filtered down from North Korea and in the U.N. hearing this has been brought out where they have found out that Chinese heroin from Red China has been proved to be the same type that has entered into Hong Kong.

As a practicing physician having worked in Harlem treating drug addicts for over twenty years I feel that right now that with letting down the trade barriers this will now unleash such a holacaust of drug addiction in America. Before we could think of trading with Red China they must promise to stop completely the production of opium. This I feel will never happen. Smuggling in America will go to an all time high that we will not be able to keep up with it. Simple methods of getting it in will be via dolls, toys, picture frames, shoes, clothes. In addition to organized syndicates new purveyors, merchant marine personnel, armed services, visitors and tourists that we will not be able to stem this tide. And another thing that bothers me and I am positive that it will come to bear before the end of one year there will be the increasing amount of heroin amounting to thousands of pounds that we will find in the United States which will be coming up from South America. Already the underworld syndicates are taking steps to bypass the normal routine of shipping out from Hong Kong, India, Thailand, Vietnam via Europe through Kennedy Airport and St. Lawrence in Canada and California, and will now start to bring heroin through the South American route using South American couriers because this is a more deceptive method and we will see higher grades of pure heroin coming in. It would not surprise me at all if it were possible to have the World Bank check on the gold bullion reserve that probably Red China is gaining on America via drugs alone to the tune of conservatively at least a billion dollars a year through our syndicated purveyors of pure heroin in America. In addition by 1975 there will be upwards of one half a million new addicts.

In October 1950, the U.N. forces in North Korea found three hundred boxes of opium which contained thirty to fifty pounds a box origin Red China.

In 1952, there was a seizure of opium of six thousand pounds—Red China.

The simplest way to completely destroy America is to see what I have been seeing year after year, the ever-increasing amount of drug addiction as it hits our youth and you get the gullible students and professors who go over to Red China and are taken in by a ping pong tournament and don't realize that the propaganda outfit of Red China is playing ping pong with our American kids lives who are totally oblivious to the subtle cunning of dumping hundreds of kilograms of heroin into America. Someone has to alert the Nation!

I believe that the vast majority of heroin that has found its way into Vietnam is produced in Red China and as I said before how can a country who is involved in war with shooting and bombing have time to raise the harvest then get the harvest put it into crude opium bulk then bale it up and convert it into morphine base then convert this into a heroin base. This is coming through Red China through the southern provinces, has found its way through Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and in these countries there unscrupulous merchants who for the fast dollar will do anything. There is not just one syndicate it is as diversified as in America that's the game.

I have brought this testimony out back in May 1966, when a patient of mine Dickie Schapell, a newspaper correspondent told me about the drug trafficking in Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia. Before her untimely death in Vietnam she and I were going to do this for a newspaper and investigate this more thoroughly. While she was over there she told me that it disgusted her to see American CARE packages that were sent by our people there for raising crops of supposedly wheat and rice were being used to harvest opium, and she has seen so much of this in the Far East. I think at this time our Government should insist that opium production should be stopped completely. I have said this for years with no avail. There are enough synthetic narcotics to take care of any severe pain from the worse pain which one finds with cancer. There is no need for opium production at all, if there is to be opium production it should be put out by one or two countries which in turn would be under the close supervision of the U.N. task force to stop contraband.

To date Red China has not cooperated one bit in letting us know what their true production has been. Their interest is to perpetuate their own political Mao Tse-tung doctrine and subvert the thinking of all people via drugs as evidenced by the fact that so many of their adjoining neighbors have become involved with drugs, e.g. Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia, Thailand, Burma, Philippines. It would not surprise me if Russia were to find an increasing amount of opium and heroin addiction in outer Mongolia and Manchuria because this would be the simplest way to breakdown the people of these other areas for a Chinese take over.

Once again I submit the following I think if they would follow it would help stem the tide of drug addiction in this nation. At least you people can be exposed to different concepts because I have tried in vain to speak with President Johnson and I am markedly disappointed that President Nixon didn't listen or give me an audience of ten or fifteen minutes even though we had a march in Washington in 1970 to point out the problem of the G.I. in Vietnam. In fact, I have a letter which I had written to the President in January 1969 outlining points in the fight against drug addiction. Interesting enough in June 18, 1971 in the New York Times seven out of the ten proposals I had stated were adopted. Three were omitted but I am sure they will be eventually utilized. Ironically three days later I received a letter from Mr. Ingersoll with the typical accolades of praise of continue your great work, but not asking me to help them. However the proposals were used the accolades they can keep.

I volunteer my services and time to your organization and block the admission of Red China at this time to the U.N.

At this time her admission would mean further destruction of our American youth via drugs since the revolutionary movement that is involved in America has drugs as part of their plan to even selling drugs on the campus.

URGENT LEGISLATIVE SUGGESTIONS

Drug abuse and narcotics addiction education for all institutions which can in turn indoctrinate the public to all aspects of drug addiction. (Now being instituted by New York State).

Commitment to an institution of any drug addict by a family member. (Now being instituted by New York State).

Bonding by State or City Governments of a drug addict who has been off drugs for a year so he can obtain a job, since private enterprise refuses to bond.

The penalty for marijuana possession should not be decreased as this is a dangerous drug. (We are trying to convince the N.Y. County Medical Society that their position is inadequate to deal with this ever-growing problem).

The selling of LSD must be considered a felony with 50 years imprisonment.

Utilization of more male teachers for pupils during the formative school years from 6 to 14 (to strengthen the male image, which in a drug addict is often inadequate).

Special high schools and programs (educational and vocational) should be developed for failing students, potential dropouts and drug users (including longer school days and 3-term per-year schedules, with August vacations).

Drug addicts who have been given other than an honorable discharge from the armed services should have all their benefits restored when off drugs for one year.

Double the Bureau of Narcotics of fourteen hundred agents to twenty eight hundred.

Double the Bureau of Customs Officers.

Establish specialized courts that deal with drug addiction and narcotic trafficking.

Stop world opium production (there are enough synthetic narcotics).

If not feasible then a U.N. task force which would scrupulously monitor the growing of opium.

The United States stop issuing passports to offending nations both to our citizens and the offending nationals.

If passport prohibition doesn't act as a deterrent then economic sanction be imposed (this I have asked for in 1964). The sanction should be at least a million dollars for pre-determined weight unit by Congress. Example: 1 ounce—one million dollars.

Impose a fine against ship owner, union,

ship captain if any personnel are apprehended trafficking in the service of the Merchant Marine.

The week of April 1st should be considered National Drug Abuse Week. The theme being April 1st is April Fool's Day and "only a fool would use drugs."

LEGISLATIVE SUGGESTIONS

Creation of a drug abuse and narcotics addiction hospital in New York City. The New York State 1966 Program has finally adopted this. However, we are hoping that facilities will not be limited only to heroin and opiates but will also include LSD, marijuana, amphetamines, barbiturates, cough medicines containing codeine, and all drug abuse problems.

Compulsory hospitalization of drug addicts who cannot make it on an ambulatory basis. (The New York State program has adopted this).

Compulsory probationary period of five to ten years for periodic physical examinations of former drug addicts.

Unannounced physical examinations three times a year in all schools at all levels for early detection of drug users.

Intensified education on drug addiction in hygiene courses from the third grade elementary through high school, college and professional schools.

Make illegal sales of any cough preparation containing codeine without a prescription.

Make illegal sale of any barbiturate or amphetamine compound without a doctor's prescription. (Accepted in part by the Federal Government in 1965).

Outlaw sending by mail (unless registered) any professional samples of amphetamine, barbiturates, tranquilizers.

Physical inspection of all armed forces personnel coming in and out of known "drug areas."

Physical examination of all overseas personnel for addiction.

Redemption of various licenses for former drug addicts off drugs for one year or more, such as cabaret, hack, barbers license, etc.

Revocation of driver's license of known addicts who are actively using drugs.

Revocation of licenses of pharmacists who sell narcotics, amphetamines or stimulants without a prescription.

Stiff penalties for any merchant who sells airplane glue to a child; such glue not to be sold to anyone under 21 years of age unless signed for with some form of identification (driver's license, social security card, etc.).

Increase punishment for the professional non-addict pusher to a minimum of 50 years in prison.

Development of M.D. narcotics specialists with probationary commitment powers.

SELECTIVE SERVICE CONFERENCE REPORT

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, before remarking on the substance of this bill and this conference report, I must say that I am most upset about the rule recommended by the Rules Committee. Only a few months ago, Congress passed the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970. Among other things, that legislation made it clear that conferees may not exceed the scope of the differences between the House and the Senate. It is quite obvious to me that the conferees on this bill have violated this rule, thus thumbing their noses at the Reorganization Act in one of its very first tests, with respect to the effective date of the military pay raises, the amount of those pay raises, and the language relating to exemptions for sole surviving sons. Now, we are being asked to become parties after the fact to that violation. This is not merely a request to suspend or waive a rule, but a request that we ratify a blatant breach of our rules which has already taken place.

On August 2, I wrote to Chairman COLMER and the other members of the Rules Committee to request that they not recommend a rule which would waive points of order or preclude us from voting separately on nongermane Senate amendments. I am most disappointed that this request has not been heeded. For the information of my colleagues, I am appending a copy of my letter to the chairman.

Insofar as the bill itself is concerned, I have made clear on numerous occasions that I am unalterably opposed to military conscription. It denies individual freedom and conscience. It violates the basic traditions of our country. But even more than that, the draft, by supplying the government with an unlimited supply of conscripts, has made it possible for successive Democratic and Republican administrations to wage an illegal and immoral war in Indochina without the prior approval of Congress.

By agreeing to continue the draft, the House is once again abdicating its responsibility to play a more independent role in formulation of foreign policy. Instead of learning the lessons so clearly set out by the Pentagon papers and the disasters of our Southeast Asian policy, which occurred in large part because this body did not fulfill its responsibilities, the House, if it approves this conference report, will be repeating and compounding its errors.

In an excess of timidity, the House conferees have relinquished the opportunity offered by the original Mansfield resolution to assert a more independent role for Congress. They have succeeded in removing the heart and guts of that proposal, and offer us a meaningless shell.

A few weeks ago, this body voted against instructing its conferees to accept the Mansfield amendment. But history moves quickly these days ,and two significant events have intervened since June 28.

First, we received Hanoi's peace initiative, which proposed that the repatriation of American prisoners of war and the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam begin and end on the same date. This offer provides an excellent opportunity for our Government to negotiate a settlement terminating the war. We in this House could take a major step both to end the war and to reestablish our constitutional role in the formulation of foreign and military policy by returning the bill to conference with instructions to accept the Senate language setting a withdrawal date 9 months hence.

In addition, we have had President Nixon's announcement of his forthcoming trip to the People's Republic of China. This important step in the easing of tensions between the United States and the People's Republic is another new development which should encourage us to reconsider our rejection of the Mansfield amendment.

No doubt we will hear that what they present us with is significant because for the first time it speaks of a date certain for withdrawal of our troops and release of prisoners. But, as in the past, there is no real effort to demand and insure that the President finally do what the American people have been pleading for, that we end this war.

This kind of compromise is nothing but a copout and an outrage. It is a tragedy for the American soldiers who will continue to die in Vietnam, for the American prisoners who will continue in captivity, and for the people of Indochina. I have said before that the House, if it wanted to, could vote to end the war. It would do so if the House leadership was genuinely responsive and exhibited leadership. It has chosen once again not to do so, and each Member must now examine his or her individual responsibility for the continuation of this monstrous war.

I oppose both the rule and the conference report, and urge the defeat of both.

The letter follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., August 2, 1971.

Hon. WILLIAM COLMER,
Chairman, Committee on Rules,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I understand that the Committee on Rules is considering a rule for consideration of the conference report (H. Rep. 92-433) on the bill H.R. 6531. As one of the most important items which will be before us during this session, this report deserves the fullest, most open consideration that we can give it.

Accordingly, I ask that the Committee not recommend a rule which would preclude Members from voting on non-germane Senate amendments separately and individually, as provided by clause 1 of Rule XX, or from raising such points of order as may be appropriate.

Our Rules exist to assure the full and orderly consideration of legislation. Congress affirmed this principle as recently as last autumn, when it passed the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970. I urge you and your colleagues on the Committee not to recommend any waiver of the Rules' provisions relating to non-germane Senate amendments or points of order.

Thanking you for your consideration of my views, I am,

Very truly yours,

BELLA S. ABZUG,
Member of Congress.

THE PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL TRIP TO RED CHINA

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, my doubts are increasing daily about the wisdom of the President's proposed trip to Red China. The full background of the matter still is not publicly known, but each day

more details and explanations become available.

The last thing I would want to do is to interfere with any prospect for peace.

But the President's dramatic announcement about the secret meeting of his adviser with the Red Chinese and the President's proposed trip received no similar treatment from the other party.

Have we simply replaced personal diplomacy by the President for the frustrating negotiations in Paris? What happens to those peace talks? Have we played our hole card too fast?

I recognize that personal diplomacy at top level sometimes has its place—and for the good of our Nation and the free world—I hope this is the place.

The hopes of the free world lie with the United States. The President's spectacular overture to the Red Chinese has raised doubts in the minds of our allies because they—and we—have no way of knowing the implications at this point. Indeed, even the administration itself is showing uneasiness about the immediate future lest some unexpected development torpedoes plans for the Red China visit which will not occur for at least several months. There is a lot of difference between a visit by a ping pong team to Red China and a visit by our Chief Executive.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I include two related articles from the Buffalo, N.Y., Evening News:

ADMINSTRATION UNEASY ABOUT PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO CHINA

WASHINGTON.—The administration is undergoing a bad case of the jitters about President Nixon's forthcoming visit to Communist China.

Word from the White House is that the administration is expected to try to arrange the President's trip as soon as possible to avoid the possibility some international accident might sabotage the confrontation.

At the State Department Secretary William P. Rogers issued a don't-talk-about-China order which barred the State Department Wednesday from speaking out about matters connected with the trip.

However, some seasoned officials recognized that the action is likely to stimulate, rather than abate, the kind of speculation the President himself has discouraged in meetings with congressional leaders.

It is impossible to tell, authorities said just how soon the meeting can be held because the United States has yet to send advance teams to work out logistic and security problems.

However, experience has shown the technical and physical difficulties in connection with a visit to a Communist country can usually be settled rather quickly because of the state's complete control of the facilities and the people.

Another reason for holding Mr. Nixon's meeting with Chinese leaders as soon as possible is to provide the minimum alloted time for opponents of the confrontation here and abroad to criticize it.

The White House is still awaiting official Soviet reaction to Mr. Nixon's dramatic announcement Thursday that an agreement had been reached for him to visit Peking.

The only comment from the Soviets so far has been in the Literary Gazette, which declared Mr. Nixon's trip "has nothing to do with a genuine care for peace or international understanding among nations."

The United States is making a strenuous effort to convince the Russians that it is not ganging up on them by "collusion" with the Chinese. The American view is that better understanding between Washington and Peking, with the possible settlement of some of the major issues in Asia, will contribute to stability in the area and be of as much value to Moscow as to Washington.

Whether the Kremlin, locked in an ideological and geographical struggle with China which has caused it to beef up its military might along the 4500-mile border, will take merit in Washington's argument, is not yet clear.

Administration sources now claim that Peking, for its own reasons, was more anxious than Washington that the announcement be made when it was.

It is fairly apparent that the White House is unprepared to deal with a host of substantive questions raised by the announcement, including the relationship of the visit to the Vietnam war, China's membership in the United Nations, and the U.S. policy in dealing with the nationalist regime on Taiwan.

Mr. Rogers, in private discussions with foreign ambassadors here, reportedly asked them for ideas on how to maintain a Taiwan seat in the U.N., on the assumption that Communist China is voted into the world body.

WHY DOES PEKING WANT NIXON VISIT?

(By Charles Bartlett)

Henry Kissinger heard a lot of courteous, businesslike talk in Peking, but he got no real answer to a key question: Why do the Red Chinese want President Nixon as a visitor?

The question is important, because, more than it seems, this is Peking's initiative. The visit of a Nixon emissary was first broached by Lei Yang, the Chinese charge d'affairs, in the Warsaw meeting of Jan. 20, 1970. Mr. Nixon was delayed in conveying his assent because Red China broke off the talks after the Cambodian invasion.

As the President and Kissinger told the congressional leaders, we can only speculate on the motives behind the invitation. The speculation is fuzzy because the potential of the visit appears limited to a narrow opening of communications. The opening will raise Soviet apprehensions, but Soviet policy is unlikely to be seriously diverted by a Sino-American exchange which stops at the amenities.

Vice President Henry Wallace, the last top-level American to go to China, did much business in 1944 because Washington was strenuously applying advice and dollars against the erosion of a friendly government. But the Communists don't want advice and won't get dollars from Mr. Nixon. So what do they want?

The answer was perhaps supplied by a Chinese diplomat who recently told an African politician that Peking is not interested in the American government, but in the American people. The Chinese strategy, he said, is to stimulate dissent in America against the government's Asian policies in order to force eventual acceptance of Red China on her own terms.

Apparently impressed by the Viet Cong's success in dividing American opinion and discrediting the Saigon government, the Red Chinese see a parallel opportunity to stir the United States against the Chiang Kai-shek regime. With a fragile claim on Formosa, a dreary record, and no talent for public relations, the Nationalists could fall easy prey to the volatile mood of young Americans.

It is a tough situation because the administration sees no answer to the dilemma over Red China's admission to the United Nations and no way to avoid what may become a protracted struggle to avoid the exclusion of Taiwan.

America does not need a deep controversy over China policy, but it can happen because there are rumbles and emotions on the left and right, pent-up prejudices, and a new disposition to judge Communists more by their words than by their records. The strategy described to the African could be potent.

RETRAINING WHOLE FAMILIES BREAKS POVERTY CYCLE

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, there is underway in Arizona an experiment which may truly be the long-sought program to break the poverty cycle.

Arizona Job Colleges at Casa Grande is taking aboard entire families who have been living in poverty. The breadwinners are being given earning skills and the rest of the families are learning how to better manage the family affairs. The husband, for instance, may receive training in a construction skill while the wife learns how to cook nutritiously, how to sew, how to keep order in the home. The children, too, are helped through Headstart and other programs.

If this total-family approach works—and it is going very well, indeed—we may have the key to interrupting the vicious poverty cycle.

I hope my colleagues will read the following from the Arizona Daily Star of August 1, 1971:

ARIZONA JOB COLLEGES PIONEER NEW POVERTY WAR APPROACH

(By Mark Panitch)

CASA GRANDE.—Approaches to ending poverty have been as varied as the people who tried them, but until recently they have all had one thing in common: They dealt only with one part of the problem.

There are programs for jobs, education, family living, health, transportation, recreation. Usually the programs are coordinated under some sort of umbrella agency that attempts to stifle competition among the various staffs for money and manpower at the expense of the other programs.

Arizona Job Colleges here may have found a solution to the logistics problems of fighting poverty, and at the same time pioneered a new approach to ending poverty.

AJC is not a college and it's not really for jobs. Rather it's a collection of vocational training programs, remedial education programs, home economics and home management programs, personal counseling programs and child care programs under one roof.

"It's like being a circus performer trying to balance half a dozen spinning plates on sticks," says AJC director Dr. Louis Y. Nau. "Sometimes they get a little shaky and sometimes you have to give more attention to one than another, but if you pay attention to one it falls and takes all the others with it."

POVERTY COVERS A WIDE RANGE OF PROBLEMS

Social scientists studying poverty have long known that the word covers a range of problems called a "behavior complex" that reaches far beyond simply having little money.

In the 1910s and 60s Oscar Lewis, an anthropologist, introduced the public to the phrase "culture of poverty" through his books on the poor of Mexico.

Johnson Administration officials planning the war on poverty were aware of the problems in trying to deal with individual aspects of poverty separately. But the political problems of funding finally overwhelmed them, and they gave in to an approach which

meant giving simultaneous support to many competing agencies, each one of them jealous of grants or programs assigned to any other agency.

The problems were also clear to a group of Arizona State University educators and clergymen representing the Arizona Ecumenical Council. In 1966 they began talking about a residential program to deal with the problems of poverty families as whole units rather than trying to solve individual, but often tightly connected, problems.

"A man might be placed in a job training program, but be unable to read or do math well enough to succeed," Nau says. "But under the traditional organization of anti-poverty programs the man might have to be enrolled in job training before he could get into an education program, and by the time he learned enough in the education program to do well in job training that program is over and he has added another failure to his life."

Another common problem, according to Nau, as that men learning new skills and progressing in new jobs often change their attitudes and ways of thinking while their wives, remaining at home with the children don't keep up. "This is a big reason for family breakups just when it looks they finally are starting to get ahead," he says.

In 1968 and 1969 a temporary board of directors organized the Arizona Job Colleges, Inc., and put together a complex funding package including a seed grant from the Ford Foundation, an operating grant from the federal Office of Economic Opportunity, a housing grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development and another HUD grant with the City of Casa Grande.

The project finally opened in the spring of 1970 with 10 families, more than 60 staff members, and offices and classrooms in trailers.

FEDERAL GRANT GOT SNARLED IN REDTAPE

The immediate problem was housing. "We had planned to have a total community," says Nau, "but a grant from HUD for public housing units got snarled in red tape and at the last minute we had to go out and find housing for 10 families with as many as half a dozen and more children in some of them."

Selecting the first group of participants was an ordeal for the AJC staff as they interviewed the dozens of family members who had heard of the program from welfare agencies, the state employment service and the Arizona Department of Vocational Rehabilitation.

"We set several criteria for admission to the program," Nau says. "We wanted only complete families—father, mother, children. They had to live in Pinal County, they had to meet the OEO poverty income criteria (for a family of six, maximum income would be $4,200 per year), they had to display a motivation for change and they had to participate in the total program.

As Nau talks, he displays occasional hints of his former calling. For eight years he was a Lutheran missionary in the Philippines, and the zeal is apparent as he talks about the project.

But now, Nau is a missionary for social change, equipped with a Ph.D. from ASU in adult education and counseling psychology.

"The most important thing about the people in this program," he says, "is that they were unhappy with themselves, they recognize that poverty is more than simply being poor and they want to change themselves."

But Nau is also quick to admit that participants in the AJC project sometimes trade one group of problems for another. "One of the men from the first group spoke to the National Rehabilitation Assn. last spring and told them 'there are times when I think that its harder to be middle class than it is to be poor, that there are too many problems, too many decisions now.' "

But the people in the program seem to have the same spirit of enthusiasm for what they are doing as director Nau and his staff.

Juan Morales was a part-time welder a year and half ago. Married and with two children, he had mounting debts and even when he worked he could not keep up with expenses. His eyesight was failing because of improper safety equipment on many of his jobs.

Today Morales is a purchasing agent with AJC, earning a steady income and working at a job which not only is interesting to him, but which gives him respect among his friends and relatives.

And as Morales went through his vocational and educational training, his wife kept up with him.

She went through home economics and home living classes and seminars where such household skills as cooking nutritious meals, sewing, baking and simply keeping order in the home were practiced and discussed.

KEY TO THE PROGRAM IS "INDEPENDENCE"

In addition, Mrs. Morales received basic training in office skills so that she could seek work if the family needed an extra income or she were unexpectedly forced to support her children.

"The key to the whole program," says John Gillespie, a counselor who worked with migrant and rural programs in several states, "is making the family an independent economic unit."

"When we came here," says Morales, "We didn't really know what to expect. But we couldn't have gone on like we were. Now we finally have the feeling that we are going someplace—that our children will have a decent life.

When a family is accepted in the program the adults are given a variety of tests to evaluate their education, job aptitudes, and discover other hidden assets they may possess.

The husband is counseled in career development with the aid of the tests and continuous surveys run by the AJC staff to determine not only what skills may be needed a year later, but which ones will be needed in several years.

"The last thing we want to do is put a man in a dead-end job where he can't advance, or even where the job might disappear," says Nau. "One of the keys to breaking the chain of poverty is breaking the chain of failure—personal, domestic, economic, in every area—that goes with it. We have to place people in jobs that won't let them down."

While the husband and wife are learning new skills, the children attend local public schools or are placed in Head Start or day-care programs at AJC.

"Even if we eventually fail with some of the parents," says Nau, "maybe the extra help we give the children with their school work and the stimulation the kids in the Head Start program get will help break the poverty cycle for them."

Within the next week, the college's offices, day care, Head Start and home economics departments will move into a gleaming white, modern Spanish building designed by Phoenix architect James Deremiah. Built in the "volumetric" style, the center has three buildings grouped around a hollow which will become an outdoor amphitheater.

"I was trying to make a building that was not institutional," Deremiah said, "I was after something that people would feel comfortable in, that they wouldn't be afraid to use."

The building was planned before the final grant came from HUD and Deremiah didn't receive a cent for his work for more than a year after he began the design.

The structure is designed to be as flexible as possible. Even as workmen were putting up the walls, Deremiah was watching the progress of the first group of families and redesigning the inside to meet newly discovered needs.

"We still aren't sure what the final needs of the building will be," he says, "so we have designed the walls so that they can be taken out in many places, and we put in partitions instead of walls in many other places."

"In essence, we wanted to keep things loose so they could be opened up to let the space develop as the program does," he said.

The AJC program currently is funded only for three years, but Nau hopes to find money to continue it indefinitely.

"Right now, it is only an experimental program to see if the total family approach works as well as it appears to," Nau says. "We expect to have 300 families go through the program in three years and we expect it will cost about $5.5 million for those years."

Nau points out that even though initial expenses per family were high, the cost has been dropping as the program expands. "Right now we spend about $11,000 per year, per family," he says. "That's less than many individual training programs spend on one person in a year."

A major part of that money goes into the vocational rehabilitation and job training programs.

Frank Rangel, a former janitor and part-time cook, and his wife, Lydia, and their two children are already seeing potential benefits from the training he is getting in AJC's kitchens.

"I was making $4,000 a year working part time in the Casa Grande schools," Rangel says, "I've been here five months and already I've gotten offers of jobs at $600 a month, and I'm still learning."

Dave Moore is in charge of AJC's construction trades program. "We can't make a man into a journeyman bricklayer or carpenter here in a year," he says, "but we can sure teach him enough so that he can get a job and hold his own while he keeps learning more."

Moore, at 60, a fast-talking man who seems to be in perpetual motion, was a general contractor in Tucson for many years.

One of the favorite projects in the huge, barn-like building that houses his program is the actual construction of parts of houses.

"We'll build a kitchen—everything—frame it out, wall it, put in counters, cabinets, do the plumbing, really learn how to do by seeing what the problems are and working them out," he says.

To the casual observer, the constant building, tearing down and rebuilding inside Moore's barn seems a sisyphean task, but for the men holding the hammers it may be the most hopeful thing they have ever done.

AJC's education program is designed to complement the vocational program, rather than compete with it

Juan Padilla, who manages the learning center, says his program will help a man or a woman do whatever is necessary to meet the goals they have set for themselves with the aid of the AJC counseling staff.

"If man is going into training as a carpenter he has to be able to do math to succeed," he says, "so we concentrate at first on the math that he needs in his job training. When it looks like he's doing okay in the job training then we move into other things; reading, or whatever he needs. If someone wants to get a GED (high school equivalency certificate) we work with him on that, and we encourage people to get as much education as possible."

Several persons from AJC are taking classes at Central Arizona College in Coolidge.

While the appearance of AJC is optimistic and the families in the program are enthusiastic, officials from the Office of Economic Opportunity remain cautious.

One of the problems now facing the program is recruitment. The first 10 families selected for the program were the "cream" of the applicants. They were especially selected by AJC officials who not only wanted the program to succeed, but intended to use graduates from the first group to fill many of the program's nonprofessional and semi-professional "grey collar" jobs.

TRANSPORTATION IS PROBLEM FOR ELDERLY—PART III

HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DOW. Mr Speaker, I am continuing today with my insertion in the RECORD of the testimony presented before me at my recent hearings concerning the problems which I held in my congressional district.

I would particularly like to draw my colleagues attention to the testimony of Mrs. Henrietta Coombs, executive director of the Dutchess County Association for Senior Citizens. Her explanation of the transportation problem is most complete and gives a good idea of the problems faced by many of our elderly citizens.

Many of the other cases that were presented at the hearings give a good idea of the needs of our senior citizens. We all hear what the problems are but sometimes we do not really understand them until we hear the case of someone who has a problem.

This is the third part of the series which I will conclude tomorrow. It follows:

OPENING REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN DOW

Mr. Dow. Well, we're back. We're here today trying to find out what are the really burning problems that older people have. I receive a lot of mail from constituents and I would say that the one group of people from whom I receive the most mail with problems are the older people. And so I thought we should have a hearing and find out more about it and get some of the problems out on the table. We're having Social Service officials and we're having actual poor people who have difficulties here testifying. We had both kinds this morning and we got many good ideas. I'm trying to find out what are some of the worst problems. I want to find out is the problem because older people are handicapped, their income is cut and they're on welfare or Social Security and they work at the same time? Or is it school taxes, or is it health, or is it finances? What is the problem that bothers older people the most? And so all of you here that are going to testify can say whatever you think. We've been giving everybody about ten minutes. We've got a schedule and we've got to take turns. So when you testify, try to keep yourself within the ten minutes. We want to give everybody a chance. We did have a good hearing this morning. We want to especially thank the church, here, the Methodist Church, and Reverend Carmichel for making this place available to us. This is a great help. I think it's a contribution to the community that they're making by allowing us to come here and use these permises. So I won't say any more. I'll just call up the witnesses that we have listed here to appear. You just come up and sit here at the table. The first one is Mrs. Joseph Mastroianni, Vice President, Dutchess County Association for Senior Citizens.

MRS. JOSEPH MASTROIANNI, VICE PRESIDENT, DUTCHESS COUNTY ASSN. FOR SENIOR CITIZENS, 9 ANDREWS PLACE, WAPPINGERS FALLS, N.Y.

Mr. Dow. No. Why don't you tell us whatever you want to say and then we'll pop questions at you.

Mrs. MASTRIOANNI. I wasn't here this morning. Now, the think I was particularly interested in is the fact that Social Security hasn't kept pace with the cost of living increases and I think the people who live on Social Security alone must go hungry a lot of the time in order to pay their rent and other expenses. The second thing that concerns me, also in the field of Social Security, is Medicare. I think people were—I guess I spoke to you about this at the National Association of Social Workers meeting—people subscribe to Medicare and have a certain amount deducted from the Social Security with the promise that they would get certain services for the amount that was deducted. The amount has gone up two or three times . . .

Mr. Dow. Is this Medicare or Medicaid?

Mrs. MASTROIANNI. Medicare, under Social Security. The services have gone down. Another thing: If you elect to take your Social Security at the age of 62, you cannot take Medicare at the age of 62. You have to wait until you're 65. So if you have the temerity to became ill during the three years between 62 and 65, there isn't any provision for your care. It seems to me that if you're allowed to take your Social Security at 62, you should be allowed to be covered by Medicare at 62. The new provisions in Medicare are, I think, dreadful. For instance, if you have a stroke, if they don't consider that you can be rehabilitated in a certain number of weeks—I've forgotten how many, but not too many—they're not going to bother with you at all. Now, I don't know how those people are supposed to be taken care of. The only choice then left to some of these people is to go on public welfare. And, of course, they can't get Medicaid, which is the public welfare program in New York State, unless they're penniless. So, this seems to me a very harsh thing, that people who would like to live out their days with a certain degree of dignity and independence are forced into this position. Now, if you'd like to ask me anything. . . .

Mr. Dow. Well, that's very good. Do you find that transportation is a problem with any of your older people?

Mrs. MASTROIANNI. Well, it certainly is in Dutchess County. I'm on the board of the Dutchess County Senior Citizens Association and transportation in the city of Poughkeepsie itself is practically nil. Public transportation. Out through the county—I happen to live in the village of Wappingers Falls—there is bus service between Poughkeepsie and Beacon, not, however, on Sundays. So if you want to go anyplace on Sunday, forget it. And out through the county, I don't know whether there's a bus to Millbrook or not now. There used to be. But there's very little public transportation available in the county.

Mr. Dow. Well, this morning I was very surprised as many of the witnesses brought up the question of transportation as being a major problem for older people.

Mrs. MASTROIANNI. Well, I thing it is. People get older and are not able to drive or they can't afford to drive their own cars and they just have to stay home, you see, because taxi fares are prohibitive.

Mr. Dow. Yes. How is housing there? Do you think the older people in Dutchess County have adequate housing?

Mrs. MASTROIANNI. Well, we're doing a lot of building of senior citizen housing in the county and have more proposed housing coming up. But the rents, it seems to me are, you know, the building costs keep going up and so the rents have to go up. You know, if you're living on Social Security, you can't pay $200 a month rent.

Mr. Dow. No, you can't. That's for sure. Well, Mrs. Mastroianni, I think you've done very well. You've given us some thoughts, here, and I'd like to question you some more, but I do think we want to keep to our schedule.

Thank you. Our next witness is Mrs. Henrietta Coombs, Executive Director of the Dutchess County Association for Senior Citizens. Hi, Mrs. Coombs.

MRS. HENRIETTA COOMBS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, DUTCHESS COUNTY ASSN. FOR SENIOR CITIZENS, 54 NOXON PLACE, POUGHKEEPSIE, N.Y.

Mrs. COOMBS. All of the factors that make these rapidly changing times a trial or a challenge to young and middle-aged people—these same factors impinge on the lives of senior citizens: automation, longer-life span. inflation, the rise of drug addiction, new attitudes about living patterns, new government programs etc.

However, we need to recognize that these factors often affect Senior Citizens differently than they affect the rest of the population. Most Senior Citizens are proud, independent folks, who have worked hard and sacrificed much to remain respectable. But now these new factors—these forces beyond their control, are making them relatively more deprived and increasingly isolated.

There are many urgent specific needs of Senior Citizens that I believe demand a prompt response. I will speak briefly on 2 of those needs—transportation and housing; but first I would like to urge that The Congress and The President make a commitment to two general propositions.

The first general proposition: Senior Citizens have a right to an equitable share of the nation's resources.

The second general proposition that I would urge: All new laws or policies should be examined with a concern for how they might affect Senior Citizens.

Now to turn to the 2 specific needs areas that I have chosen:

Transportation: Except for those who live in very large cities, a key problem for Senior Citizens is the rapid decline in public transportation. (Undoubtedly government policy has been partially to blame for this). Let me stress that word "local"—local public transportation. Senior Citizens don't suffer daily because it's hard to get to Florida or even to N.Y.C.—the hardships occur when they need to go grocery shopping, they need to go to the doctor, when they want to see their friends or go to church or do volunteer work or get to a recreation center.

In my work, as Executive Director of 7 Senior Citizens Drop-in Centers in Dutchess County, I hear the most poignant and heartrending stories: One woman said:

"I wish I could come to the center 3 times a week because I get so lonesome at home—but I can't afford to take a taxi more than once a week."

Another said:

"I stood on the corner for an hour waiting for a bus, but none came. Finally I went back home. I'm so disappointed."

Another said:

"The buses weren't running today so I walked 2 miles to get to the center. I'm exhausted."

Lack of public transportation hits the elderly poor hardest—but it hits any older person very hard. Senior Citizens who can afford to have cars have their auto insurance cancelled or for other reasons lose their drivers' licenses. In addition there are a scary number of Senior Citizens who continue to drive even when they know they shouldn't—because to be without a car in Dutchess County is to be totally isolated.

I urge you on behalf of Senior Citizens to do whatever is required to improve local public transportation.

The second area of need I want to mention is *Housing:* There is an appalling lack of decent housing at prices Senior Citizens can afford. (Again, I believe government policy is partially to blame for this—for example when areas are cleared for urban renewal there is apt to be a high percentage of Senior Citizens who are uprooted.) There are only a handful of public housing units available for Dutchess County Senior Citizens.

However, I would like to call your attention to the fact that there are 3 Senior Citi-

zen Housing projects under construction or about to go into construction in our county:

1. St. Simeon Foundation—100 units of Federal Housing located on Beechwood Avenue, Poughkeepsie.

2. Dutchess Senior Citizens Housing Corporation—135 units of elderly housing at the corner of Mansion and Washington Streets, Poughkeepsie.

3. Disabled American Veteran's Administration—120 units of elderly, housing located at the corner of North Perry and Main Streets, Poughkeepsie.

These are non-profit housing projects, but we find to our dismay that costs have risen so high that unless we can get the rents reduced with government assistance, and I stress that It's got to be government assistance nothing else, the minimum rent for the smallest units will be about $185 a month—a figure that is clearly beyond the means of a majority of Senior Citizens who are seeking housing.

I urge you to support and advocate programs that would reduce rents on these 3 projects.

The 1970 Census shows that more than 25,000 Senior Citizens live in Dutchess County. I believe it is their right to be considered when all laws and policies are proposed, and that government action is urgently needed to solve their pressing problems.

Mr. Dow. Well, Mrs. Coombs, you made some very clear points. I think the points you've made on public transportation and housing are ones that came up this morning.

Mrs. COOMBS. I'm sure they did. They aren't new.

Mr. Dow. You're representing the problem very well. I had never realized, until today, that transportation was such a serious problem and I'm going to try to do something about it. I think that's one of the problems that could be attacked from Washington without too much difficulty. It seems to me that programs could be engineered so as to provide better transportation, or improved transportation, for the older people.

Mrs. COOMBS. One resource that almost all communities have is school buses, but current laws—I guess they're state laws—prohibit the use of them for people like senior citizens. It would seem a good use of resources to use them.

Mr. Dow. I suspect it's probably a matter of money and paying drivers, you know. A good deal of this gets back to money. Well, I thank you very much, Mrs. Coombs. Our next witness is Mr. Henry Haas from Pine Bush who's an old friend of mine.

MR. HENRY HAAS, PINE BUSH, N.Y.

Mr. HAAS. Fine, thank you. Mr. Dow, as long as I've known you, believe me, I never thought the day would ever come when I'd have to come to you for assistance. This may sound personal, but it isn't. I have two neighbors in the same predicament. My problem is that a week ago this spring I was in construction work all my life—I had an attack. They took me to the hospital and they found several things. In other words, I have a certificate by two doctors and a specialist that I never can work again. Which brings us up to livelihood. My Social Security comes to $104 a month.

I have a mobile home that brings me in a hundred and twenty a month. My wife, the rascal, doesn't draw anything because she let me believe she was a couple of years older than she was. So she doesn't get anything. My son, who attends Cornell, gets $69 a month, which doesn't even pay his rent. Now the problem is we have three lots. On this one lot is my garage. The planning board is very capricious out there. I'm on the spot, anyhow, writing letters to the editors, having bumper stickers, and so forth, and I know definitely that that's what's stopping this because other people are getting away with things that I can't.

Now the lady on the planning board, the chairman—there's a conflict of interest there—in public got up and said she doesn't like mobile homes a few years ago. A few months later she was on the radio praising a lumber yard. Since then she's had her name off. To bring this short, on this third lot I have a large garage and I've asked for permission, a permit, to make a little rancher out of that, which will give me much more room than this book calls for. But I was refused because it is not a hundred foot in width. It's fifty by a hundred and twenty five. I said, "I don't want to go on welfare. I never was on and I don't want to go on, but I don't want to have to sell my home that took me 30 years to pay for, almost in taxes." I said, "Do I have to go on welfare?" I received a shrug. "Yes," to myself.

Mr. Dow. Well, Mr. Haas, tell me now. If you were able to build a rancher on that lot, what would you do? Would you rent it?

Mr. HAAS. My wife and I would live there and rent our home. We'd have to rent our home to make enough to carry us through without going on welfare.

Mr. Dow. This is a question of zoning. Now, how about the other two lots? Can you produce any income from the other two lots?

Mr. HAAS. Well, if we live in the rancher, we'll have my home and the mobile home. Unfortunately, I'm not 65, so I still have to pay, as you know, Blue Cross and Blue Shield. I don't receive a real estate benefit, or such things as that.

Mr. Dow. What would you do with those other two lots? What would you like to do with them?

Mr. HAAS. Well, my home is there. We'll rent that out and the mobile home is now rented and we would live in the garage that I would convert.

Mr. Dow. Well, I'll write a letter on it and see what happens.

Mr. HAAS. It's very serious because we're rapidly chipping away the little savings we have put aside. My son is talking about quitting Cornell, which we planned on for years and he planned on to support his. . . .

Mr. Dow. Well, don't let him do that. I'll tell you, it's good for us to hear actual cases. I think an actual case tells you more about the problem than a lot of glittering generalities. So I think it's good to hear an actual case.

All right, now, our next witness is Mr. Albert Hansen, President of the Orange County Senior Citizens Council. It's good to see you.

MR. ALBERT HANSEN, PRESIDENT, ORANGE COUNTY SENIOR CITIZENS COUNCIL, 17 TAMARA LANE, CORNWALL, N.Y.

Mr. HANSEN. Thank you. I'm glad to be here. As the President of the Orange County Senior Citizens Council, I come in contact with 22 clubs in Orange County. I agree with the needs for transportation that the previous speakers have mentioned with one exception. I think the school buses could be used very well for transportation of senior citizens. The boards of education could be reimbursed for the extra money they might have to pay. Those buses are idle most of the day, and they could be used to bring the senior citizens to clubs or to centers or shopping, things of that kind. I think it would be worthwhile.

The second thing, I think, is the question of Social Security. I find that many of our people, the older people, don't get enough money. They don't get as much as some of the people who are on welfare. They wouldn't ask for welfare. Some of them are too proud and some of them have just a little bit too much money. I think that someone should look into their financial status and, if possible, either their social security should be increased or it should be supplemented in some way so that they could live at least above the poverty level.

The third thing I have in mind is the question of centers. I realize that every town or village cannot have a center. They cannot afford it. But in the various counties I think that the county government should provide centers around the county so that people could go there and spend part of their time. I find a lot of our people only get out at the meetings, and that's for a few hours. Many of our clubs do not go in for arts and crafts. They haven't the time. They haven't the place because it requires a place where they can use tables and they have to mess around a bit, for instance, with painting or making rugs or things of that kind. I think it would be very nice if either the county, or funded through the government, could build centers, not necessarily just for one or two clubs, but around the county so that the people could go there and spend some of their time instead of sitting in one room as I find a lot of them do.

Mr. Dow. Pretty grim.

Mr. HANSEN. It is. We get a lot of stories. These people, of course, are all confidential stories, but we know what some of these people are putting up with. They're trying to put on a fine face for their neighbors and so forth, but . . . I'll mention one case that we had. One woman, there, when it got to the end of the month, she didn't have enough money to buy food and she just went without. I think that about covers everything that I have to say, Congressman.

Mr. Dow. Well, you covered some pretty important points, Mr. Hansen, and I appreciate your coming here. Let me ask you one question and I should know the answer, but I don't. For people on welfare, if they own a home do they have to surrender that home? What is the rule about that? Maybe somebody else knows that.

AUDIENCE. (Chorus of yes from the audience).

Mr. Dow. They do? Well, that's hard lines, isn't it?

Mr. HANSEN. It is.

VOICE IN AUDIENCE. You have to sign your home over to the welfare.

Mr. Dow. Yes. Under this new bill that the House passed, they're not going to require that. I don't know just when that provision goes into effect, probably sometime next year. Of course, the Senate hasn't passed the bill yet. It's not law, but they are providing that welfare people may retain their homes if the home is of reasonable value. I guess if somebody had a hundred and fifty thousand dollar home, they wouldn't want them to take welfare, but probably if the home is of reasonable value, they would allow people to keep it and I think this might result in more people going on welfare. Not than I recommend it, but it might be easier for them. Well, Mr. Hansen, I'm very grateful. I'd like to quiz you some more, but we want to keep to our schedule.

Our next witness is Miss Dorothy Winter, of Senior Skills in Rockland County. How are you? Good to see you.

MISS DOROTHY WINTER, SENIOR SKILLS, ROCKLAND COUNTY, EDGEWATER LANE, SOUTH NYACK, N.Y.

Miss WINTER. How are you, I'm setting up an employment service for senior citizens on a non-profit basis in Rockland County. I wrote to you about it and you said you were interested.

Mr. Dow. Yes, you did. I didn't get back to you as quick as I should, I know that.

Miss WINTER. So I wanted to come and tell you about it and ask for your help. I'd like your help in advising us in the operation and also in helping us in getting funding from the government because, as I say, it will be on a non-profit basis. There won't be any fee charged of the employer or the employee.

Mr. Dow. Well, you probably will have to pay somebody to run it, won't you, and do the work?

Miss WINTER. Well, I have experience in the personnel field and I am planning to run the service. You need some executive, some secretarial help and some other help, but beyond that I don't think it needs more than that.

Mr. Dow. They'd set aside money for your salary, is that right?

Miss WINTER. Right.

Mr. Dow. Yes, sure. Well, I think you're got a good idea there.

Miss WINTER. There are services like it in Westchester County. There's one that's been there for 15 years, operating just for senior citizens. And there's one in Bergen County also and there's nothing like it in Rockland County. I've been talking to people in the area and there's a lot of enthusiasm for it.

Mr. Dow. Good.

Miss WINTER. There are many older people who are able and willing to work, but can't find work. Employers are reluctant to hire them, and I think it needs someone who will publicize it and interest the employers in the older person.

Mr. Dow. Would you tell us a little bit about what kind of skills you think you could find for the older people to work in?

Miss WINTER. What kind of skills they have?

Mr. Dow. Yes. What kind of work would you provide?

Miss WINTER. Well, I think it has be be a matter of dealing with the employers so that they set up part-time work because the older worker can't work full time. Otherwise, their Social Security is jeopardized. So you have to develop part-time work.

Mr. Dow. You know they're raising that figure from $1,680, you know, when they start to penalize you—they're raising it up to. I think, around $2,200. That will help a little, but it still isn't enough. It isn't enough. Tell us, what kind of jobs do you think you'd like to look for?

Miss WINTER. Well, I think that we have to be careful not to take jobs away from a family man. And I think you have to look for jobs which the older person can handle which are not desirable for the family man, like a dead-end job or a part-time job or a job that's indefinite in duration. An older person is perfectly satisfied and perfectly willing and perfectly capable of handling jobs like that. Now there are also jobs that they have designated as "paid neighbor." This is just to designate someone who will act as a companion, but it gives it a better flavor. You know, they won't be doing housework, they'll just be acting as a companion to someone who is ill or temporarily needs help in the house and things like that which I think we can develop which a person themselves can't go out and find. So it needs a service to help the older person find a job.

Mr. Dow. Tell me this: You've heard it said here that transportation is a problem. Supposing you could get a job for somebody, say ten miles away from their home, how would the transportation work?

Miss WINTER. Well, this is a big problem and I'm setting up data on where the bus services are, just what companies are located within walking distance of the bus services in Rockland County, so that we can target at those areas, of course.

Mr. Dow. Yes, that's fine.

Miss WINTER. But transportation is a big problem.

Mr. Dow. Yes, it is.

Miss WINTER. I don't know. I've thought of the possibility of setting up a little jitty service, but I don't know.

Mr. Dow. Well, you know transportation in Rockland County is a problem not only for older people but for normal working people.

Miss WINTER. Absolutely.

Mr. Dow. You might talk to some of the people that have been working with transportation there, with just the problem of getting people simply from Nyack down to Orangeburg. They may have some ideas. Maybe if enough of you would pool your demands, you could get a joint operation.

Miss WINTER. Right. Well, I think we have to work on that transportation issue. There are people that are interested in setting up little taxi services, but the cost is a problem. If you get enough people together, of course, you can keep it down. But I think it's a very necessary service in Rockland County. There are many older people who are just. . . . Well, they've estimated that one out of every four older persons is at the poverty level, in spite of the increases in Social Security.

Mr. Dow. Yes, I think it's easily that.

Miss WINTER. So there are many that want to work, but just haven't found work. So I simply came to tell you about it and I hope that perhaps you would support it.

Mr. Dow. You wanted me to go on the Board of Directors?

Miss WINTER. Well, I would hope that you would.

Mr. Dow. Well, put me on, then. Put me on.

Miss WINTER. Thank you very much. I appreciate that.

Mr. Dow. Sure. Glad to do it.

Now our next witness is Mr. Harold J. Ochs, Orange County Senior Citizens Coordinator, Glad to have you, Mr. Ochs.

MR. HAROLD J. OCHS, ORANGE COUNTY SENIOR CITIZENS COORDINATOR 12 JAMISON PLACE, NEWBURGH, N.Y.

Mr. OCHS. Nice to be here, Congressman. I can certainly say "Amen" to Mrs. Coombs remarks, I thought she did an excellent job of presenting that transportation problem. Before I do start, I'd like to pass out bouquets to Mr. Al Hansen. We, in Orange County, are very fortunate in having his leadership in senior citizens work. He understands their needs and expresses himself well on it.

Mr. Dow. I believe it.

Mr. OCHS. I have written this notice, this little bit of information, and I am very much interested in transportation. I know that everyone needs more money. Everyone needs housing. Health insurance and health help is very much needed as a result of recent White House Conference sessions that have been held. But this transportation, I think, is serious and I'm awfully happy to hear you keep asking questions back and forth on transportation.

Mr. Dow. I didn't get the point. I didn't really think of that much until this morning because practically every witness mentioned transportation.

Mr. OCHS. There are many legislators who do not realize the seriousness of this. So I'll go on to read. You are no doubt aware of the needs of senior citizens as the result of the many committee discussions in preparation for the coming White House Conference on the Aging in 1971. I'm sure that a number of those who were associated with this conference planning program have referred to the work that has already gone into the preparation. I'm sure you know about it. I was the chairman of the Orange County Task Force for planning the needs of the White House Conference. Discussions centered around income, housing, preretirement, leisure time, but I believe the most important need relating to senior citizens groups was that of, as you say, transportation. Quickly, transportation findings centered on, first, the subsidization of transportation for the elderly. That is what they're aiming at. However, before folks can pay for tickets for transportation, there must be adequate transportation facilities available. We have heard much talk about provisions for area transportation. The results have been very sadly lacking.

To back up my point, at this White House Conference meeting in Fishkill, there were some 150 to 200 persons. I sat at the head table, by the speaker's platform, and they had three different discussions; one on income, health, and housing, all of which are of major importance. But when they announced that they were going to discuss transportation, the wave of enthusiasm that I saw from the crowd showed much individual interest in that, and you could almost hear them say, "Yes, let's get at this. This is the thing we need."

At present there are, as Al Hansen has said, 22 different clubs in Orange County that have in the neighborhood of some 51 meetings monthly. These groups have countless opportunities to participate in community activities. Clubs are encouraged to carry on visits among one another in different communities. Individuals must pass up these opportunities to supplement their small incomes because of lack of travel arrangements. They can't get there to make money. In Club 60, our largest senior citizens club in Orange County, there are an average of 15 or 16 people a night who have to pay anywhere from a dollar and a half to two dollars for taxi fare. And when they meet once a week—and seniors citizens don't want to pass up this one meeting might—and when they don't pass that up, that's about an average of six dollars out of the Social Sceurity check, and they can't afford it.

One bright prospect for the solution of this problem could be, as has been mentioned before, the cooperation between schools and communities with school bus activity. With supplemental funds, school bus programs could be tapped to furnish a minimum of one bus a meeting day to make a general route through the community for senior citizens. Since the buses are already there, the problem, would be driver personnel, I investigated the insurance end of this and I find that it's the bus' duty to take care of the insurance part of the program. Certainly, if such programs as RECAP and other community action programs sponsored federally can provide countless bus transportation facilities for youngsters in extensive summer programs, just one trip for senior citizens per week would not be asking too much. Senior citizens are spending unnecessary funds out of their limited incomes to hire taxis to reach these much needed and desired programs of recreation. Those who are attending, we know their needs. We can hear their complaints. The concern is the greater number of more deserving elderly who are unable to participate because of inability to get to these activities. We don't know how many are unable to get there because of transportation. We are only scratching the surface on the number of senior citizens that we are now serving.

The White House Conference urges that minibus transportation be considered and that school buses be encouraged. Further, if and when such programs are solved, that this committee ask that provisions for safety and comfort be seriously considered. Such items as adaptable hand rails for entering and leaving the buses, lower step facilities—all those I think should be considered when this program is expected. Again, I recall the reaction of the group of senior citizens at the White House Conference meeting in Fishkill. They really showed that there is a desire for action. Another thing coming out of the White House Conference—I don't want to appear to be blowing my horn—but one of the recommendations is that each county have a senior citizens coordinator, whether it be me or whoever it is. I think that Orange County is to be commended for having had the foresight, even before this conference, to establish that office. I know that I'm enjoying working with the senior citizens, but whether it be me, or no matter who it is, I have been in the position to see the im-

portance of someone taking care of their interests throughout the county. It's nice to be here. Thank you for inviting me.

Mr. Dow. It's nice to have you. Let me ask you a question, Mr. Ochs. How many senior citizens, over 65 that is, do you have in Orange County? Have you got a rough idea?

Mr. OCHS. Yes, there are approximately 23,000.

Mr. Dow. How many of these do you think have an income of less than $3,000? Do you have any idea?

Mr. OCHS. Oh, I don't have that idea. A personal guess, I would say a third.

Mr. Dow. A third. So that would be about 8,000 people, roughly, that have an income of less than $3,000.

Mr. OCHS. Well, three thousand's a pretty low figure you're working on.

Mr. Dow. Yes, I know, especially these days.

Mr. OCHS. With $3,000 you must go to the county home, I'm afraid.

Mr. Dow. Well, let me ask you this. How many senior citizens are there in all the senior citizen councils and groups in Orange County? How many members?

Mr. OCHS. We have some 2600; this is an approximate figure. 2600 senior citizens registered in the 22 clubs.

Mr. Dow. 2600. I see.

Mr. OCHS. Now that's very low, but it's growing all the time. For instance, yesterday right in this room here, 125 persons registered for an AARP club, or chapter, that will be coming official within a month or so.

Mr. Dow. Yes. Well, you're doing wonderful work and it's making progress, but out of 23,000 there are only 2600 active in these clubs and, as you say, a third of those 23,000, or 8,000, are real poor people. So you see, there's a long way to go. If the ones that you know and see in the clubs are having their trials, think of all these people that you don't see, that are hidden away somewhere.

Mr. OCHS. That's right. And it isn't a financial problem with them. I think it's that the facility isn't there.

Mr. Dow. Yes. Well, that's good to know and I think transportation would be one of the keys to unlock the door, wouldn't it?

Thank you, Mr. Ochs. All right, A Mr. and Mrs. Zelsberg are going to be the next witnesses. Are they here? Will you come up?

MR. ISRAEL ZELSBERG, 118 GIDNEY AVENUE, NEWBURGH, N.Y.

Mr. ZELSBERG. Well, we're newlyweds. only 44 years, but when I want something she says "Go ahead, dear." I could sit here all day long and talk, but I'll only touch on two items. I live on Gidney Avenue, near Carpenter.

I'm speaking as an outraged citizen. May I put it that way?

Mr. Dow. Well, that's all right. We want some outraged citizens here today. That's good. You go ahead.

Mr. ZELSBERG. Okay. Everybody hollered about transportation. It's a well known fact that the buses in the morning when people are going to work, there are some in the bus. Coming home from work, there are some people in the buses. The rest of the day the buses are running vacant and they can't afford to run them. I know of a case where a bus came in from Wallkill to the bus station on Broadway with one lady in it. That is all. Now how can the bus company afford to run a bus for people who can afford only a bus. They can't do it. And so somewhere, somehow, there has to be some kind of subsidization to the bus company to make it worthwhile so that they can pay a driver to show up to run that bus for people who can afford only a bus and not a taxi. There is a system, unless it has been drastically changed, one of the taxi companies here in Newburgh that I know takes people to the senior citizens club on Wisner Avenue. Five women get into it and the total cost for the first two is a dollar. The next three is 25 cents. Five people are riding a taxi for $1.75, which is 30 cents apiece. They get picked up at their door. They do not have to walk to where a bus will pass by and pick them up. Now I believe that system is still going on right now and I'm sure the taxi companies appreciate that business and they do send cabs, providing, of course, one doesn't live up in the Heights and one lives on let's say, Wisner Avenue and wants to be picked up. Four or five or six women can, in one location, call a cab, get together, share the cost, and 35 cents is not a dollar or a dollar and a half, like someone said before.

Leaving the transportation, let's get back to housing for our senior citizens who cannot afford to pay $150 or $175 a month. You, undoubtedly, have been in the city of Miami, correct? Every corner, every nook that you ride in Miami, they have trailer parks. A lot of trailers, a lot of mobile homes are parked there and people live very nicely within their means. My wife and I went around and we looked at some lots. They showed us a lot for $25 a month. It was as good as, if not better than, some of the lots here in town where they get fifty, sixty, or seventy five, and they're always worried that the landlord is going to come and say "I need more money." And, believe me, some of these mobile homes, well, they're just not. Why can't we have facilities here in Newburgh? There is an awful lot of vacant land. Why can't we put a mobile home? I'll talk about myself. I am 66 years of age. I can no longer do any gardening or any snow removal and so on and so forth. Why did I have to buy an expensive home in order to live there? We looked at a couple of mobile homes, and the price of them, fully furnished, was $4,220.

This was about a year ago. Let's assume it went up. If it has gone up, they are worth today approximately $5,000. This is a whole lot less money than to live in a fifteen or a seventeen thousand dollar home which is unobtainable today. You, as our representative, I believe you ought to work toward that goal, where they can open up and have some decent mobile courts. Let's say that each senior citizen would be interested in buying a piece of the lot and put up a nice mobile home there. Not some of these dirt roads where you can't get in and out in the winter time or in the spring when it's raining, you go through a lot of mud. This is not my idea of living. I would love to see somebody with authority put up ten or twenty acres of land which is available, blacktop it, give it some trees, give it some flowers, give me a little piece of land right in front of my home. My wife will love to putter around, raise flowers and so on and so forth. This would be my idea of a home. I wouldn't have to go to senior citizens. At $5,000, everybody can afford to pay the mortgage and the taxes. One more little thing I'd like to bring up. I could sit here all day, believe you me. For 22 years I paid real estate taxes here in Newburgh. I never had a child going to school in Newburgh. When we arrived in Newburgh, my daughter was 18. She was all done with school. Yet I paid school taxes. We had another piece of property for 12 years. I paid school taxes and so on and so forth. My daughter is quite a big girl now and she does not go to school, nor does she have anybody going to school in the greater Newburgh area. Why can't I get a subsidy on the piece of property I own at the present time? Now I have been told that if you apply to City Hall for a subsidy, you have to be a pauper before they will allow it. Now it seems to me after I have invested for 22 years, plus 12 on another piece of property, never having received one penny of benefit, that now at the age of 66—God knows when tomorrow is for me—why can't I enjoy less taxes so that my home doesn't cost me as much as it costs me today. Now like I said, I could keep going all day. This is something you should look into. There is so much land. I can name you three or four areas where they can put up, I'll bet you, a good 2,000 mobile homes which would make a lot of senior citizens happy, and the cost would be a whole lot less. You wouldn't have to be in a project with a bunch of noisy kids, God bless them. Kids have to live, and they have to make noise, but at my age, my wife and I love peace and quiet. Out in a senior citizens group where they have mobile homes, there is less chance of having little youngsters run around. Now I'd give my right arm for a little youngster. I love them. But there are times when I want peace and quiet.

Mr. Dow. Well, you're good to come here, Mr. Zelsberg, and your idea of mobile homes is a good one. That's the first time it's been brought up today.

Mr. ZELSBERG. Why can't we have it?

Mr. Dow. I don't know. I'm going to check into it.

Mr. ZELSBERG. Why do they have it in every nook and corner in Miami? Why not here? There's a lot of vacant land here. Why?

Mr. Dow. I think the older people in Miami are the ones that have more money.

Mr. ZELSBERG. I can't agree with you there. There are a lot of poor people living in mobile homes. If you're rich, you buy a condominium for 20 or 30,000 dollars. These are the rich people. We can't afford a $20,000 or $30,000 condominium. We can afford a $5,000 trailer, rather than an $18,000 home. This is what I'd love.

Mr. Dow. I'm going to check into the economics of it. Maybe we'll get an answer.

Let me check it out and I'll let you know.

Mr. ZELSBERG. Thank you.

MRS. ISRAEL ZELSBERG, 118 GIDNEY AVENUE, NEWBURGH, N.Y.

Mrs. ZELSBERG. I want to talk about why we have to be limited to $1680 a year, when a person is getting less than $200 a month—that's for both of us. I am not old enough to get Medicare. I'm a sick woman. He is limited to a certain amount a year for both him and me and he has to pay medical bills. Why can't it be treated the same way as retirement, because if a person is earning more, he's paying more, he continues to pay, right?

Mr. Dow. That's right.

Mrs. ZELSBERG. So why can't that be lifted, instead of saying you have to pay it until you're 70 and after 70, the sky's the limit? How many people live to 70 and how many people can work after 70. That's just like a teaser. What does a person do with medical bills. Food is not the problem, because at our age, we don't require too much. The main thing that we require is medical bills and when you walk into a doctor's office and you walk out, it's no less than $20 for that visit, including the prescription and everything. You can't afford that if you're getting less than $200 Social Security and with the $30 a week that they allow you, it still doesn't bring it up to the point where you can afford to pay rent and everything. We bought property because Urban Renewal took our house away and they didn't give us enough to be able to buy a decent home. Anything decent was $17,000, so we bought a dilapidated place and we put $8,500 above what we got and we have a tenant. Now, I tried to apply to Medicaid and they told me that we have an income property. We have no income property. The tenant only helps us to keep the place, see, and our end of it is $75 a month, which I couldn't get if I went out and tried to get an apartment. We did that too. So that's the only thing that I'm crabbing about. Do something for the elderly where medical bills are concerned. If that is eased up, then they can get along.

Mr. Dow. Well, thank you, Mrs. Zelsberg.

Now our next witness is Mr. Horkan, President of the Senior Citizens of Putnam County. Glad to have you, Mr. Horkan.

MR. JOHN HORKAN, SENIOR CITIZENS OF PUTNAM COUNTY, KATONAH ROAD, LAKE CARMEL, N.Y.

Mr. HORKAN. Thank you. Back to the same thing—transportation and housing. But transportation in our area, in Putnam County, is the most important. They all talked about the buses, but I will say one thing that I find out from the bus drivers: that they get paid all year round anyhow. So they're off July and August. Why couldn't they assign half dozen of those guys to drive buses for the old people, just for shopping and taking them to medical centers and hospitals and so forth. Nothing else. They said they get their two or three weeks' vacation and after the vacation, they go back painting the school or whatever it is. So, they're still on the job all summer. They could help out the older people, don't you think?

Mr. Dow. Sounds that way.

Mr. HORKAN. There isn't much more I can say, because everything has been covered here and I know a lot of people took a little more time than they should, but that's not me. Thank you very much, everybody.

Mr. Dow. Thank you. All right, our next witness is Mr. Theodore Fitzmaurice, Director of the Newburgh Office of Social Security.

MR. THEODORE FITZMAURICE, DIRECTOR, NEWBURGH OFFICE OF SOCIAL SECURITY, 473 BROADWAY, NEWBURGH, N.Y.

Mr. FITZMAURICE. I'm glad you have it right. The newspaper was off the mark. Preparation for retirement means a lot of things, but, in our case, the senior citizens approaching retirement age are running into problems when they have failed to make any preparation. Everybody wants to receive their Social Security check as soon as possible and lack of preparation is one of the difficulties that come in the administration of the program. This is not something you're going to do anything about, but I just wanted it aired.

Mr. Dow. You're trying to help these people understand it.

Mr. FITZMAURICE. We're looking for all avenues of getting the message across about preparing for retirement. As a matter of fact, of course, women are the ones who control most of the Social Security benefits so that in many cases, they're eligible for payments and are not aware of it. What we have tried to do in the last year and half is to get across the message of telephoning first and the reason is that many times the person has a question or two, and they can be resolved by the individual at the Social Security office giving the answers, giving directions, giving information, giving advice, everything that's necessary. Preparing for retirement also means to us and, hopefully, to senior workers that they are aware of the idea of applying ahead of time. And, of course, I'm simply talking about two or three months before they reach 65 or before they stop working. Pretty much the same thing applies for the disabled and that is that individuals who are working and become disabled too frequently delay getting in touch with the Social Security office. We say, "if you're unable to work, file a claim." The reason for our suggestion for early action is that this would allow the processing time, which takes a good two to three months, to correspond with the waiting period that's in the law, and this has been working out pretty well. The message is getting through by means of the unions and by means of the personnel directors, but we're also bringing it up here on the basis of the additional people who can bring the message back home. A word about Medicare. . . .

Mr. Dow. Let me ask you one question, Mr. Fitzmaurice. Are you talking about elderly people who have disabilities or anybody?

Mr. FITZMAURICE. No, people under 65.

Mr. Dow. Under 65. I see. Supposing you're 35 years old. You're saying that anybody that has a disability should immediately report to the Social Security office? Is that what you're saying?

Mr. FITZMAURICE. To avoid the difficulties that come up with individuals who have waited a year and half, two years, and even five years and longer before they get in touch with us to file a claim. They can just simply lose benefits by inaction.

So we're saying check with the Social Security office because if there's any possibility of payments, then the thing to do is to file a claim rather than to be wondering about it at home.

I'm sure that Medicare has been mentioned as one of the problems of the senior citizens. For one thing, we would say that our office is not called upon for assistance as often as we think it might be. For instance, there is red tape involved and there's no way of avoiding it and some senior citizens get very easily disgusted and discouraged. We would say "try to bear with it." The people who are running the program are human, just like you and me, and mistakes can happen. For instance, there are proper techniques of filling out the applications for reimbursement and they can very easily be goofed up. So, if the individual gets in touch with one of our interviewers in the office, they should be able to get skilled information on how to do it the best way.

Actually, I wanted to end with the idea of stressing this point of telephoning the Social Security office, because we can do just about everything by telephone. A claim can be filled in; information can be given out; we can take a change of address, and many other things by telephone. And it will save individuals the time and difficulty of getting into the office in most cases.

Mr. Dow. Good. Well, I think it was very good of you to come and give us these helpful hints.

Mr. FITZMAURICE. If there are any questions, I would assume that they should be taken up with the Social Security office and not here at this time.

Mr. Dow. That's right because we have so many witnesses here. Well, I appreciate that you took the trouble to come in and see us, Mr. Fitzmaurice. That's very good.

Mr. FITZMAURICE. Thank you, Mr. Dow.

Mr. Dow. Thank you. All right, our next one is Mrs. Ginn.

MRS. ANGEL GINN, MONTICELLO SENIOR CITIZENS CLUB, MONTICELLO, NEW YORK

Mrs. GINN. Now, I am representing the Monticello group. We have 280 members.

Mr. Dow. Yes, I've been up there.

Mrs. GINN. Yes, I know you have. But we have no housing, and we have no meeting place.

We would like your help in securing a meeting place for us. A lot of the seniors are alone, and they really have no place to meet and they look forward to this one day in the week that they meet. We have one day that they can play games and it would be very nice. . . . As a matter of fact, I don't think half of them eat properly because they are alone and they don't take care of themselves. A meeting hall for us is very important. Is there any way you can help us to secure it?

Mr. Dow. Well, I'll try. But I'm not the mayor of Monticello. I'll do what I can.

Mrs. GINN. I understand. And also, we would like to have health aides. Some of them need health and also housekeeping aides. And is there any way for us to get glasses and dentures on Medicare?

Mr. Dow. I don't know. Maybe somebody else knows here.

Mrs. GINN. Well, there is no way as far as I know, as far as the law goes now. But can we get it? I think if you would say something to our mayor or to our supervisors, that would help us in getting our housing and also our meeting place, you see.

Mr. Dow. Now, when you say housing, you mean. . . .

Mrs. GINN. Living quarters because there is a shortage of living quarters in Monticello. Now they have Urban Renewal. They threw down a lot of these old places which were reasonable and the seniors cannot afford to pay the big rentals of $160 or $175 a month. So we would like to have some help in that if possible.

Mr. Dow. Well, I'll try.

Mrs. GINN. And, of course, our Social Security—I know you're working for an increase.

Mr. Dow. You know the House passed a bill last week that would raise the Social Security five percent next year. It would relax the requirements for welfare. The people on welfare could still keep their homes. There have been some benefits in this bill. It will have a cost of living adjustment. I still don't think it's enough, but that's all we got through the House. It's going to the Senate and it may be changed when it's over there. I don't know. I hope they make it better.

Mrs. GINN. Well, I hope so, because what they get now is peanuts.

Mr. Dow. Yes, I understand that.

Mrs. GINN. I mean it's really not enough with the cost of living. It's going up every day.

Mr. Dow. Well, I will get in touch with the city fathers up there.

Mr. Dow. Our next witness is Mrs. Dorothy K. Morris. Hi, Mrs. Morris. Mrs. Morris is the representative of the Retired Teachers of Orange County.

MRS. DOROTHY K. MORRIS, RETIRED TEACHERS OF ORANGE COUNTY GRAND AVENUE, M.D. #16 NEWBURGH, NEW YORK

Mrs. MORRIS. That's right. We have just a few things that we're interested in, but we're vitally interested in these few. First, as you know, we have been writing to the Members in Washington, in Congress, about the exemption of the first $5,000 of retirement income from taxation. We're going to work on that, and work very hard to see if we can get that through. However, we will lend our hand. Another thing that we are interested in and I'm glad the man from the Social Security office is here, we would like the death benefit under Social Security to be raised to $750. I believe now it's in the neighborhood of $225? $255. We have what we call writing letter campaigns. Right here in Orange County we feel there's a dire need for additional nursing homes and extended care facilities. As most of you people know, there is no nursing home in Orange County that is accredited under Medicare except Orange Farms and that has been for the past six or seven years to my knowledge. I know that Social Security does not put up the nursing homes. It's organizations, clubs, groups of people, perhaps, who band together. However, we would like to work on that so that we would have more than one nursing home in Orange County that would be accredited for Medicare.

Now under Medicare, of course, the person as you know if you have a nursing home that is accredited under Medicare, your first 20 days are free. The next 80 days, you pay approximately $10 a day. After that time, your daily fee jumps to approximately $35 a day. So it is to your advantage to have nursing homes accredited under Medicare in order to get your credit under what is allowed to you.

Now we're also interested in the public and private pension reform. Of course, I know this is State. However, I think the Federal government is going to do something about the private pension plans, the public pension

plans. I would like to mention that there are 3,400 aged teachers who are receiving $2,700 or less in New York State. I know there are many people who are not under pension. However, we who are under a pension would like to see this change.

Teachers who retired in 1970 and just June, 1971, average $7,140 pension. Now you can imagine how the teachers feel who retired many years ago and are living on an average of $2,700, and many are not getting that. It starts at $2,100, but this is the average.

Now, the retired teachers, we are not represented on our own retirement board. We have a retirement system with billions of dollars in reserve and what we are going to try and do now is try and get a higher pension for these teachers who are on $2,100 a year. I think the Federal government might help along that line, too. There are other things that we would like to ask for, but these are the majority of the ones that we would like. There have been articles in the Long Island paper—the teachers are more active down there—in regard to this pension system, and they feel that the publicity that is given these older teachers, in their late seventies and eighties, on the lower pensions, it would have to come from publicity because we've been trying for several years to get that raise and the New York State Legislature seems to ignore us.

Of course, we would like reduced fares for the elderly when traveling on interstate transportation systems. We are interested in that. We would like to have reduced fares for the older people in theaters and places of amusement. That would take in everyone, of course, not just the retired teachers. That's all I have to say now. Thank you.

Mr. Dow. Well, Mrs. Morris, we appreciate your coming and you brought up some points that nobody else did. That's valuable to know.

The Federal government is thinking now about passage of legislation that would cover pensions and retirement throughout the country and establish certain uniform rules. I think it's in the wind, but I still think it's a few years before it will happen.

Our next witness is Mrs. John Rupsis of Poughkeepsie, New York. Mrs. Rupsis is representing Mayor Fiore of the City of Poughkeepsie.

MRS. JOHN RUPSIS, REPRESENTATIVE OF MAYOR LOUIS FIORE OF POUGHKEEPSIE, 13 HOOKER AVENUE, POUGHKEEPSIE, N.Y.

Mrs. RUPSIS. Thank you, Mr. Dow, and thank you for the letter that you sent me in reply to the inquiry I made about the dropping of the program for senior citizens, the meals for seniors. I wrote and said that our mayor had asked me to write you about it because we were going to try to inaugurate it in Poughkeepsie and you wrote and said that you have expressed your concern to Secretary Richardson about this matter.

We thank you for your interest. I made notes as the other folks spoke, and I will just address myself to them. The first thing I want to say is I think that the senior citizens' main problem is that they don't realize the value of being here long enough to mature. You know, the only cure for getting old is to die young and I don't think many of us like that alternative, do you? Now, with regard to their money problems, I think that we should not because I am one of them, we should not be penalized for having been provident. At many times, it has been very difficult to have saved the money to buy a house. And now, under the allowance of 50 percent of the real tax, in most cases not only the school tax, Social Security, at least in our city, is included as part of that income. We don't think that this should be. That pension, which has been saved all of these years, should not now have to be taxed.

And, of course, transportation is of prime importance. I was at the same hearing Mrs. Coombs attended regarding the bus program in Poughkeepsie and I do think that the mayor is going to solve it, Mrs. Coombs, with three brand new buses that are coming shortly.

Mr. Dow. Will they be exclusively for older people?

Mrs. RUPSIS. No, they will be city-wide, Congressman.

Mr. Dow. City-wide. Are they school buses?

Mrs. RUPSIS. Oh, no, they're brand new buses, regular city street buses.

Mr. Dow. Does the city now have a transportation system?

Mrs. RUPSIS. You could hardly call it that. The buses run occasionally. I think that's the best way to put it.

Mr. Dow. This is just putting more buses in the system.

Mrs. RUPSIS. We hope to withdraw the franchise from the folks who now have it and in all probability this will have to be a municipally operated system. Now, I can't remember who said it, but somebody said one time "Youth must be served, lest it die." I think that perhaps those of use who are senior citizens make too much fuss about the needs of the young. If as many people had appeared here today to present the problems of children, the same kind of things we've heard today about the older people, we would mobilize. Something must be done for these children. And something must be done for the more mature people. We need the young; they are the yeast of life. But the older people I like to compare with the flour that's been through the grist mill. And only by putting the yeast with the flour are we going to have a really acceptable way of living. And the mature population has toiled to provide all the wonderful things that we have, both young and older. And whatever is provided them is merely a return on their investment and not a gift and I think that they should realize this and it would give their spirits a lift.

Now, I'm happy to know about the bill you proposed to have income tax take care of school taxes. This is fair because many, many families of good means live in apartment houses and they have the children who are going to school. To be sure, their landlord pays a tax, but not in proportion to those of us who own real proprety and are on limited incomes. I think it would be only right and proper that the city schools would be used for centers for the senior citizens. Why would they scrounge around to find a place that would be supported, perhaps, by their contributions? The public schools are used for other amusements for the younger people. They should be used equally so for the older people who provide the schools in the first place.

Now, the housing situation is poor. In our city it's being compounded because the governor has just appropriated $350,000 to demolish 44 perfectly good homes in our city to make way for the proposed east-west arterial highway and I am chairman of a committee that says, "You're not coming through," but we don't know yet. We're still working on that. In defense of Urban Renewal, because I'm a member of that board, we do relocate everyone that we displace. That is the law. The State Transportation Department is not doing that in getting ready for this highway. As a matter of fact, I have elderly folks calling me from time to time. Among other things, they haven't received one cent for their houses, but they are presently paying the State rent, because when the State makes a map of your property, they take a vested interest. You begin to pay rent, but you don't have a down payment for a new home. This is not fair. And as regards the number of people who come to the centers, Congressman, not all senior citizens are "joiners." I am not, but there are thousands of us who are alive and I'm happy that you are someone in our corner because my next remark, otherwise, would be in really poor taste. I want the senior citizens to realize what a voting force you are. You comprise the largest single block in this country. Your elected officials will have to do your bidding if you let it be known, right, Congressman?

CALENDAR OF EVENTS, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it gives me pleasure to put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the fine calendar of events of the Library of Congress for the month of August 1971. This interesting calendar of events follows:

CALENDAR OF EVENTS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS—AUGUST 1971

NEW EXHIBIT

2. Cordell Hull. An exhibit from the Cordell Hull Papers marking the 100th anniversary of the birth of the former Secretary of State. Included are some of the major accomplishments of his 52 years of public service: the development of the "good neighbor" policy in U.S. relations with South America, his authorship of the Reciprocal Trade Program, the establishment of a nonpartisan foreign policy during World War II, and his role in the creation of the United Nations. In the Manuscript Reading Room, Third Floor, Annex Building, through October 30.

CONTINUING EXHIBITS

Library Showcase Exhibit: 200th anniversary of the birth of Robert Owen, founder of the utopian community of New Harmony, Indiana. In the west foyer, Ground Floor, Main Building, through August 31.

White House News Photographers Association 28th Annual Exhibit. Prizewinning photographs of 1970. In the central corridors, Ground Floor, Main Building, through August 31.

Note: *A catalog of the above exhibition is available upon request at the Information Counter, Ground Floor Entrance, Main Building.* Mail orders are not accepted.

Trains In Music: Railroads as Depicted in the Collections of the Music Division. Colorful sheet music covers ranging from 19th-century European and American prints to recent publications. In the foyer of the Coolidge Auditorium and in the northwest corridor, Ground Floor, Main Building, for an indefinite period.

Original Cartoons and Cover Drawings by Artists of the New Yorker Magazine. Drawings made during the war years of the 1940's and the intervening years up to the recent past, including works by Peter Arno, Gluyas Williams, George Price, Saul Steinberg, Charles Saxon, and Mischa Richter. In the north and northeast corridors, Ground Floor, Main Building, through August 31.

Prints and Photographs Division Recent Acquisitions. Among the works displayed are photographs by Mathew Brady, Alexander Rodchenko, and Jerry Uelsmann, and contemporary prints by Milton Avery, Lester Johnson, Alexander Lieberman, and Peter Milton. In the south and southeast corridors, Ground Floor, Main Building, through September 30.

22nd National Exhibition of Prints. A selection of original prints, chosen by a jury of a curator and two artists, from current

works submitted by contemporary printmakers. In the west gallery, First Floor, Main Building, through September 7.

Note: *A catalog of the above exhibition is available upon request at the Information Counter, Ground Floor Entrance, Main Building.* Mail orders are not accepted.

Sesquicentennial of Maine's Statehood. Approximately 200 rare books, pamphlets, broadsides, manuscripts, engraved and lithographic prints, photographs, maps, drawings, and newspapers. On view in the north and south galleries, First Floor, Main Building, through September 6.

Gabriela Mistral: Life and Works of Latin America's First Nobel Prize Winner. Works depicting her life (1889–1957) as poet, essayist, teacher, and diplomat. In the Hispanic Foundation, Second Floor, Main Building, through August 31.

Fifty Books of the Year 1970. Books selected by a jury of the American Institute of Graphic Arts for their design quality. In the Rare Book Room, Second Floor, Main Building, through August 31.

People's Republic of China Law Materials. A rare Communist Chinese legal document on justice and the law in pre-1949 China, and basic statutory materials and law journals from post-1949 China. In the foyer of the Law Library, Second Floor, Main Building, through September 30.

Religions in Japan. Bibliographies, books, and illustrations depicting the history and influence of Shintoism, Buddhism, Christianity, and "New Religions." On the Fifth Floor, Annex Building, through August 31.

CHILDREN'S BOOK SECTION

As part of his research in colonial history, an American history professor requests information about a colonial child's reading; a public library inquires as to what children's books Clara Barton would have shared with her children in 1853; a reader requests a list of important foreign children's books recently translated and published in the United States—there are only a few among numerous queries by visitors, telephone inquirers, and correspondents handled every year by the Children's Book Section of the Library of Congress. Established March 1963 to provide reference and bibliographic services to Government officials, children's librarians, publishers, writers, illustrators, and the general public, the Section also recommends children's literature for acquisition by the Library, identifies major gaps in the existing collections, prepares and publishes bibliographies, and gains better bibliographical control over the Library's collections.

The Library's general collections contain an estimated 150,000 children's books. These include, in addition to American and British publications, many shelves of foreign-language books acquired through exchange or purchase. Approximately 16,000 children's books form part of the collections of the Rare Book Division. Among these are such rare items of Americans as one of three known copies of Goodrich's *The Tales of Peter Parley About America* (Boston, 1827), noted as the first American production which aimed to entertain the child as well as to instruct him, ten *New England Primers*, six of them printed before 1800 (1776–99), and two copies of *Cock Robin's Death and Funeral*, both printed in Boston, one about 1780 and the other, believed to be unique, in 1790. Earliest of the rare Americana are three horn books.

Writers and illustrators will find a broad field in the Library for studying styles, trends, and earlier examples of genres in which they are working. In children's books writers of fiction, biography, and history can locate period information pertinent to childhood, and even to later years, including information about reading itself.

Published bibliographies which have been compiled by members of the staff of the Children's Book Section are listed in *Library of Congress Publications in Print*, available at the Information Counter in the Main Building.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Increasing interest in sources for the study of American Revolutionary history as the Bicentennial approaches is reflected in the July issue of the *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*. Walter W. Ristow, Chief of LC's Geography and Map Division, surveys "Maps of the American Revolution" and Paul Smith of the Library's American Revolution Bicentennial Office presents Charles Thomson's 1789 critique of Ramsay's draft history of the war. Also included in this issue are an essay on Chinese wood engravings of the Sung dynasty by K. T. Wu and a report of recent acquisitions of the Rare Book Division by Frederick R. Goff.

This issue of the *Quarterly Journal* is available for $1 from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C. 20402; subscriptions are $3.50 a year.

BLACK AMERICANS

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of all, I would like to place in the RECORD an article by Philip Meyer entitled, "Working Wives Boost Black Earning Power, Study Shows," which appeared in the Detroit Free Press of July 28, 1971. The article discusses the contents of a recent report entitled, "Black Americans," prepared by the U.S. Department of Labor, the U.S. Department of Commerce, and the National Center for Health Statistics. The article follows:

[From the Detroit Free Press, July 28, 1971]

WORKING WIVES BOOST BLACK EARNING POWER, STUDY SHOWS

BY STAYING ON THE JOB MORE CONSISTENTLY, BLACK WOMEN TEND TO BUILD HIGHER-PAYING CAREERS, SAID A BUREAU OF CENSUS OFFICIAL

(By Philip Meyer)

WASHINGTON.—Much of the reported recent gain in the earning power of black families is accounted for by young, working wives, a detailed study by the departments of Labor and Commerce revealed this week.

In part, this is due to the fact that black women who finish high school or attend college now earn more than white women of the same educational level.

One select group of black families—those with both husband and wife working, the husband under 35, and living outside the South—achieved incomes equal to 99 percent that of whites in the same category in 1969.

This statistic was a sharp gain from a decade earlier, when black families in this group earned only 85 percent of the white average. It was noted with jubilation at the White House.

However, for black families meeting exactly the same description but without a working wife, there was no gain on comparable white families in the 10-year period. Black families living on the husband's income alone in 1969 had 71 percent of the income of comparable white families.

Seven out of 10 wives in young black families in the North and West contribute to the family income by working, the report said.

Therefore, the wives' earnings significantly affect the total family income picture. Among all young, black, nonsouthern husband and wife families, income reached 91 percent of the income of comparable whites in 1969.

That figure has been widely quoted by Nixon administration spokesmen to demonstrate that racial barriers to earnings have fallen for young, northern Negroes living in conventional husband-wife families.

But this week's detailed report indicates that racial barriers still plague black males even in that favored category.

Black women, on the other hand, now earn more than white women of comparable education.

The median income for black, female college graduates was $6,747 in 1969. For white, female college graduates it was $5,707.

White women had higher incomes than black women only in the low educational brackets—high school dropouts and below.

College-educated black men, however, earn much less than college-educated white men: $8,669 compared to $12,354 in 1969.

"Black women stay in the labor market while white women tend to drop out," said Nampeo D. McKenney of the Bureau of the Census, who worked on the report. "Black women work while pregnant and the fertility of college-educated black women is lower than that of whites."

By staying on the job more consistently, black women tend to build higher-paying careers, said Mrs. McKenney who is black.

There is also a belief among many blacks—supported by the new government report—that white employers anxious to end discrimination tend to favor black women.

Most employers are white males and they feel more threatened by black men, according to this theory.

The report, which was compiled by the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, noted income gains for young southern families, too. Young, black southern families' income was 73 percent of the income of similarly situated whites in 1969. In 1959, income for blacks in this group was only 55 percent that of whites.

But among older families—those with the husband 35 or over—Negro families both North and South made no appreciable gains on whites between 1959 and 1969.

Overall, the average non-white family income in the United States was 64 percent of white income in 1970—the highest it has ever been.

The 1970 ratio was a one-percentage-point gain over 1969 and offers some evidence that blacks are not as vulnerable to setbacks in the economy as they used to be. Many observers had feared that the recession which began last year would hit blacks harder than whites.

In 1958, another recession year, non-white income dropped from 54 percent of white income to 51 percent and did not begin its steady gain on white income until the mid-1960s.

A sharp gain in the number of female-headed black families was also reported in the new study. A census survey taken in March of this year indicated that 28.9 percent of non-white families are headed by women, compared to 26.8 percent in 1970. The increase represents about 100,000 families.

GEORGE JESSEL

HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker. I rise to make a few observations on what I regard as a most serious abridgment of freedom of the press—or more particularly, freedom of the air waves. Last week, an incident occurred which should give pause to anyone concerned with the protection of first amendment constitutional guarantees in this country.

As I understand the story, Mr. George Jessel, the renowned Hollywood comedian, was appearing on NBC's "Today Show." He was being interviewed by the widely known commentator Edwin Newman.

I do not know Mr. George Jessel personally. I do know, however, that he is a fund-raiser of renown for worthy causes and has given freely of his time to entertaining our troops overseas, wherever they serve. And, Mr. Jessel is a consummate after-dinner speaker and one of the most accomplished master-of-ceremonies in America.

Last Friday, Mr. Jessel was a guest on National Broadcasting Co.'s "Today Show." In the course of his interview, he apparently made certain remarks displeasing to Mr. Newman, whereupon Mr. Newman terminated the interview and removed Mr. Jessel from the show. According to the account published in the Washington Post on July 31, what Mr. Jessel said to offend Mr. Newman was this:

> I am happy to report, and that's why I asked your permission to get on here, that the morale of our men in Europe is very high and we're strong on the borders of Czechoslovakia and strong on the borders of Eastern Germany. If they start on anything there, they'll get in a real you-know, regardless of McCloskey and Muskie and Mansfield. They'll fight and they'll lick these other guys. But, of course, when you pick up Pravada—The New York Times—you generally see, oh, they're all full of dope and killing children, drunk.

As he explained later, Mr. Newman was upset because "The interview was barely coherent, rambling, meandering". But, by his own account, his principal concern was Mr. Jessel's unfavorable reference to the Washington Post and the New York Times. "It didn't seem to me," he declared, "we have any obligation to allow people to come on to traduce the reputations of anyone they want, to abuse people they don't like * * *"

Since when have we conferred a censor role on news commentators in this country? Since when have we conferred on them the right to police the public conscience, or protect the reputations of other media outlets? When Vice President AGNEW accuses the press of airing only one side of most public questions, members of the fourth estate are quick to "traduce" and "abuse" his reputation as constitutional abridgements of free speech.

Yet, when the press is on the receiving end of criticism are we to believe that their proper response is to silence their critics by banning them from the airwaves? In other words, are we to tolerate from them the very practices that they accuse Mr. AGNEW of preaching?

According to the Washington Post account, Mr. Jessel was guilty of McCarthyite tactics. In this day and age, does not this constitute a slander per se?

And what was Mr. Jessel's offense? Why, he mentioned Pravda in the same breath with the Washington Post and the New York Times. In Russian, the word Pravada simply means "truth". Reading his remarks, I am inclined to believe that Mr. Jessel was simply being sarcastic. He was scornfully questioning the objectivity of the Post and the Times. As "oracles of the truth," millions of Americans would join him.

But whether either of these newspapers are as biased as Mr. Jessel believes is beside the point. The question at issue is Mr. Newman's right, or for that matter the right of any other purveyor of the news, to summarily silence individuals whose views they disagree with. To my knowledge, this kind of thing has never happened in quite this way before in this country.

In my book, this is the kind of free speech the Constitution protects, particularly over the public air waves. If I am right in concluding that it is, is the Congress prepared to tolerate its summary abridgment in the manner described?

Mr. Jessel was obviously amazed at his banishment. As he pointed out to reporters:

> I was on a show a few weeks ago and a woman damned Christianity and all religions of the world but they didn't throw her off. So why can't I rap newspapers? God doesn't publish the newspapers.

Personally, I cannot count the number of times I have heard our institutions slandered and public figures I admired libeled on television and in the newspapers. I have heard threats to burn down our cities, to sabotage our factories, to interrupt the workings of our Government, and to eliminate our leaders, by fair means or foul. Never, to my knowledge, were any of the wild men or women who made these remarks banned from the air waves, quite to the contrary. And, as importantly, never to my knowledge, have responsible conservatives ever advocated the public throttling of their irresponsible utterances.

It, therefore, is shocking to me that a representative of a major network took it upon himself to throttle the relatively mild views expressed by an exponent of the other side. Obviously, Mr. Jessel is a man who believes in preserving our national heritage, who believes our institutions are worthwhile, who believes in building rather than tearing down, who believes in his country and who believes that the troops we have stationed around the world are representatives of freedom rather than tyranny. As I see it, what happened to him on the NBC "Today Show" is conclusive evidence that the double standard that Vice President AGNEW has compained so vigorously of is a reality, not the "right wing" myth his critics contend.

I urge the members of the appropriate committees of the Congress to look into this matter. When we allow a single individual to sit in judgement to decide whose views are acceptable and whose are not in the high handed manner Mr. Newman displayed, then censorship in its most blatant form, has come to America. If we do not rise to the challenge, if we do not defend the rights and privileges we profess to hold dear, then we do not deserve to posses them.

WILL THE WHITE HOUSE ACT?

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, early in this session of Congress, I introduced with Congressman MCFALL H.R. 2502, a bill to establish a program of voluntary wage-price guidelines administered by a five-man Emergency Guidance Board. Those industries and unions planning price and wage increases in excess of the guidelines would be required to file an economic justification with the Board. The Board would then publicize those increases which it judged inflationary and not in the national interest.

Since the original introduction of this bill, the need for such a Board has become increasingly imperative. Both unemployment and inflation continue to run at extraordinary levels, and little relief is in sight. Recognizing that an economic emergency does indeed exist, 52 of our colleagues from both sides of the aisle joined Congressman MCFALL and myself in reintroducing the Emergency Guidance Board Act on August 3.

President Nixon has throughout this period refused to recognize the emergency nature of our economic difficulties. Despite the continuance of simultaneous inflation and unemployment, the administration has held to the workability of its economic game plan, and ruled out any kind of vigorous incomes policy. I was therefore, pleased to note that during yesterday's press conference, the President declined to rule out a voluntary wage-price review board.

Hopefully, this statement represents a change of policy by the administration. The present economic slump has gone too far to allow present hands-off policies to continue, without new leadership. I now urge the President to take the next step and actively work for the legislation I have proposed. The Emergency Guidance Board Act will provide a nonmandatory but workable means of checking inflation while unemployment is attacked by stimulating the economy through conventional means.

I should like to place in the RECORD at this time an account of the President's press conference statements from the Washington Post, as well as an editorial from the New York Times supporting my position.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 5, 1971]

PRESIDENT WARMS TO PAY PANEL—BUT REJECTS CONTROLS ON WAGES, PRICES

(By Carole Shifrin)

President Nixon yesterday reversed an earlier position and said he would not reject out-of-hand the idea of a government board to suggest national standards for wages and prices.

But the President was far from enthusiastic. He told an unscheduled news conference that he would consider such a board only if congressional hearings convinced him that government pressure to influence wages and prices could work "without stifling the economy."

He flatly rejected mandatory wage and price controls, specifically criticizing 'the Galbraith scheme, which is supported by many of our Democratic senators," Economist John Kenneth Galbraith has called for legal limits on wages and prices under certain conditions.

At the same time, he discounted reports of a clash between him and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur F. Burns. Last week, reports emanating from the office of Director of Communications Herbert G. Klein, but later denied by the White House, suggested that Mr. Nixon was thinking of seeking an increase in the number of Fed governors because of unhappiness with Burns. Yesterday, the President praised Burns and said the two are in agreement.

Mr. Nixon's remarks to newsmen followed immediately a news conference held by 13 Republican senators who said they were "vitally interested in the success" of the administration, but "deeply concerned" about the "unacceptably high rates of unemployment and inflation." They insisted that the "traditional rules of economics are not working . . . and additional measures are needed."

President Nixon several times made clear his skepticism about the usefulness of a wage-price board, but he didn't reject it out-of-hand as he has in the past.

He said he was not convinced that "we can move in that direction and be effective," but he left the door slightly ajar. "As far as we are concerned, we have an open mind in terms of examining the various proposals to see if there is a new approach which we may not have thought of," Mr. Nixon said.

Referring to proposed public hearings, he said, "I have serious doubts that they will find such a new approach, but I do want to indicate that we will examine it because we all agree that the wage-price spiral is a significant danger to this expanding economy."

Only minutes before Mr. Nixon talked to the press, Treasury Secretary John Connally, the administration's chief economic spokesman, issued a statement saying the administration would welcome "a full-fledged debate in the Congress" on wage and price policies.

Listing a number of questions he felt a review must explore, Connally added, "It should explore the historical record during the periods when we have had wage and price programs, and it should probe carefully the extensive experience of other nations."

It is clear from Mr. Nixon's remarks to the press, however, that he thinks the "historical record" will reaffirm his pessimism about the possibilities of guidelines. "My study of the situation indicates that guidelines in this country have always failed," he said.

"They have never worked," he continued. "Guidelines in other industrial countries, including Canada, for example, and Britain, have worked only for a short time and then have fallen because guidelines basically connote voluntary compliance and voluntary compliance goes on only for a brief time."

The administration's approach "at this time" Mr. Nixon said, is "a selective one—to take those particular industries that are coming up for bargaining and to use our influence as effectively as we can to see that those settlements are responsible."

He pointed to "use the power of this office to the extent it can be effective" to see that future wage and price negotiations are responsible.

"I shall continue the policy of moving aggressively on individual settlements on a case-by-case basis," he said.

In response to a question asking why he does not ask leaders of the steel industry to cancel their recently announced price increases, Mr. Nixon replied that such a move "would not be effective."

Saying that steel profits are the lowest of any major industry, Mr. Nixon added, "To tell the steel industry that after they have negotiated a settlement they must roll back their price and run at a loss is simply unrealistic.

"They are not going to do it," he said.

In his comments on Arthur Burns, he moved to dispel rumors:

He does not disagree with Burns on economic policies, he indicated. "Arthur Burns, in terms of monetary policy and in terms of fiscal policy, has followed a course that I think is the most responsible and statesmanlike of any chairman of the Federal Reserve in my memory," Mr. Nixon said.

Burns did not ask for a raise, Mr. Nixon said, contrary to reports. In fact, he said, the Office of Management and Budget had recommended that the chairman of the Federal Reserve, as the United States central banker, be given a pay raise. But when the matter was raised, the President said, Burns indicated that neither he nor any other high government official should take a salary increase when raises in other areas of government would be limited.

(When Burns was a member of the Cabinet—as counselor to the President—Burns even recommended that Cabinet officers take pay cuts. The proposal was not followed.)

The President explained that he had determined that an increase in the government blue-collar wage scale would not be in the "interests of our-fighting the inflation battle."

In his comments about the state of the economy, Mr. Nixon rejected "gloomy predictions," adding, "there is a lot of steam in the boiler."

"I would not sell the United States economy short at this point," Mr. Nixon said. "And long term, I would not be selling my investments in the American economy—whether it is in stocks or real estate or what have you."

He reiterated his view that 1971 would be "a good year" for the economy and "1972 would be a very good year."

In addition to the wage-price review board bill, the group of Republicans proposed a bill which would establish a national council on productivity to replace one set up by executive order. The council would seek an increased rate of American productivity—a rate which since 1965 has been lower than any other industrial nation.

"We believe there is a crisis of confidence in the country," Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) said on behalf of the group. "We are proposing what we believe ought to be the policies of our administration.

"The President has shown he can change course," he said. "His feet are not fixed in concrete."

Both bills, Javits, said, contain what the GOP group believes are "essential" powers.

Treasury Secretary Connally's statement suggested that whatever its outcome, congressional consideration of wage-price board legislation should "provide the forum for a useful discussion of important economic issues."

[From the New York Times, Aug. 5, 1971]

WAGE-PRICE RUNAROUND

With his anti-inflation program foundering, President Nixon seems to have decided that the best way to turn off the bipartisan clamor in Congress for action to halt the wage-price spiral is to make his critics demonstrate that they have foolproof remedies he can use. This hardly qualifies as leadership from a President who campaigned nearly three years ago on a pledge to couple price stability with low unemployment and has thus far failed to deliver either.

In a week that has brought a dismayingly big increase in steel prices, plus warnings of an equally unwelcome increase in railroad freight rates, both tied to overhigh wage settlements, the President says he is still waiting to be convinced that the Government ought to be doing something more than talk about restraint and responsibility by way of checking the runaway spiral.

It is certainly no contribution for Mr. Nixon to instruct Secretary of Labor Hodgson to alert him to all forthcoming negotiations in key industries so that he can use his persuasive powers to keep settlements in non-inflationary bounds. That is exactly what the President tried to do in steel, only to discover that both the union and the industry were locked into a preset pattern which neither could hope to break in the absence of Administration moves to establish an effective national incomes policy.

The obvious hope in the White House is that it can bob and weave for a few more months until all the expensive dominoes fall into line on major contracts for 1971, including those still to be signed in the East and West Coast waterfronts and the coal mines. Then the Administration argument will be that 1972 is a year of relative quiet on the labor-management front, with few big contracts to be negotiated, so everyone can relax.

The only trouble with this let-time-cure-everything line of evasion is that the road never stops running uphill. The steel pattern was nailed down many months ago with the first settlement in the can industry. The railroad pattern, accepted this week by the United Transportation Union, was pushed up by the big increase Chicago truck drivers won a year ago with their breakaway strike against the initial national settlement in their industry. The rail pact must still run the gantlet of demands for higher pay from the militant shopcrafts and signalmen.

Even more disturbing is the spillover of inflationary wage expectations in the public service. The President is himself engaged in a fight with Congress and the unions representing 750,000 blue-collar employes in Federal agencies over pressure for pay increases that would exceed the prevailing rate in private industry.

In New York City, with its chronic fiscal problems and its equally chronic shortchanging in monetary aid from Washington and Albany, the skyrocketing cost of living and the high settlements in local industries combine to inflate the already swollen municipal payroll.

The city is obviously in no condition to give increases totalling 27 per cent over three years to its welfare administrative staff, as it has just agreed to do. Yet what equity would there be in telling them they cannot have what all other unionized workers are getting? Still unsettled are the contract talks covering policemen, firemen and sanitation workers. And not far behind them the transit employes, with the specter of a 50-cent fare.

The only hope for halting this endless procession lies in White House leadership. The very limited step the President took to stabilize construction costs is bearing useful fruit. A brief general wage freeze, tied to creation of a wage-price board, could mark a beginning toward similar progress for the total economy.

MONETARY TROUBLES ERUPT ANEW, PROMPT TALK OF DEVALUATION

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, today's Wall Street Journal reports that Europe is fast losing faith that the dollar can escape devaluation.

One of the many factors for this state of affairs is our growing balance-of-payments deficit, the worst since 1893. An important element which contributes to this deficit is corporate investment overseas.

The Associated Press reports that Chrysler Corp. will pay about $100 million to acquire a minority interest in the Mitsubishi Motor Corp. in Japan to produce cars to import to the United States.

One wonders where the American worker, displaced by this sort of activity, will obtain the funds to purchase an imported car. Industry Week reports that Japan is loosening up some of its controls on import quotas and overseas investment. If Japan is going to start investing in the United States, there is no need for American corporations to continue investing heavily abroad, which adds to our monetary and labor problems. This is the sort of thing that Alice in Wonderland stories are made of.

Mr. Speaker, the articles follow:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Aug. 5, 1971]

MONETARY TROUBLES ERUPT ANEW, PROMPT TALK OF DEVALUATION

(By Ray Vicker and Richard Janssen)

Europe is fast losing its old faith that the dollar can escape eventual devaluation. Perhaps some of America is, too.

The European concern is clearly what underlies the increasingly frantic activity in currency trading abroad, which yesterday saw the dollar dropping in price while strong demand pushed Continental currencies upward and gold retained most of its recent strong gains. (The French central bank yesterday instructed commercial banks to accept dollars for so called current transactions only in an effort to cut the flow of speculative funds.

"The growing American balance-of-payments deficit"—which piles up a precarious tower of dollars in foreign hands—"it's a sure sign that the currency is overvalued relative to other currencies," asserts an official of Holland's Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank. Among Continental monetary officials and bankers, an eventual 10% to 15% devaluation is coming to be taken almost for granted. Few expect it before the 1972 United States elections, however.

America desperately wants to keep believing that the dollar is forever safely fixed to the $35-an-ounce official gold price, and the Nixon administration is intensifying its efforts to keep it there. "We're damn concerned" about the dangers of the dollar outflow, says a well-placed official. As evidence of determination to avert devaluation, he cites the administration's emphasis on fighting inflation at the expense of unemployment and a host of smaller steps such as swifter action against "dumping" of cheap imports here.

SKEPTICISM IN WASHINGTON

But even in Washington, the once sincere faith in the ability to defend the dollar's value is being eroded by increasing skepticism."There isn't a single person I know in the government" who doesn't privately agree that—domestic politics aside—the U.S. ought to officially reduce the dollar's value for international dealings, confides a nongovernment expert.

In part. the administration's agonizing over what to do may explain why the White House and Treasury respond with sullen "no comments" to the current currency turmoil rather than with the ringing reassurances of past years that the dollar has a uniquely "immutable" value. Keeping credibility in case drastic action is needed seems to be one reason for silence. The major aim, however, is probably to avoid any extra stir that might add to the present threats to the status quo.

The basic threat is that America year after year spends and invests more dollars abroad than foreigners return to the U.S. By now, the accumulated difference amounts to some $50 billion of dollars held in short-term, liquid form by foreigners. The portions held by foreign governments and central banks exceeded $31 billion by late May, posing a potential "overkill" of the $10.5 billion Treasury gold stock that the U.S. is pledged to pay out for these dollars.

As the dollars keep piling up abroad, so do reasons for foreigners to wonder how long the U.S. can keep buying them back with gold to defend the present price. By next Monday, for instance, France may cash in excess dollars for roughly $200 million of the Treasury's gold to repay a debt to the International Monetary Fund, which itself owns more than $500 million of the gold double-counted as part of the Treasury stock. The sheer fact that the 118-country IMF will be holding its annual meeting in Washington in late September assures that the air will be full of less-than-reassuring rumors.

"EVERYTHING POINTS TO A CRISIS"

Because attitudes play such an important part in the value of any currency, the apprehensions among world financiers intensify the very weaknesses that now frighten them. "Speculation against the dollar is mounting steadily," says a Zurich banker.

In a magnified version of the malaise that's infecting Wall Street, the Europeans find next to nothing in the U.S. economic situation to offset such effects. Despite the Nixon administration's persistent declarations that the economy is getting back on a healthy course, the Europeans doubt that much progress against inflation is in the cards. The string of three monthly U.S. trade deficits looms much larger in their eyes than it does at home, since inability to export more goods than are imported often precedes devaluations of Europeans currencies.

"Everything points to a further currency crisis," says a spokesman for Hambro's, one of London's leading merchant banks. And an official of the big Barclay's Bank says dollar devaluation can be avoided only by a formidable list of U.S. actions: "Get out of the Vietnam war, cut military costs in Europe, curb corporate investment overseas, and keep interest rates high enough to attract both foreign investments and hot money," which Americans might otherwise dispatch to Europe.

Increasingly, though, European financial men appear convinced that the U.S. won't take enough such steps quickly enough to avert dollar devaluation—which needn't, they emphasize, be the disaster that the U.S. dreads. "With the American economy looking as if it is going downhill the benefits of devaluation must be getting more and more attractive to the U.S. administration," suggests a French banking official.

THE ARITHMETIC

The arithmetic of the benefits, a British advocate of such action reasons, would go like this: The U.S. lowers the dollar's value by 15%, instantly increasing the cost of imports accordingly and wiping out the price advantage of many imported wares from cars to color TVs. At the same time, U.S. goods get a 15% price advantage all around the world, bringing extra sales that U.S. industry can readily accommodate by bringing back into action its ample idle plant capacity and its millions of unemployed workers.

Obviously, the Nixon administration doesn't think the solution is so pat and painless, insiders say, or it would already have taken such action. After all the promises not to devalue, they contend, devaluation would damage the U.S. diplomatic and military prestige around the world and deliver the higher-gold-price windfalls long sought by selfish speculators, racist South Africa and Communist Russia. Besides, they argue, many countries would readjust their own currencies to prevent the U.S. from getting any rich trade benefits. And Congress wouldn't permit devaluation anyway, they say.

Some U.S. officials acknowledge that all these objections would carry much more weight if devaluation talk were still in the terms of a few years ago, when doubling the gold price to halve the dollar's value was the common European prescription. If the dollar is overvalued at all, U.S. officials increasingly argue, it is by no more than 3% to 5%. Nevertheless, a devaluation of even that limited extent just might cause even more financial uncertainty than it would be worth, some insiders argue.

Still, respected Americans outside the innermost economic policy circle are increasingly raising the question of mild devaluation to help ease some of the U.S. problems. Sen. Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.) has urged the administration to "disestablish the presently existing link between the dollar and gold," and Rep. Henry Reuss (D., Wis.), has proposed that the Treasury stop paying out gold and "let the dollar float" down in the marketplace until it reaches a reasonable new level.

SHOULD THE DOLLAR FLOAT

Similarly, at his Senate confirmation hearing, Eza Solomon, President Nixon's newest appointee to the Council of Economic Advisers, expressed unexpectedly friendly interest in the idea of letting the dollar "float" gently downward. Well-connected Washington consultant Edward M. Bernstein warns that "the dollar can't hold forever." Even under current IMF rules, counsels Chase Manhattan Bank vice president Eugene A. Birnbaum, the U.S. could suspend gold dealings and support the dollar by dealing in foreign currencies that it could borrow or buy from the IMF with some of its gold.

All too often, Nixon aides complain, Europeans misconstrue the comments of Congressmen and private economists as reflecting actual administration policy; the Nixon men wish everyone else would just keep quiet about such matters. Given enough patience and quiet diplomacy, they argue, enough such countries as Japan and Germany probably can be persuaded to revalue their own currencies upward to have the same favorable impact on U.S. trade as the more dramatic and disruptive act of a devaluation by the U.S.

Meanwhile, the administration is striving to offset such fresh trade setbacks as the stiff steel and auto price increases. The Export-Import Bank will provide more ample credit for U.S. exporters, officials assert. And they say that averting loss of future exports was a key reason for the administration's successful effort to guarantee loans to Lockheed Aircraft Corp. and for its unsuccessful effort to subsidize an SST. If the White House were resigned to dollar devaluation, aides add, it wouldn't have U.S. trade negotiators out taking a tougher stand against textile and shoe imports.

SECOND-CLASS CURRENCY

Even if no one in the U.S. shared their doubts about the dollar, though, Europeans couldn't easily shake their conviction that something's got to give. Dollar devaluation is being discussed in Europe "in terms of 'when' rather than 'whether,'" editorializes the Financial Times of London. And for all practical purposes, as many a vacationing American knows all too well, his dollar is already being treated as a second-class currency.

"Certainly it is difficult for us to dictate monetary policy to a nation as strong as the U.S.," concedes a European banker. "But," he boasts, "we can discount those dollars if we have to take them, and the less we like the dollars the more we can discount them."

Last weekend in Lugano, Switzerland, for example, hotel cashiers handed over on more than four Swiss francs for the dollar despite the official posted rate of 4.067. In Germany, where the mark is being allowed to float in defiance of IMF rules (which generally limit fluctuations to 1% either way of its formal value), Americans with travelers' checks must pay a 6.5% premium to get German marks.

It is no coincidence, European money men say, that the free market price of gold in London is hovering up around the $42-an-ounce mark. That's about where the official price, too, would go if the U.S. were to confirm their betting on a devaluation of around 15%. Even though it is against U.S. law, at least one Zurich banker owns up to honoring quite a few individual Americans' orders for gold lately. Whether the legal and financial risks ever pay off remains to be seen, of course; there are ways, some Washington experts hint without elaborating, for the dollar to be devalued without altering the official gold price.

[From the Atlanta Journal, Aug. 5, 1971]

CHRYSLER GETS OK ON JAPANESE DEAL

TOKYO.—The Japanese government Friday granted final approval for Chrysler Corp. of the United States to acquire a minority interest in Mitsubishi Motor Corp., culminating an effort begun by the two companies in 1968.

The decision marked the first time that a foreign company has been allowed to invest in Japan's automobile industry, one of the country's most jealously guarded economic sectors.

Under the plan, Mitsubishi Motor will carry out a series of three capital increases, each of which will be fully subscribed by Chrysler.

This will result in Chrysler acquiring 15 per cent of the Japanese concern by Sept. 30, 1971, another 10 per cent by June 30, 1972 and a final 10 per cent by June 30, 1973. As previously announced, Chrysler will pay about $100 million for its overall 35 per cent holding.

Mitsubishi Motor, currently a wholly owned subsidiary of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Ltd., is close to overtaking Toyo Kogyo Co. as Japan's third largest automaker, but it is far behind the two giants of the industry, Toyota Motor Co. and Nissan Motor Co.

Mitsubishi's weakest area in the past has been exports, and it is there that the link with Chrysler will provide the largest immediate benefits. Late last year, Chrysler began importing Mitsubishi autos into the United States, where it is sold as the Dodge Colt, and Chrysler's South African subsidiary is also assembling Mitsubishi vehicles.

Plans call for similar operations in The Philippines and Australia.

[From Industry Week, Aug. 2, 1971]

JAPAN'S MONEY MOVES AIMED AT EXCHANGE FLOWS

Japan has taken several steps to help curb massive foreign exchange inflows, reports the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago. First, the Bank of Japan will end preferential lending rates for export financing on Aug. 10. Second, impact loans (long term loans not tied to particular uses) by foreign banks to Japanese firms have been frozen at present levels, precluding new net borrowing by Japanese firms. Some 26 import quotas have been eliminated, and ceilings on both institutional and individual portfolio investments overseas were removed, a move that could bring large Japanese investment in U.S. stocks. Japan's balance of payments surplus dropped to $690 million in June (from May's $1.2 billion), but June exports were still fully 25 percent ahead of the June 1970 level.

ANOTHER "CONSUMER" ADVISORY COMMITTEE WITHOUT CONSUMERS

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the Interstate Commerce Commission, which regulates rates and tariffs for railroads, trucking companies, bus lines, oil pipelines, freight forwarders, water carriers, and express agencies, approved last year a $1.2-billion increase in rail freight rates. This increase, like many others pending, are rarely, if ever, scrutinized by consumer advocates—even though they contribute to the inflationary spiral.

In a misguided effort to "assist the shipping public," which must assume the additional cost of rate and tariff increases, the ICC announced the formation of a Tariff Users Advisory Committee. This committee, it was announced, will "provide the user with a forceful and structured voice under the direct sponsorship of the Commission" and "provide the user for the first time with a bridge of experts to represent their interests on particular problems."

As anyone who has followed the Federal Government's consumer protection record might guess, there is a fly in the ointment. Of the nine persons named to the Advisory Committee, none even remotely represent the consumer interest.

Hopefully, Congress will close this loophole by enacting legislation to establish a new Federal Consumer Protection Agency, which will represent the consumer before the ICC and other agencies.

I include in the RECORD at this point, the full text of the ICC press release:

TARIFF USERS ADVISORY COMMITTEE CREATED

Responding to the growing need for more usable rate information, ICC Chairman George M. Stafford announced today the creation of a Tariff Users Advisory Committee.

Long-mindful of the need for tariff simplification and for increased readability of rate publications, and of the trend toward computerized tariffs, the Commission is striving to assist the shipping public by seeking the views of a group of actual, daily users of freight tariffs. The aim of the Committee, which will meet every other month, will be to:

Provide the user with a forceful and structured voice under the direct sponsorship of the Commission,

Provide the user for the first time with a bridge of experts to represent their interests on particular problems in an informal, non-advisory atmosphere.

Provide the Commission with the opportunity to demonstrate in a formal way meaningful concern with tariff problems through direct and regular contact with the user, and

Provide the Commission with the nucleus of a specialized tariff advisory group which could be split or expanded as required into numerous sub-groups or task forces in many areas concerning tariff use.

Nominated to be members of the Committee are seven individuals representing selected industries, and four carrier representatives from the railroad and trucking modes of transportation.

Martin E. Foley, Director of the Commission's Bureau of Traffic will act as Chairman of the group, while Ernest R. Olson, Assistant Director of the Bureau of Traffic, will serve as alternate Chairman. Davis R. Ledford, Assistant to Director Foley, will serve as the Committee's Secretary. Those named to serve on the Committee from the shipper or user category are:

Chemicals: R. J. Cunningham, Manager, Freight Rate Planning, Union Carbide Corp., New York, N.Y.

Iron & Steel: R. H. Miller, Asst. to General Traffic Manager, Bethlehem Steel Corp., Bethlehem, Pa.

Grain Processing: J. L. Shissler, General Traffic Manager, Rates, Pillsbury Co., Minneapolis, Minn.

Paper: G. L. Fast, Traffic Manager, Rates and Regulation, Brown Co., Kalamazoo, Mich.

Food Processing: R. A. Blocki, AGTM—Transportation Pricing, Kraft Foods Chicago, Ill.

Petroleum: H. W. Mathues, Manager, Rates and Service, Sun Oil Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

Small Shippers: W. K. Cabot, General Traffic Manager, Johnson & Johnson, New Brunswick, N.J.

Those named to serve from the transportation modes are:

Motor Carrier: E. W. Kelliher, Vice President, Traffic, Halls Motor Transit Co., Mechanicsburg, Pa.; L. E. Tomlinson, Vice President, Traffic, Yellow Freight System, Inc., Kansas City, Mo.

Railroad: R. H. Hill, Jr., System Manager, Pricing & Marketing, Norfolk & Western Railway Co., Roanoke, Va.; C. N. Collins, Manager, Pricing, Western Maryland Railroad, Baltimore, Md.

LABOR RELATIONS—THE CRISIS IS NOT OVER

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, as Congress prepares to recess for several weeks it seems quite evident that many of us are breathing a sigh of relief that several major labor strikes have been settled.

Such relief is ill-founded. I think it is necessary for us to remember the critical problems we could have faced as a Nation, and the unfortunate consequences of the settlements which were reached.

Labor-management struggles in the railway industry are becoming nothing more than destructive reruns—recurring and predictable national emergencies.

In the last 25 years the complex procedures of the Railway Labor Act have simply broken down. The financial position of the industry has deteriorated to where union demands can no longer be met realistically. And this has resulted in a situation where no major rail labor dispute since the war has been settled

without some sort of Government intervention outside the act's procedures.

The methods used in these disputes result in crude economic warfare. Although for some reason people have the idea that a selective strike is a merciful way by which employees can bring pressure on employers for better working conditions and higher pay, for the areas affected by a selective strike, there is certainly nothing merciful about it.

The Southwestern part of the United States is served by the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe Railroads. The recent selective strike rendered Southern Pacific inoperative on July 24. The Santa Fe employees struck on July 30. As a result, this large and important area of the United States was completely without rail service.

I received telegrams and communications from persons in divergent lines of industry. There were telegrams from the presidents of four large cattle companies, a large retail chain, a lumber harvesting and manufacturing company, a large wholesale distributing firm, and a large bakery. There was also a wire from the chairman of the Farm Credit Board of Berkeley, Calif., informing me that the farmers of the Southwest were facing financial disaster and that the consumers were facing shortages and increased prices.

I also received a letter from the Sunkist growers, who market citrus fruit grown in the Arizona-California area. This letter informed me that the 9,000 grower-members of Sunkist faced disaster if the strike continued much longer. Similar communications were received from the vegetable growers of this area.

Granted, a settlement has been reached for now. But, that settlement will do little, if anything, to improve the future for the industry and its muddled labor relations. A huge increase in costs has been forced on an industry already deep in financial trouble.

Yet the most important thing to remember is that in this most recent railroad dispute the actual provisions of the Railway Labor Act were exhausted a year before final settlement. Numerous and complex legal maneuvers had controlled since then.

This strike may be over, but settlement provided no evidence that there has been a revival of traditional collective bargaining.

Of course, the steel industry has also staged a mockery of the principle of responsible collective bargaining. Inflationary wage settlements were predictably and immediately followed by a tremendous steel price rise, and we can expect the industry to again urge tightened restrictions on imports.

Therefore, the Nation's price for labor peace in the steel industry is increased inflation and extended economic problems from protectionism.

Mr. Speaker, the immediate strike crisis may be over, but the underlying problems have not been solved. Congress cannot relax. Now is the time to consider and pass legislation which will make it imperative to settle disputes between labor and management in some way other than by inflationary wage agreements, or a ruinous strike. This is economic barbarism and our economy can no longer afford the luxury of continuing such a ruinous policy.

At the very minimum, it is my hope that the legislation requested by the Nixon administration to end national emergency strikes would be adopted. I believe, however, that in the long run a bill I have introduced with 32 other sponsors, is the best solution thus far advanced. This is H.R. 2373, a bill to provide for the establishment of a U.S. Court of Labor-Management Relations which shall have jurisdiction over certain labor disputes in industries substantially affecting commerce. This bill provides for the creation of a labor court to act in national emergency disputes to settle these disputes without strike and without adding to the fuels of inflation. In my opinion, such an arrangement must be adopted if this Nation is to continue to be the productive wonder of the economic world in the 20th century. We are skating on the edge of economic disaster. The time to act is now.

A TRIBUTE TO THE YANKEE REBELS OF THE HAMILTON AMERICAN LEGION POST NO. 20, BALTIMORE, MD.

HON. PAUL S. SARBANES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. Speaker, the citizens of Maryland can truly be proud of the tremendous achievements of one of its outstanding organizations, the Hamilton American Legion Post No. 20 and its superb senior drum and bugle corps "The Yankee Rebels." The corps' excellence is known nationwide. They are the reigning American Legion National Champions, having won that championship for the last 2 consecutive years. In addition, they have been the Maryland State Champions every year from 1946 to the present.

Mr. Speaker, The Yankee Rebels recently presented the 18th annual March of Champions at Baltimore's Memorial Stadium. I was pleased to be present at this event in the company of Mr. Earle Poorbaugh, a member of the American Legion for over 40 years and a strong supporter of The Yankee Rebels. The evening was an outstanding success, with drum and bugle corps from Canada, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York participating and with a record attendance of over 19,000 persons.

"Teamwork," the byword of the Hamilton Post, its drum and bugle corps, and its subsidiary organizations, especially the ladies of its auxiliary, is well reflected in the March of Champions. Only through the cooperation of many persons in the corps and the post was it possible to stage an outstanding and successful March of Champions. The officers of Hamilton Post No. 20, listed below, deserve great credit for this achievement:

William E. Troll, Sr., Commander.
Frank X. Slaysman, 1st Vice Commander.
George M. Hild, 2nd Vice Commander.
Willis Mac Kenzie, Adjutant.
William P. Adamo, Finance Officer.
Harry E. Knuffman, Historian.
Robert F. Manger, Service Officer.
Julius A. Anderson, Jr., Chaplain.
Walter T. Chenoweth, Sergeant-at-Arms.

Executive committeemen: Paul A. Citro, Sr., Jack E. Dyke, John G. Gotzen, and William M. Wyatt.

In addition, great praise is due Mr. Joseph Sedlak, the founder of the corps, who has over the years contributed so much to its activities. Mr. Sedlack has lent added dignity to the March of Champions competition by his presentation of a magnificent trophy to be awarded each year to the winning team.

Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure to pay this salute to The Yankee Rebels. Their outstanding record of achievement speaks for itself. The musical program which has twice won them national honors is a stirring historical presentation and it is my pleasure to bring this program to the attention of my colleagues. Following the description below of the award winning presentation of The Yankee Rebels, I have listed the individual members whose outstanding work has created this great national champions' drum and bugle corps.

THE YANKEE REBELS

The Cannons are forever silent. The battlefields on which they stand are now National monuments. The Civil War belongs to history. Though its story has been examined and repeated in every form humanly possible, its impact has been felt once again—through an unusual medium. Through the efforts of the Hamilton Post 20 Senior Drum and Bugle Corps, the bitter conflict between the Union and the Confederacy has been recounted as it has never been done before. The epic struggle of a Nation divided against itself and once again united has been brought to the competitive field of Drum and Bugle Corps by the Yankee Rebels. They have come like ghosts from our country's past to play their "Requiem for an Era."

As the Yankee Rebels take their position on the starting line, the white, orange and gold uniforms of the corps main body strike a brilliant contrast to the uniforms of the color guard. Immediately the nature of their program becomes evident, for the twenty man color guard, garbed as Union and Confederate soldiers, are carrying banners which represent the North and the South. The Rebel banners are the familiar Confederate flags minus their stars. This absence of stars is more than compensated for by the star studded fields of blue which comprise the banners of the Yankees.

The corps is now called to attention by the man who arranged the music for its historic presentation, Drum Major, Truman Crawford. Standing stiff and silent, one hundred men are waiting to begin their thirteen minute journey into our Nation's past.

At a signal from the Drum Major, the thunder of timpani drums rolls over the field. The reflection of flood lights flash off the chrome plated horns brought to playing position. "Off the line" come one hundred pairs of feet in perfect step. And in a soft and dignified manner begins a song which rallied the entire Confederate army. There is no doubt about it, it's "Dixie". The music begins to swell in tempo and in volume. As the corps boldly marches onto the field, "Dixie" gives way to the rousing "Waitin' for the Robert E. Lee". This tune in time yields to a real Dixieland version of "Alexander's Ragtime Band." From the soft and

slow beginning to the raucous and racey climax, we have seen and heard the corps' symbolic opening medley entitled, "The South Shall Rise Again".

While marching into concert formation, the corps continued its southern theme with "Am I Blue". Now at a standstill, they play "I've Got a Right to Sing the Blues" complete with the trombone "riffs" of Jack Teagarten re-created by baritone bugle soloist, Bob Gaff. Both of these numbers are done in a style which could be surpassed only by the greats of "Bourbon Street."

Still in a southern vein, the Yankee Rebels seem to be carrying us northward as they resume their marching and maneuvering to the tune of "Row, Row, Row".

Now that they have "Rowed" us "way up the river," the magnificent "drum line" of the Yankee Rebels becomes the center of attraction. The percussion sections of American Drum and Bugle Corps have long been recognized as being unequaled by any other in the world. Here, through the art of rudimental drumming, thirty extremely talented men, under the direction of Rodney Goodhart, demonstrate the reason for such a haughty reputation. Through the successful utilization of the difficult 7/4 and 5/4 time signatures, they have established themselves as among the elite of percussion music. During this long and complicated drum solo, the entire corps has been preparing for the most spectacular display of marching, maneuvering and music ever performed by an organization of its kind.

In order to bring the flag of our country to the fore, every drum corps will organize, through drill and music, a veritable kaleidoscope of sight and sound. This homage to "Old Glory" is known as the "color presentation". And the "color presentation" of the Yankee Rebels is the most difficult, unique and stirring ever devised. It is a marching and musical "Tour de Force" of the war between the states. This ambitious effort, choreographed by Richard Maass, has been entitled, "Requiem for an Era".

"Requiem for an Era", the magic words for a show which won two consecutive American Legion National Championships and placed the Yankee Rebels in an honored position in the annals of Drum and Bugle Corps history.

With the roaring thunder of drums and the crashing of cymbals, we are transported into a violent and terrifying period of our country's history. One can feel the tension of those times as the bugles sound the opening notes of "Rally 'round the Flag". Then in rapid fire succession, we are bombarded by portions of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home", "Yankee Doodle", and again "Rally 'round the Flag", and "Johnny Comes Marching Home". As if this barrage of musical conflict weren't enough, our visual sense is simultaneously jarred by the sight of an entire one hundred man drum and bugle corps being split into two "armies". This is accomplished by the "armies" marching backward from a center point away from each other. The tension has reached its peak. The battle line has been drawn and the symbolic division of an entire Nation is complete. Now, from the right side of the field, the stirring strains of "Dixie" announce the South has risen in defiance. With "Rebel" banners flying, the southern corps forms a military column, flanked by a color guard in gray and led by a "Confederate rifleman". "'Dixie" soon gives way to "Camptown Races" as the column marches toward us. Then as "Camptown Races" blends back into "Dixie", our attention is forcefully drawn to the left side of the field. Here, formed in a "battle wedge" and led by a "Union rifleman" is the "North". Escorted by a blue clad color guard, they march toward southern territory in a slow, measured step. The "low voices" of their horns intone the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" in grim determination. As the opposing forces draw closer to each other, their respective themes swell and diminish with the tides of "battle". With emotions at a fever pitch, the two sides finally meet and the last strains of the "Battle Hymn" come to a halt. Now with the northern color guard driving back the southern, we hear a mournful duet of mellophone horns playing "Dixie" for a dying cause. Suddenly, surging from the depths of dispair, the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" heralds the reuniting of a Nation. As the American Flag is brought to the center of attention, the northern and southern banners slowly lower in salute while the corps, once again united, finishes its historic presentation in a magnificent choral like crescendo. A period of our Nation's history has run its course; and a Baltimore drum and bugle corps has paid tribute to this period through their "Requiem for an Era".

Softly, almost imperceptibly, the Yankee Rebels resume their program and prepare to make their exit. In a manner which resembles a funeral dirge, they begin to play, "When Johnny Comes Marching Home." One can almost feel the unutterable sadness of the aftermath of war in their arrangement of this song. This feeling is heightened by a trio of soprano bugles. It doesn't take much imagination to hear the weeping of widows and orphans in their wailing refrain. Suddenly, the southern flags dip in salute, the timpany drums roar, the bugles resound to a hard driving cadence and the dirge becomes an heroic march. A Nation rises from its grief and destruction to rebuild itself and meet the challenges of its future. With this feeling the corps crosses the finish line and turn to play their final fanfare. Recalling the climax of their "color presentation", they once again sound "The Battle Hymn of the Republic"'. As the "theme" of the victorious Union comes to an end, we hear a hint of "Dixie" echoing the crushed hopes of the Confederacy.

Through the tumult of applause, we are left to contemplate the spectacle we have witnessed. It becomes apparent that we have seen more than just another drum corps program. We have seen more than history re-enacted. Perhaps, in their own way, the Yankee Rebels have given us an expression of their faith in our great country. In recalling our past, they may be expressing their hope for our future. For our modern times certainly parallel the turmoil that surrounded the Civil War. We are today, as we were then, a Nation beset with strife and dissension. However, with fortitude and determination, America can, as it did then, overcome its obstacles to build a better tomorrow. But no matter what impressions these thirteen emotionally charged minutes have left, one thing is certain. We have been taken on an entertaining journey through history by those one hundred "ghosts" who call themselves the Yankee Rebels.

HAMILTON POST NO. 20, SENIOR DRUM AND BUGLE CORPS

"THE YANKEE REBEL"

Maryland State Champions, 1946 to 1971; American Legion National Champions, 1969–1970

1971 PERSONNEL

Staff: Joe Sedlak, Founder; George Bull, Director; John Moran, Bill Poorbaugh, Al Taylor, Bill Wyatt, John Connelly.

Instructors: Horns: Truman Crawford, Ricardo Gabriel. Drums: Bill McGrath, Jr., Richard Janes. M & M: Wm. McGrath, Sr., Don Brager, Frank Kammer, Color Guard.

Drum Majors: Truman Crawford, Frank Kammer.

Color Guard: Al Beran, Jim Compton, Tom Davis, Ken Geis, Jack Gunn, Joe LaLiberte, Pete Messina, Jim Shout, Joe Speranzella.

Yankee Banners: Jim Andrews, George Gonderman, Bill Deneen, Bob Holmes, Bob March, Paul Miles, Harry White.

Rebel Banners: Larry Bourne, Mike Deacon, Willis MacKenzie, Bill Otremba, Earl Till, Butch White, Joe White.

Yankee Rifle: Gil Rather.

Rebel Rifle: Frank Mroz.

Tympani: Bob Crawford, Charles Kammer, Bill Morris, John Tribby.

Bass Drums: Ken Bergling, Joe Kalista, Paul Kellogg, Cal Ruth.

Rudimental Bass: Ed Fishell, Bill Gaeckle.

Tim Toms: Dean Gardner, Rich Janes.

Cymbals: Phil Carroll, Chuck Gannon, Don Harper, John Horky.

Snares: Nick Biscott, John Hentschel, John Lawrence, Burt Linck, Bill McGrath, Bob Neidrich, Mike Picariello.

First Soprano: Frank Assaro, Don Brager, Ron Garrison, Tom Gero, Phil Gentile, Ricci Gentile, John Gunn, Grady Hess, Richard Kline, Pat Lynch, Paul Nuccio, Rich Pollock, Joe Schmidts, Bert Taylor.

Second Soprano: Charles Callender, Ricardo Garbiel, Frank McHenry, Will Peltzer.

Third Soprano: Tom Chrest, Pat Hammond, Don Poorbaugh, Randy Smith.

Flugule Horn; Kirk Bagwell, Dennis Fitzpatrick, Ken Glassman, John Wilson.

French Horn: Joe Bowman, Jack Brainard, Bob Fowler, Bob Glynn, Jack Lamontagne, Bob Rudolph, Tom Wessel, Al Walker.

First Baritone: Doug Bruce, Walter Bruce, Bob Gaff, Bob Ewing, Doug Schroeder, Bob Purifico, Bill Taylor, Bill Adamski.

Second Baritone: Bob Abramson, Charles Coffman, Jim Henn, Bill Schmidts.

Bass Horn: Charles Beard, Gil Davidson, Don Leighton, Rich Sokol.

Contra Bass: Al Krise, John Manlove, John Muzzi, Bob Robbins.

C. DOUGLAS RAMEY AND WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, speaking through a character in one of his plays, William Shakespeare once said, "do me no slander, Douglas." C. Douglas Ramey, of Louisville, Ky., has taken those words to heart.

Believing that "all the world's a stage," Douglas Ramey is now in his 10th consecutive summer of producing Shakespearian plays in unlikely places. In Central Park in Louisville, a permanent stage, "with all appliances and means to boot," is the base of a regular summer season, proving "there's nothing ill can dwell in such a temple." In the winter, demonstrating that "love sought is good, but given unsought is better," he takes his productions to small towns across Kentucky. "You need not fear, there is Douglas."

Doug Ramey is "a proper man as any one shall see in a summer's day." He directs Shakespeare so as to "suit the action to the word, the word to the action." "He hath a daily beauty in his life."

Mr. Speaker, in asking that Bryan Woolley's fine story on Douglas Ramey, from the Louisville Courier-Journal and Times Magazine of August 1, 1971, be inserted in the RECORD following these remarks, I invite you and my colleagues of the Congress to visit Louisville to see the "renowned Douglas" in action. "Stand not upon the order of your going, but go at once."

"And thereby hangs a tale."

LOUISVILLE'S BARD OF CENTRAL PARK

C. DOUGLAS RAMEY, TURNING CRISES INTO HAPPY ENDINGS, HAS MADE SHAKESPEARE A MIDSUMMER (AND MIDWINTER) NIGHT'S DREAM FOR THOUSANDS

(By Byran Woolley)

He is rather old in age, but not seeming that way to me. He loves to direct plays, and it seems that he is best friends with Shakespeare.

If a monument is ever built to the unsung heroes of the young, those words, written by 11-year-old Julia Coursey for a school assignment last winter, surely will be inscribed under a bust of C. Douglas Ramey.

To thousands of children who have grown up in Louisville's inner-city neighborhoods, and for thousands more across the commonwealth who have tramped—often through snow—to dozens of gymnasiums-turned-theaters, the gentle 63-year-old native of Johnson County, Kentucky, is, indeed, the best friend of the Bard of Avon. The children rank Ramey near the top of their own friendship lists, too. For by tireless cajolery, indefatigable optimism and sheer cussedness Ramey has made Shakespearean drama a real-life experience to people who have never set foot inside a theater and who, if they ever encountered Shakespeare before, found him only in the most depressing setting possible—the dog-eared pages of high-school English-literature textbooks.

After an up-to-the-last-minute search for funds that has become an onerous part of a pleasant tradition, Shakespeare—and Ramey—are on the boards again in Louisville's Central Park for the 10th consecutive summer. Any Wednesday, Thursday, Friday or Saturday night between now and Aug. 14, anyone who wants may stroll over to the park and see "The Merry Wives of Windsor" or "Antony and Cleopatra." The season's first production, "The Tempest," ended its part of the cycle last week. And next winter, except when ice and snow make the roads just too hazardous, Ramey and a small troupe of stalwarts will hit the road again in his $350 station wagon, pulling a trailer full of props and costumes, and turn some 50 school gymnasiums in 50 small Kentucky towns into theaters for one day each. It'll be the seventh year that summer's Shakespeare in the Park has metamorphosed into winter's Shakespeare in the Schools, a rare 20th-century manifestation of the strolling players of the Bard's own day.

"He loves young people," wrote Julia, who made her acting debut in Ramey's Central Park production of "Coriolanus" last summer.

". . . When I first came to him, I wasn't too interested in acting, but after one summer of working with him, my love for this art has grown so large I wish that that first one summer could have gone on forever."

In a neighborhood where anonymity is the rule, the youngsters call Ramey by name and engage him in long conversations around the fringes of the Central Park crowds on summer evenings. The parents of his young actors seek him out So do college professors, theater buffs, and even the poorer residents of Central Park's inner-city neighborhood, who don't often speak, except to friends. He is, in fact, a quiet, unassuming monarch in a magic kingdom that he and Shakespeare create every summer in the middle of the city—a wizard who offers a glittering escape from the humid humdrum of summer lives. He would like for the critics and members of the commonwealth's arts establishment to see his project as he does, and so be kinder to it. They have a right to their opinions about him and his actors' performances, he says, but he wishes they would look more closely at his audiences, too.

"Our project isn't theater per se," he says. "It can never be theater in the sense of an intimate experience. But it's a place where you run into a lot of different kinds of people. You have people at those performances who've never seen a play before in their lives, and they're sitting alongside people who fly to New York to see the latest thing on Broadway. We have little children who come out here by themselves, and teachers have told me these kids know more Shakespeare in the seventh grade than average kids know when they finish high school.

"Our audience is the nearest thing to Shakespeare's old Globe Theater that you'll ever find. He had his groundlings, you know, who stood and ate oranges during the play—and sometimes threw them at the actors—and we have our kids who sit there and munch apples and Cracker Jacks, and their parents, who wander in looking for their kids and sit down by them and listen, too."

As he talks about his work, he has to raise his voice to almost stage level sometimes to defeat the roar of trucks crossing the John F. Kennedy Bridge into Indiana. The noise shakes the floors of the ancient gray building at Second and Main—the site of the old, famous Galt House hotel—where Ramey occupies a single large room on the second floor, down the corridor from the shop that sells mod things, the shop that sells water beds, and the photography studio. There Ramey teaches a drama class, casts his plays, helps select the targets for his project's always urgent fund drives, and sleeps.

A jumble of paperbacks fills a wallful of shelves. Theater posters, photographs, Grecian masks, dark splotches where the paint has peeled away dot the other walls. A high screen and curtain separate the studio where Ramey teaches his class of beginning thespians once a week from the corner he reserves for his own—a battered desk piled high with papers, pop bottles, coffee cups, a Bible, a portrait of Jesus on a piece of varnished wood, a constantly jangling telephone, a rumpled bed, a neat blue suit and necktie hanging from a large piece of furniture made unidentifiable by the piles of clutter around it.

The summer evening is sticky, the high windows are open, the sun's hot last rays glare through the hoary grime of their panes. An ancient fan labors mightily. Beads of sweat glisten above Ramey's thorny gray brows, in the laugh-wrinkles around his deep-set green eyes and ample mustache, in the V of his striped shirt's open collar. With his three productions due to open in less than a month, he has no money to pay his casts. Yet his conversation to interrupted almost constantly by the telephone—actors, asking about their chances to perform. "We started rehearsals this year on $3,000 left over from last year," he says. "We're keeping our fingers crossed and praying a little that the city and the county will come through again. I'm quite sure they're going to come through. I have to live like that. I can't afford not to.

"Last year, I got the company together and told them, 'We have no money, and we may never have any money. But if we're going to do the season, we have to get started. So if you're willing, we'll go ahead and rehearse the show, and if we get the money we'll have the show. If we don't . . . well, it's over.' They took it on that basis, bless their hearts."

This summer's company went through an even more cliff-hanging wait. When the season's first production opened on July 7, the project's $3,000 surplus from last year was almost gone, and the committee for Shakespeare in Central Park had not even a firm promise of more money from anyone. The committee's chairman, John Clowes, and Mrs. David Salyers, the treasurer, stormed every financial bastion they could sight until they raised enough from "various sources," as Clowes put it, to finish the season.

"No, I don't want to say how much we got or where we got it," Clowes says. "It might get Shakespeare into politics, and we don't want that. Just say it's going to take every screaming dime we've got to finish the season, and we're still trying to raise enough to give us a start on next year. We hope to get permanent funding. Of course, we hope that every year, but . . ."

Ramey and his various companies have operated on that hand-to-mouth basis ever since Shakespeare sort of sneaked into Central Park in 1962.

"I was running a Little Theater group called the Carriage House Players at the time," Ramey recalls, "and we were asked to bring a 'cutting' of one of our plays to an arts festival in the park that spring. We happened to be doing 'Much Ado About Nothing.'

"It was misting rain—a day I wouldn't want to spend sitting on a park bench watching a play. But I suppose the costumes and what-not attracted attention, for pretty soon we had a sizable audience. About 300 people, I think. The guys came up from the croquet court. Women came in with their babies. It was so great we decided to try more. So the Parks Department put up a portable boxing ring that summer for us to use as a stage and gave us an old circus wagon to store our props in. Then the next night, it really exploded, and people were sitting all over the park. From then on, it was sort of a gathering place for the people."

The next season, Mayor William O. Cowger got the company $5,000 in city funds, the Parks Department built a permanent concrete stage for the productions, and the committee paid some of its actors for the first time. Cowger raised the city's contribution to $7,500 for 1964 and 1965, but then the administration changed, and Mayor Kenneth Schmeid announced that no money would be available for Shakespeare.

"It looked like we'd have to close down," Ramey says. "By May, we didn't have a penny. But we were a little stubborn about it. We started finding out how much Shakespeare means to those people who live around the park. These people would come up to us and say, 'What are we going to do? My boys are 12 and 14, and they've been brought up over here at Shakespeare.' The thing that got next to me was the number of people who made $5 and $2 contributions to try to keep it going. We decided to fight it out."

Ramey and Shakespeare were saved that year by an anonymous telephone call. "This guy wouldn't identify himself; he just told us that Gov. Ned Breathitt was aware of our plight, that he was interested, and that we ought to give him a call. We were skeptical, but we were willing to try anything. We called the governor, and he gave us the $7,500 out of his contingency fund."

In 1969, it was the Board of Aldermen that saved the day. Last year, the city, the county and the Kentucky Arts Commissions all contributed.

"The search for money is a constant struggle for us," Ramey says. "It saps the strength of our committee. And it seems unfair that we should have to go through this every year. This thing is used in advertising for Louisville. Just the other day, somebody called me to get a picture of Shakespeare in the Park to put in an ad that they were preparing for The Wall Street Journal. We rate alongside the Belle of Louisville sometimes even. Not to mention the social impact, which is just as important as the cultural impact. The police tell us that juvenile delinquency around Central Park drops like a lead weight every summer. The very fact that 500 or 600 people can come out and sit together on a summer evening and just hear some Shakespeare—that's good. It's good when they can find any reason to sit together."

Ramey returns to the theme often—all different kinds of people sitting together, getting hooked on Shakespeare together, minds of all ages and educations and races

somehow getting wrapped up together in the fantasies of a long-dead English genius. They come looking for their kids, and they stay. Ramey used to think it was the costumes that attracted the kids, until the company performed "Julius Caesar" in street dress one night when some rainfall would have spoiled the costumes. The kids were mesmerized even without the armor and togas. Ramey speaks of those memories lovingly, caressing them with his Burgess Meredith voice. ("His voice is deep and strong," Julia Coursey wrote, "meaning many things to me.")

"We have a lot of so-called tough guys come around during rehearsals," he says, "and we've found that most of them are interested in doing something. We put them to work backstage, and a lot of them become involved in it all. I was taken aback one time when a boy who had worked with us all season came up to me and wanted me to sign something for him. I asked him what it was. It turned out to be his report to his probation officer. Naturally, I was happy to be of help."

In Central Park, Shakespeare thus extends beyond the boundaries of "culture" to touch many lives in surprising ways. Perhaps that's why the Kentucky State AFL–CIO, a group that has often criticized the expenditure of public money on "cultural events" and facilities for them, jumped into a second potential catastrophe to save the day for the Board this summer.

"While we were still worrying about money," Clowes says, "our stage set was destroyed a few days before we were scheduled to open. It had been stored in a barn on the Collings Estate, and the barn burned down. The Park Department gave us the lumber to build another set, but we didn't have anybody to build it. I called Sam Ezelle (executive secretary-treasurer of the state AFL–CIO) and he said, 'Hell, yes, we can help.' He sent over two master carpenters and 14 apprentices, and they built us the best stage set we've ever had. It's as solid as a rock."

Many of Ramey's actors work free, too, for the experience and the fun of it. The rest—both local people who have worked with various stock companies or in summer theater, and out-of-towners attracted by a small ad in Backstage, a New York show-business paper—get paid. The highest salary is $75 a week.

"We can't bring in a name actor for that kind of money, but we get a number of very good people who are, on the average, better than we could get by doing some other type of play and paying the same money." Ramey says. "Many actors are anxious to get the opportunity to do Shakespeare. They can play a role here that they wouldn't get in 10 years in New York."

Or, as Clowes puts it, "We get a helluva lot better talent than we're entitled to for our pay scale. Only two or three cities in the country can offer free Shakespeare in the summer, and those usually have twice as much money to spend as we do. This town ought to thank Doug Ramey. He singlehandedly kept theater alive in this town for 15 years. You'd walk into his Carriage House, and there'd be 20 people in there, but it was real theater. That's way we get so damned mad at the critics sometimes. They come out to the park and review those plays as if they were judging a well-funded, top-notch production in New York. It isn't fair."

Mention the Louisville newspapers' critics to Ramey and he shrugs and smiles wanly. "I've reached the point where there's at least one consolation," he says. "I don't worry anymore the night before about what the review will say, because I have a pretty good idea. The critics just look at the stage. They don't look around them. Anything you do in a park has to be broadened to the point where it will reach the back, both visually and audially. I think by and large we do that.

"And our audience isn't an audience of Shakespearean scholars or so-called patrons of the arts who will listen because they think it's the thing to do. If our people get bored, they get up and walk out, no matter what the critics say. They didn't pay anything, so they don't have to stay and get their money's worth."

Ramey's love for drama has dealt him far harder knocks than the critics can administer, anyway, since Mrs. Madelayn Douglas, a drama teacher at a now-defunct junior college in Paintsville, Ky., talked him into acting in a play she was directing at the local high school. The theater bug bit, and after Ramey flished high school, he packed a bag and took off for Illinois and a job in a stock company. It went broke on the road. Unwilling to go home as a has-been already, he drifted to Chicago in 1929 and got a job with Western Electric.

"Then the Depression hit," he says, "and like everybody else, I was batting around for anything and everything I could get. I sold magazines on the road, I hung around home at East Point, Ky., about a year, then I went back to Chicago to work with a friend of mine in a Little Theater called the Arts Club. I eventually ended up at the Goodman Theater, the school of theater of the Art Institute, where I received most of my real training. One thing I learned there was that I didn't want to enter the New York rat race, so I came back home again, mainly just to sleep awhile. I had worked all the time I was in drama school, and I still remember how sleepy I was. I finally took a job as a drama consultant with the WPA in Paintsville and stayed with it until the program ended . . . when was it? 1939? '40?"

He made it to Louisville after that and went to work for Reynolds Metals to set up one of the first industrial training programs in the country. "I stayed with Reynolds for about five years," he says, "but I was getting the real thing about theater. I couldn't stay away from it. I started working out at the Belknap Theater at the University of Louisville—it was Louisville's Little Theater at the time—and later helped establish the Clarksville Little Theater. I stayed with that one for 10 years. It's still functioning—the largest community theater left in the area. And I mean *true* community theater. When their building went up, about 1950, you'd find the leading doctors, lawyers, mechanics, everybody in the community down there on Saturdays, laying stone."

Meanwhile, he had quit his job with Reynolds and started a theater workshop in Louisville. After staging a couple of shows before the people enrolled there, Ramey made a Little Theater out of the workshop and performed wherever he could find a stage—the Brown Hotel roof garden during the summer of 1952, the Crescent Theater "until we lost our shirts," the Kentucky Theater for a short while, an Italian restaurant on Taylor Boulevard until its owner decided to go into the nightclub business, an old carriage house on Kentucky Street, where the company picked up its best-known name, then to another site on Fifth Street. The Urban Renewal wrecking ball put the quietus to both the theater and the company three years ago, but the sign over Ramey's door still carries the Carriage House name. "I just feel comfortable with it, I guess," he says.

During all the Louisville years, the only job that would fit a traditionalist's definition of "gainful employment" was the Reynolds Metals training program.

"How do I make a living?" He chuckles at the question. "One other guy asked me that. He was from the Internal Revenue Service. He didn't believe my return. Somebody told me recently that I wasn't even up to the poverty level. I've been making my living on what I get at the park and from the school tour, and the little revenue my class brings in. Occasionally, I get an outside job narrating something or other."

He laughs again. "I guess I'd better start doing something about it pretty soon. Somebody reminded me the other day that I'd better start building up a little Social Security."

One of the casualties of his knock-about existence was his marriage to "a very charming, gracious lady who had a business of her own and always made more money than I did.

"When we decided to get a divorce," he says, "she brought me the papers to sign, and I asked, 'What about alimony?' And she replied, 'How much do you want?' "

He chuckles at the memory of it. "She didn't participate in theater, and didn't understand theater people, but she had a sense of humor. She tried very hard. Both of us would have preferred that it work out, but we got to the place where divorce was just common sense. It's surprising what happens to you after divorce sometimes. Ever since it was settled, we've had a very friendly relationship. I've though so often that it would have been nice if we could have had the same feeling and still stayed married.

"You know, I think most wives are as jealous of your work as they would be of another woman, and maybe more so. They realize there's something they can't really touch. My wife didn't understand the theater, and she didn't understand what it did to me. And, therefore, there was something there like a mystery woman, you know, only worse, because I brought it home with me every night, too."

But the regrets are few, and far outweighed by the joy of doing what he loves—a joy that has kept him younger than his 63 years. "I guess I'm getting old," he says, "but age has never been one of my problems, because I've never thought much about the passage of time."

Perhaps that comes from being best friends with an immortal. Perhaps it was that friend who taught him how to go around looking like royalty disguised as poverty. Of his kind, children always write best. Wrote Julia Coursey: "He is a one-of-a-kind man."

FIRST COMMERCIAL FLIGHT OF THE DC–10

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday McDonnell Douglas Aircraft Co. in my congressional district delivered the first DC–10 to American Airlines, closely followed by the second DC–10 to United Airlines.

I am pleased to report to this House that the first commercial flight of this magnificent new airplane took place today, with the American Airlines DC–10 leaving Los Angeles International Airport at 9:45 a.m. and arriving at O'Hare Field in Chicago at 3:25 this afternoon.

This represents inauguration of service earlier than anticipated by American Airlines because of early certification of the plane and satisfaction of crew training requirements.

Mr. George Warde, vice president and general manager of American Airlines, believes that the DC–10 will be the most dependable airplane in his company's fleet. In the 1,500 hours flown by Mc-

Donnell Douglas in the DC–10, the system reliability record was far above target.

Mr. Speaker, I join Mr. Warde in saluting the thousands of people at McDonnell Douglas in Long Beach for designing, building, and delivering a truly superior airplane.

PARKCHESTER TENANTS ASSOCIATION

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, recently the residents of Parkchester, a large privately owned housing complex in the 22d Congressional District, received another in what has become a regular series of rent increase announcements. The Parkchester Tenants Association immediately announced that it would, as it has in the past, fight this increase in the courts in its continuing effort to keep the rents in Parkchester within the reasonable reach of its current residents.

This campaign of the Parkchester Tenants Association, Mr. Speaker, should be, I believe, of interest to my colleagues. A major component in what has come to be known as the urban crisis, is the battle to preserve a comfortable, secure way of life within our great cities for the working, middle class. Make no mistake about it—unless the Federal, State, and city governments become more involved in alleviating the financial burdens of our cities' working middle class, the cities will soon be home for only the very rich and the very poor.

I will be joining the members of the Parkchester Tenants Association at its meeting on September 23 and together we will explore the possibility of Federal involvement in their efforts. In the meantime, I believe my colleagues might benefit from a review of a recent association progress report which outlines the group's activities in its battle to preserve Parkchester as a comfortable and secure place to live. The report follows:

PROGRESS REPORT

This is a progress report from the Parkchester Tenants Committee to all residents of Parkchester—and there is much to tell you about, including this announcement of an important meeting on September 23rd, 1971 at 7:30 p.m. at St. Raymonds Auditorium. (Please read this entire notice carefully for the meeting program and the facts on several very significant matters.)

Since the last notice, your committee and our attorney have continued fighting your battle against the hardship rent increase applications of the landlord.

Parkchester Management had appealed the decision in the first hardship case, claiming that the increases were inadequate and they were entitled in higher rents, retroactive to June 1970. We succeeded in defeating that appeal. The Office of Rent Control recently turned it down. This means that our victory in saving Parkchester tenants a half million dollars per year, is now final and cannot be overturned.

Now we are concentrating our efforts on the landlord's new "hardship" increase, in which Parkchester Management are asking for even more of an increase, virtually a full 15%. Our attorney, Mr. Halpern, has filed detailed briefs opposing this new rent request. In addition, he has been lobbying with the Rent Commission and other agencies for new regulations to eliminate or sharply curtail all "hardship" increases, in view of the substantial windfall in higher rents that our landlord (not all others) will derive from the new vacancy decontrol law.

Your committee is working for your benefit in other areas as well, including efforts to set up Senior Citizen centers in Parkchester, to obtain better lighting and security, etc. In order to facilitate our activities, and to provide for continuity and under the participation and leadership, we have reorganized as the Parkchester Tenants Association, Inc., a non-profit corporation under New York Law. Mr. John Coulter, who has been a quadrant chairman of our Committee since its inception was selected as Acting Chairman to replace Mr. Samuel Feuer, the original chairman, who had to withdraw for personal reasons.

At the September 23rd meeting, in addition to hearing from our attorney, Senator John Calaudro, Congressman James Scheber and other officials about the rent case, we will also complete formation of a committee to nominate officers and directors of the Parkchester tenants Association, Inc., to be elected at an October meeting. This is genuinely open organization. All Parkchester residents are eligible and are urged to participate and hold office.

All informed Parkchesterites know that it was our committee and our attorney who won our victory in the last rent case, cutting the increase by more than half, and delaying the decision by many months through effective legal proceedings, thereby saving all the tenants a tremendous amount—well over one million dollars so far. Every tenant has gained so far, and every tenant has a direct stake in the present case. It is urgent in your own self-interest, and in the interest of preserving Parkchester as a safe, suitable place to live, that you immediately join the Tenants Association by contacting your Quadrant Chairman.

SPECIAL NOTICE

About August 25th the landlord may try to start collecting higher rents, even without any formal decision in the case from the Rent Commission. This is under a recent change in the law which our attorney believes is ambiguous and should not apply to Parkchester. Our attorney is prepared to make a combined test case for those tenants who are current members of our association.

You owe it to yourself, your family and your neighbors to join this fight for our rights.

Be sure to attend the important meeting: September 23rd 1971 at 7:30 p.m., St. Raymonds Auditorium, East Tremont Avenue, Bronx.

And, if you wish to be a candidate for office in the Association, if you can suggest another person, or if you can help the committee in any other way, contact your Quadrant Chairman at once.

QUADRANT CHAIRMAN

North Quadrant: John J. Coulter, 2200 E. Tremont Avenue, Apt. 5–F, SY 2–5310.

South Quadrant: Edward F. Brooks, 1555 Unionport Road, Apt. 3–F, TA 3–8631.

East Quadrant: Michael Leff, 1640 Metropolitan Avenue, Apt. 7–D, TA 4–6378.

West Quadrant: Victor Zucker, 1505 Archer Road, Apt. 8–F, SY 2–7809, Samuel Crystal, 1491 West Avenue, Apt. 5–G, TA 8–5865.

REQUIRING FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the national debt today stands at a whopping $425 billion. This country has not witnessed an actual budget surplus since fiscal year 1960, more than a decade ago, when a mere $1 billion was set aside toward retiring the debt. On the contrary, the national debt has increased more than $100 billion since then. Just the interest on that debt presently costs the American taxpayers—you and me—$21 billion annually, the second largest—after Defense—single item in the Federal budget. This comes to more than $400 million a week, or roughly $2 per week for each person in the United States. And it is not ending there. The Office of Management and Budget estimates a Federal funds deficit of $25.5 billion for fiscal year 1971 and an additional deficit of $23.3 billion for fiscal year 1972.

Our national economy cannot withstand a continuation of the accelerating inflation that has resulted from the Federal Government continually spending more money than it receives in revenues. Should this Nation be thrust into a grave emergency, the economy would not have sufficient strength to provide the credit necessary to see us through. This Nation is fortunate in having a wealth of natural resources which have been creatively utilized by an industrious people. But great as it is, our wealth is not limitless. We must learn to use it responsibly.

I have introduced legislation to require that Congress may not make appropriations in excess of revenues. The only exception would be in the event of war or a declared national emergency when the national interest can best be served by deficit spending for brief periods. In light of what has become habitual national overspending, this is a necessary step toward returning our economy to a financially secure footing.

The bill follows:

H.R. 6090

A bill to require fiscal responsibility on the part of the Federal Government

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a legislative budget shall be prepared and submitted by the Congress not later than May 1st of each fiscal year. Such budget shall contain an estimate of expenditures and revenues for the next fiscal year. Estimated revenues for any fiscal year may not exceed the actual revenues for the preceding fiscal year by more than 20 per centum except during a fiscal year any part of which included a period of declared war or national emergency.

SEC. 2. Except during a fiscal year any part of which included a period of declared war or national emergency, the Congress shall limit appropriations in such a manner as to assure that expenditures in each fiscal year do not exceed revenues for that year. Within ninety days after the close of each

fiscal year, the President shall submit to each House of Congress a report showing actual revenues and expenditures for such year. If expenditures exceeded revenues for that fiscal year (except for a fiscal year any part of which includes such a period), the Congress shall compensate for such excess by reducing expenditures in the succeeding fiscal year in the amount of the excess.

SEC. 3. For purposes of this Act, the term "period of war or national emergency" means—

(1) any period beginning with a declaration of war and ending with the date of transmittal of a proclamation of the President that such war has terminated, and

(2) any period beginning with the date of approval of a concurrent resolution (approved by two-thirds of each House) which states in effect that the Congress concurs in a proclamation by the President of a national emergency, and ending on the date of transmittal of a proclamation of the President that such emergency is terminated.

SEC. 4. (a) Section 237 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (31 U.S.C. 1020), relating to the fiscal year, is amended by striking out "first day of July" and inserting in lieu thereof "first day of October".

(b) The amendment made by subsection (a) of this section shall take effect October 1, 1973. The fiscal year beginning July 1, 1972, shall end September 30, 1973. The President shall prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to carry out this section.

SOVIET MILITARY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT—PART VI

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to place in the RECORD four recent speeches by Dr. John S. Foster, Director of Defense Research and Engineering, and Dr. Eberhardt Rechtin, Principal Deputy Director, Defense Research and Engineering. I believe that they will be of interest to my colleagues and others concerned with U.S. defense policy. In particular, the four speeches all contain discussions of Soviet military technology. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to print in the RCEORD several charts that accompany these addresses.

The material follows:

ADDRESS BY DR. JOHN S. FOSTER, JR., DIRECTOR OF DEFENSE RESEARCH AND ENGINEERING, AT THE SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ADVISORY GROUP FOR AEROSPACE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, NATO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE SUITE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D.C., OCTOBER 6, 1970

Secretary Hansen, Dr. Benecke, members of AGARD and distinguished guests: It is a pleasure and an honor for me to have been asked to meet with you today. I am going to take this opportunity to discuss with you a particular major problem that we all face. I will suggest several possible approaches; I hope, however, that you will accept the challenge to find a satisfactory solution.

It seems to me that many of the greatest problems we face—we, the free nations of the world, and particularly those of NATO—stem from the Soviet development and deployment of major weapon systems. These actions can represent a threat to our collective security. I would like to discuss the Soviet threat, but not that conspicuous one created by the preponderance of Soviet forces—their numbers of aircraft, submarines and ballistic missiles. Instead, I propose to concentrate on what I believe is, in the longer run, an even greater challenge to our security. This challenge is posed by a technological threat from the Soviet Union—their ability to develop and have available for use major weapon systems based on advanced technology.

To maintain our security, I believe it is absolutely essential that the Free World be technologically superior to the Soviet Union. There is no room here for parity—we of the Free World must have this superiority. The reason for this flat statement is that the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact nations are wrapped in a cloak of secrecy that prevents us from learning much of what is going on in their laboratories and industrial research centers during the years prior to weapons testing. The only counter to those early years of secrecy that I can suggest is our possession of a few years' technological lead. That is the balance—technological superiority to offset their secrecy.

I am convinced that today we do have technological superiority. But I am very concerned about the enormous size and momentum of the Soviets' technical effort; its momentum is so great that much of the effort cannot be limited solely to the advancement of technology but must, of necessity, go into the development and engineering of major weapon systems.

Thus, I am concerned about two points—our changing technical position and our future efforts to provide the technology for major weapon systems. I have four charts that will help explain my reasons for concern.

The first chart compares the relative efforts expended by the United States and the Soviet Union in military research and development and civil space activities during the years 1953-1970. The scale for the ordinate is expressed in billions of dollars. In other words, "equivalent effort" is the amount of money the United States would have had to spend in order to get the results obtained by the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. in each of those years.

It is important for us to know that the Soviet effort is actually the size I have indicated—and not half of it or double it. The error is represented, to the extent we can judge it, by the width of the band surrounding the Soviet curve. Let me tell you why we believe those limits are reasonable.

We have looked at the situation that existed in the Soviet Union during 1960, 1964 and 1968. For many tactical, strategic and space systems, both military and civilian, we asked: How long ago was the United States in the same position as the Soviet Union now seems to be? In other words, we asked how much of a lead we had over them—or how far behind did we lag. As the years passed, we gauged whether we had advanced or fallen back technologically. Our assessment confirmed that the only way the Soviets could have obtained their results was by the expenditures shown. There is no way to deviate from the Soviet curve by more than about 10 percent without unbelievable changes in our estimates of lead status.

Consider the information these curves convey. Note that the Soviet Union increased its efforts at a relatively constant rate—10 to 13 percent—during this period. The efforts of the United States have not followed a constant slope but, instead, tended to vary. This is illustrated by an observation of two particular time frames.

The first begins around 1957, when the first Sputnik launch occurred. At that time, the Soviet effort was about 70 percent larger than that of the United States. Within two years after Sputnik, the United States had doubled its research and development budget. This level of effort was maintained until shortly after the President decided that the United States would succeed in carrying out the first manned lunar landing. To accomplish this mission, we had not only to increase our total technological effort but to cut back somewhat on the military portion and put major emphasis on NASA's space program. This total program, then, reached a peak in 1966 and 1967.

During the second time frame, the period from 1967 to the present, the U.S. effort leveled off and began to decline. Unfortunately, in my estimation, this is the likely trend for the next few years. It is particularly troublesome because the Soviet Union's technological program shows no indication of leveling off. This possibility, coupled with the absolute magnitude of the current Soviet effort, represents the most critical piece of information conveyed by the assessment.

The second chart separates the two technological programs during the decade 1960–1970 into military and space components. Note that since 1967 the Soviet Union has been sharply increasing its efforts in military R&D.

The third chart shows possible extensions of military R&D and predicts likely trends to 1976. I have assumed that the U.S. will maintain relatively level funding for R&D, recognizing that, because of inflation, this means something like a 5- to 8-percent decline in effort. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, may continue to increase its R&D budget for several years, as represented by the upper dashed extension. If they elect this strategy, or if they choose to increase R&D only in proportion to the increase in their gross national product, the changeover in technological leadership could occur during 1974 or 1975. Then, again, the Soviets may decide to retain their 1970 level of R&D—which is roughly 30 percent larger than the U.S. program now—through the mid-1970s, in which case technological leadership could pass to them late in the decade.

I would like you to consider this fact: If we decided to prevent this crossover of technological leadership, we would have to add approximately $5 billion to our R&D program by 1975.

The fourth chart adds to the U.S. and U.S.S.R. curves current equivalent military R&D efforts of all other NATO countries, which amount to roughly $1.25 billion. If those nations were to devote the same proportionate share of revenue from their taxpayers that the United States does, of course, the NATO contribution would increase by a factor of 3 to 4, and part of the technological superiority problem would disappear.

If we elect to do nothing to change the situation, if we elect to live with the trends and ways of doing R&D that I have shown, two consequences will surely follow:

First of all, we, collectively, will lose our technological leadership. As I have said, I believe that is totally unacceptable because of the secrecy covering Soviet activities.

Second, in the mid-1970s we will have in the field weapons inferior to those deployed by the Soviet Union. More important, we will not have developed the major new weapon systems that will be required by our forces and that the Soviets will have. And, if not developed, they can't be produced.

I believe there are several factors behind the trends I have discussed. One is that there has been no recent change on the Soviet side. In the open literature they have made it very clear to everyone that they intend to gain technological and military superiority. So the trends are caused by changes in the Free World. For the United States, this trend is partly a consequence of the difficult war in Southeast Asia. It also arises to some extent from the desire of this country's people to do more here at home—to do something about pollution, about poverty, about health, transportation, and a host of other important matters. But, to be entirely fair, I should say that there is also a growing reluctance on the part of the people of the United States to spend more and more money for

weapons to protect other nations when they do not see those nations making a comparable effort to protect themselves. There are, of course, many other reasons as well, but these come quickly to mind.

What should we do about it? Let me suggest three obvious approaches and describe the problems that I see are involved.

First, we could continue the way we are going, with a relatively constant R&D budget for the United States, a relatively constant R&D budget for NATO. The difficulty with this attribute is that within a few years the crisis I foresee will occur, and in the crisis we are likely to find ourselves with "too little, too late."

A second approach would be to go to our various parliaments and ask for significantly higher R&D funding. I could, for example, go to the Congress of the United States and ask for $2 or $3 billion more in Fiscal Year 1972, another $1 billion in 1973, and perhaps even more than that in 1974, and even so, barely track the Soviet Union's progress. The difficulty with this approach is that, even if I could secure the approval of the Executive Branch, I cannot believe that today the Congress could be persuaded to grant such increases either quickly or easily, for the reasons I've given before.

A third approach would be to have the other nations of NATO increase their military R&D budgets to three or four times their present level. That way, collectively, we would equal the corresponding effort of the Soviet Union. I suspect you might have as much trouble in persuading your superiors—and they, your parliaments—as we would in the United States.

Those seem to be three fairly straightforward approaches, but in my opinion they are either unsatisfactory or impracticable. Let us therefore consider another approach. I know that, in the United States—and probably in your nations as well, we have our noses close to our budgetary papers, trying to see how we can save money—trying to avoid starting programs, looking for work we can cancel, and seeing whether we can stretch out programs to reduce current costs. In this environment, there is little room to plan for any new major weapon system.

As a strategy leading to another approach, I challenge us all to take a fresh look at our collective R&D activities and examine them for unnecessary redundancy. Think of all the research and development going on in NATO countries: Aren't some of these programs being duplicated several times over? Isn't the United States itself conducting R&D programs that duplicate most of the other NATO nations' work?

Research and some exploratory development in the U.S. certainly are redundant when viewed from this aspect, and this is probably worthwhile. But in the R&D effort of all NATO nations other than the United States, which amounts to something like $1.25 billion each year, there may be as much as $1 billion of overlapping work. If this degree of redundancy is unnecessary—and that may well be the case, it will contribute to the growth of the anticipated technological threat in the coming years. Removing that redundancy, of course, would take care of only a fraction of what we need to match the predicted technological challenge of the Soviets—we are looking for several times that amount of money. But that's one place we can start.

My other suggestion is that we look up from the fine print in the papers we are examining and decide what programs must be started in order to maintain the balance of power. There are ways to do this, and the programs could be completed with technology that is in hand. They would, however, take a certain boldness, a conviction that we are going to do something about this untenable situation. I am not going to list those programs for you, but I will ask some leading questions.

How long has AGARD studied air defense in Europe? Have we a good air defense program now? Do you think we have the right developments to provide for NATO's air defense?

How long have we looked at the problem of passive defense—the defense of aircraft on fields? Is that too tough a technological problem? Have we solved it? Is the defense of those aircraft in hand?

How about an air-to-air fighter? Have we solved that problem technologically—not only the airframe but the whole weapon system and the black boxes that will keep the airplane flying when it faces a combination of SAMs and antiaircraft artillery? Surely we can deal with either of those by itself, but have we sold the problem of their combined threat, not only in a technical sense but with existing hardware?

What have we done about survivable command control and communications? Have we got such a system—or is the right program going forward toward that goal?

What are we doing about the individual soldier, the man who has to stay alive on the battlefield, the man who must fight? Have we a program for him?

Those of us who knew Theodor von Karman recognized his great love of science and technology, and saw his incessant efforts to encourage young men to enter that field of work. But Professor von Karman also gave particular attention to ensuring that the products of research and technology were used for the security of the Free World. It was here that he probably made his major and lasting contributions.

It seems to me that we are once more in the kind of situation that Professor von Karman faced in the 1940s and '50s. I believe we are challenged to exert greater efforts toward solving crucial military problems so that we can preserve the balance of power in the face of the trends about which I am so concerned. It is time that we followed von Karman's lead and did what he found absolutely essential in his lifetime. We must make sure that we use our scientific and technical abilities to change the course of threatening international trends in R&D, restore our technological eminence, and provide the inventory of systems that we need to ensure the security of the Free World.

Thank you.

ADDRESS BY DR. JOHN S. FOSTER, JR., DIRECTOR OF DEFENSE RESEARCH AND ENGINEERING, AT THE NAVY LEAGUE, MIAMI, FLA., DECEMBER 5, 1970

I appreciate the opportunity to meet with you tonight and talk about our national security. I share your interest in the United States Navy, the Marines and the Coast Guard and your desire to help ensure an adequate defense for our country.

It is never easy, of course, to maintain the proper defenses. The problems are complex and often unclear, and the solutions are difficult. I'd like to talk tonight about some of those problems and solutions—specifically, about some dangers of the possible future erosion of our national military margin of safety and the repsonses we must make now to the challenges that we can foresee.

Our margin of security might be described as the net advantage that our defenses—our weapons, our people and our policies—can give us over the potential offenses of our strongest, most active potential adversary. We try constantly to measure the assets of both sides in order to assess the adequacy of our own forces.

The measurement of our forces is relatively easy, because the facts are clear. We and the outside world know a great deal about the American armed forces, the weapons under development, and the policies governing their use. However, the other essential element in our national security assessment is much less clear, because our major rivals deliberately obscure our view of their military capabilities and their intentions. This imperfect knowledge adds to the risks we must hedge against if we are to protect ourselves and our interests. These risks can be discussed most usefully in terms of the Soviet Union and its potential for taking various worldwide actions.

As we study the Soviet Union, we find both a rather visible side and a virtually invisible side. The rather visible one is their civil side, the nonmilitary side. Even in the days of Stalin, when objective Western eyes were virtually barred from the Soviet Union, we felt we could understand that side. We knew that the civil society was long suffering and put-upon. We could sympathize with the Soviet citizen who was getting so little benefit from a country potentially so rich in resources, both human and natural.

In large measure, that aspect of the Soviet Union still exists today. The civil side still gets comparatively little in houses, roads, consumer goods and the niceties of life, yet still surprisingly little for the second richest nation in the world's history.

But there is another side of the Soviet Union, the one that is deliberately obscured. This is the side in which there are few shortages, where the machinery works well, where men and women of great skill are rewarded, and where the products of a great, coordinated national effort are truly remarkable. This is the military establishment of the Soviet Union. Its efficiency and accomplishments are, in disturbingly large measure, unknown to the citizens of the rest of the world.

In the military side of their society, the Soviet leaders try hard to ensure that we learn very little about their affairs. However, through great effort on our part—and from occasional boasting on theirs—we do pick up some key indicators. I am sure, for instance, that you have all observed the efficiency with which the Soviets work when they turn to prestigious space projects. True, we won the first lap of the big race by landing our men on the moon and bringing them safely back home—and we did it openly; but the Soviet's remotely controlled go-cart that has been crawling around on the moon's surface tells us a lot about their defense-related technical competence. It is an impressive demonstration.

There are other clear indicators of great Soviet competence in defense-related areas. They fire ICBMs down their Pacific test range with regularity, and we can observe and judge the quality of these weapons. We observe new, modern submarines and surface combatants as they patrol the Mediterranean or off the coast of Florida. We see some of their tactical weapons in combat use in Southeast Asia and in the Middle East.

What we see, during these glimpses of the nearly invisible military side of Soviet society, does not match at all the image of Soviet civil life. In fact, it is difficult for the casual visitor to believe that a nation that sometimes can't keep the plumbing in its capital city working supports a defense technology nearly as good as ours. It may seem curious to some people that the Soviets are having the Fiat automobile company build a plant to produce automobiles for civil uses—and, at the same time, place a Soviet-designed vehicle on the moon.

On closer examination, the reason for the quality in the space and defense sectors is not surprising. The handful of men in the Kremlin who decide how to use Soviet resources allocate a large share of their skilled people, first-class facilities and top priorities to military and space programs.

Their results seem roughly proportional to their application of skills and effort. On the

Soviet defense side, the results are impressive in numbers and quality. They bear little resemblance to the results we see more easily in the civil sector.

The effects of their determination to preferentially place resources on the defense side are apparent in other ways. During the past two decades, the Soviet Union has made great strides in its growth as a world military power. My observation is that what they are doing is entirely consistent with their stated goal of supplanting the United States as the world leader.

Though much of what they are doing is veiled in secrecy, what we are doing is evident. We have leveled off our defense efforts, and since 1968 have dropped back toward a lower level; but today we still maintain a reasonable margin of military security. Our concern, however, lies with the future—the still sharply upward trends in the Soviet defense side. This concern increases the farther ahead we look, because the present disparity in the level of U.S. and U.S.S.R. defense-related research and development may well be translated into a disparity in the quality and number of types of weapons in the next 5 to 10 years.

Let us look briefly at trends in research and development.

Although the United States is technologically ahead of the Soviet Union today—by perhaps 2 to 3 years in most major areas—the present relative efforts in military R&D force us to several serious conclusions:

The Soviets now seem to be gaining on the United States technologically at a rate of about 1 year in every 3 or 4.

If present trends persist, the Soviet Union could assume technological superiority in military research and development in the latter half of this decade.

The loss of U.S. technological superiority would markedly reduce our understanding of the intelligence we do collect, and consequently would seriously reduce the confidence we would have in making decisions about future weapon systems.

The present relative trends in quality—research and development—coupled with the comparable trends in quantity—deployment of numbers of improved weapons—will jeopardize the U.S. margin of security by the late '70s or early '80s.

Recovery from any loss of U.S. technological leadership would not be feasible without enormous expenditures over many years—and without a grave risk of meanwhile losing our national margin of safety.

Those are very somber conclusions that merit justification and explanation. The evidence that supports them comes from the analysis of two distinct types of Soviet and U.S. data in the defense sectors—input and output.

First, the inputs—people, facilities and funding for research and development.

We have looked at the numbers of full-time equivalently qualified scientists and engineers who have devoted their talents to research and development. In 1962, the United States had approximately 480,060 people in this category, and the Soviet Union had about 325,000. During the next 8 years, however, the Soviet Union increased this resource at a much greater rate than the United States. We estimate that the Soviets achieved parity with us in about 1968. Since they devote far fewer resources to consumer product development than we, it is probable that in certain important sectors, such as the heavy industry and the military product industry, the Soviets achieved parity even earlier.

Information from colleges and universities indicate the same trend. In 1962, the U.S. graduated about 85,000 engineers and natural scientists (mathematicians, physicists, chemists and so forth, and the Soviet Union graduated about 144,000 in the same categories. In 1970 these figures had changed to 142,000 for the U.S. and 247,000 for the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union is graduating roughly five engineers for every one of ours, but the U.S. is graduating two natural scientists for every one graduated in the Soviet Union. The fact remains, however, that they have roughly a two-to-one edge in this combined total. This difference in their favor is growing, and the quality of training in the Soviet Union is quite comparable to ours.

Another input to defense R&D is facilities. The Soviets have made a concerted effort to improve the quality and quantity of their weapon systems. In doing so, they have emerged from the status of a rather backward industrial nation to that of a strong second in defense technology. To this end, they have expanded and improved defense R&D facilities in many key areas. Many of our facilities are still the best in the world. But, as time passes, we note that there are steadily increasing numbers of areas in which their facilities are comparable to, or better than, ours.

The fiscal input to Soviet military R&D has been increasing at a rate of 10 to 13 percent in each of the last 20 years, while ours has been erratic. Indeed, for the past several years, our efforts in military R&D have been declining. As a result, I believe the Soviet Union is now devoting 40 to 50 percent more in equivalent effort to military R&D than the U.S. This amounts to about $3 billion more for this year alone.

These input data give us cause for very serious concern. There is no longer a question of whether or not the Soviets will decide to achieve world leadership in science and technology and military affairs; they are already making the necessary investments.

Now, let me turn to their output.

We've analyzed the technological progress of the Soviet Union in several key areas by examining the technical status of hundreds of particular kinds of research efforts (for example, research in fuels, engines, electronics and materials) as they have related to improvements in weapon systems. We have compared a U.S. weapon system that does a certain kind of job with a similar Soviet system over the period of 1960 through 1968 to determine which was better and how many years it would take the nation with the second-rated system to produce one comparable to the other's. We find that during this period the United States maintained an overall technological lead of perhaps 2 to 3 years.

By 1968, however, the Soviets achieved parity with the United States in the relative effort devoted to military research and development.

Now, what could have transpired in the Soviet Union since 1968 is a matter of particular concern to me.

As you know, the United States has begun the development of several important new weapon systems in the last 2 or 3 years. I'm referring to such weapons as the Undersea Long-Range Missile System (ULMS), which could be the follow-on for Polaris if required. We have also started the F-14 and F-15 air superiority fighters, the S-3A antisubmarine aircraft, the B-1 strategic bomber, the Safeguard Perimeter Acquisition Radar (PAR), and other developments. These systems have been announced. The U.S. public, our allies, and our potential enemies know of their nature and approximate schedules. Since these systems are in relatively preliminary stages of development, the work in progress goes on inside laboratories and engineering facilities; they are not out in the open for all to see.

The important thing to realize and remember is that we have no comparable information flow from the Soviet Union. We might expect them to have perhaps a new surface-to-air missile system, a new air-to-air missile system, improved aircraft, ships, submarines and strategic missiles from their secret development work, but as yet we have no direct evidence that they have.

Thus, while we know that the Soviet R&D effort is now substantially greater than ours, it will be several years before we may learn of its products. But we are likely to be slower in understanding the Soviet products as they are unveiled. For, you see, our R&D work has an importance far beyond that of the specific military systems it produces—it also enables us to understand better any shadowy or partial evidence we find of what the Soviets are doing behind their curtain of secrecy. Our understanding and confidence in our conclusions are much higher when we are technologically ahead.

We know, then, that the input into Soviet defense R&D is massive and growing and that the output—the level of technology in the new Soviet weapons we know of—is comparable to ours, and is now improving faster than ours. If these trends continue, the Soviet Union will become the military technological leader in the latter part of this decade.

What would be the consequences of such a reversal? Of course, if the Soviet Union ceased to challenge U.S. interests through some influence not now predictable, it could be no worry at all. If the Soviets became peaceful competitors, then the quality and quantity of weapons on the two sides would become academic considerations—as they are with our many neighbors and friends throughout the world. We could then substantially reduce our military development efforts and turn more and more attention to nonmilitary areas.

But, if the Soviet Union does not change, if it continues to export modern weapons to be used by proxy against us and against our friends and allies, if the Soviet leaders continue to create crises and then brandish their weapons in order to make us give way, if the Soviets continue to build toward offensive and defensive forces that could destroy much of our deterrent force—then future inferiority on our side would count a great deal. The U.S. margin of security, which we have enjoyed in relation to all our potential enemies for several decades, would disappear.

But we cannot predict the future. Much as it is to be desired, there is no evidence that the Soviets will change their course. What, then, should we do?

We could, of course, simply wait to see whether Soviet trends reverse. This would invite the danger that the Soviets will spring some sort of military "sputnik" surprise. The actual sputnik was, of course, harmless; it was not a weapon, but it did alert us to Soviet progress in rocketry and space, and we could and did make the appropriate responses. But a military sputnik, a military surprise, could do severe damage to the present balance of power. Let's not wait for that kind of stimulus—it's too dangerous.

Instead, we must continue to make better use of the resources we do allocate to defense R&D, and we must initiate certain prudent hedges against foreseeable developments in the Soviet Union.

One resource for improvements is that of management. Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard has said many times that the approach to effective research and development is to make sure we clearly understand what we are trying to do, develop an agreed-upon plan to get where we want to go, choose a team of people who are qualified to do the job, and motivate them to get the job done—all of this must be done *before* we go to the Congress to request the money. If we do a sound job all along the line, then I believe the Congress will appropriate the funds.

In the decades following World War II, we developed a number of systems intended to provide for good management. Some of these

were good. But we proliferated directives and imposed an unnecessarily great work load on ourselves and our contractors—all with the best of intentions. The result has been the production of thousands of tons of paper. As a consequence, many of the real problems and the real issues in weapons development and production have been obscured.

We are changing that. We now have a series of concise planning documents and management reviews that involve personal participation by the Secretary of Defense, the military secretaries and other senior officials.

The Military Departments are making major efforts to select the very best people to manage weapons development. Program managers are being given the opportunity to use their abilities and the power to make decision that count.

There are other areas on which we are concentrating to make improvements. I do not believe, however, that our present programs and level of effort, even with the most we can realize in improved management, can match the threat. I do believe that in the long run, that is to say, in the next 5 to 10 years, perhaps the most important step we must take is that of stimulating our best people to think about major new concepts to provide for our national security. I have called these "initiatives." Such an initiative is a development program that could be achieved with existing or near-term technology. It would offer a giant step rather than an evolution. It would leapfrog the whole way of approaching a problem.

In fact, we now know of a large number of initiatives. In the next few days, weeks and months, we will select those that seem so necessary that we must include them in our future programs in spite of our very stringent fiscal constraints.

These initiatives, carefully chosen, well planned, with motivated teams, can receive the support of our Congress and, with this support, provide for our future security.

In addition, however, we must have the support of the American people. The only way this can be achieved is to inform them of the seriousness of the situation we face, the urgency of the need, and the necessity to renew our efforts.

I am most grateful for the opportunity to gain your understanding this evening. Thank you.

The Immediate Future of Defense Research, Development, Test and Evaluation (R.D.T. & E.)

(By E. Rechtin, at the University of Southern California (Undated—early 1971))

I spent my first twenty professional years here in Southern California before going to Washington to work in the Department of Defense. My three years there have been turbulent. I have worked under three Secretaries of Defense in two Administrations, watched a war wind up and wind down, and watched the decision making process at fairly close quarters. During this period great social and political pressures, some rational and some irrational, have acted on Defense, NASA, the defense communtiy, the universities and our country as a whole.

All in all, I have been much impressed with the stability and strength of our forms of society and government. The government continues to attract good, dedicated professionals to wrestle with tough problems. The government is responsive to valid criticism and seems to have been able to handle both the valid and baseless criticism without rancor—both signs of a good and stable government.

This may sound like a peculiar way to introduce a prediction on the future of Defense RDT&E, but actually it is essential. If our government were not stable and if it reacted violently to short term forces, then trying to predict Defense RDT&E trends would be hopeless. Defense RDT&E is inherently a long-term activity. It takes years for the work to be accomplished and still longer for the results to go into production and later effect the defense posture of the country.

In brief, prediction is probably possible.

There are three long-term forces I would like to discuss:

(1) The winding down of the Vietnam war.

(2) The conversion of Defense RDT&E resources to work on social problems.

(3) The military-related RDT&E of the Soviet Union.

The winding down of the Vietnam war

The Vietnam war has been and continues to be both a social and a financial issue.

The social issue—questions of commitments, morals, and ethics—has acted to decrease the stature of the Defense work and the public's willingness to support it. Similar effects occurred after the Korean war. But I believe the Vietnam social issue effects will be shorter than the Korean ones. The American public is already seeing events elsewhere in the world which are reminders of the need for effective military forces when the going gets a little rough. Of course, I am patently biased—I work in the Department of Defense—but I think that a great deal of the acrimonious criticism has been misinformed if not unjustified. If I'm right, such criticism won't stand the test of time. In any case, I think the Vietnam social issues will decrease considerably within the next year or so.

The financial issue associated with the winding down of the Vietnam war is a quite different phenomenon. It is the unemotional, reasonable expectation of the American public that the Defense budget should go down when the war goes down. After all, the Defense budget went up when the war went up! Strictly speaking, this expectation should not be applied to the RDT&E portion of the budget. We all know that, generally speaking, you fight a war with what you have at the beginning of it, not what you can develop during it. This means that RDT&E should really be done ahead of time. If it's really well done it may act as a sufficient deterrent that you don't have a war at all. However, this logic is rather a fine distinction, and most people would expect Defense RDT&E to go down along with the rest of Defense. Indeed, this has been the case, with the major cuts coming as a result of public pressure, not as a result of reduced needs in RDT&E as we see them.

The very immediate future therefore is for continued downward expenditures for at least 12 to 18 months. This future is a direct consequence of the Fiscal 1969 thru Fiscal 1971 budgets, which are already law. The Fiscal 1972 budget can't affect expenditures for at least a year. I know what these statements mean to my colleagues here in Southern California. They mean no immediate relief and still more lay-offs of Defense workers at all levels for 12 to 18 months.

Since 1968, Defense RDT&E has been decreasing at about 1% per year in contemporary dollars or about 5% per year in effective effort due to the inflation "bite". The effects are amplified in the Aerospace industry by the simultaneous decrease in NASA's budget. Putting it another way, the DoD/NASA technological base is being decreased by on the order of tens of thousands of professionals per year or on the order of one major Aerospace company per year.

The conversion of defense RDT&E resources to work on social problems

One proposal for utilizing the people no longer employed in Defense RDT&E has been to use them to help solve social problems. This may be partially possible, but my own opinion is that the conversion time constant is more than ten years. I base this on the facts that many of the problems have yet to be defined well enough to permit large scale, substantive work; it is not yet clear how we should organize to solve some of these problems, once defined; and it is not readily apparent that technology, per se, is the driving force toward the solution. From what I have seen, few of the social problems require highly advanced technology or the development of new physical principles; generally speaking, the technology is in hand. Many of the problems require good engineering, but not large amounts of it.

These statements, I believe, apply to the problems associated with engineering freeways, clearing up airport access, producing low cost housing, planning urban renewal, infusing computer technology into police work, automating medical examinations and cleaning up our rivers and air. All of these problems involve major social, political, zoning, regulation, and even ethical questions which take precedence over the technical. We are doing what we are doing now because we wanted to, collectively or in groups. To change, we will have to agree on something else we want to do—or don't want to do—and that takes organization, new laws and new willingness to spend major sums in old areas.

This is not to say that we don't have social problems, or that people shouldn't work on them, only that I believe that affective conversion of Defense RDT&E skills for their solution is neither a large nor immediate possibility.

The military RDT&E of the Soviet Union

I have left the question of Soviet military RDT&E until last for several reasons.

(1) Without a clear and present indication of Soviet *changes* it is not clear that we need change our present military RDT&E trends.

(2) In the area of RDT&E our information is limited by Soviet secrecy, leading to controversy in any comparison of US and USSR efforts.

On the other hand, the Soviet RDT&E effort is clearly a factor to which we have reacted in the past and, given similar circumstances, would probably react in the future.

It is worthwhile to give a short background of the relative US and Soviet RDT&E effort. Figure 1 is a plot of US and USSR defense and space budgets, in dollars and rubles respectively, from 1950 through 1970. In the early 1950s, the US was technologically well ahead and was investing considerably more than the Soviet Union in RDT&E. Following the Korean war, US RDT&E dropped steadily but the Soviets began a sustained buildup of about 10% per year from a quite low level. In about 1956 or 1957, the Soviet budget and effort exceeded that of the US. At about the time of Sputnik, the Soviet annual investment was about 40% greater than that of the U.S. However, within about 18 months we were investing comparably to the Soviets. Through most of the 1960s we continued to invest about the same as they in defense RDT&E and somewhat more in space RDT&E. The trends changed again in about 1968.

But before looking at the post-1968 period, I should comment on the accuracy of my statement and of Figure 1.

First, the Soviet RDT&E effort is very secret compared to ours—data is scarce. In addition, the US and Soviet budgets are constructed differently. And then, the Soviet budgets are in rubles, not dollars, with the conversion factor from rubles to dollars depending on what one wants to buy. For example, manpower for a field army is very inexpensive for the Soviets but electronic equipment is very costly for them compared to the United States. Hence, trying to compare the Soviet and American budgets, by putting them on the same chart as I have on Figure 1, was, and to some extent still is, a controversial issue among the economists.

The argument is not over the general shape of the Soviet budget curve, but over the scale factor; i.e., the uncertainty of the rubles to dollars conversion factor for defense and space work.

However, analysts recently were able to reduce the uncertainty considerably. The refinement took several steps. The first step was to look at the more "open" space program of the Soviet Union and compare its budgets and results with US budgets and results. The analysts could reasonably calculate what it would cost the United States to do what the Russians had done in space and consequently could get a reasonably good average conversion factor from rubles to dollars for this kind of aerospace work. The next step was to take a look at whether the US or the Soviet Union was pulling ahead technologically in military RDT&E. We compared ICBMs, ABMs, fighter aircraft, submarines, tanks, and a variety of other weapons systems to see whether we were better off in 1968 than we were in 1960. We also made a similar technology comparison on the space side. We then reasoned that if one country or the other was conspicuously pulling ahead it was probably investing more. Of course, this isn't the only way to pull ahead in any single project, but by the time that one looks at dozens of hundreds of projects on both sides, it is probably a central factor. The results of such comparisons were quite interesting.

As a general rule, we neither gained nor lost very much of our several-year military technological lead over the Soviets from 1960 to 1968. On the other hand, we clearly picked up lead on the Soviets in the space business. This tended to agree with the estimate that the Soviet and American military budgets during this period were approximately even but that the US space budget was somewhat more than the Soviets.

Thus we now think that we have reduced our uncertainties in the Soviet military RDT&E budget, as expressed in equivalent dollar effort, to within 10% or so.

Let me now return to the post-1968 period for defense RDT&E. Figure 1 shows that the Soviet defense RDT&E effort since 1968 has been going up at 10% to 15% per year whereas ours has been declining slightly. (The uncertainty in the *rate* of increase of the effective Soviet effort compared to ours is largely due to our present uncertainty in how inflation affects the two countries.) This increasing difference in efforts should also show up in differences in employed manpower, differences in facilities being used, and differences in the numbers of weapons systems brought to the prototype stage. These effects are now under study, but as I have noted, they take time to become clear and apparent.

The present Soviet effort thus appears to be about $10B a year compared to the U.S. effort of about $7B a year. To give you a feeling for what the difference of $3B a year means in defense R&D, $3B/yr. in the U.S. budget pays for all the development costs of the Minutemen, Poseidons, Polarises, Safeguards, B–1 bombers, F–14 and F–15 aircraft, main battle tanks, Cheyenne helicopters, C5As, F–111s, and several dozen more major systems. (The remaining part of our budget includes basic and exploratory development, sub-system technological development, support of the test ranges, etc.) In other words, for their difference in effort, the Soviets could produce 50% to 100% more different kinds of major weapons system prototype than the United States in the up-coming years, or sharply up-grade the quality of their systems relative to ours.

This situation is not unlike the one that led to the Sputniks, the ICBM prototypes, and a whole series of Soviet first in space, except that now the difference will be in military systems. The effects on the relative position of the U.S. and Soviet Union technologically in military systems aren't too hard to predict if present trends continue:

(1) We should see some Sputnik-like surprises in national security systems between 1974 and 1976. By "Sputnik-like surprises" I mean the appearance of Soviet weapons system prototypes which clearly make major U.S. systems technologically obsolete, should the Soviets elect to produce them.

(2) Either Fiscal 1972 and Fiscal 1973 will be budget turnaround years or Fiscal 1974 and Fiscal 1975 are likely to be military RDT&E "crash budget" year.

The assertion that if the trends continue there will be a Sputnik-like military prototype surprise, or even several of them, is the easiest and safest part of my prediction. It has happened before in military technology. The Soviet ICBMs in the late 1950s obsoleted our whole forward based aircraft and missile complexes. The Soviet space program showed that any country, in effect, had "open skies" surveillance of the other. For the 1970s, the "Sputniks" aren't yet known. However, as a starter, it is not unreasonable to expect Soviet RDT&E efforts to be increasingly aimed at the naval area. They have a great deal to gain there: our navy is getting old compared to the technology available, and Soviet presence on the open seas apparently is becoming an increasing element in their foreign policy.

The harder part of the prediction is when the U.S. military RDT&E effort will turn around and start to climb in response to the Soviet change. Some people would say that we won't change until the Soviet weapons systems "Sputniks" show up. If we wait that long, our response will certainly have to be dramatic, on the order of a doubling of our present $7B per year budget. My own prediction is that, while we won't match the Soviet effort for a few years, we will increasingly recognize the problem and take some moves in response.

Assuming this prediction is true, what are some other consequences? The country is going to need more of its best minds within the next few years and it will want more of its facilities and laboratories to be hard at work. This means that our present actions should be to conserve our technological base, not change it irrevocably.

It means that we must keep our universities involved in Defense research; the universities that leave Defense research at this time will not be able to catch up later on.

Within Defense, we must make our available funds and resources work harder. We must improve our management. We are going to have to make harder choices in projects, keeping only those absolutely essential to blunt the Soviet challenges. We are going to need better intelligence analyses and better weapons systems vulnerability studies. If we later have to recover to our earlier technological position, we may have to do it relatively quickly. In this case we should at least work out some plans so that the recovery can be reasonably efficient.

As the situation develops, I would expect some of the downward psychological pressures on defense RDT&E to relax somewhat. As the Soviet results show up, the anti-Defense psychology and its proponents in the United States will probably fade as the country again has to react to events outside its control. I see RDT&E as insurance and as a deterrent to war. But to those people that see RDT&E as contributing to an arms race, the driving force is clearly on the Soviet side.

CONCLUSION

As I see the immediate future of Defense RDT&E we are presently on the downward position of a cycle, not on a permanent downward trend or even going to a low plateau. We are likely to have a major upward swing, driven by the Soviet efforts, in the 1972-1976 period.

FOOTNOTE

The FY 1972 Defense RDT&E request is for $7.9B, about a 10% increase over the FY 1971 appropriations, reflecting in part the increasing concern of the Executive Branch over the Soviet RDT&E investment rate and results.

R.D.T. & E. IN THE 1970's

(Talk by Dr. Eberhardt Rechtin, Principal Deputy Director, Defense Research and Engineering, OSD to AIR WAR COLLEGE, Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala., May 4, 1971)

Gentlemen, I am a member of one of the most fascinating parts of Defense, the part that tries to outguess the future. The tools of my trade are the trends and long term forces which help determine the future. As with any tools, the first step is to understand what they can do. The second step is to try to use them effectively to produce something worthwhile—in this case, future national security. One of the difficulties of this particular set of tools, however, is that some of them are not only not under our control, they are under the control of our adversaries. I'd like to talk about four long term forces and what they indicate for the future of RDT&E in the 1970's.

Research and development is the first long term force I'd like to address. Given funding, people, facilities and ideas, R&D produces results, the most obvious of which are new weapons prototypes. Some of these prototypes don't even have to be produced in order to affect national security—their mere existence is handwriting on the wall.

The early Sputniks, ICMB's, jets, and nuclear submarines changed the world long before they existed in production quantities. You may remember that the Cuban Crisis occurred when ICBM's numbered in the tens instead of the thousands. Prototypes can also turn off production elsewhere—either ours or theirs—because what was being produced is clearly obsoleted once the new prototype enters the inventory. A point I want to make which will be important later in this talk is that, as of now, more R&D produces more results. Neither we nor the Soviet Union is limited by lack of ideas, people, or facilities.

The second long term force is the winding down of the Vietnam War. The Vietnam War was and still is both a social and a financial issue.

The social issue—questions of commitments, morals, and ethics—has acted to decrease the stature of the Defense work and the public's willingness to support it. Similar effects occurred after the Korean War. But I believe the Vietnam social issue effects will be shorter than the Korean ones. Of course, I am patently biased—I work in the Department of Defense—but I think that a great deal of the acrimonious criticism won't stand the test of time. In any case, I think the Vietnam social issue will decrease considerably even as the war winds down.

The financial issue associated with the winding down of the Vietnam War is a quite different matter. It is the unemotional, reasonable expectation of the American public that the Defense budget should go down when the war goes down. After all, the Defense budget went up when the war went up! Strictly speaking, this expectation should not be applied to the R&D portion of the budget. We all know that, generally speaking, a war is fought with the technologies available at the beginning of it, not with sciences discovered during the course of it. The reason, again, is the long times needed to build a technological base compared to the shorter times to reach high production rates and still shorter times to deploy and use the production. This means that military R&D must largely be done ahead of time. Except for all-out conflicts, wars tend to depress R&D investment due to pressures to use limited funds for more immediate purposes. Thus, R&D might be

expected to go up as the Defense budget goes down. However, these internal reallocations of a Defense budget require some understanding of fine details and most people would expect Defense R&D to go down along with the rest of Defense. Indeed, this has been the case, with the major cuts coming as a result of public pressure, not as a result of reduced R&D needs as we see them.

The immediate future, therefore, is for continued downward expenditures for at least 12 to 18 months. This future is a direct consequence of the Fiscal 1969 thru Fiscal 1971 budgets, which are already law. The Fiscal 1972 budget can't affect expenditures for at least a year. I know what these statements mean to my colleagues in the aerospace industry and the engineering schools. They mean no immediate relief and still more layoffs of Defense workers at all levels for 12 to 18 months. They mean limited opportunities for graduating engineers from B.S. through PhD.

Since 1968, Defense R&D has been decreasing at about 1% per year in contemporary dollars or about 5% per year in effective effort due to the inflation "bite". The effects are amplified in the aerospace industry by the simultaneous, and far larger, decrease in NASA's budget of 40% in three years. Putting it another way, the DoD/NASA technological base is being decreased by on the order of tens of thousands of professionals per year or on the order of one major aerospace company per year. The cumulative effect as of March 1971 was about 50,000 engineers and scientists laid off, or the equivalent of one year's graduates of all of our universities.

The third long term force is the military-related R&D of the Soviet Union.

Soviet R&D effort is clearly a factor to which we have reacted in the past and, given similar circumstances, would probably react in the future.

I would like to give a short background of the relative US and Soviet R&D effort. FIG. 1 is a plot of US and USSR defense and space budgets, in dollars and rubles respectively, from 1950 through 1970. In the early 1950s, the US was technologically well ahead and was investing considerably more than the Soviet Union in R&D. Following the Korean War, US R&D dropped steadily but the Soviets began a sustained buildup of about 10% per year from a quite low level. In about 1956 or 1957, the Soviet budget and effort approximated that of the US. However, within about 18 months after Sputnik we were increasing our R&D comparably to the Soviets. Through most of the 1960s we continued to invest about the same as they in defense and somewhat more in space.

As a general rule, we neither gained nor lost very much of our several-year military technological lead over the Soviets from 1960 to 1968. On the other hand, we clearly picked up lead on the Soviets in the space business. This appears to agree with the relative Soviet and American military and space budgets during this period.

Let me now address the post-1968 period. Figure 1 shows that the growth in Soviet R&D is again going into defense. Since 1968 Defense R&D has been going up at 10% to 15% per year. Ours has been declining slightly. The divergence in space R&D is still greater.

The present Soviet Defense R&D effort thus appears to be about $10B a year compared to the US effort of about $7B a year. To give you a feeling for what the difference of $3B a year can mean in Defense R&D, $3B/yr in the US budget pays for all the development costs of the Minutemen, Poseidons, Polarises, Safeguards, B-1 bombers, F-14 and F-15 aircraft, main battle tanks, Cheyenne helicopters, C5As, F111s, and several dozen more major systems. (The remaining part of our budget includes basic and exploratory development, sub-system technological development, support of the test ranges, etc.) In other words, for their difference in effort, the Soviets could generate 50% to 100% more prototypes of major weapons systems than the United States in the up-coming years, or sharply upgrade the quality of their systems relative to ours, or both.

The effects on the relative position of the US and Soviet Union technologically in military systems aren't too hard to predict if present trends continue.

(1) We should see some Sputnik-like surprises in national security systems between 1974 and 1976. By "Sputnik-like surprises" I mean the appearance of Soviet weapons systems prototypes which clearly make major US systems technologically obsolete, should the Soviets elect to produce them.

(2) For the US to respond, either Fiscal 1972 and 1973 will be budget turn-around years or Fiscal 1974 and 1975 are likely to be military RDT&E "crash budget" years.

The "Sputnik" assertion is the easiest part of the prediction. It has happened before in military technology. The Soviet ICBMs in the late 1950s obsoleted our whole forward based aircraft and missile complexes. The Soviet space program showed the world that any country, in effect, could have "open skies" surveillance of the other. The "Sputniks" of the next decade aren't yet known. However, as a starter, it is not unreasonable to expect Soviet R&D efforts to be increasingly directed toward the naval area. They have a great deal to gain there: our navy is getting old compared to the technology available, and Soviet presence on the open seas apparently is becoming an increasing element in their foreign policy.

The harder part of the prediction is when the US military RDT&E effort will turn around and start to climb in response to the Soviet change. Some people would say that we won't change until the Soviet weapons systems "Sputniks" show up. If we wait that long, our response will certainly have to be dramatic. My own prediction is that, while we won't match the Soviet effort for a while, we will increasingly recognize the problem and take some moves in response. The Administration *has*, to make the point, requested $7.9B for Defense R&D in FY 1972, about a 10% increase over FY 1971.

The fourth long term force is one likely to become all too familiar to many of you in the next five years—budget priorities within Defense. Unless there is a sizable flareup in the world in which the United States is directly involved, the budget for the Department of Defense is likely to remain relatively constant for quite some time. Some people feel that the Defense Budget will be allowed to remain a fixed percentage of the Gross National Product—which would allow a small growth. Others feel that changing national priorities to the domestic side will slowly but steadily reduce Defense budgets. At any rate, very few people would predict a dramatic rise.

Within this relatively fixed budget there are three primary claimants for funds. R&D is one. Production—modernization of the Forces— is another. Operations and maintenance—largely manpower—is the third. As I have noted, R&D would seem to be calling for a significant increase, billions of dollars per year within a few years, to respond to the apparent Soviet R&D challenge. At the same time, however, we recognize that manpower costs are rising sharply. It is an ironic fact that some of our Servicemen are legally below the "poverty limit" and few officers would claim that they themselves are in a well-paying profession! Irony aside, military pay is going to have to increase significantly if we are to have a qualified and capable volunteer force. To solve these problems the increases will have to be far greater than the standard cost of living increases caused by inflation. The problem is that manpower costs are already more than half the Defense Budget, thus the fractional increases mean much more money is required for the manpower share—on the order of many billions of dollars per year. That would seem to leave the third claimant, modernization of the forces, in very sad shape. The estimates are, that if the manpower costs increase as projected, and if R&D is not allowed to increase significantly, that we can only afford about ¾ of the modernization often regarded as minimal in the face of the Soviet modernization effort. The Soviets, by the way, obtain their manpower relatively cheaply and hence their manpower costs are only between 15% and 25% of their Defense Budget. That helps permit their major R&D and procurement allocation.

In short, these facts mean that there is a crunch in your future. Putting all these forces and trends into some sort of balance by assuming that we will keep trying to obtain the maximum defense for the dollar, regardless of budget size, leads to a future something like this:

Smaller forces, better equipped.

Harder choices in weapons systems developments, including cost-enforced commonality, increasing interest in allied weapons developments, and more specific response to Soviet developments than in the past.

Improved management in Defense, especially in weapons system acquisition and in training and career patterns for officers engaged in it.

A turn away from the extremely high performance weapons systems with per unit costs so high that insufficient numbers can be procured to be effective as a fighting force.

Strenuous efforts to increase the front line combat capability and to reduce the long logistics tail—or increase the "teeth to tail" ratio as some people describe it.

An increasing number of Soviet weapons system prototype challenges each year, with a large fraction of them aimed at our strategic deterrents.

Gentlemen, that kind of future is a rough one. It isn't bleak or hopeless, but it is rough. We are going to have to be very good, very dedicated, very professional and very understanding or we can get into serious trouble in a hurry. Fortunately, those characteristics do describe the Defense Department of the United States, acrimonious and malicious criticism notwithstanding. I willingly place my bets on this country's future. But Defense is not going to be a place for the timid in the years ahead.

REVENUE SHARING ENGENDERS WIDE PUBLIC DISCUSSION

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, citizens of the Third Congressional District, which I am honored to represent, of Massachusetts and, indeed, throughout the country are engaged in active discussion of the concept of revenue sharing.

I have received many expressions of interest on this subject from elected officials and other citizens.

I wish to bring to my colleagues' attention an article from the Boston Globe on the subject of revenue sharing as well as a number of particularly interesting letters I have received in the past few months.

[From the Boston Globe, May 8, 1971]

REVENUE SHARING COMMITTEE FORMED

(By Rachelle Patterson)

Citizens committees, usually reserved for something like fighting crime or opposing high taxes, are lining up behind something less tangible and more uncertain—the concept of Federal revenue sharing.

The philosophy that the Federal government is more effective in raising revenue but that local and state governments are more efficient in spending it is taking hold in grassroots movements throughout the country.

The state's chief proponent of revenue sharing, Gov. Sargent, announced a 42-member Massachusetts Citizens Committee for Revenue Sharing two weeks ago.

Composed of prominent businessmen, Democratic and Republican leaders, bankers, union heads, professors, mayors and newspaper publishers, the committee's membership points up the wide appeal of the fiscal reform proposal.

The revenue sharing effort in this state has been endorsed by the Massachusetts League of Cities and Towns, commended by the Legislature, and praised by the Massachusetts taxpayers Assn.

A speakers' bureau has been formed and Holyoke's Mayor William Taupier recently touted the virtues of revenue sharing before the Rhode Island League of Women Voters.

The committee's chairman, former Boston Mayor John Collins, now a professor at MIT, noted at a seminar on revenue sharing recently at Bentley College that the effort is directed towards "the concept of revenue sharing, not any specific legislation filed by President Nixon." Collins, a Democrat, warned of fragmenting the reform and eliminating fiscal reorganization entirely.

President Nixon's proposed legislation, one of the key reforms of his Administration, calls for both general and special revenue sharing.

Several weeks ago, he asked Congress to enact a $5 billion general program which would return tax dollars to the state and local governments with no strings attached.

Eleven billion dollars is slated for special revenue sharing. State and local governments could spend it in six areas—transportation, education, urban community development, rural development, manpower training, and law enforcement. Ten billion dollars represents money from existing Federal grant programs and $1 billion will be completely new funding. Six special messages embracing this program are pending before Congress.

State and national apostles of revenue sharing emphasize that Mr. Nixon's plan includes a 10 percent bonus to a state which comes up with its own distribution formula.

This payment aims to encourage state and and local governments to adopt procedures to allocate funds for their specific needs.

Unless an alternative plan is submitted, distribution of revenue sharing funds within a state would follow the formula prescribed in the bill.

John O. Wilson, Mr. Nixon's chief architect for revenue sharing, told 400 municipal and state officials at the Bentley seminar that the concept has been advocated by political leaders of both parties before.

He stressed the program is aimed at greater flexibility in meeting local needs. One third of some 400 current conditional grant programs would be eliminated, redirecting Federal funds towards local priorities.

For example, a community would no longer be frustrated by a dangling Federal carrot for urban renewal funds when it really wants to get more policemen to quell an upsurge in crime.

Frank J. Zeo, executive vice president of the Massachusetts Taxpayers Foundation, describes Mr. Nixon's plan as "commendable."

"The present system (of Federal grant programs) has grown up over the years in piecemeal fashion, resulting in considerable overlap, and therefore, waste," Zeo said.

Hoping to change Congressional thinking towards revenue sharing—43 senators and 182 congressmen now are considered committed to the concept—the committee will attempt to generate enthusiasm at the local level.

THE CITY OF FITCHBURG, MASS.,
May 21, 1971.

Hon. ROBERT F. DRINAN,
Representative in Congress,
Fitchburg, Mass.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of May 19, 1971 regarding the public hearings on the Administrations proposal on general revenue sharing has been received.

In accordance with your request, I wish to register *strong* support of the President's proposal on general revenue sharing.

Very truly yours,

J. HAROLD LEMAY,
Mayor.

TOWN OF LUNENBURG, MASS.
May 25, 1971.

Congressman ROBERT F. DRINAN,
Fitchburg, Mass.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DRINAN: Reference is made to your letter of May 19, 1971 regarding public hearings by Congressman Wilbur D. Mills, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, relative to the Administration's proposal on general revenue sharing.

In connection with this matter, this Board unanimously desires to express its deep concern for the plight of the cities and towns and the absolute need for federal revenue sharing with no strings attached and to request that you present these views to the Ways and Means Committee.

Very truly yours,

RUDOLPH MASELLA,
Chairman, Board of Selectmen.

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF SELECTMEN,
TOWN OF ARLINGTON, MASS.,
June 15, 1971.

Hon. ROBERT F. DRINAN,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE DRINAN: Enclosed please find copy of a Resolution passed at our Annual Town Meeting at the session held April 28, 1971.

We are sending this to you with the intent that you will have a formal reference to the feeling of the Town of Arlington on this subject.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Very truly yours,

FREDERICK E. PITCHER,
Secretary.

TOWN OF ARLINGTON,
Massachusetts.

ARTICLE 66. SUPPORT OF FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING PROGRAMS

Voted: That the Town does hereby support the concept of revenue sharing which will be before the 92nd United States Congress in 1971 for the purpose of acquiring additional needed revenues to assist in alleviating the demands currently imposed on local property taxes, and that the Board of Selectmen be and hereby is authorized and directed to inform the entire Massachusetts congressional delegation of this positive action by Town Meeting Members.

A true copy of the vote under Article 66 of the Warrant for the 1971 Annual Town Meeting of the Town of Arlington at the session held April 28, 1971.

Attest:

MARY A. FARRINGTON,
Town Clerk.

TOWN OF LANCASTER, MASS.,
March 16, 1971.

To Whom It May Concern:

At the Annual Town Meeting held in the Lancaster Town Hall on March 1, 1971, it was voted unanimously to support proposed revenue sharing programs which will be before the 92nd United States Congress (1971) for the purpose of acquiring additional, needed revenue to assist in alleviating demands currently imposed on local property taxes, and to inform the entire Massachusetts Congressional delegation of this positive action by town meeting members.

Attest:

RAYMOND C. HARRIS,
Town Clerk.

TOWN OF LYNNFIELD, MASS.,
March 25, 1971.

Hon. ROBERT F. DRINAN,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE DRINAN: At the Annual Town Meeting of the Town of Lynnfield, held on March 22, 1971, it was by a unanimous vote, less one, voted:

To support proposed revenue-sharing programs which will be before the 82nd United States Congress (1971) for the purpose of acquiring additional, needed revenues to assist in alleviating demands currently imposed on local property taxes, and to inform the entire Massachusetts Congressional delegation of this positive action by town meeting.

It is the hope of the townspeople that our Congressional Delegation will do all in its power to support programs that will lessen the burden on the already overburdened taxpayer.

Yours sincerely,

A. DAVID RODHAM,
Chairman, Board of Selectmen.

OFFICE OF SELECTMEN,
Agawam, Mass., June 2, 1971.

Hon. ROBERT F. DRINAN,
House of Representatives,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DRINAN: We bring to your attention a copy of a Certification of the unanimous vote taken at the Annual Town Meeting held in Agawam in March, 1971.

It is the desire of the Board, representing the wish of the Town, that every consideration be given for support of revenue sharing for the purpose of providing some relief to the overburdened property tax-paying citizen of this community.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH DELLA GIUSTINA,
Chairman.
EDWARD W. CONNELLY.
JOSEPH M. FAUCETTE.

CITY OF CAMBRIDGE,
In City Council, March 29, 1971.

Councillor Coates:

Whereas the Nixon Administration has submitted a plan for major reorganization of the Federal Government and the programs it manages, and

Whereas this reorganization involves a two part program of so called general and special revenue sharing, and

Whereas under general revenue sharing there are absolutely no guidelines set forth concerning how this money should be used nor any machinery for monitoring its use, and

Whereas under special revenue sharing many present categorical grant-in-aid programs would be replaced by a system of "block" grants to be administered by the State which could result in the loss, by the City of Cambridge of its ability to deal directly with the Federal Government, and

hence render effective citizen participation at the local level a nullity: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this City Council go on record as being cognizant of the urgent need for a substantial increase in the flow of Federal Funds to the states and local governments, and supportive of the immediate full funding of existing grant in aid programs: And be it further

Resolved, That this Council go on record as being opposed to any and all forms of revenue sharing proposals or programs that lack front-end specificity, machinery for periodic congressional audit, as well as the safeguards of the Civil Rights Act of 1964: And be it

Ordered, That copies of this resolution be posted to the members of our delegation in the Great and General Court and as well as those in our Congressional delegation.

In City Council March 29, 1971. Adopted by the affirmative vote of 9 members. Attest: Paul E. Healy, City Clerk.

A true copy.

Attest.

PAUL E. HEALY,
City Clerk.

TOWN OF AGAWAM, MASS.,
May 14, 1971.

To Whom It May Concern:

Article 115. Unanimously voted that the Board of Selectmen be instructed to inform the entire Massachusetts Congressional delegation that it is the wish of this Town Meeting that they support proposed revenue-sharing programs which will be before the 92nd United States Congress (1971) for the purpose of acquiring additional, needed revenues to assist in alleviating demands currently imposed on local property taxes.

I hereby certify that the above is a true copy of the Article held at the annual Town Meeting of March 1971, at the Senior High School Auditorium.

Attest:

EDWARD A. CABA,
Town Clerk.

RESOLUTION ON REVENUE SHARING

Unanimously Adopted May 6, 1971, at Bentley College, Waltham, Mass.

Whereas, the growing demand for public services, combined with increasingly limited sources of revenue, are forcing state and local governments to the brink of bankruptcy; and

Whereas, there is a growing imbalance between the ability of the federal government and of state and local governments to raise those revenues required to meet domestic problems; and

Whereas, state and local government urgently need to share in the growth of the national economy, as reflected in the rising federal income tax base; and

Whereas, it is past time to begin strengthening state and local governments by returning to them a greater share of responsibility for determining their own spending priorities; and

Whereas, the concept of federal revenue sharing offers an effective means of correcting this crucial situation and has been endorsed by a great many national, state and local leaders and organizations: Now therefore let it be

Resolved, That the local and state officials and citizens of Massachusetts assembled this 6th day of May, 1971, do hereby affirm their support of Federal Revenue Sharing and resolve that the Governor, the Massachusetts League of Cities & Towns, the Massachusetts Mayors' Association, the Massachusetts Municipal Managers' and Administrators' Association, and the Massachusetts Selectmen's Association jointly, via committee, convey said support of federal revenue sharing to the state's two Senators and twelve Representatives at Washington, D.C.

NEWTON, MASS., *June 21, 1971.*

Hon. WILBUR D. MILLS,
Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

SIR: I appreciate your invitation to submit my views on the subject of revenue sharing. As an alderman in Newton, Massachusetts and as former chairman of its Housing Authority, I have had an excellent opportunity to observe the extent to which the city's demands for revenues have outstripped the available resources and the effect that this process has had on the life of the city.

Like all other municipalities, Newton is faced with a financial crisis because the constantly increasing cost of government cannot be supported by the revenues available from real estate taxes. Even the citizens of a relatively affluent city like Newton have reached, if they have not passed, the point where the ability of many of them to continue to own their own homes is threatened.

The crisis arises from the ever increasing costs of maintaining existing services at their present basic levels and does not reflect the need to provide new or improved services such as recreation, the provision of park areas, and the improvement of library services. The financial pressures have become a source of conflict in a community which only a few years ago was unified to a high degree. For example, a community which prides itself in the national reputation of its schools for excellence is embroiled in controversy due in large part to the increasing cost of providing education of high quality. Yet I doubt that even those who are most critical want to deprive our children of the opportunity for as good an education as possible. This is but one instance of the way in which the increased costs of municipal government, without matching revenues, damages our society.

The solution is clear: to provide a new source of revenue which relieves the pressure on the regressive real estate tax. Only the national government through the flexible income tax can meet this need.

In this sense I strongly favor the concept of the sharing of revenues by the federal government with local governments for only the federal government is able to match the needs and the resources. So long as the requirements of our federal laws are satisfied, I am less concerned with the particular techniques of providing funds for proper purposes than I am with the basic desirability that the municipalities be given the means with which to discharge their responsibilities. Nevertheless, any program should strive to minimize the time, effort, and limited available manpower which must be diverted to the task of qualifying for available funds.

However, the important objective is to make the funds available. If they are, our cities and town should be able to organize themselves to meet the requirements of whatever programs are adopted. All of our municipalities must learn to manage their affairs so that they derive the optimum benefit from the resources at hand. These resources include not only money, but the talents, experience, imagination, and organizational abilities of their citizens who have proven by their accomplishments in their private endeavors that they can contribute to the solution of the problems of the cities. The same skills which have solved so many of our scientific, engineering, and business problems will enable the cities to organize themselves both to take advantage of new federal assistance programs, whatever their form, and to make beneficial and efficient use of them.

Not even the maximum use of the organized skills of the community will suffice if the city does not have the necessary funds. If the cities are to survive as effective, viable governing entities, as they must if local needs are to be met at the local level, the Congress must give us the tools; we will then do the job.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM CARMEN.

THE PERPETUAL CALENDAR

HON. PATSY T. MINK

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mrs. MINK. Mr. Speaker, now that our Government is proposing to embark on a major study of converting to the metric system of measurements, I feel it it also interesting to note the proposal by Dr. Willard E. Edwards, of Honolulu, Hawaii, for a perpetual calendar.

Dr. Edwards, who first suggested the now-accepted idea of Monday holidays some 50 years ago, is author of the Perpetual Calendar which he says is an improvement over our existing one. At his request I have introduced H.R. 9069, the latest in a succession of bills by Hawaii Members of Congress to implement his idea.

The State of Hawaii, spurred largely by Dr. Edwards, has been a leader in changes to the calendar. In 1943, our State legislature endorsed the Perpetual Calendar, and 10 years later it adopted another of his proposals by proclaiming Presidents Day on February 22.

I am enclosing for the benefit of my colleagues an article from the Christian Science Monitor of June 30, 1971, explaining the proposal, as well as Senate Resolution No. 308, as adopted by the Hawaii Legislature on April 15, 1971, commending Dr. Edwards for his efforts:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, June 30, 1971]

ANY PLANS FOR JANUARY 0?

(By Peter Tonge)

The somewhat sarcastic challenge of a high-school teacher began it all.

"Do you think you can make a better one," she had scoffed . . . and the whole class had laughed outright at the idea.

So, stung by the remark and his schoolmates' response, Willard Edwards accepted the challenge: He set out that very night to devise an improved version of the Gregorian calendar.

A day or two later he came up with what has since become known as the Edwards Perpetual Calendar—a 12-month, 365-day year in which every anniversary date falls on the same day of the week each year; in which each month has an identical number of working days; in which each quarter begins on a Monday, and in which such absurdities as a 28-day month are eliminated.

Its most unusual feature: New Year's Day which would stand all on its own. It would fall between Sunday, Dec. 31 and Monday, Jan. 1. In effect it would occur on Jan. 0 and on no day of the week into the bargain.

There would be a second extra day. or year-day as Dr. Edwards would term it, each leap year. This would occur between Sunday. June 31 and Monday, July 1. If you must attach a date to it, call it July 0.

Unusual? Yes, but "very practical," insists Dr. Edwards, whose views, he says, are shared by thousands of people the world over. The Netherlands' Queen Juliana thought

very highly of the calendar, as did India's Prime Minister Nehru.

Most bankers support it. So do insurance houses, the airlines, and travel agencies—any concern, in fact, where timetables and schedules play an important part in business operation. As recently as last October the Bankers Association of Australia printed a four-page feature on The Perpetual Calendar.

But back in 1919, the then 15-year-old Edwards gave little thought to promoting his newly devised calendar, nor did he dream it would ultimately take him round the world many times to more than 350 cities in over 100 foreign lands; that he would be awarded an honorary doctorate for his efforts; that the British "International Year Book and Statesman's Who's Who" would list his name as would the American World Who's Who in Science."

In those days World War I soldiers were still flooding back to the labor market. Preparing adequately for a career was thus a prime requisite.

The young Edwards had his eyes set on the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a career in engineering. But first he took himself down to the Boston Custom House tower where he learned the intricacies of radio operating. He graduated in February, 1920—the youngest first-class radio operator in the nation.

That summer he went to sea aboard the Hahatonka—wearing his first pair of long pants. "I had to buy them," he recalls, "before they would let me aboard."

She was a brand new tanker which took on oil at Tampico, Mexico, and hauled it up to Portland, Me. He saved every penny of the $250 he earned that summer which in those days amounted to a whole year's tuition fee at MIT.

In subsequent summers he tapped away at his Morse code key aboard the Dorothy Bradford, a cruise ship which carried passengers between Boston and Provincetown each day.

That's where the opportunity to promote his calendar first presented itself—and Dr. Edwards grabbed it with both hands.

He'd been given the go-ahead to produce a printed sheet listing interesting facts related to the ship's voyage for distribution among the passengers. When he'd compiled it, he had space to spare—so he filled it with a story about the calendar.

From then on he lost no opportunity to spread the word. He'd tell anyone who was prepared to listen—anywhere, anytime.

He discussed the calendar with Queen Juliana in a Chatham, Mass., department store; with Prime Minister Nehru in the back seat of a limousine.

Queen Juliana, then Princess Juliana, was a refugee in the United States during World War II, spending much of that period in the small Massachusetts town—Dr. Edwards' home town.

Seeing her in the department store one morning, Dr. Edwards walked up and introduced himself as the man who had corresponded with her about the calendar. They discussed it then and there. Later the Dutch princess wrote to him referring to the calendar in very complimentary terms.

Mr. Nehru was even more impressed. He liked the idea enough to cram in a hasty interview with Dr. Edwards while being driven from one appointment to another. That was in 1962.

It was in 1941, though, that Dr. Edwards got his first major publicity break. He was working for the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in those days and had his calendar written up in the company magazine.

Lockheed, selling aircraft to Britain, distributed the magazine abroad and the story was picked up by the London Times. Then the Burbank News ran it and later the Los Angeles Times. It appeared in The Christian Science Monitor later that same year.

Subsequently he accepted a commission in the Navy and was posted to Pearl Harbor just four days before the Japanese attacked.

In the Navy, first as a radio engineer and after the war as an anticorrosion engineer, he travelled all over the Pacific. And wherever he went he used his free time to talk of The Perpetual Calendar. Five of his seven round-the-world trips he financed himself.

At first he would seek interviews with such as the governor of a province, or a mayor of a city. But he soon realized his best interview was with the newspaper editor. "That way my idea reached thousands, not just one man," says Dr. Edwards.

In fact three of Dr. Edward's most ardent supporters were influenced this way. All three publicize the calendar by mailing material to anyone they feel would be interested. Andrew Vena is one of them. He operates out of Philadelphia. The other two are overseas, an Australian, known to Dr. Edwards only as D. L. Humphries of Melbourne, and Mrs. Winifred Roux of Johannesburg.

It was the head of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Gregory who rearranged the calendar in 1582, changing, among other things, New Year's Day from March 25 to Jan. 1. Even so support for the Edwards calendar was adopted at the Vatican Ecumenical Council by 2,057 votes to 4.

A bill to adopt The Perpetual Calendar has been before Congress ever since Hawaii introduced it in 1943. But "it never gets acted on because it's not a big money bill," Dr. Edwards maintains.

But it's the United Nations where calendar reform should be introduced, he avers.

In fact, India's Mr. Nehru did that in the early 1950's but more weighty matters pushed it aside. There's also some suspicion of calendar reform in the international body. Its predecessor, The League of Nations, had more than 150 new calendar ideas presented to it during its relatively few years of operation—many of them "way out."

Even so Dr. Edwards keeps campaigning away in the hope that ultimately school children the world over will one day recite.

With a day apart the year's begun,
Then thirty, thirty, thirtyone,
Months always start in a certain way,
On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday,
Each quarter and each year the same,
Is The Perpetual Calendar's aim.

[Sixth Legislature, 1971, State of Hawaii, April 15, 1971]

S.R. No. 308 SENATE RESOLUTION

Commending Willard E. Edwards for his efforts to establish the perpetual calendar and a fixed date for Easter and other holidays.

Whereas, despite its many advantages, the calendar currently used in the United States suffers from two main faults: inequality in the divisions, and lack of fixity; and

Whereas, in addition to these failings, one of the disadvantages is that the date for Easter may fall anywhere from March 22 to April 25, a range of 35 days; and

Whereas, such variations in the date for Easter and dates for other holidays cause inconvenience in school and curriculum planning, travel scheduling, clothing manufacturing and other problems; and

Whereas, for many years Hawaii has been a pioneer in trying to rectify such problems relating to the calendar through the endorsement of the concept of The Perpetual Calendar in 1943 and *enactment of Presidents Day in 1953*, and

Whereas, one of the reasons why the State of Hawaii has been a pioneer in programs relating to improving the calendar has been due to the untiring efforts of Willard E. Edwards; and

Whereas, Willard E. Edwards is said to be the originator of The Perpetual Calendar and the proposal for Monday holidays, and advocates establishment of fixed date for Easter; and

Whereas, Willard E. Edwards has been actively engaged in trying to educate the people of Hawaii to the advantages of The Perpetual Calendar, the three-day holiday weekend, and a fixed date for Easter: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved By the Senate of the Sixth Legislature of the State of Hawaii, Regular Session of 1971, that this body commend Willard E. Edwards for his efforts to establish a perpetual calendar and a fixed date for Easter and other holidays: and be it further

Resolved, That a certified copy of this Resolution be sent to Mr. Willard E. Edwards.

CBW IN VIETNAM

HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, even as the United States is lessening its involvement in Indochina, I think it is highly important for us to look closely at some of the tragic, but little known, consequences of that war. Among my own deep concerns are the results of the use of chemical weapons in South Vietnam.

In my November 1969 study "CBW and National Security" I pointed to the long-range risks of using such weapons, including seemingly harmless defoliants, as follows:

Chemical defoliants are effective in killing crops. The question is how effective crop attacks are in defeating an enemy. Defoliants which seek to clear the countryside of enemy camouflage are eventually successful in denuding the area. Yet there is a real question about the military consequences of these sprayings. It takes several days for the chemicals to take effect. After they have, there is usually renewed growth in the area within a week. During this short period of defoliation, the enemy can avoid barren areas and move only through jungle that has not been affected. Persistent use can prolong the defoliation effects and perhaps even kill trees in the vicinity. Yet a militarily effective program would have to blanket a wide area while continuing to concede relatively concealed movement at night. When the advantages of this program are weighed against the significant disadvantages resulting to the soil, foliage and wildlife of the region, the effectiveness of the weapons is doubtful. Victory is not significantly enhanced while damage to the war zone is certainly intensified.

Late in 1961 the United States began aerial spraying of defoliants in South Vietnam. In 1962, the earliest year for which statistics are available, the military sprayed 5,681 acres with herbicides. In successive years the use of defoliants increased rapidly in rough proportion to the U.S. military buildup in Vietnam, reaching a peak in 1967 when about 1.7 million acres of forest and cropland were treated. Between 1962 and 1970, approximately 5,767,410 acres were treated with chemical herbicides aimed at reducing vegetation. This is nearly one-seventh of the total land area of South Vietnam, an area approximately the size of the State of Massachusetts. It is estimated that more than 100-million pounds of herbicides, or about 6 pounds for every inhabitant, were sprayed on the Vietnamese countryside during this time.

In a June 1971 report, Impact of the

Vietnam War, prepared for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the Library of Congress details the effect of herbicides on South Vietnam's forests and croplands. Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, in his introduction said that the defoliants used by the United States have destroyed "enough food for 600,000 people for 1 year and enough timber to meet the needs of the country, based on current demand, for 31 years."

The report says:

1. DEFOLIATION OF FORESTS

The greatest use of herbicides in South Vietnam has been on fairly mature tropical hardwood forests, which comprise about nine-tenths of the forested land in the country. Of these forests, covering about 100,000 square kilometers, some 20,000 square kilometers are estimated to have been sprayed, including many of the most valuable forests. One-quarter to one-third of these have been sprayed more than once. Some estimates indicate that one out of every eight or 10 trees is killed by a single spraying and that 50 to 80 percent are killed in areas where more than one spraying has occurred. Arthur H. Westing, forestry specialist and Director of the AAAS Commission [American Association for the Advancement of Science Herbicide Assessment Commission], believes that about 35 percent of South Vietnam's 14 million acres of dense forest have been sprayed one or more times, resulting in the destruction of 6.2 billion board feet of merchantable timber. He contends that this figure represents the country's entire domestic timber needs, based on current demand, for the next 31 years. Moreover, the lost timber represents about $500 million in taxes that would otherwise have accrued to the South Vietnamese Government.

To the southwest of Saigon and along much of the coast of the Delta are dense mangrove forests covering about 3,000 square kilometers. About half of this type of forest has been sprayed, resulting in the total destruction of approximately 1,400 square kilometers of forest. In sum, about 20 percent of South Vietnam's forested area has been sprayed with herbicides and a substantial portion of this was destroyed.

2. CROP DESTRUCTION

While the bulk of the spraying has been directed against the forests and brush, a significant proportion has been used on croplands, especially in the food-scarce mountainous Central Highlands, an area populated by about 1 million Montagnards and other tribal peoples. About 2,200 square kilometers of cropland have been sprayed since the program began in 1962, representing about 6 percent of the country's 37,000 square kilometers of cropland. The AAAS estimated that the spraying caused the destruction of enough food to feed approximately 600,000 persons a year.

In view of these discomforting reports it is reassuring that the chemical defoliation program is being ended as a result of a December 1970 decision by the President, who ordered the Department of Defense to implement "an orderly, yet rapid phaseout of the herbicide operations" in Vietnam. The Defense Department has said that the use of defoliants for crop destruction was terminated by January of this year and that it is ending other herbicide operations.

Later in 1969 when I testified before the Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Development of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs I urged the immediate elimination of chemical warfare in Vietnam and a prompt consideration of ratification of the 1925 Geneva protocol prohibiting first use of chemical and biological weapons.

In that statement I again pointed to the dangers of using such dubious weapons, noting that they "may well cause permanent damage to the environment the Vietnamese must live in long after the fighting is over."

While I am pleased that the President submitted the Geneva protocol to the Senate in August 1970, I am greatly disturbed that the Department of State interprets it as permitting use of herbicides and tear gases. This is particularly troublesome in view of the 1969 United Nations General Assembly action in which the members voted 80 to 3 with 36 abstentions for the proposition that the protocol bars the use of herbicides and tear gas as well as more lethal chemical agents. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has considered the protocol but it has taken no action because of the controversy over the U.S. interpretation of the treaty.

I strongly believe that the United States should interpret the protocol to include a ban on irritant gases and antiplant agents and I urge the administration to reconsider its position.

LEST WE FORGET

HON. JAMES R. MANN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, it has been 7 years and 131 days, today, since Capt. Floyd Thompson was taken prisoner in South Vietnam. Captain Thompson then became the first American prisoner in Southeast Asia, but the legions of his number have grown and swelled more than a thousandfold in the years intervening. According to a February count, there were 406 known prisoners of war, and 1,145 others who were listed as missing in action. But these men represent something more than mere fleshless numbers to many children, wives and parents, who have to live with the day-to-day burden of not knowing whether their loved ones are dead or alive. And this is an atrocity in itself. It stems from no political issue. It represents only a humane issue—and all the laws of decency are involved, and assaulted, by its persistence. Additionally, the barbaric form of treatment accorded these men by their captors has been amply documented by those former few POW's who have been repatriated by Hanoi.

How long is this international disgrace going to continue without men of good will, everywhere, recognizing it for what it is: a twisted sort of blackmail against life itself? Mr. Speaker, this useless kind of cruelty can serve no useful purpose. It only demonstrates the moral poverty of communism and its predatory aims. As for our part, as citizens and as Members of this Congress, we must keep before us the image of these men and of those who still hold them dear in this Nation.

ANDEAN FOUNDATION

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, for a number of years I have had the opportunity to observe closely the growth of the Andean Foundation, a nonprofit organization advancing rural economic development in Latin America. I would like to bring this unusual private sector effort to the attention of the Members as a model that demonstrates how nongovernmental philosophy and expertise can contribute to meeting international development needs.

For some 5 years, the foundation has sponsored an imaginative pilot development program in southern Peru which has aided small farmer groups to organize, finance, and operate production programs intended to increase farmer income and agricultural productivity in the region. The foundation has pioneered a number of development techniques such as credit guarantee, decentralized village-level project management, and technically integrated development which are practices now becoming widely used by development institutions.

The foundation pilot program offers an exciting model for a new approach to rural development that gets away from traditional charity and fragmented approaches to the subsistence farmer who constitutes the world's largest single bloc of underprivileged people.

Believing, Mr. Speaker, that other Members and appropriate executive agencies share my interest in finding innovative ways to improve the quality of America's contribution to the developing nations, I enclose a report on the methods used by the foundation and insert it herewith for inclusion in the RECORD:

A METHODOLOGY FOR PRIVATE SECTOR INSTITUTIONS SUPPORTING RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

One of the most dramatic developments of the past half-century has been the enormous growth of institutions to serve human needs throughout the world. Yet, however impressive this growth, it is equally true that more people live outside this system of benefits than are now served by it. Thus, the growth of the past half-century is perhaps best seen as preliminary to that which must come in the years ahead.

In the future, existing institutions, profit-making and non-profit, governmental and private, must serve more people with greater efficiency. New corporate systems must simultaneously be developed to deal with new problems encountered as this growth takes place.

The pages that follow summarize such a new approach to rural development in Latin America viewed as a function of planning, corporate organization, and capital management.

These ideas reflect reactions and conclusions drawn from five years of pilot activity in southern Peru, supported by grants from the Ottinger Foundation, the Public Welfare Foundation, the William H. Donner Foundation, The Freedom from Hunger Foundation, the Charles Delmar Foundation, the American Chamber of Commerce in Peru, the Adela Investment Company, The International Basic Economy Corporation, International Utilities Corporation, Kraft Foods, Mobil Oil,

Peruvian Airlines, and the Quaker Oats Company.

During this period an operational program was implemented, and techniques were derived through which a private non-profit social and economic development corporation might accelerate rural development in the marginal areas of the hemisphere.

The rural development techniques used by the Andean Foundation and described in the following pages represent field tested effort and immediate action techniques that *work*. The program is not a theoretical pie-in-the-sky approach to rural development nor is it a program which by design or accident culminates in charity conditioning results. The Foundation is a multinational corporate vehicle for facilitating the use of capital in Latin America's most poverty stricken rural areas.

The program contributes to the planned breakdown of traditional subsistence farming and its replacement by market oriented agriculture. This means the growth of a market for machinery, fertilizers, chemicals, medications and other farm supplies. It means the organization of a systematized production to help meet a growing demand for food. It means overall improvement in the quality of rural life through increased farmer income making possible improved housing, services, etc. Finally, it contributes to the creation of a stable rural society.

The program is important to governments since it easily and flexibly bridges the gap between overall national objectives and the development needs in specific locations. The program eases the flow of public development resources held by government institutions into grass roots projects while attracting complementary private-sector participation. Since the program is non-profit and has no equity objective it gains political acceptance.

The prospects for the creation of markets for development related inputs, together with the intangible service to private enterprise as well as the opportunity to be part of a unique, highly effective instrument for rural development, would appear to make the Foundation significant and attractive to leading companies active in Latin America.

The opportunity to participate in an objective, professional program directed toward real socio-economic problems rather than external symptoms makes the Foundation of interest and importance to progressive philanthropic institutions and individual donors.

THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROBLEM IN LATIN AMERICA; HOW WE SEE IT

Viewed in a world perspective, the enormous rural population in Latin America constitutes a crisis problem affecting some twenty nations. Some 80 million people live in rural areas that are marginal to the social and economic processes of their respective countries.

The problem is not equally present in all rural areas in Latin America. The rich and fertile regions normally attract the inputs necessary for growth and development. The marginal, less fertile, heavily populated areas are not, however, reached by this process. They remain zones of poverty and economic blight which hold back whole national economies and provide a constant migration of people to urban slums.

The agrarian problem presented by Latin America's marginal areas has certain general characteristics which are found in a number of distinct regions, characterized by different combinations of people, customs, and agricultural enterprise. These general problems include:

The subsistence mentality

Farming as a habit rather than as a profession is the mark of the subsistence producer. The subsistence farmer will normally have no objectives beyond basic survival. He is an inefficient producer oriented inward toward his own needs rather than outward toward the progressive influence of the competitive market. His use of technology is minimal. He is traditionally isolated from technological information and is hesitant to risk his survival on methods he, at best, dimly understands. His view of the future seldom extends beyond the desire for a little more land and a few more livestock; progress is a matter of good fortune rather than planning. For the subsistence producer, agriculture is an unprofitable uncontrollable cycle.

Last in line at the marketplace

The subsistence farmer can be confident that any part of his production which he sells will earn for him the lowest possible price. His production is small, of poor quality, non-uniform, and strongly cyclical in delivery pattern. His limited capital means that he must sell rapidly as the crop comes in. His small individual production cannot bear the relatively high per unit cost of shipping to better markets in other areas and current information on such distant markets is normally not available. Often his crop is mortgaged at disadvantageous terms. He sells quickly and badly.

The management gap

The subsistence producer has never attended a management course for small farmers. Illiteracy, linguistic barriers, and poor vocabulary make it difficult for him to grasp such technological messages as may be relayed by existing extension services. Equally important is the fact that such information as is available may have virtually no relevance to his day-to-day situation. Thus, a technical program may demonstrate a technique or product and never convince the small producer that he can profit from its use. New techniques and products are often explained in terms derived from large-scale agriculture, and thus the subsistence producer cannot relate these to his small individual operations. Technicians may present information in an authoritarian fashion which comes into direct conflict with the subsistence producer's defensive mentality. Also he and his fellows may not have an organizational structure suited to group or corporate agriculture.

Absence of grass-roots growth oriented corporate structure

The subsistence producer expects little more from his society than he does from himself. In most cases the subsistence producer organizes to meet municipal and ceremonial needs and to petition the outside world for goods and services that may or may not appear. Organization to plan major changes in rural life is usually lacking. Local organization for production or market purposes is developed to only the most primitive level. The managerial procedures by which a growth oriented agricultural enterprise must be directed are unknown.

The capital gap

Even in those instances where subsistence producers may be sufficiently well organized to attempt to improve their agricultural production, inadequate capital is a final barrier to growth. Although recent national and inter-American programs have made more capital available at the top, it does not reach the small producer. He may be stereotyped as a bad risk for social and racial, as well as economic, reasons. Since his individual capital needs are small the administrative cost per dollar loaned is disadvantageous to lender institutions. The subsistence producer is usually unable to present feasibility studies in the forms recognizable to credit institutions. Since he normally has little if any collateral he is completely dependent on his personal character as a basis for credit, and this is not known to the bank or credit institution.

These general problems if translated into terms of millions of rural people stagger the imagination. Yet, while the overall view of Latin America's marginal areas is not good, there is today a solid base in experience for developing new approaches to the problem. There is an enormous potential market for all of the technical and capital inputs necessary for profitable rural development as well as a demand for management systems that can make possible effective use of these resources. Finally there is a clear need for institutional systems that can deal with the economic and the social aspects of rural development in marginal areas.

ABOUT RURAL DEVELOPMENT—THE FOUNDATION'S APPROACH

Rural development is a professional activity dealing with the response of ordinary people to the problem of achieving a better life.

A development institution such as the Andean Foundation deals with people and human organization, with technology, money, management and markets—in fact, all of the elements which contribute to economic and social growth.

The Foundation is directed toward producing a better life for people at a reasonable cost. Thus, it must be practical and realistic in its analysis of people, their problems, their objectives, and the development resources needed in a specific situation.

While the broad scope of rural development involves problems of national importance, in the final analysis the success of a rural development program is the extent to which it produces tangible results suited to specific people and specific local conditions. Program management must reflect regional conditions.

The objective of the Andean Foundation Rural Development Program is to provide and manage services and resources which accelerate economically viable rural development while replacing traditional charity conditioning approaches with programs that foster the profitable use of capital.

To accomplish this general objective, the Foundation organizes independent Regional Rural Development Institutions that work directly with groups of subsistence farmers to:

Introduce technology and management that farmers or farm groups of average ability can use.

Provide related resources of education, farm supplies, credit and market outlets.

Increase productivity of marginal operations to provide income for social improvement.

Certain well defined steps are involved in carrying out a regional program. In broad outline they are:

1. Accumulation of facts

In order to understand the real problems found in any region the Foundation staff must find answers to many questions such as the following:

About the Region's People. Who are they? What is the ethnic and the social composition, and what is the place of the subsistence producer in the region? What areas of understanding and what areas of tension exist between local groups? What is the educational level and what impedes or retards learning? What are the attitudes of subsistence people toward money, goods, technology, and progress? What attitudes motivate or retard interest, enthusiasm and productivity? What areas of local custom, belief or superstition relate to development? What do the subsistence people in the area want to be changed and what do they understand by progress? Are there personal attitudes or social problems that affect the attitude toward progress?

About Regional Organization. How are people in the region organized and governed? Who directs local affairs and what is the relationship of the subsistence groups to this? How is the local private sector or-

ganized? How is local business organized, and what is the relationship of the subsistence producer to the business community? At the subsistence producer level, what form does municipal and economic organization take? What do they expect of local village level organization? Is traditional organization adequate to plan and manage development activity? If not, what are the ways to meet this problem?

About Agricultural Development. What is produced in the region and by whom? What are the strengths of local agriculture and what are the basic problems? What is the level of mechanization? What is the technological level? What is the land distribution pattern and how does this affect the subsistence producer? Is agrarian reform present? If so, what are the social and economic goals of such activity? What is the pattern of land utilization in the area? Can cultivated areas be increased? What is the projected ratio of cost to protected profit for any change in traditional agriculture? What are the systems for marketing and processing of agricultural production? Are these adequate to handle an increased production from subsistence locations? If not, can these marketing patterns be altered or modified and how? What are the psychological problems present in introducing any type of change in agriculture at the subsistence level? How can these be met?

About Resources for Development. What technical service institutions are available in the region in areas of agriculture, livestock, village organization, housing, health, etc.? What is the pattern of field activity in each of these areas? What coordination takes place? Are credit facilities available for agriculture, livestock, housing and village level infra-structure? If so, what is the record of these institutions with subsistence farmers? What problems have been encountered? How might these institutions' programs be strengthened? What private resources are available for development? What private sector resources are potentially available but have not been utilized? What coordination is there between private sector and governmental activity in rural development? At the village level, what resources do the people themselves have and how effectively are these used? What skills and attitudes are present that may be utilized for development? How do the subsistence producers view their own resources, government resources, private sector resources? Are these views compatible with expanded development activity at the village level? If not, what is necessary to change them?

2. Establish regional goals and management

It is extremely important in village level rural development to establish objectives that are realistic in terms of local needs, that are defined with sufficient clarity to be understood by all involved, and that are suited to direct local management.

The Foundation staff proceeds after the accumulation of facts to answer four basic questions:

What are the priority problems faced by the subsistence producers in the area?

What are the most reasonable routes to their solution?

What resource gaps are present?

Upon which areas will the Foundation's regional program focus?

The areas selected will normally be income producing, such as agriculture and livestock. Cottage industry may be supported to provide secondary income. Other problems such as rural housing, provision of local and municipal services including schools, clinics, and water supply, may also be selected if self-amortization is possible.

A regional program plan is then prepared and a local field staff created. The plan includes long and short term goals, geographic focus, cost of programs, method of financing and outlines the necessary administrative structure. Attention is given to related questions such as the provision of technical guidance, capital inputs, and necessary governmental liaison. Provision is also made to transform the regional program into an independent local institution if progress warrants.

3. Meeting the regional objectives

With objectives clearly established, the regional field staff begins to work with subsistence producers. The field staff follows an established professional procedure to work out solutions to the problems these groups face. The procedure functions as follows:

The staff establishes contact with a group of subsistence farmers who are carrying out or are interested in carrying out a development project. This contact may be brought about by direct request from the group involved or through the suggestion of a local government agency or extension service.

Meetings between the staff and the group leaders are used to clearly state the problems faced by the group. The leaders provide as complete information as possible and their proposed course of action. The staff adds, to the facts as presented by the leaders, their recommendations for method of approach. They may assist the leaders in refining and more accurately defining the problems they face, identifying those areas that seem of the most and lesser importance, determining what resources are available, what organizational and production techniques might be used, what approximate cost is involved, and what market considerations must be brought to bear on the problem.

The staff then meets to outline several rough plans for solving the problem the group has presented. The apparent motivation is discussed and only if this seems adequate will the staff proceed. Ideas are sought from local technical agencies that may participate as well as from Foundation technical advisors. Several different approaches may be developed, each seeking an economical and workable solution to the particular problem.

Following this general analysis, the staff then meets with the group leaders and with technical advisors. A plan of action evolves as alternatives are narrowed. The definition of the problem and the proposed solution becomes more specific and more complete in detail.

From these planning sessions the staff develops technical data, operational plans, budget, and models necessary to explain the project to a general meeting of the group of subsistence farmers.

With a clear solution to the problem in mind, the Foundation staff then meets with the entire subsistence group. Detailed discussion is given to all aspects of the proposed undertaking, its goals, organization, financing, scheduling, etc. Technicians and specialists from local agencies also participate. Debate is encouraged and differences of opinion are brought to the surface. The plan presented may be substantially changed or even discarded in the light of this discussion. Several sessions may be necessary before an acceptable project is outlined.

When it is clear that a project has been outlined that is technically and economically feasible as well as being acceptable to the subsistence group, to the Foundation, and to other institutions involved, a final detailed plan, schedule, and budget are prepared by the Foundation staff in cooperation with the group leaders.

A working agreement is then signed between the Foundation and the group or organization. Respective responsibilities and obligations in the project are outlined and the agreement serves also as a basis for the formal process of financing.

Depending on the project needs, credit may be sought from development banks, commercial banks, government institutions, private organizations, individuals, and companies offering supplier installment credits. If possible, the credit institution will have participated in the earlier planning stages. If the institution or individual approached can provide credit and on terms suitable to the project, a loan agreement will be negotiated between the institution and the subsistence group.

In many instances factors of risk will present a barrier to the issuance of credit. In these instances, the Foundation will guarantee the loan or credit extended to the subsistence group, thus reducing the risk to the lender and making capital available for the project.

4. Follow through

Once the project has been planned, approved, and financed, the Foundation staff works with all concerned to insure that the project moves forward according to schedule. The staff assists the project leaders to make changes necessary to meet problems that arise.

Close contact with the group is necessary until the project is firmly established. Technical and leadership training may be arranged. As the project develops, the Foundation staff reduces its participation to periodic inspections. Eventually, as the rural group establishes strong management, lines of credit, and technical assistance, the Foundation can move on to new projects with the group or repeat the operation at new locations.

Specialized follow-up services may be necessary, such as marketing, processing, transportation, etc. If necessary, the Foundation will organize the services as self-supporting activities.

5. Policy for developing finance

The purpose of Foundation capital is to advance economically feasible rural development projects. To achieve this end, the following general policies are observed:

(a) Participation in project finance will be indirect through systems such as credit guaranty which produce maximum leverage from Foundation resources.

(b) Projects so financed will be thoroughly studied and participation will be in accordance with:

Standing, character, and contribution of the participants,

The availability of necessary management and technical know-how,

The economic feasibility and self-amortizing potential of the project,

Profitability to the subsistence producer participants,

The priority significance of the project for the economic and social development of the region,

The provision of adequate information on the project, income, expenditures, sales, production costs, profits, etc.

(c) The Foundation may, if necessary, finance support services necessary to projects such as marketing, processing, etc. in agreement with the following conditions:

That local capital is not available or is unwilling to undertake the proposed service activity,

That Foundation participation in providing the service is not charity conditioning.

ABOUT THE ANDEAN FOUNDATION

Organization, corporate structure, management

The Foundation is incorporated in the District of Columbia as a not-for-profit institution. It is recognized as tax-exempt by the Internal Revenue Service and is registered with the U.S. Department of State. It has no political or religious affiliation.

The Foundation's ultimate authority is vested in the Board of Trustees who meet each year in March and when called by the President of the Foundation or at the request of two members. The Trustees are professionally experienced in international development; competent in management, technical,

and financial matters; capable of appraising field activity and negotiating programs.

To broaden the range of advice, guidance, and participation available to the Foundation, the Trustees in their first session established a National Advisory Board to consist of distinguished leaders in Business, Government, and the Professions.

The Trustees select Foundation officers including President, Vice President/Secretary, and Treasurer. Management of the Foundation is directed by the President and such executives as may be designated. Management constitutes a professional team competent in planning and executing programs approved by the Trustees. Executives and staff are people familiar with the conditions, customs, people and language in Latin America. A high degree of flexibility is sought in management through the delegation of responsibility and authority to Officers and Regional Program Managers.

Operating procedures and policy

Operating procedures are determined by Foundation staff in consultation with the Board of Trustees and in accordance with the general objectives of the Foundation and its financial policy. At present the Foundation management pursues the following principles:

Organization of a small, effective staff using personnel in leverage situations.

Management maintains close friendly relations with government, government development institutions, private sector companies, and industrial, agricultural, and professional associations. It works closely with local institutions and groups in each region where the Foundation is active.

Management seeks to be fully informed with respect to conditions, customs, developments, and projects in countries where the Foundation operates.

Programs and program proposals are developed in cooperation with competent specialists provided by local institutions.

Program value is judged in terms of economic impact and relation to regional priority needs.

Tangible criteria for judging program value are not replaced by appeal to emotion, political fad or jargon.

Operational procedures are frequently reviewed, modified, and refined in light of the experience acquired in operations.

Institutional funding

The financial policy of the Foundation is determined by the Board of Trustees. Capital for Foundation operations consists of funds provided by institutions and individuals sympathetic to the purpose, objectives, and managerial procedures used by the Foundation. Sources include the following:

Private foundations, charitable corporations.

Corporations active in the Latin American region.

Individuals interested in humanitarian as well as cultural association with the regions where the Foundation operates.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 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?

MEN FOR COAL—THE CHALLENGE OF THE 1970'S

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, on June 21 of this year, Joseph P. Brennan, the director of research and marketing of the United Mine Workers of America spoke before the coal division meeting of the American Institute of Mining of the Metallurgical and Petroleum Engineers, Inc. on the subject of manpower needs in the future of the coal industry in America.

Mr. Brennan, whose family resides in my district, speaks eloquently of the need for foresight in the manpower requirements of the anthracite and bituminous coal industry in the years to come. He places specific emphasis upon the need to consider manpower questions within the totality of coal manpower requirments extending from the need for skilled miners all the way through coal's hierarchy to the very top level of coal management.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this address represents a significant contribution to prevailing opinions on the matter, and I include Mr. Brennan's address at this point in the RECORD:

MEN FOR COAL—THE CHALLENGE OF THE 1970's

I am delighted to have the opportunity to speak to the A.I.M.E. on the question of manpower in coal. I am particularly happy to be able to do so back home, to many of you whom I have known all of my life.

Man is the key to the future of coal in America. Those of us concerned with coal must, somehow, come to focus upon man as central to the continued viability of anthracite and bituminous coal. We must seek, find, and implement solutions to the challenges inherent in the attraction, retention and motivation of coal manpower.

Although I represent only the classified employees in America's coal industry, my remarks are not limited solely to them. Rather, the manpower question can only be considered within the totality of coal manpower requirements extending from the need for skilled miners all the way through coal's hierarchy to the very top level of coal management.

Before discussing manpower policies, however, I would like to set forth some empirical parameters surrounding our manpower dilemma.

There are approximately 100,000 men working in America's coal mines. These men average approximately 43 years in age. This is a decline from the average of several years ago, but it is still inordinately high as compared to other industries.

The average, however, hides several important statistics.

Approximately 50 percent of our work force is 45 years of age or older. Almost 20 percent of the employees of the industry are age 55, and therefore, eligible for retirement. Only approximately 30 percent of the work force is in the 30 to 45 age group. This statistic reflects the manpower attrition which took place during the mechanization period.

At the other end of the spectrum, 20 percent of our current work force is 30 years of age or younger. We anticipate that this percentage is certain to increase dramatically for two reasons:

1. The demand for coal will continue to grow and thus, increase the demand for labor, and:

2. Geographic factors—the location of new mining fields—and demographic characteristics—the top-heavy distribution of men at or near the retirement age—will mean a heavier than normal influx of young men.

These men will change the face of our industry. Dealing with them is new, and will become, increasingly more difficult. Creating an environment which will enable them to work efficiently and safely will challenge all of us to the utmost. The effort, however, will be well worthwhile because it is these young miners who will provide the initiative and the skill to take our industry to the limits of its potential.

Coal miners tend to be experienced and to remain with a single company. Almost 50 percent of the current coal labor force has 20 years service in a classified job. By normal retirement age most miners will have almost thirty years classified service.

At the present time, the average coal miner has worked for his current employer almost twelve years.

For those of you concerned with the lack of foremen in the mines, this should be an interesting statistic. About four percent of the active miners in classified positions have had supervisory experience. Such experience averages almost six years.

There are approximately 160,000 dependents of miners under age eighteen. We can assume that about one-half of these are boys. These boys are the reservoir of future manpower for the coal industry if it is able to convince them, and their families, that coal mining is indeed a good career. I would remind you that traditionally, coal mining has been a family profession, one to be passed from father to son.

In sum, these statistics give us a profile of manpower in the modern American coal industry. That profile underscores the stability and experience of the work force. It explains, in particular, the high productivity which is characteristic of the modern coal industry. But, it also points to the revolutionary changes which are even now, occurring in coal and which will continue to occur as our work force becomes increasingly younger. For, coal's challenge in the '70's will be to deal with the modern young American miner and to devise ways to attract, retain and most importantly, motivate him.

The UMW has recognized this need. President Boyle has established a Department of Manpower Development. This department is designed to train our own staff representatives, our local union leaders, and eventually, all who want such training. We hope to help develop, through the program, the leaders of our Union today, and to insure that the leaders of tomorrow will be identified, developed, and made ready for their responsibilities. This department is an investment in our Union's future, an investment of incalculable potential. In setting up the department, President Boyle has established a new UMW tradition, a tradition which will bring continuing effective leadership at all levels to our Union.

There are several other facts which are needed to complete this statistical profile of the American Coal Miner.

Each year approximately 4,000 classified employees retire from the union segment of the coal industry. Many of these men are forced into retirement because of disease or injury. Many of them, however, could, if properly motivated, remain in the coal industry in some capacity. They could contribute a great deal more to the industry, to coal communities and most importantly to the economic prosperity of thier families.

Retirement, however, is only one source of

manpower attrition. In 1970, 260 coal miners were killed in mining accidents. For the first five months of this year, 86 men have been killed, compared with 80 for a like period in 1970. The increase in the number of fatalities is incredible in the face of all of the attention currently paid to health and safety and despite the existence of the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969.

During 1969, there were more than 9,800 non-fatal lost-time accidents in coal mining. Some of the men involved in these accidents are permanently lost to the coal industry either because of the severity of the injury or because they choose not to return to mining. I cannot over emphasize that both fatal and non-fatal accidents represent an intolerable waste of the coal industry's most valuable asset—its people. Even if you of industry are willing to forget humanitarian principles, you cannot—on economic grounds alone—permit your present health and safety record to continue.

Estimates provided by our Department of Occupational Health indicate that more than 30 percent of the current work force in coal suffers from some degree of Coal Workers' Pneumoconiosis. Of this total, more than ten percent will become progressively worse until they are totally disabled, unless they are removed from the mining environment.

The human misery of these men is a heavy burden on our industry. It must now be clearly evident that coal cannot continue to tolerate this wastage of its human assets, that common moral principle and cold economic logic both cry out for a speedy and final solution.

A critical evaluation of the manpower problem in coal must include a recognition of the increasingly severe shortage of engineering talent in this industry. There are experts here today who will speak on that subject. I will not deal with it any further except to make one point. I am gravely concerned with the deterioration of mining engineering schools throughout the United States. My concern extends not only to the number of mining engineers graduating but also to the decline of mining engineering as a scientific discipline. Schools of mining engineering have long served as focal points of excellence in the mining field. Their disappearance will be sorely felt not only by the present generation but also for decades to come.

Manpower developments in coal take place within the economic structure of the industry. As all of you know, coal demand is soaring. New mines are being opened and existing mines expanded. One estimate made by the National Coal Policy Conference projects an addition of 200 million tons of annual capacity by the mid-1970's. I, personally, believe this total to be low.

But, increases in capacity do not take place within fixed parameters, coal is now a changing industry. It is largely a captive industry. By captive I mean committed with capacity designated to a single, or at best, a small group of consumers. I recently did a survey which brought out several interesting points along this line. It showed that the bulk of new capacity and, indeed, much existing capacity, is tied to specific consumers under long term arrangements of one type or another. Moreover, large mines are invariably tied, through specialized distribution facilities, to the ultimate consumer.

The coming of age of the unit train, large scale water movement and more recently, EHV transmission, has created a closed system which starts at the mine face and ends with a major consumer.

We look for an intensification of this trend, especially among electric utilities, to a certain extent in exports, and most definitely when liquefaction and gasification come to represent a major coal market.

Economic considerations underscore the need for a stable and efficient work force in coal mining. They inevitably force us to return to the centrality of man in the production equation of coal mining.

Our number one priority in the 1970's must be the establishment and implementation of an effective manpower policy. Such a policy must create the framework within which the industry can attract, retain and motivate its work force. Of the three, motivation will be the most difficult and also the most rewarding. In attempting to develop this policy we must begin with three working hypotheses:

1. We must recognize that our present manpower policies are not adequate to today's challenges. Coal miners are more independent than were their fathers. They are better educated, more aware of their surroundings. They are more vocal, are quick to demand what they feel to be their due and to respond adversely to injustice.

2. Coal companies no longer have a captive labor market, a good electrician, a good foreman, a good engineer does not have to work in coal to earn a good living. These men can, have, and will seek better opportunities when such opportunities are open to them.

3. The public image of coal is deplorable. Coal is simply not attractive as an employer or as an industry. This image is unfair and does not recognize the contribution made by coal to the economy. But, we must recognize its existence if we are to change that image.

A part of the reason for coal's bad image is the safety record. The attacks by critics of coal, in both public and private life, have hurt us badly. We have, to date, failed to reach out—to tell our story objectively and proficiently. Because of this, an atmosphere of hostility has been generated against coal. Because of this atmosphere, all too often those who guide the youth of our nation have tended to point young men away from careers in the mining industry. Finally, the age of ecology has dealt harshly with our industry, especially with regard to strip mining.

Having painted such a gloomy picture, it is redundant upon me to suggest some solutions to the problem.

Initially, let me state very clearly that I believe the future of men in coal is a bright one. I believe that we can instill into the new generation of coal miners the pride that has always characterized the coal mining industry. I believe we can develop a new generation of miners who will stand tall among the workers of our country and who will do all that is demanded of them.

It is incumbent upon us, however, to bring this about. I would suggest the following things.

WE MUST CHANGE THE IMAGE OF OUR INDUSTRY

I am not suggesting a Madison Avenue Public Relations Program, a program designed to cover up mistakes of our industry. I am not suggesting that we attempt to explain away our faults. Rather, we must move as an industry to restore public confidence by correcting problems where they exist, by preventing problems where it is possible, and finally, by telling our story directly and with pride.

An effective public relations program must be one of substance and not of gimmickery. Coal's image will remain bad if coal fails to effectively respond to legitimate problems such as strip mining, pollution, etc. Coal will remain vulnerable to the attacks of critics if it fails to act on pressing environmental and other problems. I believe the industry has recognized this. For example, I strongly suspect that coal's image was enhanced considerably with the statement by Carl Bagge, President of the National Coal Association, that NCA supported (the word supported is my word, not his) proper federal strip mine regulations. I am sure that will do more to enhance coal's image than a ten million dollar public relations program.

COAL MUST ABATE THE TERRIBLE SLAUGHTER IN THE INDUSTRY

Coal can never attract, retain and most importantly, motivate mining personnel with our current health and safety record. Fathers will no longer take their sons into the mines if the certainty of death or injury remains at its present level. Counselors will continue to urge bright young high school students to be anything other than mining engineers. I feel certain that America will not permit mining to continue as it now does at the price of 260 dead men each year.

I say this to you not as an adversary. I have spent all of my professional life promoting coal, many times in cooperation with some of you in this room. But, I know, as you must know, that if we fail to reduce our accident rate the coal industry faces a very precarious future. Joe Moody, the President of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association told the West Virginia Coal Mining Institute recently: "Coal operators recognize that if a better safety record is not achieved they will face the threat of even stricter laws and governmental regulations and, conceivably, the takeover of the mines by the government."

The Coal Mine Health and Safety Act is a good beginning for a truly effective safety program in coal mining, but it is only a start. To fully carry out the mandate for health and safety all of us connected with coal will have to combine our efforts and work closely together to make our mines safe.

It will be necessary to break with many of the cherished traditions of the past, to try the new and ruthlessly cut away those policies and practices which are no longer effective.

MOTIVATION MUST BECOME A KEY WORD IN COAL'S VOCABULARY

Motivation takes many forms. One obvious way to motivate is to provide a wage and fringe benefit level that is consistent with the demands upon the employee and comparable to those in other industries performing similar tasks. I will not belabor this point. In the upcoming months representatives of the industry and the union will discuss this issue in depth and hopefully will arrive at a reasonable solution.

But, motivation in a modern industrial setting involves much more than wages and fringe benefits. This is so because in America most workers have long since passed the subsistence level of income and have come to a plateau similar to their managerial counterparts, a plateau where psychological factors become increasingly important to effective performance.

The basic element in human motivation within this environment involves a recognition that the individual is key to a successful enterprise. It means enhancing the individual's feeling of importance to the enterprise, permitting him to participate in its affairs and expanding his potential for upward movement within its structure. Any successful modern enterprise must recognize that only by enhancing the individual human worth can it ever hope to enhance corporate profitability. Countless studies and books by men like MacGregor, Drucker, Meyers, Roethlisberger and many others, both in the business world and the academic community conclusively demonstrate the validity of a human relations approach in modern management.

I suggest that the coal industry must be structured in such a way that we translate into practice what we tend to preach in words; that is, the worker is the most important part of the coal mining industry. You must begin on that assumption and structure your manpower policies to achieve that end.

The importance of employee motivation in coal may be measured against the demands made upon miners.

Coal miners operate the most sophisticated machinery in a society characterized by sophisticated machinery. While they are doing this they must cope with noise, dust, bad roof, water, explosive gases, possible electrocution and imminent danger of sudden death or injury.

But, even if the miner successfully copes with the hostile environment, his challenge is not ended. Unlike the astronaut, mere physical survival does not equate with success. Rather, you of industry expect him to produce ever increasing quantities of coal, at competitive costs. You expect—and our free market system demands—of him a high level of efficiency on a day in and day out basis.

In short, he must daily face and overcome the threat of a hostile nature and the challenge of a brutal and unsympathetic market place. The sum is enough to test the mettle of the best of men.

There are several companies which have started along this road. They are providing training programs open to all employees and designed to establish a career ladder. They are giving special human relations training to foremen and other supervisors, training which will help them to interact well with the men in the work place. They are establishing special safety programs and increasing the responsibility and authority of those charged with safety. They are coming to recognize the importance of attitude in dealing with men, attitude which is often intangible and rarely quantified, but which means much in the ability or inability of an organization to function effectively.

In all of these things there must be a recognition that convincing the man that his personal goals and those of the coal industry are inexorably intertwined is a vital part of the coal industry's manpower policy. This, in the final analysis, is the best way to effectively utilize coal's most precious asset—its manpower.

WE MUST UPGRADE THE SERVICES AVAILABLE IN COAL MINING AREAS

Coal mining areas are basically rural in nature. As such, they suffer from most of the disadvantages associated with rural areas. Often they lack proper medical facilities, proper housing and many of the amenities considered to be desirable in modern American life.

Of special importance, in my opinion, is the quality of medical care available to miners and their families. The UMWA Welfare and Retirement Fund has done a magnificent job in this regard. They have provided a better quality medical care than has ever been provided before. The coal industry can take justifiable pride in this accomplishment both because it has made it possible financially and also because it has worked closely with the fund in many instances.

However, the shortage of doctors and other medical personnel is so acute in many mining areas that there is a danger of deterioration in the delivery of such medical care. Of course, coal mining areas are not unique, but if our manpower program is to be successful we must find some way to increase the number of doctors and other medical personnel who will serve the needs of mining families.

In short, we must upgrade the living environment of mining areas to make them desirable places to live and work and to retain in them the best talent possible.

I am confident of the future of coal. My confidence is not shaken by the enormity of the problems confronting the industry. In the past, challenge has been the spur to positive forward action. Let it be such a spur in the decade that lies ahead and let those of us now in some way responsible for the future of coal mining respond affirmatively and positively so that we may fashion an industry thoroughly responsive to the needs of our country.

BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE WRIGHT PATMAN

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow marks the 78th birthday of one of the eminent Members of Congress, Hon. WRIGHT PATMAN from the First Congressional District of Texas, and it is a pleasure to extend best wishes to him on this occasion.

Mr. PATMAN has served in the Congress of the United States for almost 43 years, and now is the second most senior Member of Congress. He is chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, and vice chairman of the Joint Committee on Defense Production.

It has been my privilege to serve on Congressman PATMAN's Banking and Currency Committee since I was first elected to Congress 7 years ago, and since that time I have witnessed his untiring and dedicated efforts in behalf of the little people of America.

During his long service in the House he has been a fearless, constructive Member of this body. He has led the fight to make certain that an adequate money supply exists to meet the needs of our expanding economy. He has protected the rights of veterans. He has championed the cause of low-interest rates. The well-known Robinson-Patman Act is a living memorial to his belief that small businesses must be protected from monopolies. He has played a crucial role in securing passage of some of the most progressive and outstanding legislation passed in the last 40 years. The Truth-in-Lending Act, the Federal Credit Union Act, and the Model Cities program immediately come to mind, as well as the Bank Reform Act and welfare reform proposals. The House Select Committee on Small Businesses was established in 1941 as a result of Mr. PATMAN's legislative proposal. The Housing and Urban Development Act and subsequent amendments came out of Chairman PATMAN's Banking Committee and have contributed immensely toward improving housing for the people of America, particularly those residing in the inner cities.

WRIGHT PATMAN has also been a great teacher. He has contributed two of the most outstanding books on the subject of the Federal Government: "How Our Laws Are Made" and "Our American Government." These books have a tremendous circulation and they continue to be two of the most popular publications in their field. They have established WRIGHT PATMAN as one of the country's outstanding authorities in the area of civics and the legislative process.

The list of WRIGHT PATMAN's accomplishments is long indeed, and that is why Texans are devoted to him. In his years of service in the Congress, he has never failed the trust of the people of Texas or the people of America. He has served his district, his State, and his Nation with courage, devotion, honesty, and above all, with genuine concern for the needs and interests of the "little man" in America.

His philosophy was best expressed a short time ago when he said:

As a Congressman, I think I'm here to help people. I've always had that attitude, though sometimes I've been almost alone in the position I've taken . . . but this hasn't deterred me, somebody has to stand up for the little man.

Personally, I want to say that Chairman PATMAN's wise counsel as well as his exemplary public service have been sources of profound inspiration to me. Mrs. Annunzio joins me in extending best wishes to WRIGHT PATMAN, as well as his lovely wife, Pauline, on the occasion of his 78th birthday. May he enjoy continued good health and many more years of outstanding public service.

COOPERATION NEEDED TO COMBAT DRUG ABUSE

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, heroin addiction presents a great problem to this country. It is estimated that 365,000 people in the United States are addicted to heroin or other drugs of this nature. Last year, 1,000 people in New York City died from the effects of heroin. The drug problem in the United States is so serious that it demands the cooperation of industry, Government, and members of all scientific groups.

Today, chairman PAUL ROGERS and the Subcommittee on Public Health and Environment called upon industry, the Government, and interested scientists throughout the United States for a joint effort to promote a program for the development of drugs which will block or antagonize the effects of heroin. Progress in this direction has been made through the development of naloxone and cyclazocine.

Mr. C. Joseph Stetler, president of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, and Mr. Thomas M. Rauch, president of Smith Klein & French Laboratories, stated today in committee hearings that they were enthusiastically offering their assistance in solving this great problem.

I urge all responsible pharmaceutical companies to join with the Federal Government and the scientific world in a united effort toward the eradication of the heroin problem.

THE TRIAL LAWYER AND THE ENVIRONMENT

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I am honored today to make available to my colleagues an excellent and encouraging article written by Mr. Russell E. Train, the distinguished chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality.

This article, printed in the 25th anniversary edition of Trial, the national legal news magazine, notes the fact that the Internal Revenue Service, with assistance from the Council on Environmental Quality, has confirmed the charitable status for tax purposes of public interest law firms involved in much of the citizen environmental litigations.

Mr. Train also outlines in this article, one of nine articles in the magazine of the American Trial Lawyers Association for July–August 1971, the policy of the President's Council on Environmental Quality of extending more liberal treatment of standing to sue to citizen groups in order that they may challenge agency action on environmental issues.

Mr. Train concludes his important article by stating that his message and that of his agency "to citizens concerned about the environment is that we are willing to take the risks of being open to delay and the requirement of justifying major government actions affecting the environment to the public, and to a court, because we put high values on both environmental quality and on the contribution an informed public can make."

The article follows:

THE TRIAL LAWYER AND THE ENVIRONMENT

(By Russel E. Train, Chairman, President's Council on Environmental Quality)

With little fanfare or general recognition by the public, Congress, the courts and private litigants themselves—with what we would like to think of as useful help from our Council—have erected a system of opportunity for citizen participation in federal governmental decisions affecting the environment that has given us *de facto* the most advanced "Environmental Ombudsman" system in the world.

I do not say that we have found a way to serve the environment well in every governmental decision or that there is yet a consensus on how all the competing considerations are to be reconciled in difficult cases. What I do say is: In a relatively short time there has been a remarkable process of opening up federal governmental decisions affecting the environment to public comment and debate, to expert analysis by federal, State and local agencies, and to ultimate court review.

In short, public interest law and trial groups, conservation and environmental groups, and indeed any responsible citizens groups concerned with environmental values are coming to a point where they have with respect to federal action an unprecedented opportunity for obtaining information, for public participation, for requiring detailed analysis and expert comment, and obtaining court review of major government actions affecting the environment. To summarize the relevant developments:

TAX-EXEMPT PUBLIC INTEREST LITIGATORS

The Internal Revenue Service, acknowledging assistance from the Council on Environmental Quality, last fall confirmed the charitable status for tax purposes of public interest law firms involved in much of the citizen environmental litigation.

In our letter to the Internal Revenue Service we successfully claimed: Private litigation before courts and administrative agencies has been and will continue to be an important environmental protection technique supplementing and reinforcing government environmental protection programs.

GREATER AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION

The National Environmental Policy Act requires that environmental impact statements and the comments thereon be available to the public pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act. This policy has been aggressively applied by Executive Order 11514 implementing NEPA and by the Council on Environmental Quality.

The Council's revised guidelines on environmental impact statements generally require that administrative action by agencies be preceded by circulation of a draft environmental statement at least 90 days in advance and by circulation of the final environmental statement and expert federal, state and local agency comments thereon at least 30 days in advance. We encourage the holding of public hearings and provide that where hearings we held the draft environmental impact statements be available to the public in advance.

We publish a monthly *102 Monitor* to give public notice of all draft and final environmental statements and comments received by the Council and utilize a variety of other channels to make this information available to Congress, the public, the press, and citizen groups with particular environmental concerns.

Section 309 of the Clean Air Act, enacted last December, confirms this trend toward greater information accessibility. The section provides for public availability of comments by the Environmental Protection Agency on agency actions and recent decisions under the Freedom of Information Act.

GREATER OPPORTUNITY FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN AGENCY DECISIONMAKING

We subscribe to Chief Justice Warren Burger's broad views in *United Church of Christ v. FCC* that public interest groups asserting noneconomic interests can participate in agency proceedings. We note that agency rules have been substantially revised to reflect this view.

Here again the National Environmental Policy Act and the Council's guidelines give occasion for advance public comment on proposed actions which are the subject of environmental impact statements, require agencies to prepare written detailed statements on the various environmental issues involved (thereby improving the position of citizen groups seeking to intervene to present environmental arguments), and promote the use of public hearings in a broader variety of decision-making.

The Administrative Procedure Act reinforces this process. It grants to an interested person the rights "to petition for the issuance, amendment or repeal of a rule" and to appeal agency failure to act on such a petition.

The usefulness of these rights was demonstrated in the pesticide cases recently before the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia (*EDF v. Hardin; EDF v. Finch*), where similar rights were granted under the federal pesticide laws.

More liberal treatment of standing of citizen groups to challenge agency action on environmental issues.

The Council takes the position that the National Environmental Policy Act and other similar environment protection legislation confers standing on concerned citizens and citizen groups to challenge violations of this legislation. In the 20 or so reported opinions of federal district courts involving such challenges under NEPA I am aware of, no court has disagreed with this view.

Greatly expanded rights of citizens in obtaining court review of Federal administrative action affecting the environment.

Since the 1970 enactment of NEPA there have been more than 17 district court decisions in cases involving citizen challenges to federal action under the Act. They have involved Department of Transportation highway projects (*Brooks* v. *Volpe, Elliot* v. *Volpe, Daily* v. *Volpe, Bucklein* v. *Volpe, Penna. Environmental Council* v. *Bartlett*); Interior Department permits for the Alaska pipeline and a related road (*Wilderness Socity* v. *Hickel*); a federal contract termination (*Nat. Helium Corp.* v. *Morton*); a Bonneville Administration power line (*Investment Syndicate* v. *Richmond*); Forest Service uses of the national forest (*Sierra Club* v. *Hardin, Dorothy Thomas Foundation* v. *Hardin*); Department of Agriculture use of the pesticide Mirex against fire ants (*EDF* v. *Hardin*); water resource projects of the Corps of Engineers (*EDF* v. *Corps of Engineers* (Cross-Florida Barge Canal)), (*EDF* v. *Corps of Engineers* (Gillham Dam)), a Farmers Home Administration loan (*Texas Committee* v. *U.S.*); and a Justice Department grant for a prison facility (*Ely* v. *Velde*).

Significantly, a number of the decisions indicate the courts' willingness under NEPA to take evidence from the plaintiffs on the environmental impact of, and alternatives to, the proposed action, to go beyond the impact statement itself and scrutinize the underlying record of the government's actions, and to reach a judgment whether in the light of this review the government's compliance with NEPA was adequate (*Wilderness Society* v. *Hickel*, the Cross-Florida and Gillham Dam cases, *Sierra Club* v. *Hardin* and the Mirex case).

I need only add that the Supreme Court's decision last March in the *Overton Park* case under Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act indicates the courts will insist on good faith compliance with our new environmental legislation.

NEW OPPORTUNITY FOR CITIZENS TO SEEK DIRECT ENFORCEMENT OF FEDERAL ANTIPOLLUTION LEGISLATION

Since last December, the Administration's position on citizen suits in federal courts against polluters has been to accept provisions authorizing such suits as a supplement to federal enforcement in areas where federal pollution control standards have been clearly established. Such a provision was enacted in Section 304 of the Clean Air Act as amended and a comparable provision has been proposed by the Administration in Section 10(k) of its amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

On the basis of these six developments alone I think you will agree there has been very significant advances in federal law to grant and safeguard citizen rights.

I submit we now have an "Environmental Ombudsman" system in being. It will take citizen initiative, more than superficial concern about environmental values, and a sense of responsibility in using these potentially powerful new tools to achieve results we can be proud of. But our message to citizens concerned about the environment is that we are willing to take the risks of being open to delay and the requirement of justifying major government actions affecting the environment to the public, and to a court, because we put high values on both environmental quality and on the contribution an informed public can make.

CIVIL DEFENSE GAP? PERSPECTIVES ON SOVIET DEVELOPMENT—PART III

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, today, I present my final selection from the Soviet Civil Defense Handbook. As I have suggested in the last 2 days, this is an area which calls for close examination by all Members of Congress. It is clear that there has been substantial advance by the Soviets in civil defense and that there are certain consequences which arise from this rapid development. In prefacing the final chapters which I am entering into the RECORD, let me restate what I said 2 days ago. The Russians believe in their ability through mass evacuation and dispersement to protect their citizens in case of nuclear attack. Do we have the same faith in our programs? And, at the same time, is the effectiveness of our deterrent altered by the Russian civil defense program?

I include as a portion of my remarks the last two selections from chapter 2, "Organization of Civil Defense," and chapter 5, "Reception and Relocation of Dispersed Operational and Supervisory Personnel and Evacuated People":

CHAPTER 2—ORGANIZATION OF CIVIL DEFENSE

THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZING CIVIL DEFENSE

Civil defense is organized throughout the Soviet Union on a territorial-industrial basis. It involves all branches of government, as well as all plants, institutions, schools, kolkhozs, and sovkhozs and includes the entire population. Party, government, and administrative and industrial leaders share the responsibility for the execution of the program.

The Soviet civil defense program is under the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and is led by the civil defense chief of the USSR, who appoints his own staff. The civil defense chief and his staff act in accordance with the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Council of Ministers of the USSR. In the union republics, the civil defense heads are the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the republics.

A civil defense staff is created in each republic to plan and carry out civil defense measures. Local civil defense service personnel in the corresponding ministries, departments, and control units are organized to create and train special civil defense units in peacetime to perform rescue and urgent emergency work in wartime. Branch ministries and departments of the USSR in the union republics are responsible for civil defense in the industrial sectors under their jurisdiction.

Chairmen of the corresponding executive committees of the Workers' Councils[1] are designated as chiefs of civil defense for provinces, cities, districts[2] and villages.

The heads of industrial plants, institutions, schools, kolkhozs, and sovkhozs are designated as chiefs of civil defense matters are binding for all their subordinates and also for the entire population.

The civil defense chief of a province (territory), city, county, or center has his own staff. The presidents of Party, Komsomol (Young Communist League), professional and other communal organizations are members of the guiding civil defense units. Formations, command units, brigades, and groups of different kinds are formed to perform rescue and urgent emergency work at damaged centers and also in areas of natural disasters. These civil defense units consist of Soviet citizens trained to carry out protective measures, rescue work, and urgent emergency work at centers of mass destruction and also in natural-disaster areas.

The formations are created in peacetime. They are provided with transportation, equipment, materials, and stocks of supplies and are given specialized instruction. The civil defense formations are divided into those intended for the industrial sectors and those with other special assignments.

ORGANIZATION OF CIVIL DEFENSE IN AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS, KOLKHOZS, AND SOVKHOZS

Civil defense in agricultural areas is organized and developed in peacetime to protect the population and agricultural resources from weapons of mass destruction; render aid to damaged cities; receive and relocate evacuated people, organizations, and institutions; resettle and treat wounded people; and maintain production in plants, kolkhozs, and sovkhozs in time of war.

Each agricultural county has its own civil defense chief and his staff. The chief is responsible for the establishment of service personnel and civil defense formations and for their training and readiness to carry out rescue and urgent emergency work in stricken areas. He is also responsible for instructing the population in measures of self-protection from weapons of mass destruction.

The head of agricultural production at a rural economic unit[3] is designated as the deputy civil defense chief. He is responsible for the training and activities of service personnel organized for maintaining agricultural production and for the supply and combat readiness of brigade units created in the kolkhozs and sovkhozs. He supervises the work activities of the evacuated population and is responsible for the protection of people engaged in agricultural production. He also decides on the mode of working in a contaminated area and establishes measures for the protection of animals, plants, food supplies, fodder, agricultural raw materials, and sources of water.

The civil defense staff of a county

The county civil defense chief guides the daily work of the civil defense units through his staff and the heads of the service units. The staff is created from members of the county executive committee and its departments, the managers of the rural economic unit, and members of other organizations. As a rule, a staff member acts as chief-of-staff. The other members of the staff maintain their civil defense obligations while performing their usual jobs. The civil defense head of the county establishes the work schedules for the people directly on his staff and those in service organizations and at economic centers. This arrangement promotes efficiency in planning and executing civil defense measures.

CHAPTER 5—RECEPTION AND RELOCATION OF DISPERSED OPERATIONAL AND SUPERVISORY PERSONNEL AND EVACUATED PEOPLE

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE DISPERSAL AND EVACUATION OPERATIONAL

Protection of the population is implemented by dispersing and evacuating the people to outlying areas and providing them with protective shelters and personal means of protection.

Dispersal of the operational and supervisory personnel and their families and evacuation of the population at large from large cities to regions outside of urban areas will be initiated by a special government decree. The dispersal and evacuation operations must be carried out as fast as possible. The required period depends on the number of people involved, the available means of transportation, the distance to the outlying areas, the state of the highway system, and the level of readiness of the organization. "Dispersal" and "evacuation" represent different concepts.

The dispersal operation covers operational and supervisory personnel (and members of their families) of plants which continue their operation in large cities during the war. They are to be relocated in an outlying area, from which they may commute to work in shifts. They will spend their leisure time outside of the city.

Evacuation refers to operational and supervisory personnel of plants, the functions of which are scheduled to be transferred during the war to an existing similar, or a newly organized, enterprise at a remote location. In addition, this concept also covers persons who are unable to work or are not employed within the national economy.

The number of persons to be dispersed and evacuated will depend on the size and importance of the city and the presence of certain plants, institutions, educational and other installations within it. The nature and the state of preparedness of the outlying area will also greatly affect the dispersion and evacuation operations.

The "outlying area" is defined as the territory which lies between the outer boundary of the potential destruction of the city and the boundary of an administrative subdivision, such as a county, district, or republic.

The outlying areas must be readied in peacetime. Development of the highway system, including auxiliary roads in rural areas, is of special importance. The existing communication system must be improved, the available housing increased, and the food and supply system expanded. Steps must be taken to identify and equip cellars, basements, farm buildings, and various underground structures as shelters for the population. Certain communities are further developed to receive plants and schools, and sources of water supply are prepared.

The tremendous size of the territory of the country, the socialistic planning system of the national economy, and the common ownership of the land, housing, plants, and municipal services make it possible to prepare the outlying areas in due time.

All means of transportation—railways, cars (trucks), riverboats, ships, and airplanes—will be used for dispersal and evacuation. However, the main modes of transport will be trains and motor vehicles.

For the most efficient use of highway transportation, it is necessary to organize the technical services; create a sufficient number of service stations, mobile refueling units, and repair shops; and closely control highway traffic.

The operational and supervisory personnel will be dispersed on the basis of their place of employment, such as the factory, plant, or other establishment where they work. Employees of a given enterprise and their families should be transferred together to the same or nearby areas. These areas should not

[1] The Workers' Councils or Soviets of Working People's Deputies constitute the Soviet governmental apparatus at each level of government: republic, province, city or county, and village.

[2] Districts: comparable to counties in the United States.

[3] Rural economic unit: a kolkhoz or sovkhoz. (An urban economic unit is a factory, while an urban center or urban enterprise could be a factory, school, housing project, office, etc.)

be far from the city, but at the same time they should be sufficiently distant to ensure the safety of the population in case of a nuclear attack by the enemy. The dispersed employees should be resettled near railway stations and highways to reduce the time spent in commuting to and from work in the city. The time needed for the round trip should not exceed four to five hours; thus, the dispersal areas may be 60-80 kilometers [37-50 miles] or more from the city. Under such conditions the dispersed employees will be at work for 12 hours and on the road for 4 to 5 hours, leaving 7 to 8 hours for rest and personal activities. In the outlying area the workers and the nonworking population will be assigned mostly to private homes, and when houses are not available, in public buildings such as clubs, schools, youth camps, recreational buildings, rest homes, etc. The main principle of dispersal is: work in the city and rest in the outlying area.

When enemy attack is imminent or the civil defense organizations send out an alert, the shift actually at work should take refuge in the shelters or cellars of the enterprise or plant. The other shifts of workers—those resting in the outlying area—should also seek shelter in radiation-proof structures, if necessary. A timely and efficient dispersal will thus help conserve the labor force and ensure the continued production needed to carry on with the war and keep the country alive.

The personnel of plants, the activity of which is to be transferred to an outlying area, will be evacuated on the basis of their place of employment, while the nonworking individuals will be evacuated on the basis of their residence (housing office). The districts—relocation points of the plants and populations to be evacuated to outlying areas within the boundaries of their own county or region—will be determined and confirmed by order of the county or regional workers councils. As a rule, these districts should be located toward the remote zones of the outlying area.

Orders will be issued authorizing the plants and organizations to be evacuated to the buildings set aside for them by the district workers councils.

In the evacuation districts all housing and farm buildings which may be made suitable for the temporary resettlement of evacuees will be checked. The location of springs, artesian wells, and other sources of water which could be used to supply water to the population should be known in advance. In addition, the means needed to provide food, necessities, municipal services, and work for the evacuated population should be surveyed. As a general rule, belongings should be evacuated after the population has been resettled, but, if possible, both operations may be carried out simultaneously. The principle of relocating dispersed workers and evacuated persons, plants, and facilities is illustrated in Figure 27.

The sequence of the various dispersal and evacuation steps will depend on the particular situation and the specific features of the city and the remote area in question. It will be decided in each case by a special government order. The steps may be carried out in different order; for example, first dispersal, followed by evacuation; simultaneous dispersal and evacuation, or first and evacuation then dispersal.

The simultaneous dispersal of workers and evacuation of the plants and institutions will greatly decrease the number of people in the cities; this in turn will sharply reduce population losses in case of a nuclear attack by the enemy. It has been stated in the foreign press that a nuclear attack of an unprotected large city may result in the loss of life of as much as 90% of the population. An early dispersal and evacuation could reduce the losses considerably, to a level between 5% and 8%.

EVACUATION AGENCIES

Success of dispersal and evacuation will depend significantly on how well the reception and relocation of the dispersed workers and evacuees is organized. Those responsible for receiving and resettling both people and plants are the executive committees of the workers councils. They will exert their leadership through farm and village councils, the civil defense staffs of agricultural districts, collective and state farms, evacuation commissions, reception and assembly evacuation centers, embarkation and disembarkation (loading and unloading) points and stations. (Fig. 28).

The evacuation commission is created in peacetime. The Deputy Chairman of the Executive Committee of the District Workers Council usually serves as President of the Evacuation Commission, which also includes representatives of the district party committee, medical service, agricultural management organization, district supply office, district police department, transportation, communication, and alerting services, educational and welfare organizations, district military headquarters, housing and utilities office, district trade union council, district committee of Young Communists, and three or four technical experts.

The district evacuation commission for the reception and relocation of the population carries out the following basic duties in cooperation with the district civil defense organization: preparing proposals listing the districts to be used for the relocation of people; participating in the work required to prepare and equip these areas; specifying the number and location of the reception centers; and determining the need and providing the means to transport children, invalids, and the aged from the unloading area to their billets. In addition, the evacuation commission helps to develop one of the most important sections of the civil defense plan—"Plan for the reception and relocation of the the evacuated population"—and collaborates with other involved organizations to supply medical service, provisions, necessities, and municipal services to the population and also helps to find work for them. It selects the managers and the supervisory personnel of the reception centers, submitting the names to the district executive committee of workers councils for confirmation; it provides military training to the personnel of the reception centers and supervises the reception and relocation of evacuees in the district.

The regional reception centers are activated as soon as they receive warning of an imminent attack. At the same time, details of the plan to resettle the urban population in small communities are worked out, disembarkation and unloading stations prepared for the arrival of special trains, local transportation arranged for the incoming urban population to their permanent relocation quarters, and provisions made for necessary medical and general services.

Supervisory and staff personnel of the civil defense organization of collective and state farms will assign in advance the available houses, industrial buildings and others which may be used for billeting the relocated people from the city. They will also determine the transportation requirements for carrying children, the sick, and the aged to their new living quarters, and develop plans for the reception and relocation of dispersed workers and evacuees. They will operate in close collaboration with the district evacuation commission.

No reception centers will be established at the collective and state farms to which only few evacuees will be assigned. In this case the supervisory and staff personnel of the civil defense organization will resolve questions involving the reception and relocation of the incoming urban population. Evacuation reception centers will be organized at large farms scheduled to receive a large number of evacuees.

The state and collective farms may receive dispersed and evacuated people both from the district evacuation centers and directly from the disembarkation or unloading stations. In the first case, the receiving centers of the collective and state farms are organized at a central location within the farms; in the second case, they are set up right at the unloading station itself.

Communal buildings, such as schools or clubs, are considered well suited for housing reception centers. Such an arrangement makes it possible to accommodate temporarily the new arrivals at any time of the day or year and in any kind of weather. The problems to be resolved at the receiving centers are very important and carry high responsibility: the incoming people must be met, registered, assigned to various communities, and sent to their quarters in an orderly manner.

Depending on the difficulties encountered and local conditions, the staff of the center could include the following persons: the commandant, his "political" deputy, the recording and checking group (10–12 persons), the building superintendent and his duty officers (3–5 persons), the group receiving the evacuees (16–21 persons), the equipping and dispatch group (6–7 persons), the canteen group (3 persons), medical station staff (2 persons), mother-and-children room staff (2 persons), and the peace-keeping group (4–6 persons). (Fig. 29).

In order to ensure the smooth operation of the reception center, the needed documents must be prepared during peacetime. The number and type of the required documents depend on the specific case. The main documents include: the list of evacuees scheduled to arrive at the center; the list of the staff of the center; the warning plan, the telephone directory of the civil defense officials, the list of the communities to which the evacuees will be assigned; the type and number of vehicles for transporting the evacuees to the relocation areas; sample evacuation certificates; forms for checking the evacuees, and the organization chart of the center's personnel.

One of the collective or state farm managers is named as the commandant of the reception center. He must study in peacetime the problems involved in receiving and relocating the incoming people—the problems of operating the reception center, the number of people expected at the center, the communities to which they will be assigned, the number of the special trains and automobile convoys, their unloading stations, the estimated time of arrival of the trains, and the location of building sites designated as radiation-protection shelters.

In case of contamination of the area he is the one who must take steps to provide protection for the people in the radiation-protection shelters.

The political deputy of the commandant is responsible for the organization and implementation of political education.

The building superintendent is responsible for the preparation and equipment of the building at the reception center.

Back at the city, each plant and factory will organize an evacuation commission; it designates the evacuation assembly and loading centers. These urban evacuation commissions keep track of the employees and their family members who are subject to dispersal (evacuation), organize their evacuation assembly centers and schedule dispersal and evacuation operations. The commission also inspects the outlying areas in question and, in cooperation with the evacuation reception commission of the rural district, prepares a detailed list of the billets.

The lists of individuals subject to dispersal (evacuation) are checked from time to time.

One copy of the list is kept in the evacuation assembly center while the second is transmitted to the evacuation reception commission of the rural district together with a copy of the dispersal and evacuation plan.

The evacuation assembly center is responsible for the assembly and registration of the evacuees, their orderly loading on vehicles, and their transportation to the outlying area. The centers are established by the executive committees of the regional (urban) workers councils on the basis of the place of work or residence of the persons to be evacuated, at the rate of one center for 2000–3000 persons. They will be located in communal buildings, such as schools, clubs, etc. When establishing evacuation assembly centers, the availability of suitable roads for transportation, parking, and access to the main highways must be taken into account. The people to be dispersed and evacuated must know the location of their center and the rules for assembling and embarking on the vehicles.

The evacuation assembly centers assume responsibility for alerting people on beginning of dispersal and evacuation operations, assembling and registering the people and getting them transportation to the outlying area, planning the loading operations, forming convoys and sending them to the loading points, keeping the people informed about the situation, providing shelter when the "air-alarm" signal is given, and informing the district evacuation commission about the progress of their evacuation. They may assume many other functions as required by the changing situation and local conditions.

The evacuation assembly personnel is selected and trained in advance from those individuals not subject to call to the Soviet armed forces or those deferred from service.

Depending upon the duties to be fulfilled and the actual situation, the staff of the evacuation assembly may be changed. Figure 30 indicates such a change. The evacuation assembly center should be in touch with the district (urban) evacuation commission.

The following official documents must be prepared in advance during peace-time by each evacuation assembly center: an extract from the dispersal and evacuation plan for the population and a list of the individuals involved, the operational plan of the assembly center and the warning system, a directory of the staff of the assembly center, a telephone directory of the civil defense officers, a timetable for the railway and highway transportation systems, blanks for recording the evacuees, a list of itineraries, and the organization chart of the center's staff. Evacuation certification blanks will be provided to each assembly center.

The evacuation certificate consists of three parts: the certificate itself, the receipt, and the stub. It contains the family name, the first name, patronymic, the date and place of birth, residence before evacuation, the place to which the person is to be evacuated, the names of individuals evacuated with him, the number and address of the assembly center, a place to stamped as "recorded." The stub of the evacuation certificate remains at the assembly center, while the receipt is sent to the police department. The evacuee keeps the evacuation certificate itself; it serves to confirm his identify in connection with his identification card.

The *recording and checking group* keeps track of the people arriving at the center, assigning the evacuees to a given railway car or automobile, telling them the name of the person in charge of the vehicle, and issuing evacuation certificates to persons who have not obtained them earlier.

The *alerting group* informs citizens of the start of evacuation, gives them the evacuation certificates and has them sign for them, and tells them where the assembly center is and where they must arrive.

The *transportation group* organizes the loading of people into the vehicles and the formation of marching units, designating the lead unit and outlining to the evacuees the rules to be followed during transportation or while marching. This group includes among its members representatives from the party organization, the Young Communist League, sports clubs, and the health service.

The *health service station* provides assistance to sick people and helps to preserve the required sanitary conditions within the assembly center. Its personnel includes physicians, medical assistants, nurses, and medics. The physician of the center is named by the medical service of the civilian defense unit from among the medical staff of the plants and institutes assigned to that particular assembly center or from that of the municipal medical organization. He is responsible for medical matters at the assembly center and during the trip to the relocation area. Responsibilities of the physician of the medical station include looking after the evacuees, especially children and older people, and keeping on hand the necessary supply of drugs and medical instruments to provide first aid. He must report the names of seriously ill persons to the commandant of the assembly center or to the health department supervisor of the plant or the city and, in accordance with their instructions, send patients to the nearest hospital. He must check the sanitary conditions of the buildings of the assembly center, especially in the public areas, and must organize and implement the sanitary and preventive measures among the evacuees, as required by the medical regulations. These activities must be reported to the civil defense superivisor of the plant or the city.

The *general peace-keeping group* includes policemen and members of national volunteer service groups. The commanding officer of this group is appointed by the Public Order Department; from the operational standpoint he reports to the commandant of the assembly center. He is fully responsible for maintaining public order and safety and for supervising the loading operations.

The *building superintendent* is appointed from members of the supervisory staff of the plants and institutes assigned to that assembly center and reports to its commandant. His responsibilities include furnishing telephone and radio services, necessary materials, and water to the center; dividing people into groups for loading on the vehicles; and helping to organize in advance the measures necessary for protecting the people.

The *chief of the railway or motor vehicle convoy team* is responsible for the rapid transportation of the evacuees to the relocation areas. The chief is in charge of all personnel, including the operating train's crew. He has the right to use freely all means of communication (telegraph, telephone, radio) and transportation for carying out official business.

Before starting the loading operations, the railway team chief must learn and check the number of the special train and its time for departure, have an accurate list of the people on the train, designate overseers in each car, and count the persons and the accompanying luggage loaded in the cars. He is responsible for the rapid loading of the train and for reporting to the station master or the duty officer when the train is ready to depart.

Loading platforms are assigned for getting the evacuees into motor vehicles. They must be located at railroad stations, docks, ports, and piers. Loading areas for convoys may be combined with the assembly centers.

ORGANIZATION OF THE RELOCATION OF WORKERS TO BE DISPERSED, THEIR FAMILY, AND EVACUEES

The dispersal of the workers and evacuation of the population must be organized in peacetime. The supervisor of the district or municipal civil defense organization is responsible for the dispersal of workers and evacuation of the population. On the basis of his instructions, the district civil defense staff, in cooperation with service departments and the evacuation commission, develops a plan, a copy of which is sent to each plant.

On the basis of this copy of the plan, the supervisor of the civil defense organization of each facility must make his own decision and in cooperation with the evacuation commission and the service departments develops his own plan.

Orders concerning the start of dispersal and evacuation of the operations are swiftly communicated to the supervisors of the municipal, district, and plant civil defense organizations. The population is alerted by local radio broadcasts and warning signals and newspapers. At the same time the means of transportation are made ready to move the population, and the assembly centers are set up.

The managers of the motor vehicle fleets organize motor convoys, indicating their itineraries, developing timetables, and sending the vehicles to the assembly centers. The movement of the vehicles to the assembly centers is based on the previously established timetables.

The successful execution of the evacuation will depend greatly on the state of organization and discipline of the population, how much they know and how well they carry on with their duties. After they have been informed of the beginning of the dispersal and evacuation operations, all persons must start immediately to collect their essentials, clothing, footwear, underwear, bedding, food (for two to three days), medicines, and personal means of protection, packing everything in knapsacks, bags, or suitcases. The total weight of the goods should not exceed 50 kg. [110 lb.] per person. Everyone must also take along the following documents: identification cards, draft card, school certificates, birth certificates of children, employment booklet, evacuation certificates, and money. Pre-school age children should have in their pockets or sewn to their clothes a label giving their last name, first name, patronymic, place or residence, and the ultimate evacuation point. A tag with last name, first name, patronymic, permanent residence, and final evacuation point should also be attached to each suitcase or knapsack.

The names of sick persons who are unable to accompany their family to the assembly center must be reported to the commandant of the center.

The persons arriving at the assembly center will be registered and assigned to railroad cars or motor vehicles. Afterwards, following closely the instructions of the evacuation center's staff concerning the loading schedule, the evacuees will take their assigned places in the cars. During the trip they must observe the established regulations: each person must know the number of his railroad car or motor vehicle and the name of the special train or motor convoy chief and must obey the safety rules.

It should be kept in mind that a nuclear attack on the city by the enemy may occur during the dispersal and evacuation operations. If this should happen, the actual situation will dictate what action must be taken.

If the "air alarm" signal is given when people are at home, they must warn their neighbors to shut off the electricity, gas, furnace, and the kitchen range, close the windows, take documents and immediate necessities with them, and seek refuge in the nearest shelter.

If the alert is sounded while people are on their way to the assembly evacuation center or after they have arrived there, they

must immediately take refuge in the nearest shelter.

If the enemy did not attack the city with nuclear weapons, the dispersal and evacuation operations must be continued.

A nuclear attack on the city by an enemy causes a very difficult and complex situation, making it necessary to carry out the dispersal and evacuation operations simultaneously with rescue and emergency measures.

During the trip, the evacuees must observe the rules applicable to travel, taking care to prevent accidents. If weapons of mass destruction by the enemy force the train to stop, everybody must get off as fast as possible. The responsible officials must be notified of this while taking steps to continue the trip.

If a motor convoy carrying people to the outlying area must pass through areas contaminated by radioactive, chemical, or bacterial materials, the contaminated zone must be bypassed at the windward side. If this is impossible, the convoy must go through the area at a high speed, using personal protection devices, such as gas masks, respirators, face masks, protective clothing, gloves, and boots. After having passed through the contaminated area, all persons must be checked by the health service, and their clothes, shoes, and belongings decontaminated.

Evacuation of the population from the large cities is a very important protective measure. Successful execution of dispersal and evacuation requires careful and complete planning in peacetime and making sure that the evacuation units, the population at large, and the transportation crews are well trained.

RECEPTION, RELOCATION, AND SUPERVISION OF DISPERSED WORKERS AND EVACUEES

When evacuation begins, the commandant of the civil defense organization of the rural district issues orders to his staff to make necessary preparations for the reception and relocation of the dispersed workers and evacuees, as outlined in the plan developed in peacetime. The supervisory and staff personnel and the evacuation commissions of the rural districts and state and collective farms will have some time at their disposal to prepare the reception operations. This time depends on how fast people are assembled at the assembly center, on the time required to make ready the vehicles needed to transport them, the time required for embarkation and loading (3–6 hours), the speed of the railway trains or motor convoys, and the distance to the reception area (2–4 or more hours and altogether 5–10 hours; for more remote areas, longer periods may be needed). After he receives his orders, the chairman of the district evacuation commission must make sure that the station platforms, piers, unloading areas, and reception centers are ready to receive the evacuees. He must also distribute the required forms.

In cooperation with the civil defense staff of the rural district, the commission gets in touch with the urban or district evacuation commission, working out a detailed plan for the reception and relocation of the population and a timetable for the movement of trains and motor convoys on the basis of the estimated number of people to be assigned to each special train or highway transportation unit.

The regional evacuation commission also establishes contact with the commandant and staff of the civil defense organization and evacuation commissions of all the urban facilities which are supposed to be relocated in the territory of the given rural district. He cooperates with them in developing a plan for relocating the incoming people and taking care of them.

At collective and state farms, all buildings designated to house the relocated people are released from general use, and other billeting problems are resolved. This involves assigning quarters with the local inhabitants, taking into account the increase in population density, in boarding houses, youth hotels, tourist camps, outlying farm houses, and other communal buildings; at the same time the reception centers are made ready.

On learning that dispersal and evacuation have started, the commandant of the reception center must go there immediately to assemble his staff and establish contact with supervisory personnel of the civil defense organization of the collective or state farm. He should transmit to them the pertinent portions of the plan on the relocation of dispersed and evacuated individuals and then should activate the reception center, organizing the details of its operation. He must personally meet the incoming special trains and motor convoys and is responsible for the reception of the arriving people, to whom he must explain the situation, taking steps to prevent any panic and disorder.

The chief of the train or motor convoy issues instructions on the disembarkation of people from the vehicles as they arrive at their destination; he must inform the station master or duty officer when this operation is finished. At this time, he will advise the representative of the evacuation commission of the rural district that the task has been completed, forwarding him the required records.

Members of the receiving group meet the arriving individuals and acompany them to the reception center.

Members of the recording and checking group list the names of all persons in a special book, checking their identification cards and evacuation certificates. An example of the filled out blank is shown below.

RELOCATION RECORDS OF EVACUEES AT A COLLECTIVE FARM

Order No.	Last name, 1st name, patronymic	Year of birth	Relationship (head of family, wife, son, etc.)	Previous residence	Relocation area	Date of arrival
1	Sukharev, Ivan Sergeevich	1910	Head of family.	Moscow, Sovetskaya St. 5–18	Cottage	May 5
2	Sukharev, Elena Ivanovna	1913	Wife	Same	Same	Do.

These record books may also contain other data such as party membership, education, special expertise, military service record, etc. At the same time, it should be noted which member of the family did not arrive at the reception station and the reason. Each incoming person is to be told in what community he shall live, at what address, and who is to be his host.

The physician of the center and the health services staff will identify the sick and check their complaint. The sick will be sent to clinics for a more detailed checkup, diagnosis, and treatment. People showing symptoms of infectious diseases will be quarantined, and the vehicles will be decontaminated before being allowed to return to the city.

After registration, members of the equipment and dispatch group divide the new arrivals among the communities, providing them with an escort to their permanent quarters, and using cars and truck for transporting them there. If there is a shortage of vehicles, the evacuees will be sent on foot to the relocation community. In such a case, only mothers with children, pregnant women, invalids, old people, and their belongings will be transported.

In each community the evacuees must be met by a special detachment whose members will guide them to their assigned homes. The evacuees must follow all orders of local, party, and government agencies and must observe the regulations concerning proper behavior.

Collective means of protection are provided in advance in the dispersal and evacuation areas. If the number of available shelters is not sufficient to protect the incoming urban population, the local government agencies will build additional simple radiation protection shelters and will supply personal means of protection. All able bodied people, including the new arrivals from the city, must participate in this work.

Provision of food, communal services, and medical care at the outlying area to the workers, members of their families, and evacuees is of the greatest importance.

The food and supplies office of the rural district has the responsibility of supplying food and essentials to the population. During the first two days the people are expected to survive on the food that they have brought with them. Hot food is to be prepared at their permanent residence or may be supplied through boarding houses, tearooms, coffee houses, or restaurants. If necessary, feeding stations should be organized, using field kitchens, large cooking vessels, and other mass feeding equipment.

It is very important to protect food products from radioactive, chemical, and bacterial contamination by strictly following the food storage regulations. Greatest care must be applied when handling food products, and steps taken to prevent radioactive fallout from reaching the food during transportation and preparation. Therefore, all outer clothing and footwear must be removed upon entering, the hands and face must be carefully washed with soap, and the leftovers must be repacked.

The community service organizations, such as tradesmen, barbers and hairdressers, laundries, and bath houses are responsible for providing public services to the population in the relocation areas. If necessary, these services may be increased by relocating similar groups from the city to the outlying area.

Persons trained in various communal and public service fields among the evacuees should be recruited to collaborate with the local communal organizations. The evacuation agencies and the executive committees of the workers council should see that relocated people can withdraw their deposits from the urban savings banks.

As a general rule, the already existing network of hospitals, polyclinics, rural outpatient centers, and pharmacies will be responsible for providing medical service to the population. Operation of these agencies will be greatly complicated by radioactive, chemical, and bacteriological contamination. People exposed to the effects of radioactive, chemical, and bacterial weapons are likely to be present along with their usual patients. Health care at the home is expected to play a considerably increased role.

In order to increase the effectiveness of polyclinics, hospitals, and health care centers and to enlarge the number of paramedical personnel, physicians, nurses, medical assistants, and persons with some medical training among the evacuees must be recruited for this activity.

The Party and government organizations of the involved rural districts and the managers of the cooperative and state farms, institutes, and plants must plan and organize the work assignments of the evacuees. Work should be provided for them in the collective and state farms and in the relocated

plants which continue their operations at an outlying site after transfer from the city. When assigning the work, the expertise of the incoming evacuees must be taken into consideration. Specifically, the evacuees should be assigned to sowing, tending, and harvesting field crops in the collective and state farms.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF THE PARTY DURING THE DISPERSAL OF WORKERS AND EVACUATION OF THE POPULATION

Under these difficult conditions the political and educational work of the party among the population becomes especially important.

The political activity of the party is organized on the basis of the program and constitution of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; decrees of the Central Committee of the Party and the Soviet Government; instructions and directives of the High Command and the head of the civil defense organization of the USSR; the resolutions, directives, and instructions of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics and district, county, regional committees, and city committees of the party. The party organizations, under the supervision of the local party agencies, carry out political and educational activity among the population.

The political work of the party becomes especially important during the period of dispersal and evacuation. This activity is the responsibility of the party organizations of the plants, institutes, districts, and cities of similar agencies of the collective and state farms, facilities, and rural, regional, and district party committees.

The political activity of the party is already started in peacetime to acquaint all citizens with the importance of the evacuation and to help civil defense organizations and evacuation commissions. The political party workers must also assist in the implementation of dispersal and evacuation and the operations of the evacuation posts, cooperating with the evacuation agencies in the advance preparation of the outlying areas. Working closely with the supervisors of the party organizations of the state and collective farms in the relocation and evacuation districts is very helpful in resolving problems of providing for the evacuees.

When the country is threatened with an attack and dispersal and evacuation operations have started, persons involved in the political apparatus of the party must alert the staffs of the evacuation agencies and the population, advising them that the dispersal and evacuation are in progress and offering assistance in directing them to the assembly centers. The party staff will inform workers and the population at large of the general rules of conduct that must be observed at those centers during the trip and at the relocation centers to help to keep up the morale of the population and to increase their awareness of the importance of the operations. These agencies must mask and counter enemy propaganda to prevent potential panic-causing rumors, maintaining order and discipline during the embarkation and the trip.

When the workers and evacuees arrive at the outlying location, the political party workers must organize as fast as possible the reception of the incoming people at the stations, platforms, disembarkation points, and reception centers, ensuring an orderly billeting of the incoming people at the various communities and public buildings. The party staff must help supply the population with water, food, and communal and medical services, equipping existing shelters, constructing additional ones, and providing some simple personal means of protection. Staff members should also help by explaining to the population the rules of conduct in contaminated zones and organizing work for the evacuees, assigning them to work shifts at the plants which continue to function in the city.

Special political activity should be carried on among the transportation workers on whose efficient operation the dispersal of workers and service personnel will depend.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1971

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, this week I supported H.R. 9910, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1971. My affirmative vote, however, was not without a number of reservations that I feel merit discussion.

In too many instances, H.R. 9910 epitomized the misplaced priorities so characteristic of the actions of this Congress. When almost 60 percent of the total $6,938,700,000 authorized in this measure was specified for military aid and security-supporting assistance, I could only underscore Congressman RONALD DELLUM's evaluation that "the 'Foreign Assistance Act of 1971' is the antithesis of development assistance."

I strongly believe that nonmilitary aid to developing countries should be of critical concern to the United States, and that it has not received the attention and funding it is due. Concurrently, I feel that military aid and security-supporting assistance are, in many cases, blatantly overfunded due to Congress inability to say "no" to the military. In this regard, I first of all was dismayed that both military and nonmilitary assistance were crudely lumped together in one package so that those who supported development assistance and had reservations about military assistance were forced into an unnecessary and painful bind.

I understand, of course, that such factors are being considered in the House Foreign Affairs Committee's study of foreign aid that will be completed 2 years from now. Yet, the fact that reform is under consideration does not give us leave, in the interim, to forgo any sense of responsibility in this area. We must today fully appreciate the affirmation of the Peterson report that, "the U.S. has a profound national interest in cooperating with developing countries in their efforts to improve conditions of life in their societies." Since the House, by introducing and passing a bill so heavily weighted in favor of military rather than development assistance, did not adequately respond to that challenge, we must now look to the Senate. I urge that body to effect this critical reordering of priorities in favor of nonmilitary aid.

I would like to note further that while I am certainly not unconditionally opposed to military aid, I feel very strongly that careful discrimination must be exercised in making allocations. Aid to Greece and Pakistan were eliminated, and I fully endorsed the committee's position on this. I further heartened that moves to restore such assistance were soundly defeated on the House floor. Yet, I could see no reason for fostering the military and security interests of repressive countries such as Brazil and Portugal.

Despite the sincere reservations about the provisions in H.R. 9910, I reluctantly voted in favor of its passage. I did this for several reasons.

Many of the nonmilitary assistance provisions in the bill were laudable and reflected a real effort to meet the critical expanding needs of developing nations. For this the committee is again to be commended. Furthermore, there were some countries to which assistance should have been allocated and I did not want to jeopardize that aid. Israel, specifically—since she is, according to the committee report, now eligible for this assistance, and there is sufficient funding in the measure to cover such help—was a singularly deserving recipient.

Thus, while I did vote for H.R. 9910, I implore the Senate to weigh my qualifications about the measure as that body deals with this issue, and I implore both bodies to keep these qualifications in mind as they consider foreign and military aid proposals in the future.

DAY OF SOVIET SHAME

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, August 21 marks the anniversary of the most blatant instance of Soviet imperialism since the end of the Second World War. On that day in 1968, a half-million troops under Russian control crushed out the stirrings of liberty which had emerged that spring in Prague. Lest we forget, that day has been commemorated as a Day of Soviet Shame by the Czechoslovak National Council of America.

The invasion of peaceful and freedom-loving Czechoslovakia violated at least five of the main principles of international law contained in the United Nations Charter—a document to which the Soviet Union claims to adhere. The sovereignty of a member state of the community of nations was wantonly violated by the use of military force. Furthermore, the invasion was an affront to the principle of self-determination of peoples, a principle which this country has supported since its beginning. And, by the Brezhnev doctrine, the Soviet Union has reserved the permanent right to intervene in the affairs of other Communist states which might try to allow their people more freedom. We must not let this doctrine stand unchallenged.

In the spring of 1968, a new Czech Government, led by Alexander Dubcek, had begun to draw their country away from the repressive Soviet past, granting the Czech people more freedoms, liberalizing censorship, and creating structures to respond to the real needs of the people. These efforts were ruthlessly crushed by Soviet tanks on the night of August 21. The history of the Czech and Slovak peo-

ples over the last 53 years has been that of a continuous struggle for independence, freedom, and democracy. This struggle was brutally set back by the Munich sellout in 1938, and then in 1948 when the Communists came to power after a coup. In August 1968, for the third time in 20 years, Czech aspirations to freedom were blighted when the Russian tanks put an end to the Prague spring. Representatives of all free peoples the world over must continue to press for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, and the vindication of the legitimate rights and national aspirations of all East European peoples. I join with them today to demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the restoration of Czech freedom.

DURHAM, N.C., HOSTS THE FIRST PAN AFRICAN-AMERICAN TRACK MEET

HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, because of the historic nature of an extraordinary event which occurred in my district recently, I would like to call it to the attention of my colleagues. On July 16 and 17, Durham, N.C., hosted the first Pan African-American Track Meet, and witnesses to this event were witnesses to a historically unique occurrence—an African team representing many nations united under one banner.

The international track meet, held at Wallace Wade Stadium at Duke University, was also the first one to be held in the Southeastern United States. The audience for the 2-day meet numbered 52,000, making it the largest audience tc witness a track meet in the Western Hemisphere this year.

The most important aspect of this event, however, was the strengthening of old friendships, and the establishment of new ones for the two continents. It was an illustrious example of the intensely human magnificence that is found in "reaching for the win," and at the same time "reaching for others." It was a marvelous embodiment of the truths gained from the old and wise saying, "To communicate is the beginning of understanding."

This track meet was the culmination of 11 years of dreaming, and planning and hard work by Dr. Leroy T. Walker, chairman of the Department of Physical Education at North Carolina Central University, Mr. Al Buehler, head track coach at Duke University and president of the National Association of Track Coaches, and countless others who worked selflessly and tirelessly to make this event the success it was. All involved cannot be praised too highly for their determination, their skill, and most of all, their faith in creating a monumental event that would symbolize all that is best in the spirit of striving and all that is kind in the relations of men to men.

Fifty percent of the profits from the track meet will go to the Amateur Athletic Union for their work in preparing our athletes for the 1972 Olympic games and the remaining 50 percent will go to UNICEF, the Durham Recreation Department, and the John Avery Boys Club, all devoted to the development of youth.

I am indeed proud to represent a district whose unselfish endeavors have strengthened relations between the United States and the nations of Africa.

VIETNAMIZATION: PRESCRIPTION FOR DISASTER

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, for many months I have criticized the Vietnamization program on the grounds that it is tantamount to abandonment of the American prisoners of war. Now it is becoming increasingly apparent that the program itself is leading to catastrophe.

A few months ago we were hearing great things about the progress of Vietnamization, about how the South Vietnamese Army could "hack it." We don't hear much of that kind of thing any more. It is becoming increasingly evident that the ARVN just does not want to fight. All the Madison Avenue propaganda the administration can drum up cannot disguise the fact that the Vietnamese soldier is not going to risk his life for generals he knows to be corrupt, or for a type of government he did not choose and which does not represent him.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the lull in the fighting is the result of a decision by the other side to let us proceed with our withdrawals relatively unmolested. But when the withdrawals stop, when we reach the level of Mr. Nixon's "residual force"—what will the other side do then? If we don't resolve Vietnam's future by negotiations, that country may be in for trouble.

Mr. Speaker, a policy which leaves 50,000 or 70,000 Americans to face a possible Tet offensive is a policy of criminal irresponsibility. It is no policy. It makes no provision for the contingencies which are developing. It must be abandoned.

We must set a date for total withdrawal in return for an agreement on the safety of our troops and the return of prisoners of war. Then we must stick to it and get out. This is the only way we will get our prisoners back. It is the only way we will get our men out safely. And it is the only way the Vietnamese will have time to peaceably resolve their differences.

The August 2 issue of Newsweek carried an excellent report on the snowballing disintegration of Vietnamization. I include it at this point in the RECORD.

[From Newsweek, Aug. 2, 1971]

VIETNAMIZATION: THE REALITY AND THE MYTH

Despite such assurances, the U.S. is getting out of South Vietnam the same way it got in—without excessive thought for the consequences. But by now, with the Vietnamization program more than two years old, the consequences are becoming visible. Out in the boondocks, the few remaining U.S. combat units huddle in the security of their outposts, only occasionally staging cautious "search and evade" forays into the jungle. And in Saigon, the U.S. command proudly reports ever lower American casualties. (Last week, eleven GI's died in combat, the lowest weekly toll in nearly six years.) But of all the symptoms stemming from the U.S. pullout, none is more telling than the new mood that now pervades the U.S. mission in Saigon. Suddenly, even the most convinced optimists are talking about the threat of serious military "slippage."

And with good reason. As the U.S. has cut its troop level by more than half (down to about 230,000 soldiers), the enemy has increased his by a third. As a result, at least eight of South Vietnam's 44 provinces reportedly face an immediate threat of heavy Communist attack (map). And nagging doubts still remain as to the quality of ARVN leadership. "As usual, we've been guilty of self-delusion," said one U.S. Embassy official in Saigon. "Vietnamization was the theme upon which we were going to slide out of this mess. And nobody wants to recognize the fact that Vietnamization does not reflect the reality on the ground."

That reality is not very encouraging. With some exceptions, there has been a gradual deterioration of security throughout South Vietnam's four military regions. In MR–I, which comprises the country's five northernmost provinces, some 55,000 North Vietnamese regulars and Viet Cong guerrillas now prowl almost at will. Recently, Communist troops have been constructing at least one new supply road deep into Quang Tri Province along the Demilitarized Zone. And as the Communists have stepped up their activity, U.S. withdrawals have proceeded apace. Just last week, the last U.S. combat unit was pulled out of Quang Tri. To fill the gap, the ARVN command was forced to rush in 30,000 reinforcements. "Whatever it takes to secure that area," said one U.S. official, "the ARVN will have to provide it themselves. It's a straight shot from there to Hué or Da Nang. If the ARVN can't hold the North Vietnamese off, then we're going to have a brand-new DMZ."

FRIENDLY

The situation is not much better in the central highlands of MR-II. There, the U.S. 173rd Airborne Brigade is on its way out, as is a Korean division that has guarded the approach to the coast plain. Left behind, however, are several North Vietnamese divisions and a population remarkably friendly to the Communists. In Binh Dinh Province alone, estimates put Viet Cong sympathizers a more than 300,000—nearly one-third its population. And throughout the region, Communist cadres have made it increasingly difficult for Saigon to recruit village and hamlet officials.

In an effort to stem this tide, Washington recently dispatched John Paul Vann, a former Army colonel who is credited with "saving" the Mekong Delta from Communist domination, to head the pacification program in MR-II. Yet even Vann admits: "Here, we don't have pacification. We have military occupation of the countryside."

LINK

In fact, it is only in the Mekong Delta and in areas near Saigon that U.S. officials find cause for optimism. But even in those relatively pacified regions, isolated Communist strongholds remain—a fact that could spell trouble in the future. It is no secret that the U.S.-sponsored Phoenix Program (which is aimed at uprooting the Viet Cong underground and which has recently come under fire in Congress for practicing selective political assassination) has been less than a success. And some experts believe that

if the guerrilla bands currently holed up in the delta's U Minh Forest ever manage to link up with local Communist sympathizers, the security picture there could suddenly get drastically worse.

That still seems a distant possibility—but a possibility nonetheless. At present, what worries military planners more than almost anything else is the fact that, even when the ARVN has superiority on the ground, it still awaits for American air cover before it attacks. That cautious approach has worked up to now, but as U.S. helicopters and fighter-bombers are withdrawn along with American ground troops, the South Vietnamese will have to fight by a brand-new set of rules. And in the view of many observers, the ARVN—which was trained as a conventional, U.S.-Style army—may not be able to make the change at this late stage of the war. Even Gen. Creighton Abrams has appeared to join the ranks of the skeptics. Two months ago, after the South Vietnamese only narrowly managed to avert disaster by retreating, under heavy U.S. air cover, from the Cambodian town of Snoul, Abrams snapped: "Dammit, they've got to learn they can't do it all with air. They've got to do it on the ground with infantry. If they don't it's all been in vain."

DESERTIONS

Compounding Saigon's problem is the fact that the U.S. pullout has set in motion other painful changes in tactics. To fill the vacuum left by U.S. ground units, the South Vietnamese have had to shuttle troops from pacified areas to trouble spots. And that has not proved easy. Remarked one observer: "Consider the problems involved in moving the ARVN Ninth Division from the delta to the DMZ. First, the very idea of serving in such a dangerous area is not going to appeal to the troops. There should be a few desertions because of that. Besides, most Ninth Division soldiers were recruited from the delta. They have farms and families there and want to continue to work their crops. A few more desertions. On top of that, many officers are going to have to give up lucrative—and often shady—local businesses they've worked hard to build. More desertions. It will be a wonder if enough troops ever get to the north to actually fight the enemy."

Both South Vietnamesse and American military men are aware of all these problems, and many of them still persist in the belief that the ARVN will be able to go it alone. In addition, some take comfort in the thought that, at least until the 1972 election is imminent, the U.S. will leave in Vietnam enough of a residual force—perhaps as many as 70,000 men—so that it will be able to help the ARVN out if it gets in deep trouble. But even if so large a U.S. force does remain, its potential usefulness is debatable. "We're not doing anything worthwhile with the troops we have here now," scoffed one U.S. officer. "How in hell can we help with a much smaller force?"

Many experienced military men, in fact, believe that the U.S. residual force may only aggravate Saigon's security problems. Says John Paul Vann: "When a major U.S. unit gets out of an area, there is a greatly reduced level of activity by both friendly and enemy units." And Former Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway pointed out in the current issue of the quarterly Foreign Affairs: "So long as we retain a residual fore [in South Vietnam] . . . our men will be mortared, shelled or otherwise attacked. And so long as they are attacked they will counterattack with fire and movement—and the war will drag on, not end."

OPEN DIALOG POLICY ON VIETNAM

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, those who have opposed our Nation's policies in Vietnam, whether in the Halls of Congress, the news media or in private, have complained frequently of a "lack of dialog" on the war and the reasons for our current policy.

I think it is important that those who voice this complaint remember that it should apply to themselves as well.

The recent testimony by John Vecchione of the National Student Coordinating Committee for Freedom in Vietnam and Southeast Asia, delivered before the Congressional Pentagon Conference, indicates that the "open dialog" policy has not been followed by those who supposedly advocate it most. It follows:

NATIONAL STUDENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM IN VIETNAM AND SOUTHEAST ASIA—TEXT OF STATEMENT MADE BY JOHN VECCHIONE ON BEHALF OF THE COMMITTEE AT THE CONGRESSIONAL PENTAGON CONFERENCE OF JULY 29, 1971

Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you and your colleagues for only five minutes in which to answer to 3 days solid of totally one-sided rhetoric. By your own words "a wide variety of authorities representing a gamut of political thinking and party affiliations" were to participate. And yet I have heard only one side. There is not the forum or debate usually evident at Congressional hearings. My presence here in no way legitimatizes this sham.

I recall that it was the radical Left, that called for meaningful dialogue, back at the time when many of your honorable speakers refused to face questions from the public, busying themselves with their war-making projects. Back then, to call for debate of the facts was not the "in" thing to do, it was gravely frowned on—interestingly enough—by the same people who today steal and make public secret government documents.

As lower echelon policy-makers, these people designed the "no-win" strategy by which tens of thousands of Americans and hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese were decimated.

They worked hard developing counter-terror techniques to combat the terrorism through which the Viet Cong obtained peasant support. For better or worse, the bulk of the South Vietnamese populace has committed itself to the Government side. To counter this, the Communists have decreed it a capital crime to collaborate with the Saigon government—passively or actively—they have even decreed it a capital crime to have a brother, uncle, father, etc. in any way involved with the Saigon government. The Viet Cong blood-debt list has grown by leaps and bounds. Captured documents make the consequences of a Communist victory undeniable. This is why even all the anti-Thieu, non-Communist opposition leaders have refused to accept a coalition government. "Big" Minh has little popular support, not because he wants a coalition government—he doesn't—but, having had his chance in 1963, he is considered too inept to prevent a Communist takeover. Nevertheless, he is hoping to make it—as he did in 1963—with American help.

Your honorable speakers would now have the people of South Vietnam face liquidation as at Hue and thousands of other "liberated" places with the same cold-blooded detachment with which they helped design America's war strategy several years earlier. We think that rather than ask our government to explain itself, these honorable gentlemen ought to explain exactly what reasoning motivated them personally to design the war as they did and what great new revelations caused their sudden switch.

As supporters of the Viet Cong's 7-point proposal, your speakers would have us adopt exactly the same plan for the takeover of South Vietnam that Hanoi made public at its Third Party Congress in 1960. They are, in effect, calling for adoption of the very thing that they were lavishly salaried—at taxpayers' expense—to defeat.

These days, to paraphrase Shakespeare, there indeed is something rotten and fake in Washington—and it seems rotten and fake to see those who brought the Vietnam War on us, now, denouncing those who only inherited it from them.

In violation of the Geneva Convention on War—which it signed—Hanoi still refuses to allow the Red Cross to inspect its POW camps. Hanoi still refuses to allow any correspondence between the POW's and their families. In the light of these facts, can we trust Hanoi to release our POW's after we leave?

While you gentlemen play partisan politics, American G.I.'s are dying on the battlefield!

Once more, as over the past years, I come here to plead with you for meaningful dialogue. Only through responsible debate of the facts can we make the truth known and save America from future Vietnams! What you have done here is a long way from responsible discussion. It is a onesided game by the same people who sought to prevent meaningful dialogue when they were part of the government. Such an approach must not go on much longer, for it can only help those who want more war—not less!

Thank you.

LEST WE FORGET

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 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 consistenly 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 haven't 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 members is enslaved. I insert the name of one of the prisoners.

Sgt. Isiah McMillan, U.S. Army, [redacted], Mt. Pleasant, Fla. Married and the father of one child. Graduate of Carter Parmore High School. Officially listed as a prisoner March 1, 1968. As of today, Sergeant McMillan has been held captive in Southeast Asia for 1,252 days.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SCREW THREAD COMMISSION

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, during the last Congress the Government Operations Committee submitted a report on "The Role and Effectiveness of Federal Advisory Committees." The report contained a recommendation that the function of Federal advisory committees be reviewed periodically to determine whether their continued existence is necessary or desirable. I have introduced legislation which would implement the recommendation made in the committee report, and this legislation is now under consideration by the Government Operations Subcommittee on Legal and Monetary Affairs, which I am privileged to chair.

A former Member of this body from my home State sponsored a bill to create the Commission for the Standardization of Screw Threads more than 50 years ago. This Commission has apparently discovered the key to eternal life. I hope my colleagues will take the time to read the story of this Commission's progress which appeared in the August edition of the Washington Monthly. Congratulations to Jim Clark for an excellent writing job and to the editors of the Washington Monthly for spotting this administrative jewel. The article follows:

[From the Washington Monthly, August 1971]

THE INTERNATIONAL SCREW THREAD COMMISSION

(By Jim Clark)

On May 31, 1918, the U.S. House of Representatives spent one hour debating the merits of a bill creating the Commission for the Standardization of Screw Threads. The legislation, sponsored by Representative John Tilson of Connecticut, was greeted with general indifference by the members, but there were a few questions. Several congressmen expressed fear that the screw people might be around longer, and cost more, than they were being assured was the case. At that very time, the Congress as a whole was harboring similar fears about World War I. But Tilson promised his colleagues that the commission would need less than one year to reach agreement on screw thread standards, which, he added, urgently required coordination so that the nuts and bolts of our battle weaponry would fit each other. Thus, the commission was designed not only to end itself quickly but also to help end the war. Besides, said Tilson, there would be no cost to the government, "not one red cent."

The Tilson bill received quick House approval and then was guided through the Senate by Senator Warren G. Harding. Harding ran into minor opposition from Senators like Hitchcock of Nebraska, who observed, "I think it is very objectionable to create commissions. Congress has already created innumerable commissions, which, like Tennyson's book, run on forever, even when their authority has ceased." Senator Harding promised his colleague that this commission would not last forever—in fact not for more than 60 days, because the war made hasty resolution of the nut and bolt question mandatory. Senator Harding put teeth into his promise right there on the floor by writing a 60-day limit to the commission's lifespan into the bill.

A House-Senate conference committee worked out the differences between the two versions of the bill and finally created a nine-member commission with authority to work six months.

Although World War I ended without standardized screw threads, or even a report from the commission. Congress gave the group three more years of existence on March 3, 1919. That was a big year, as the members made their first trip to Europe to discuss screw standards with appropriate officials from other countries. Travel and staff expenses were contributed indirectly by the federal agencies which "lent" full-time employees to staff the commission. The art of producing the screw thread budget from crisscrossing, countersigned memo-vouchers was so occult as to limit the players in the commission field to skilled bureaucrats. Technically, this particular group received no direct appropriations and therefore no government money, but the bills were paid.

On January 16, 1922, John Tilson reappeared to ask the House to extend the commission for another five years. He announced proudly that the screw thread deliberations had just turned out their first "tentative report." One recalcitrant congressman asked Tilson to "give some good reason why any such extension should be granted to a commission which was organized during the war and which we were told would be able to wind up and standardize most of the matters on which it was working in a very short time." He suggested with sarcasm that perhaps the commission should be appointed for life. Tilson admitted that perhaps it should.

In fact, Tilson did request that the screw thread standardizers be made permanent, in February, 1926. In the debate, Tilson put forth the old enlightened self-denial theory of public finance: "If there is nothing to be done, it will simply sleep."

The commission was perhaps sleeping, but its active metabolism required some sustenance nevertheless. This nourishment was provided according to the first rule of government—that the public employee looks after himself first and his program later, although both concerns are said to serve the public interest (especially in times of high unemployment). The screw thread commission consumed approximately $150,000 during its first eight years of existence, although Tilson, a literalist, repeated that the group had done "great work" at no expense to the taxpayer.

The Congress passed the permanence legislation, and John Tilson left the House in 1932 confident that his commission would live forever. In an Executive Order in 1933, however, President Roosevelt ordered the screw thread body abolished. To anyone not familiar with the U.S. government, this would appear to be the end of the story. Of course, it is not.

Coming out of the throes of the Depression, former screw thread staffers realized that they had never really depended upon Congress for anything other than a kind of official seal of authority. The operating funds had always come from subterranean sources in the form of borrowed employees and miscellaneous contributions from the participating agencies, anyway. Congress was in effect superfluous. So in 1939, the departments represented on the original commission—Commerce, War, Army, and Navy—set up the Interdepartmental Screw Thread Committee, reassembled the staff, and were back in business. Utilizing a boost in prestige during World War II, the committee formed an alliance with screw thread people from about two dozen other countries and created the International Screw Threads Standards Commission.

In 1966, the committee's executive secretary, Irwin Fullmer, retired after 47 years on the job.

In recent years, the government's support for screw thread standardization efforts has fallen from about $500,000 to $250,000 a year. After spending an estimated $5 million wrestling with the problem over the last half century, the screw thread people are definitely cutting back a little. But there are still three international meetings to attend each year. At the latest, the U.S. learned that the Russians had switched to our standards.

On May 31, 1971, 53 years after the House of Representatives gave squeamish birth to the Commission for the Standardization of Screw Threads, Arthur Strang was in Europe for an international meeting of the standard setters. He is chairman of the commission that will not die—one of thousands in the government, which like crab grass and sewer leaks, spring up irrepressibly everywhere despite efforts to cut off their water. Commissions have the numbers and tenacity that American entrepreneurs once were blessed with—as the old fighting spirit has passed into commissions, which occupy the growing gelatin zone of government. As entrepeneurs of parasitism, the commissions have a bright future, because no one cares as much about cutting each paltry little budget as the members care about seeing them survive. A flowering is therefore assured, and it seems like a good idea for everyone. Although the screw thread committee is a bit crowded, there are still a lot of spots left elsewhere.

HOUSE RESOLUTION 319

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 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 U.S. 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 insuring safety for the total withdrawal from South Vietnam of U.S. troops and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. 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 60 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.

DR. C. E. BREHM

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, the recent death of Dr. C. E. Brehm in Knoxville, Tenn., saddened our State.

We have fond memories of Dr. Brehm as the president of the University of Tennessee, a post he held from 1946 to 1959. He was a very successful leader at the university and a good administrator. Perhaps above all, however, he was known for his ability to understand and help his students and his faculty.

During the time Dr. Brehm was president, University of Tennessee enrollments rose from 7,000 to 15,000; about 18 new departments and three new schools were created; and doctoral programs were started in 18 fields of knowledge.

Also, during his administration we saw the value of the university's physical plant grow from $13 million to $63 million.

Dr. Brehm was honored throughout the State, and on his death the newspapers paid high tribute to him in their editorial and news columns.

I would like to include in the RECORD two editorial statements:

[From the Knoxville Journal, July 27, 1971]

If one word had to be used to describe Dr. Cloide Everett Brehm, who died Sunday at the age of 82, it would have to be "achievement."

Although Dr. Brehm had distinguished himself in a number of ways previously, he will be remembered by most people for his tremendous success as president of the University of Tennessee for 13 years. Dr. Brehm was an agriculturalist. He had built UT's College of Agriculture into one of the nation's finest, had guided Tennessee's farm production during World War II and had made his mark in other ways prior to being tapped to head the then small state university in 1946.

That was a critical time for UT. Its enrollment was 7,000, the value of its physical plant was only $13 million and its appropriations from the state were only $1.7 million per year.

By the time Dr. Brehm retired in 1959, UT's enrollment had more than doubled and the value of its physical plant and annual appropriations had increased five-fold. Eighteen new departments and three new schools had been started and doctoral programs had been started in 18 new fields. It was during Dr. Brehm's tenure that UT as we know it today embarked solidly on a course of rapid, steady growth.

And all the while Dr. Brehm maintained a certain closeness with Knoxville as a whole that earned the respect and friendship of those outside the university community as well as those inside.

His record of achievement places him in a rare category of men.

[From the Knoxville News-Sentinel, July 26, 1971]

The Academic and the materialistic marks he left upon Knoxville, on the University of Tennessee and upon all the students and alumni of that school will stand in perpetual honor of Dr. C. E. Brehm. Drafted as reluctant president of UT from his chosen post as dean of the UT College of Agriculture and director of the Agricultural Experiment Station, Dr. Brehm undertook the beginning of the university's great campus expansion, curricula, student enrolment and scientific research.

Dr. Brehm's death yesterday, at the age of 82, must have come in the midst of great satisfaction and pride as he saw UT surging ahead to still larger expansion and greatness on the foundations he had laid.

It was during Dr. Brehm's tenure that Sputnik quickened the world's interest in space and scientific research, and under his personal appeals to the Legislature, appropriations rose from $500,000 a year to $5 million, with the construction of UT Hospital, and with research installations at Oak Ridge and Tullahoma in the forefront of UT's scientific advances.

Dr. Brehm meanwhile maintained his active interest and in leadership of UT's fundamental role of agricultural research and service. We know of no school offering more to the world of agriculture than the University of Tennessee.

We all owe a lot to Dr. Brehm and we are thankful for the years of untiring and selfless service he gave to UT and this community.

WORLD ESKIMO OLYMPICS

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, the Eskimo and Indian native populations of Alaska have long been known for their athletic prowess, as exhibited in activities such as hunting. The skills many of them have developed in order to subsist have now been incorporated in unique athletic events in the World Eskimo Olympics. This annual event, held in Fairbanks, Alaska, is very valuable for its promotion of the preservation of native culture and identity, physical fitness, and friendly competition.

The following is a proclamation by Gov. William A. Egan supporting this great event. I am proud to concur with his sentiments.

PROCLAMATION—WORLD ESKIMO OLYMPICS

The native Eskimo and Indian in Alaska have through the years developed novel and interesting athletic events in keeping with their environment.

These events should be perpetuated as part of the heritage of our State and our people. This heritage should also be made more widely available to Alaskans and the visitors to our State.

The city of Fairbanks, through the Fairbanks Chamber of Commerce, has held and is continuing to hold an annual event called World Eskimo Olympics, during which these native athletic events are featured in contest form. And this event substantially contributes to the further dissemination of knowledge and understanding of our native people to our other citizens and visitors.

Therefore, I, William A. Egan, Governor of Alaska, do hereby urge all citizens of this State to cooperate and participate to the fullest extent possible in the annual World Eskimo Olympics to be held from July 30 through August 1, and I further commend the city of Fairbanks for undertaking and sponsoring the annual staging of the event.

Dated this 28th day of July, 1971.

WILLIAM A. EGAN,
Governor.

(SEAL OF STATE)
Attest:

_____,
Lieutenant Governor.

ADMIRAL SHARP COMMENTS ON THE PENTAGON PAPERS

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, Adm. U. S. Grant Sharp, U.S. Navy, retired, gave a most enlightening speech to the San Diego Council of the Navy League of the United States on July 21, 1971.

In his remarks, he explains from firsthand experience the situation surrounding the bombing of North Vietnam and relates it to the press accounts taken from the "Pentagon Papers."

I feel sure my colleagues will be most interested in what he had to say, and I insert his remarks at this point in the RECORD:

COMMENTS ON THE PENTAGON PAPERS

(By Adm. U.S. Grant Sharp, USN (Ret.))

There has been so much discussion about the so-called Pentagon Papers recently that I thought I had better get my comments in while the subject is still hot. It is important to begin by defining exactly what we are talking about when we say "the Pentagon Papers."

In the middle of 1967 Secretary of Defense McNamara commissioned a group to do a history of the United States' role in Indochina. The group was made up of State and Defense Department civilians, a few military officers, and defense-oriented individuals from Government-financed research institutes. Some thirty-odd persons contributed to this history; most of them were in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and worked on this just part time. The study took a year and a half and the result was approximately 3000 pages of narrative history and more than 4000 pages of appended documents.

The current discussions of the so-called Pentagon Papers are not discussions of the total 3000 pages of narrative and 4000 pages of appended documents. People are discussing, and I will discuss today, the information which has been obtained by reading the "Pentagon Papers" as published by The New York Times. This history, which was published in several editions of The Times and has now come out in a 670-page paperback, does not, of course, comprise a summation of the information which is available in the total narreative. In reporting the Pentagon history The Times' writers said they tried to keep the articles within the general limits set by the narrative analysis and the documents as a whole. Material was brought in from the public record only when it seemed necessary to put the Papers into context for the general reader. When the need to interpret events arose, The Times sought to confine itself to the interpretations in the Pentagon history. Mr. Neal Sheehan, one of the writers, states in the book's introduction that the very selection and arrangement of the facts, whether in a history or in a newspaper article, inevitably mirrors a point of view or state of mind. Thus, the articles as written by The Times undoubtedly reflect some of the conceptions of The Times' reporters who wrote them.

So what we have here is necessarily an objective history, but rather a distillation of a large document written by people who have a definite point of view. What is the point of view of The New York Times' reporters? Well, certainly the editorial view of The New York Times, as frequently expressed, is that the war in Vietnam was a great mistake, that our actions have been ineffective, and that what we need to do now is get out immediately regardless of the consequences.

We might also ask what is the point of view of the various historians appointed by

Mr. McNamara to develop this history. As revealed by the history itself, a great many civilians in the Defense Department in the middle of 1967 were disenchanted with the war, convinced that the bombing of North Vietnam was ineffective and that we should get out of Vietnam as quickly as possible. Thus, the history from which The New York Times' writers distilled their summary may also be lacking in objectivity My study of The New York Times' version leads me to believe that it is indeed lacking in objectivity. Nevertheless, it is interesting reading, contains much information that I knew about quite intimately and also some with which I was not familiar.

You can be sure that this document is required reading for some people. It certainly is required reading in Hanoi, in Moscow, and in Peking, for this book contains information on the decision making processes of our Government which is of distinct aid and benefit to the enemy. The New York Times has made the job of the enemy intelligence services quite simple. All they have to do is go to the nearest newstand.

What I will comment on today is the history of the air war as described in The New York Times articles. I want to comment on the air war over North Vietnam because as Commander in Chief, Pacific, I was running the air war, with too much help from certain sectors in Washington. Further, I believe that the air war was the most misunderstood part of our whole engagement. It was especially misunderstood by the civilians in the Pentagon who were making the broad decisions; indeed, the broad decisions and many of the smaller decisions on the air war. The severe restrictions under which our air operated resulted in markedly decreased effectiveness of the tremendous power we had available and has resulted in wide misunderstanding of the effectiveness of air power when properly used.

In February of 1965 the decision was made to conduct a bombing campaign against North Vietnam. From the very first there was a wide divergence of opinion as to how our air power should be used. The Joint Chiefs of Staff desired that we hit hard at Hanoi's capabilities to carry on the war in order to convince Hanoi that the course of action it was pursuing would be unprofitable, and to let them know early in the game that we were willing to apply the force we had available. Numerous civilians in the Department of Defense, however, desired that air power be used very sparingly, in limited doses, well spaced to give the other side opportunity to contemplate the seriousness of their acts. The civilian advisers won, so our air raids against North Vietnam started with miniscule doses of air power, applied to targets which hardly were worth the effort. From the beginning to the end the air campaign was characterized by pleas for effective use of air power by the military, which largely fell on deaf ears. Our air was never used to its full effectiveness. I should say that throughout the war I got complete cooperation from the JCS; they backed me on every recommendation I made.

I wouldn't want to leave the impression that it was only the military that advocated a strong policy on the air war. Mr. McCone, who in 1965 was the Director of Central Intelligence, recommended in April of that year that unless the United States was willing to bomb the North, with minimum restraint, to break Hanoi's will, it was unwise to commit ground troops to battle. Mr. McCone expressed these views to the President at least twice in the month of April. On the other side of the picture Mr. George Ball, Undersecretary of State, from the very beginning believed that neither bombing the North nor fighting the guerrillas in the South, nor any combination of the two offered a solution to the problem and believed that we should cut our losses and withdraw from South Vietnam. Mr. Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State and Mr. Ball's boss, advocated a strong policy in the air war.

It became evident early in the air campaign that the Secretary of Defense, Mr. McNamara, was listening much more attentively to his civilian analysts than he was to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. His recommendations to the President always were for a policy of very limited bombing and as a result, the President, in the early stages, went along with Mr. McNamara's recommendations.

The air campaign of 1965 was characterized by excessive restrictions from Washington which limited us to piddling strikes against generally unimportant targets, although toward the end of the year we were beginning to get a few better targets and the numbers of planes we were able to use was beginning to be useful.

The New York Times article says that the Pentagon study of the 1965 period discloses that high level civilian authorities, including Secretary McNamara, began to have serious doubts about the effectiveness of both the air and ground was as early as the fall of 1965. I must say that I have difficulty understanding how they expected the air campaign to show any measure of effectiveness when it was so heavily restricted, both as to targets and as to numbers of strike aircraft, throughout the whole year of '65.

I remember telling the Joint Chiefs of Staff in early 1966 that the Rolling Thunder campaign, the air campaign that is, as carried out in 1965 would not do the job and gave the Joint Chiefs extensive recommendations on how I thought the campaign should be conducted. The Times story relates that the Secretary of Defense proposed a bombing pause several times during the fall of 1965. His proposal was opposed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Secretary of State because they were concerned that a pause would ease the pressure on Hanoi. However, a pause did start on December 24, 1965, and lasted until January 31, 1966. When the bombing campaign finally got under way, we did get a few more targets and restrictions were eased somewhat, but still the restrictions were so heavy as to make the bombing not nearly as effective as it should have been.

A feature of the account of the bombing campaign in 1966 was the intensive policy dispute that took place over the question of bombing North Vietnam's oil storage tanks. After much hemming and hawing, I was finally granted permission in June of 1966 to strike the Haiphong and Hanoi storage sites. The strikes were quite successful but I am sure the North Vietnamese knew that we would eventually make these strikes and had dispersed their fuel supplies as much as possible. The enemy knew that we did not strike populated areas so the streets of many towns were lined with oil drums in plain view from the air but safe from attack because of our restrictions on striking in any populated area.

In the summer of 1966 Secretary McNamara had a panel of scientists studying the overall results of operation Rolling Thunder and this panel, as might be expected, concluded that the air campaign would not achieve the results desired. This panel of scientists recommended an electronic barrier which at that time was so super-secret that very few people knew about it. We called this barrier the "McNamara Line," or sometimes the "Edsel Line." Mr. McNamara hoped that this electronic barrier would make it unnecessary to continue with bombing of North Vietnam and so a great deal of effort was put into the project, which cost well over a billion dollars.

In the meantime the surface-to-air missile threat was increasing and a few planes were shot down by SAMs. Thus our dilly-dallying with the air war had allowed the enemy to build up a very efficient air defense which was taking an increasing toll of our planes and pilots. Throughout 1966 and into 1967 I sent message after message to the Joint Chiefs of Staff trying to get the restrictions on our air campaign lifted and trying to get better targets assigned. The flood of messages had some effect because as time went on we gradually got restrictions eased and were able to use more strike sorties, but there was always a struggle trying to get them to authorize effective use of our air power. For example, after many requests we would be permitted to strike an important target and the target would be put out of commission, but it would still be necessary to go back in a month or so to keep the North Vietnamese from reconstructing the bridge, the power plant, or whatever it was. Almost invariably I would have great difficulty getting permission to strike the target again. The reason for this was never clear to me but in any event, time and time again the enemy was permitted to rebuild a target that we had struck when we could have easily kept it down just by going back with occasional strikes. This kind of procedure went on throughout the air war.

In 1967 we were allowed better targets than in '66 and were allowed to use more strike sorties, so that the air war progressed quite well. Of course, ships were still allowed to come into Haiphong and we weren't allowed to hit close to the docks. We were able to cut the lines of communication between Haiphong and Hanoi so that it was most difficult for them to get material through, and huge piles of material accumulated in Haiphong—valuable targets which we weren't allowed to hit. The traffic was restricted enough that the North Vietnamese were having a very difficult time, and if we had continued the campaign and eased the restrictions in 1968 I believe we could have brought the war to a successful conclusion.

The New York Times' account goes into detail in describing the disenchantment of civilian officials in Washington with the air war in late 1967 and early 1968. There was a continuing concerted effort to get the President to change his policy. Throughout this period the Joint Chiefs of Staff gave me great support and stressed the need to make full use of our air power. However, as we all know, in March of 1968 President Johnson decided to stop the bombing of the vital Hanoi-Haiphong area of North Vietnam. This was the greatest victory that the North Vietnamese have achieved in the war and one that we will live to regret. With that move we lost the major leverage that we had for bringing the war to a conclusion by successful negotiations. Now the war has dragged on for three more years and the negotiations in Paris have accomplished nothing.

President Nixon's strategy of turning the fighting over to the Vietnamese as fast as they are able to accept the responsibility has been successful so far. I hope the American people, and especially the Congress, will permit him to carry out this operation in an orderly fashion so that the Vietnamese will be capable of defending themselves by the time our forces are withdrawn.

There is at least one lesson that we should learn from this war. That lesson is that we should never commit the armed forces of the United States to combat unless we have decided at the same time to use the non-nuclear power that we have available to win in the shortest possible time.

JEWISH WAR VETERANS

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, during the month of August we will celebrate the

75th anniversary of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America.

American Jewish war veterans, through noble service and dedicated spirit, have displayed unsurpassed valor and patriotism during difficult periods in our Nation's history.

Eager to defend the ideals—and practice—of liberty and justice, Jewish war veterans have served to remind all of us of the strength that comes through courage and tolerance. Since the founding of this Jewish war veterans organization, the interests of individual and minority rights have been the hallmark of its existence. It was one of the first organizations to come to the defense of oppressed Soviet Jewry, and it has given encouragement and aid in the development of the free nation of Israel.

The Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A. take great pride in the contributions of their members to the security and strength of America. On the occasion of their 75th anniversary, I salute this splendid veterans organization for their patriotism and good work.

THE CZECH TRAGEDY

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, as the House of Representatives will be in recess during most of August, it is appropriate that I take this opportunity to comment on the third anniversary of the August 21, 1968, ruthless Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia.

It is unfortunate and regrettable, but the public memory is short in a world that seems to have one melodrama and crisis after another. Many have forgotten about the tragedy of Czechoslovakia. A sense of helplessness pervades those who do remember.

Yet for many months in 1967 and 1968, the eyes of the world fastened on Czechoslovakia. The "Czechoslovak Spring" represented a bold attempt to temper Marxist doctrine with humanism.

To many it seemed inconceivable that Moscow would risk the wrath of international public opinion by using force. Others felt the Russians faced too great a risk if they permitted the Czechoslovak reforms to go unchallenged.

As Robert Littell wrote in his introduction to "The Czech Black Book:

> The Czechoslovaks were seeking nothing less than national salvation: the Soviet leaders were struggling to preserve the System.

"The Czechoslovak Spring," Littell said:

> Represented a profound challenge to the men who ruled in the Kremlin—more profound, in many respects, than the Hungarian Revolution. Previous challenges, such as the one that occurred in Hungary in 1956 or even in Yugoslavia in 1948, had been rebellions against Stalinism and the tyrannical excesses that the word implies. The Czechoslovaks, however, were posing the first serious challenge to Leninism in the history of the Communist movement. They were questioning the desirability of three things Lenin superimposed on classical Marxism: democratic centralism (whereby ideas tend to originate at the top), the monopoly of power by the Communist Party, and the ideological dogmatism with which power is exercised.

Feelings of bitterness and injustice together with confidence in their leaders—Svoboda, Dubcek, Cernik, and Smrkovsky—united the Czechoslovakian people in the days of defiance and passive resistance that followed the Russian invasion.

As the months passed, Czech resistance was ground down. The nation's strength was bled, and humiliation was piled upon humiliation.

It is unlikely the Czechs will forget. As the newspaper Mlada Frontz said on August 21, 1968:

> We are used to great hypocrisy; our history is filled with truths and lies. But this lie and this violence we shall never forget. We cannot. We must not . . .
>
> Our history is filled with tragedies. We were often oppressed. But we always lived to regain freedom. This time, too, freedom will arise again in our land.
>
> The Czechs give little support to their present regime.

In a dispatch from Prague earlier this year, it was reported that the Czech version of Shakespeare's "Love's Labour's Lost," the show-stopping passage, receiving prolonged and sustained applause, has been:

> We are used to shame . . . and sometimes it is even good politics.

The Congress of the United States and the American people, too, must not forget what transpired in Czechoslovakia in 1968. And thereafter.

REPEAL THE EXCISE TAX ON AUTOMOBILES

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, month by month and even day by day the evidence of an unabating pace of inflation pours in. The Consumer Price Index and the GNP deflator have both continued to rise at annual rates seasonally adjusted ranging between 4½ and 6 percent in recent months. We face further increases in prices this fall and nowhere is this more certain than in the case of passenger cars. The labor contract signed in steel this week and the simultaneous increase in steel prices by a reported average of 6 percent gives grim indication of the rise in automobile prices we can expect this fall when the new cars are introduced starting in September. Other cost increases also face the makers of autos. This will not be an insignificant price change. Auto sales are running about 9.7 to 10 million passenger cars per year for the last 6 months, including imports which are averaging over 1.5 million per year. Stocks in the dealers' hands amount to almost 1.7 million units and even seasonally adjusted this is equivalent to about 1.6 million.

In spite of the importance of rising prices in this important industry, Congress continues in force the automobile excise tax. There is a simple way for Congress to strike a blow against inflation. It is to repeal this excise tax at once. If this is done it will offset the increased costs of the auto manufacturers and permit prices to the consumer to at least remain stable. I strongly urge early action by this Congress to repeal the excise tax on automobiles.

HOW TO CURB UNION POWER

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of discussion in recent days concerning the economic ills that plague our country such as inflation, unfavorable balance of payments, unemployment, and decreasing productivity in many of our plants and factories. I am convinced that irresponsible actions by union officials have brought on many of these ills.

Because of this view, I wish to share with my colleagues the following article by Mr. John Davenport which appeared in the July 1971 edition of Fortune magazine. Mr. Davenport, formerly a member of the editorial board of Fortune magazine, is a most distinguished and lucid writer in this area of economics.

The article follows:

[From Fortune, July 1971]

HOW TO CURB UNION POWER

(By John Davenport)

"Every ten years," mused a top-ranking member of the American Bar recently, "we seem to have to cope all over again with this business of union power." The remark, made casually in the quiet of a Manhattan law office, reflected a note of urgency and likewise a note of resignation. The urgency is justified in view of the coming inflationary wage hike in steel, the extravagant bidding up of costs in the construction industry, strikes and constant threat of strikes among railroad employees. The resignation seems also justified in view of the legal record. Decade by decade, Congress has been grinding out new labor legislation (the Railway Labor Act of 1926, the Wagner Act of 1935, the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, and the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959, to mention a few of the major milestones), all holding out the promise of industrial peace. Yet today the fulfillment of that promise seems further away than ever.

This inability of the law to cope with and contain the excesses of union power must be counted as one of the great failures of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence—a failure the more remarkable in view of the adaptability of the low in other spheres. In retrospect anyway, the rise of the great corporation was a revolutionary event straining the legal fabric of pre-industrial society. Yet partly because of its nature and purpose, and partly because of the evolution of the law as handed down from the bench and by legislative enactment, the modern corporation has been kept responsive to the public will. In seeking profit for its shareholders the corporation must produce goods and services that people want or go under. What's more, the corporation is a definable legal entity, suable for torts, breach of contract, monopoly and price fixing, and many another malfeasance. Damage suits

running into many millions of dollars a year are brought by citizens and business competitors alike; and these, as well as the profit motive itself, hold the corporation to public accountability.

A PECULIAR KIND OF AGENT

Trade unions today stand in a far more sheltered and privileged position. Seldom incorporated, they enjoy in tax matters the immunities of a private club, though they spend lavishly for political purposes. In theory and at law they are agents for their members, but proof of such agency where injury has been done is far harder to establish than in the case of a business enterprise. Moreover, the agency we are dealing with is of a very peculiar kind. The literary agent, for instance, receives a fee from his clients for merchandising their work, and if the union were an agent in this sense it would play a useful and highly legitimate role in our society. In fact, unions operate in a wholly different way. In their organizational drives they seek to bind workers into tight monolithic groups, often against their will. Once organized on a company or industry-wide scale, the union feels free to strike the employer not just in the sense of withdrawing the services of its members, but also in the sense of preventing those who are willing to work from doing so.

All this is putting an enormous strain on our social structure. And, as FORTUNE pointed out in February ("Union Power and the New Inflation"), the union problem has taken on a new economic dimension. For once inflation gets under way, union pressures make its conquest by monetary and fiscal means all but impossible. The monetary authorities may apply the brakes, but if wages keep pressing forward there is bound to be either a further rise in prices or widespread unemployment, and probably both. Moreover, in the longer term, the gains that unions make for their members in excess of the normal productivity increase for the economy must be paid for by the rest of society. In practice, these gains are paid for by other workers and by pensioners and the poor.

In sum, however much unions may have initially contributed to humanizing the industrial system, organized labor has now become a destabilizing and dislocating force—made more unmanageable by large political influence. The question is no longer whether this force needs curbing, but how. The key to doing so lies in understanding that the power of unionism is not preordained. It derives from exemptions and privileges granted by government that give unions a special sanctuary in our society. The task is to break down this sanctuary and make unions subject to the law as it applies to most individuals and to other private associations.

As a starter, federal, state, and local governments must steel themselves to enforce laws now on the books against the violence that flares openly or smolders just beneath the surface in most industrial disputes. The strong-arm tactics of the Teamsters against employees and employers alike, the constant abuse of picketing privileges, the coercion and even sabotage practiced by the building trades in forcing their demands (see "The Big Shakedown in Baton Rouge," FORTUNE, August 1, 1969) are all in defiance of common and statutory law, which the courts and the police are supposed to uphold.

THE ABSENT POLICEMEN

All too often today the police are conveniently absent when such disturbances occur or confess their inability to handle the situation; nor do they get the backing they need from higher officials and from their local communities. Mayor Lindsay has never really tried to enforce freedom and order along New York's waterfront. During the strike at General Electric in late 1969 and early 1970, local officials in Schenectady actually pleaded with non-union workers to refrain from crossing picket lines on the grounds that such action might endanger the peace.

That strike and many others have been needlessly prolonged, moreover, by other privileges that unions have come to assume as a matter of right. With few exceptions, employers must reinstate strikers in their jobs after an industrial dispute is settled. What's more, strikers are assured welfare and other government support while a plant stands idle; and under special railway legislation the rebellious brotherhoods automatically draw unemployment insurance, financed by employer taxes, while they tie up the nation's transporation industry. Finally, it is a little foolish to decry the vicious bidding up of costs in the construction industry while still keeping in place the Davis-Bacon Act, which requires contractors to pay going rates of wages on federal projects, meaning the highest union rates in the area.

But beyond the elimination of glaring special privileges, there is also need, in the opinion of a growing number of lawyers, for a searching reappraisal of the whole corpus of labor law. The outstanding characteristic of this body of law is that it tends to insulate labor disputes from the normal working of the judicial system. As is well known, the Clayton Act of 1914 gave unions large exemption from antitrust prosecution. Under the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932, they were additionally made exempt from injunctive action by employers in the federal courts except in cases of extreme violence or fraud—an immunity that completely upset the balance of power between unions and corporations. Three years later, the Wagner, or National Industrial Labor Relations, Act completed the process of making unions the special ward of the government and subsequent amendments have not greatly changed its impact. Stripped of its endless technicalities, exceptions, and fine print—the happy hunting ground of the legal profession—the law of the land is as follows:

1) The employer is forced to bargain collectively whether or not it is to his interest or to the inerest of his employees—a provision that in fact denies "free" collective bargaining from the employer's point of view.

2) A union acquires sole bargaining rights in a company or in a plant or unit if it obtains a bare 51 percent of the votes of those employed—a provision that reduces free employee choice.

3) The administration of labor law is centered in the National Labor Relations Board, with appeal to the courts by injured parties at best limited and circumscribed by the legislation itself and by subsequent Supreme Court decisions.

THE NLRB VERSUS CONGRESS

This lopsided body of legislation, as one lawyer puts it, defines a system of elaborate Marquis of Queensberry rules for management and labor, but barely mentions the interest of the general public. The problem is how to reassert this interest, and here questions of procedure are almost as important as those of substance.

At the moment, the business community is greatly cheered by the fact that the new chairman of the NLRB, Edward B. Miller, is trying to administer that agency with some semblance of impartiality. But over the years the NLRB has been a powerful force in consolidating union privilege. Indeed, a top-level legal study group sponsored by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce concludes that, as long as the NLRB calls the shots, there is little chance that the will of Congress can be carried out. A recent report of a Senate subcommittee, headed by Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina, goes further. It openly charges that of recent years the board has been guilty of "freewheeling interpretation of the statute," the application of "double standards," and the "ignoring [of] plain legislative intent."

Thus Congress plainly intended that recognition of unions as bargaining agents for the employees of a plant or unit be based on secret elections. The board has gone out of its way to accept "recognition" or "authorization" cards as a substitute—cards that are often signed under threat and duress. In judging elections, the board has insisted on the maintenance of "laboratory conditions," which usually means that the employer is denied the right to speak freely with employees while union organizers can use almost any abusive language they choose. In the famous Allis-Chambers case, the board sanctioned not just the imposition of union fines on members who crossed picket lines, but also the collection of those fines in court.

Again and again, Congress has tried to limit organizational picketing and use of secondary boycotts against third parties. But in the celebrated "Philadelphia Door" case, the NLRB, and finally the Supreme Court, judged that carpenters were within their legitimate rights in refusing to handle prehung doors manufactured by an outside company.

All this has given impetus to proposals for stripping the NLRB of its judicial functions and either turning these over to a labor court or returning them to the federal courts. The idea of a labor court (which the Heath government is pushing in Great Britain) looks attractive, but in practice would probably be subject to the same kind of politicking that has dogged the NLRB. Transfer of labor disputes to the federal judiciary, as contemplated by the Tower bill now before Congress, has much more to be said for it. The objection that this would overload the courts is not insurmountable. Money now being spent on the NLRB, running to some $38 million per year, could be diverted into strengthening the judiciary. Moreover, judges could appoint "special masters" to sort out preliminary evidence.

Whatever their political bias, district judges are more apt to apply common sense and common-law principles to labor disputes than is an administrative board. Free access to the courts for injunctive and other relief would encourage both employees and employers to stand up for their rights. And as trial by judge and jury became routine in the case of "unfair labor practices," society might earn an extra dividend. The hapless commuter, the small firm denied its steel or copper by a nationwide strike, the store owner suffereing loss as the result of wildcat shutdown, would be given a forum, now denied them, for testing their claims for damages. Naderism, which today operates against corporations, might begin to make life equally uncomfortable for the grandees of organized labor.

THE CASE FOR VOLUNTARISM

But while restoration of judicial process to labor affairs would be the first step in restraining union excesses, it would be only that. For the substantive law as it stands gives unions power that no private association should have. This is most clearly seen in the coercion they can exercise over workers themselves. The great promise of the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 was its stress on freedom of choice for employees—freedom to join or *not* to join unions, and freedom to engage or *not* to engage in union activities. Unfortunately this principle of voluntarism was never carried through to its conclusion. Under the law unions can force employers to sign union-shop contracts, which make workers pay union dues as the price of employment (unless such contracts are specifically prohibited by the states). And in effect the old closed shop persists in the building trades and in the maritime unions through union control over hiring halls.

Such compulsory unionism has always been morally offensive in a free society, and

indeed raises constitutional issues that are now being tested in the courts. Thus grape pickers in California have brought suit against Cesar Chevez and various grape growers, charging that their constitutional rights are violated by contracts that not only force them to pay union dues but also, in effect, make them subject to the arbitary dictates of Chavez' United Farm Workers. Similar suits have been filed by Michigan schoolteachers, and more recently by William F. Buckley, editor of *National Review*, against the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists. These suits may in time bear fruit, but meanwhile organized labor keeps pressing for the extension of compulsion into new fields—witness the attempt last year to impose it on postal workers, and the current drive to impose it on the nation's farm workers.

Congress never should have tolerated compulsion. What is needed is a small but all-important technical change in the federal labor law that would make membership in unions voluntary, as nineteen states have done through so-called right-to-work laws. What is additionally needed is legislation that would make hiring halls independent of union control. In effect, they should be turned into true employment agencies and run like any other business enterprise.

The standard argument of union leaders against such reform is that, unless union membership is compulsory, those who do not join up will get a "free ride" at the expense of those who do. But this simply raises the deeper question as to whether a union should have exclusive bargaining rights for *all* members of a plant or unit, once it commands a bare majority. The 51 percent rule was, in fact, organized labor's first and greatest "free ride," and it is a privilege that unions have zealously defended over the years. Eliminate that privilege and much talk about the need for compulsory unionism would evaporate into thin air. Unions would bargain only for those who freely chose to sign up; other workers would take care of their own interests.

This might in some cases be inconvenient for management, and a good many employers would be opposed to getting rid of the 51 percent rule on the ground that this would "Balkanize" collective bargaining. Yet if our purpose is to make unions voluntary associations, that rule is really an anomaly. Rescindment of the rule is one of the two great reserve powers that government has at its disposal to make unionism earn its way in our society.

THE "BROODING PRESENCE"

The other reserve power is the application of the antitrust laws, from which unions are now exempted unless they have connived with employers to restrain trade or monopolize markets. Even under this limitation, antitrust causes unions more trouble than is commonly supposed. In the famous Pennington case of 1965, involving the United Mine Workers, the Supreme Court held that a union is subject to antitrust if it makes an agreement wtih an employer to impose on competitors a wage scale that will tend to drive those competitors out of business. In May of this year the Supreme Court in effect reaffirmed this stand by allowing a $7,200,000 judgment against the Mine Workers and Consolidation Coal Co. Treble damage suits of this kind may well give pause to union officials in other industries. They are a healthy reminder that the Sherman Act, even though muzzled by subsequent labor legislation, still has bite in it.

The broader question is whether to remove the muzzle and thus make unions subject to antitrust prosecution even where they do not conspire with employers. Organized labor has long claimed that such sweeping reform would, in effect, smash unions entirely, since by its very nature a union seeks to monopolize the supply of labor in a given firm or industry. While this argument is obviously self-serving, it finds support among some close and disinterested students of the law.

Other experts flatly disagree. What counts in their view is the degree of "market power" that a business or a union exercises. A union confined to the limits of one company exercises no more market power than the employer who does the hiring. It is when a union reaches out to dominate a whole industry that it becomes truly monopolistic. This is true whether the union chooses to negotiate with, and close down, a whole industry, as in steel, or whether it employs the U.A.W. tactics of picking off employers one by one—striking General Motors, for instance, until it comes to terms, and then turning to Ford and Chrysler. Excessive market power of this kind was what the Sherman Act was supposed to curb in the case of business. The American public needs the benefit of the act, or parallel new legislation, in the case of big labor.

Admittedly, definition of permissible market power presents difficulties. Yet the antitrust approach to unionism deserves far more exploration than it is getting. As Harvard's great economist, Edward A. Chamberlin, put it some years ago: When one thinks of the vast literature of industrial concentration, including legal hairsplitting as to the percentage control necessary to constitute monopoly power of an industry, it is truly amazing that the existence of precisely the same economic problems in the labor field has gone virtually unnoticed."

Today an increasing number of people are noticing the fantastic effects of union monopolies, and it should not be beyond the wits of good lawyers to apply to labor affairs what has been called the "brooding presence" of the Sherman Act. For if paralyzing the transportation system of a nation, or closing down construction in whole cities, is not restraint of trade and monopolization, then those terms have lost all intelligible meaning.

WHAT KIND OF SOCIETY?

The one sure conclusion is that we should not allow the labor problem to drift, or be deflected from facing it on the ground that reform is a threat to free collective bargaining. For today collective bargaining is usually neither free nor bargaining in any meaningful sense of the word. It is all too often a holdup—a holdup made more ominous as unions in the public sector of the economy emulate the demands and the tactics of their counterparts in private industry.

While the problems of the two sectors are in some ways different, the fundamental choice is the same: what kind of society do we want? In any political order worthy of the name there must be a final reservoir of coercive power if law and order are to be maintained. That power properly belongs to government alone. It must not be farmed out to private parties, whether these be unions, corporations, or mobs in the street. For as that happens, it is only a matter of time before the democratic process itself breaks down, and the government finds itself at the mercy of the very "syndicates" that it has helped create.

It may be argued that the labor syndicates are already so powerful that even minor reforms are impossible. And in view of labor's grip on Congress and on state legislatures, this may be true on the short term. On the longer term the prospect is less discouraging. After all, organized labor represents only about 25 percent of the total U.S. working force, and that percentage has been declining. There are apparently limits to the lure of unionism and what it has to offer.

Two further developments are important. One is that the public is increasingly distrustful of and fed up with union practices. The other is that unionism is no longer considered even by liberals as representative of some great cause, as was true not so many years ago. In the new climate unions can be judged on their merits. The good that they could do, if purged of their coercive power, can be recognized. The wrongs they now impose on society can be mitigated.

WHAT IS A POLICEMAN?

HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, at a time when a small segment of our society continues to criticize the police officer with cries of inefficiency and brutality, it is refreshing to hear from individuals who support the men who risk their lives in our behalf daily. The following article was written by Ralph T. Holliyan of Mount Olive, Ala., and appeared in the August 2 edition of the Birmingham News. I trust this will be of considerable interest to my colleagues. It follows:

[From the Birmingham News, Aug. 2, 1971]

WHAT IS A POLICEMAN?

What is the motivating factor that makes a man want to become a policeman? For different individuals who make up a minority there are varied reasons. To one it would be for the reason of authority, to another it may be for prestige, to another it may be for the excitement that the job entails, an to another maybe publicity, but to the majority of police officers it is a deep feeling of responsibility to his country and his people that makes him get involved by pinning on the badge of courage, and also the oath of his office that he takes to uphold the Constitution of the State of Alabama and of the United States, and that he will faithfully, honestly and fearlessly discharge the duties that he is assigned. By doing so he knows that he is having a part in moulding our future for tomorrow and maintaining the greatest privilege that we are blessed with today, and that is the privilege of living under the American Flag, which was laid down so many years ago by the blood, sweat and tears of our forefathers. These men made it possible for us today to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

A policeman knows how freedom was won and he knows what he must do in order to always enjoy the same, so he continues with his endless pursuit toward crime prevention and criminal apprehension with little thanks, but having the satisfaction in knowing that he is doing what must be done.

A police officer is an individual with feelings and emotions just like you and I. He is a father whose family worries about him when he fails to come home on time. He is some mother's son that she is proud of and concerned for his welfare. He is the manager of his Neighborhood Little League Baseball Team and he takes a genuine interest in the growth and development of the kids around him. He has the foresight to realize that his children's happiness and others' as well, is dependent upon him to get the job done. This burden of responsibility weighs heavily upon his shoulders and his task is clear.

The policeman is a special individual who does his duty without complaint. He is one who hears the cry of the oppressed and rushes in to give aid and assistance. He also sees the pain of hunger as it reflects on the face of some small child. He knows happiness by seeing the eyes of a child light up

in laughter by knowing that he cares. A policeman also partols our streets and highways and enters the dark buildings at night and lets the felon have the first shot. He also sees the face of the aged and how they seem to express their gratitude that he is there. He sees the face of the murderer, and the rapist, and the thief, and quickly meets the challenge to protect our society from criminals such as these.

He and 200,000 other Americans have chosen to walk forward in the defense of our safety and privileges. Why does he do this? It's simple. He is an American with the pride and integrity and guts that it takes to get the job done.

In knowing a policeman as the courageous man that he is, still the public outcry is "police brutality" because they happen to see a man in custody with a little blood on his face. The part they didn't see was when he committed his crime of violence and resisted arrest when approached by officers. They didn't see the bruises that were covered by the officer's clothes—the bruises he received from the attacker. And the part they didn't hear was the part where the officer complained because he didn't! To him it was a job and was up to him to see that it was done. The ones who do the complaining don't realize that this same policeman, regardless of their bitterness, would rush to their aid and lay down his life for their protection, regardless of race, color or creed.

To understand this, the public must be informed and look in the right perspective; then if and when they do, the policeman will be given the respect that he so justly deserves, because this he has so honorably earned.

Somewhere, some cold, dark night, a citizen will need help and a policeman will answer the call. Just like they do 24 hours a day all over the nation. Why? Because he chose to carry the torch of freedom. And hold it high so the offenders of justice could see that he stands determined in their defiance. He is a policeman!

TRIBUTE TO THE REVEREND RICHARD T. GAUL, S.J.

HON. RICHARD C. WHITE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay special tribute to a man who has distinguished himself in the service of his fellow man for his entire life, the Reverend Richard T. Gaul, S.J. This outstanding Jesuit priest will celebrate 50 years as a member of the Jesuit Order on August 15, 1971.This is truly a golden jubilee which marks a half century of service.

Father Gaul's entire life as a Jesuit can only be defined in terms of service. Most of his priestly life has been spent in El Paso, Tex., where the great testimonial to his life is the literally thousands of people of all creeds that he has helped. This outstanding priest has always been with his people, visiting, consoling, encouraging, and helping. He is an inspiration to all who value the human person as a creation of God.

Many of the Members may remember that at my invitation Father Gaul read the prayer at the opening of the day in the House of Representatives on October 14, 1969. The prayer opened with a quotation from the psalms, "If the Lord does not guard the city, they labor in vain who build it." This scriptural quotation captures the deep faith of Father Gaul; motivated by this commitment, indeed, his labors will not be in vain.

The motto of the Jesuit order ad majorem dei gloriam, for the greater glory of God, is certainly evidenced in the life of Father Gaul. Never satisfied with the mediocre, he strives for the Ignatian Magis, of always striving for better in every effort he makes. The thousands of people to whom he has ministered manifest his earnest striving for perfection and Gospel and to share himself with all men.

Mr. Speaker, I honor Father Richard T. Gaul, S.J., and pay special tribute to him on the occasion of his celebration of 50 years as a Jesuit. His guidance, strength, and inspiration is a source of pride to all who know and respect him. In the favorite greeting among Jesuits, may he continue his dedicated service Ad Multos Annos, for many years to come.

ANCHER NELSEN INTRODUCES RURAL JOB DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1971

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, my home State of Minnesota is considered to offer one of the best opportunities in the Nation for people to find the "good life" and yet, the State of Minnesota grew at at a rate below the national average in the past 10 years.

The major metropolitan areas grew rapidly, as did those in almost every other State in the Nation, but many rural areas in the State lost population and many grew at very low rates. The reasons for this slow growth are numerous, but the greatest is the lack of good jobs in rural America.

In a recent poll, it was disclosed that 56 percent of all Americans would prefer to live in rural areas. This contrasts with the fact that over 60 percent of Americans live in urban or suburban areas. Clearly, this population imbalance is developing contrary to the wishes of the majority of the citizens.

Today, I am proposing a bill which would provide needed incentives to industry to develop in rural America.

The need for our economy is not to shift jobs from cities to rural America, but to encourage balanced economic growth by the creation of new jobs in the countryside.

Few people realize that with less than one-third of the population, rural America has half the poverty. Rural America has, for example, less than one-third the housing units, but almost 60 percent of the dilapidated housing in the Nation. Over 80 percent of the housing units in America without piped water are located in rural areas.

Because more and more farmers are leaving the land and others find it necessary to obtain outside income, jobs in rural America are of vital importance. I believe that with the relatively inexpensive incentives provided in my bill, more and more jobs will become available.

My bill would give aid to development in counties that lie away from standard metropolitan statistical areas, and from population centers of 50,000 or more. In addition, one requirement would be that 15 percent or more of the population have incomes below $3,000.

To receive an investment tax credit on machinery, equipment, land, and buildings, accelerated depreciation rates and a tax deduction for on-the-job training, a new business would have to create at least 10 new jobs and at least 50 percent of the original working force would have to be residents of the area.

Finally, retail and service enterprises which might be competitive with local establishments would not be eligible.

Mr. Speaker, it has been estimated that 100 new jobs in a small town in rural America would mean a population increase of 296 people. There would be 112 new households, 174 additional workers employed, and four more retail establishments. In terms of dollars and cents, it means $596,000 in added personal income, $360,000 in annual retail sales, and $270,000 more in bank deposits.

I hope Congress will act soon on my bill or a similar measure that will breathe new hope into rural America, take unneeded population pressure off our major cities, and provide opportunities for millions of U.S. citizens to find the economic security and the "good life" they want in countryside America.

LOCAL SERVICE AIRLINE SUBSIDIES

HON. JAMES D. (MIKE) McKEVITT

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. McKEVITT. Mr. Speaker, the economy of many small communities in the West is tied closely to the airline service provided by local service carriers. These carriers are willing to provide as much service to subsidy eligible communities as the Congress and Civil Aeronautics Board will pay for. At the moment, many of these carriers are undersubsidized and there is little doubt that supplemental funds are needed.

The Western Governors, who met in conference on July 15 at Jackson, Wyo., recognized the problem and passed the following resolution which I would like to insert in the RECORD at this time:

RESOLUTION PASSED BY WESTERN GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE—LOCAL SERVICE AIRLINE SUBSIDIES

Whereas the economic development of many small communities located in the western part of the United States and the movement of goods and people is directly dependent upon the air service provided by local service airlines; and

Whereas this local air service is in many instances the only form of public transportation available to many communities which are isolated; and

Whereas the development of a sound national air transportation system is consistent

with our objectives, we respectfully urge the Administration, the Congress and the Civil Aeronautics Board to appropriate sufficient public service revenue payments for these carriers to pay them fairly for service rendered to these communities consistent with the intent and promise of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958. The suspension of air service or any reductions in schedules would work a severe economic hardship on the western communities. It is clearly evident the financially troubled local service airlines cannot continue to serve the small communities at a loss: Now therefore be it

Resolved by the 1971 Annual Meeting of the Western Governors' Conference at Jackson Hole, Wyoming that our concern for the preservation of service to the subsidy-eligible communities of the western states be expressed by forwarding a copy of this resolution to President Richard M. Nixon, the Honorable Secor Browne, Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, and our Congressional delegations.

OREGON ENVIRONMENT

HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, the Oregon Legislature has recently taken significant actions to protect and enhance the quality of our State's environment. These bold measures, along with a decision by the people themselves to prevent hazardous and unnecessary intrusions along our scenic rivers, have reinforced the position of our State as a leader in the fight to save the environment.

The New York Times on August 4 cited the Oregon efforts in the following editorial which I commend to my colleagues:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 4, 1971]

THE OREGON ENVIRONMENT

The Oregon Legislature recently passed a set of bold new laws designed to help protect and enhance that state's unique environmental quality.

These measures include the nation's first mandatory beverage-container deposit legislation to help reduce the staggering problem of litter; a property-tax advantage for land devoted to outdoor recreation rather than real-estate subdivision; and rigid rules governing the location of nuclear power plants. The Legislature has also directed that more than 3,000 billboards be removed in an aggressive campaign against roadside blight; that the state's Department of Environmental Quality be given authority over pollution control of motor vehicle emissions; and—in a surprising and refreshing victory over the highway lobby—that $1.3 million in state highway funds be used for construction of hiking and bicycling trails throughout the state.

This impressive record of the Legislature follows an earlier unprecedented decision by the voters themselves, approving a special petition to protect 500 miles of Oregon's unspoiled scenic rivers from construction of dams, highways, and industrial and other commercial developments.

Oregon's hardening attitude toward the hazards of environmental deterioration was wryly summed up by Gov. Tom McCall when he said: "Come and visit us again and again. But for heaven's sake, don't come here to live."

DRAFT REGISTRATION AND REGISTRATION FOR VOTING IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill identical to a measure offered in the other body by the distinguished junior Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON). I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues in the House the bill, which reads as follows:

H.R. 10465

A bill to amend the Military Selective Act of 1967 to provide that a person who registers under such Act may be simultaneously registered for voting in Federal elections

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 (50 App. U.S.C. 450 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"REGISTRATION FOR VOTING IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS

"SEC. 22. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b) of this section—

"(1) At the time any person registers with the Selective Service System pursuant to section 3 of this Act he shall be informed of his right to be registered at the same time for voting in all Federal elections held in the State in which such person is being registered for purposes of this Act. Persons who elect to register for voting in Federal elections under this section shall be so registered in accordance with such procedures as may be prescribed by the President if such persons are otherwise qualified to register for voting in Federal elections in the State in which they are being registered for selective service purposes.

"(2) Under such regulations as the President may prescribe, the Director shall furnish to the appropriate election officials of any State all necessary and appropriate information regarding persons registered under this section for voting in Federal elections held in such State. On and after the time such information has been so furnished to the appropriate election officials of any State in the case of any person, such person shall be deemed to have met all the requirements for registration for voting in Federal elections held in such State. Any such registration for voting shall continue in effect for the same period of time it would have been in effect had such person registered under the applicable State law.

"(3) Registration under this section of any person for voting in Federal elections held in any State shall constitute valid registration for voting in elections held in such State other than Federal elections whenever the laws of such State so provide.

"(b) The provisions of subsection (a) shall be inapplicable with respect to persons registering under section 3 of this Act in any State if the Governor of such State notifies the Director in writing within thirty days after the date of enactment of this section that such State does not desire to have the registration provisions of this Act for voting in Federal elections apply in such State.

"(c) The President is authorized to issue such regulations as he deems necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

"(d) As used in this section (1) the term 'State' includes the District of Columbia and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and (2) the term 'Federal election' means any general, special, or primary election held solely or in part for the purpose of electing or selecting any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or Member or Delegate to the House of Representatives."

In passing legislation last year to give 18-year-olds the right to vote, Congress acted in large part to provide a voice for the many young men between 18 and 21 who are called upon to risk their lives for our country.

Each year some 2 million 18-year-olds register for the draft, a draft which could force them to engage in war. And, since 1961 more than 21,000 young men between 18 and 21 have died in Vietnam combat. This age group accounts for approximately 47 percent of American servicemen who have died in battle in Vietnam.

Currently the Department of Defense, in accordance with the 1955 Federal Voting Assistance Act, is attempting to assist young servicemen in voting through Federal postcards. That system has not been quite successful in terms of participation in many instances because we have a diversity of registration requirements among the 50 States.

This bill would help 18-year-olds, in particular, work through the system, and would also help the smaller number of 18-year-olds who will eventually serve in the Armed Forces, to exercise their right to vote.

This bill allows the registrant to register to vote in Federal elections at the same time that he registers for the draft, unless the Governor of a given State writes the Director of Selective Service within 30 days of enactment, requesting that his State not participate in the program.

The measure would give any State, through the exercise of the Governor's option, the right not to participate in the process of permitting a draft registrant at the time of his 18th birthday to register simultaneously at the draft board for the draft and also to register to vote in Federal elections—and Federal only.

The measure goes on to provide that this system can be used in a State election, if the State legislature of a given State, through affirmative action in that State, asks that the procedure be applied.

In summary, this measure would make it convenient and expeditious for one who is registering for the draft to, at the same time, exercise his franchise to vote in Federal elections.

I urge the careful consideration of this bill and shall hope many of my colleagues would join in this effort to increase voting participation.

CLEAN WATER FOR ALASKA

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, the issue of clean water is vital to all Americans, but especially to Alaskans. Too many communities in my State are simply too

small and too poor to transport, purify, and distribute clean water among their residents.

Gov. William A. Egan, of Alaska, in recognition of this problem, has proclaimed the week August 8 to August 14, Better Water for Alaska Week. The proclamation follows:

PROCLAMATION—BETTER WATER FOR ALASKA WEEK

The residents of the state of Alaska are dependent for their health, comfort, and standard of living upon an abundant supply of safe, high-quality water.

The economic growth and the vital contributions of industry to the State and its people are dependent upon the continuing supply of such water.

The American Water Works Association, which is dedicated to advancing the knowledge of design, operation, and management of water utilities throughout the United States and Canada, has designated the week of August 8 to August 14 as the period during which special attention should be focused on the water utilities so that people are made aware of their needs and the tasks which face them in the future.

The goal of water utilities is to provide better water for everyone—all the water people need when and where they need it.

Therefore, I, William A. Egan, Governor of Alaska, do hereby proclaim the week of August 8 to August 14, 1971, as Better Water for Alaska Week and sincerely urge all citizens to join me in gaining a wider understanding of the contributions, the services, and the future goals of the water supply industry and, in particular, of the utilities which bring us this vital resource.

Dated this 27th day of July, 1971.

WILLIAM A. EGAN, *Governor.*
H. A. BORUHU, *Lieutenant Governor.*

MARINE MAMMAL PROTECTION ACT OF 1971

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today H.R. 10420, a bill entitled "The Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1971," as an effort to provide a new dimension to the controversy that has arisen in recent months as to the best method of protecting the marine mammals of the world.

Legislation has already been introduced to provide one kind of protection by imposing a flat ban against the killing of these animals. The conservation community is by no means united as to the desirability of pursuing such an absolute tactic.

I include at this point in my remarks a communication from representatives of 15 conservation organizations urging that no absolute ban be imposed:

JUNE 18, 1971.

To all Members of the House and Senate:

An organized press and television campaign is underway to solicit support for banning the taking of certain marine mammals. House and Senate bills to accomplish this are H.R. 6554, S. 1315, and others.

The undersigned national conservation organizations believe such a step would interfere with the needed scientific management of these interesting and valuable animals. Some of these highly migratory animals can be managed only through international agreements. Others come under the various jurisdictions of federal and state government.

Total protection, as is being urged, would halt a number of management programs, some of which have been remarkably successful. The application of science, not emotion, has brought back the fur seal and the sea otter from the shadows of extinction to their thriving and productive population levels of today.

Total protection also would make it impossible to manage any population of marine mammals even though, under future circumstances, a culling may be desirable in the interest of man or to reduce local overpopulations that usually are detrimental to the species itself. In some cases, protection also would eliminate urgently needed sources of income to Eskimos, Aleuts, and Indians and revenue for state and federal treasuries, as well.

We believe that adoption of such a negative policy would be a serious mistake. We believe the government should strengthen its management authorities, including providing more funds and manpower, and should explore new and more effective international agreements. We believe that there is no substitute for scientific fact when it comes to assuring the perpetuation of any species.

The accompanying fact sheets provide more detailed information on the status and management opportunities for marine mammals, should you have the time or need to read them.

Sincerely,

American Committee for International Wild Life Protection: Harold J. Coolidge, Honorary Chairman.
American Fisheries Society: Robert F. Hutton, Secretary.
American Forestry Association: William E. Towell, Executive Vice President.
Boone and Crocket Club: Frederick C. Pullman, President.
Citizens Committee on Natural Resources: Spencer M. Smith, Jr., Secretary.
International Association of Game, Fish and Conservation Commissioners: Chester F. Phelps, President.
Izaak Walton League of America: Joseph W. Penfold, Conservation Director.
National Rifle Association of America: Maxwell E. Rich, Executive Vice President.
National Wildlife Federation: Thomas L. Kimball, Executive Director.
North American Wildlife Foundation: C. R. Gutermuth, Secretary.
Sport Fishing Institute: Richard H. Stroud, Executive Vice President.
Trout Unlimited: Ray A. Kotrla, Washington Representative.
Wildlife Management Institute: Daniel A. Poole, President.
The Wildlife Society: Fred G. Evenden, Executive Director.
World Wildlife Fund: Ira N. Gabrielson, President.

The bill H.R. 10420, which I introduce today, does provide for a strengthening of management authorities for the Government, together with additional funds and manpower for the protection of these animals, and urges the appropriate agency heads to seek new and more effective international agreements. To that extent, it appears to satisfy the requirements of these conservation groups.

It may well create other problems, however, and I will state for the RECORD at this time that this bill may not be the perfect answer to this perplexing problem. I am introducing it primarily to widen the dialog on the issue, so that when our committee holds hearings on the issue, we can have the broadcast possible exposure to the issues before us, and so that the Federal agencies and the public will have these questions squarely in front of them.

Essentially the bill provides comprehensive authority to the Secretary of the Interior to manage the taking of all marine mammals within the jurisdiction of the United States. It covers all marine mammals, including seals, whales, polar bears, walruses, and other mammals which spend part or all of their lives at sea, but excludes coverage for mammals taken as an incident to commercial fishing operations.

The bill creates a prohibition upon the taking of these animals, but softens this by providing the Secretary of the Interior with authority to issue permits for the taking of marine mammals. Before doing so, he is required to make an annual determination of quotas to be taken, subject to review by the public and by an independent Marine Mammal Commission. Criminal and civil penalties are provided for violation of the law, as well as forfeiture of the animals.

There is an exception to the act for Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos, who may take marine mammals within their cultural tradition, if not for sale or resale. The Secretary is encouraged to develop cooperative arrangements with the Governors of coastal States to cover the taking of mammals within territorial waters. Japan and Canada, who are entitled to a proportion of the annual take from the Pribilof Islands, are offered their choice of a fixed number of skins or a dollar amount computed with reference to earlier seasons.

The bill also establishes an independent, three-man Marine Mammal Commission, charged with an overview of the entire program, and authorized to review and to report on the progress of activities under the act on an annual basis. The Commission is to be assisted in its responsibilities by a committee of expert scientific advisers. The activities of the Commission, its scientific advisory committee and of the Secretary of the Interior are all to be matters open to public inspection and review.

I include the bill (H.R. 10420) at this place in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues and the public.

H.R. 10420

A bill to protect marine mammals; to establish a Marine Mammal Commission; 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 "Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1971".

FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 2. The Congress finds that—

(1) certain species and population stocks of marine mammals are, or may be, in danger of disappearance as a result of man's activities;

(2) such species and population stocks should not be permitted to diminish beyond the point at which they can maintain that equilibrium at which they may be managed on an optimum sustained yield basis, and measures should be immediately taken to replenish any species and population stock which has already diminished beyond that point;

(3) there is inadequate knowledge of the population dynamics of such marine mammals and of the factors which bear upon their ability to reproduce themselves successfully;

(4) negotiations should be undertaken, as soon as possible, to encourage the development of international arrangements for research on, and conservation of, marine mammals; and

(5) marine mammals have proven themselves to be resources of great international significance, esthetic and recreational as well as economic, and it is the sense of the Congress that they should be protected to the greatest possible extent commensurate with sound policies of resource management.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 3. For the purposes of this Act—

(1) The term "marine mammal" means any seal, whale, walrus, dugong, manatee, sea otter, sea lion, polar bear, porpoise, or dolphin.

(2) The term "population stock" means a group of interbreeding marine mammals of the same species or smaller taxa in a common spatial arrangement.

(3) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Interior.

(4) The term "take" means to harass, hunt, capture, or kill, or attempt to harass, hunt, capture, or kill any marine mammal; but such term does not include the taking of marine mammals which occurs as an incident to commercial fishing operations.

(5) The term "waters under the jurisdiction of the United States" means—

(A) the territorial sea of the United States, and

(B) the fisheries zone established pursuant to the Act of October 14, 1966 (80 Stat. 908, 16 U.S.C. 1091–1094).

TITLE I—CONSERVATION AND PROTECTION OF MARINE MAMMALS

PROHIBITIONS

SEC. 101. Except as provided in sections 102, 107, and 109 of this title, it is unlawful—

(1) for any person subject to the jurisdiction of the United States or any vessel subject to the jurisdiction of the United States to take any marine mammal on the high seas;

(2) for any person or vessel to take any marine mammal in waters under the jurisdiction of the United States or on land appurtenant thereto;

(3) for any person to use any port, harbor, or other place under the jurisdiction of the United States for any purpose in any way connected with acts prohibited under paragraphs (1) and (2) of this section; and

(4) for any person to engage in any of the following acts with respect to marine mammals or parts of marine mammals (including raw, dressed, or dyed fur or skins) taken in violation of this section after the effective date of this title:

(A) possess any such mammal or part thereof,

(B) transport, sell, or offer for sale any such mammal or part thereof in interstate commerce, and

(C) import any such mammal or part thereof into the United States.

LIMITATIONS ON TAKING OF MARINE MAMMALS

SEC. 102. (a) The Secretary, after notice and opportunity for public hearing, shall prescribe such limitations with respect to the taking of each species of marine mammal (including limitations on the taking of individuals within population stocks) as he deems necessary and appropriate to insure that such species or population stock within waters under the jurisdiction of the United States—

(1) is not threatened with extinction, disappearance, or undue attrition whether by natural or man-made causes, and

(2) can be managed on a sustained yield basis.

(b) The limitations prescribed under subsection (a) of this section for any species or population stock of marine mammal may include, but are not limited to, restrictions and make available to the public—

(1) the number of animals which may be taken in any calendar year pursuant to permits issued under section 103;

(2) the age, size, or sex (or any combination of the foregoing) of animals which may be taken, whether or not a quota prescribed under paragraph (1) of this subsection applies with respect to such animals;

(3) the season or other period of time within which animals may be taken; and

(4) the manner and locations in which animals may be taken.

(c) Before prescribing any annual quota under paragraph (1) of subsection (b) of this section, the Secretary shall, in addition to any other requirements imposed by law with respect to agency rulemaking, publish and make available to the public,—

(1) a statement of the existing levels of the species and population stocks of the marine mammal concerned;

(2) a statement of the expected impact of the proposed quota on such species or population stock; and

(3) any studies made by, or for, the Secretary or the Marine Mammal Commission which relate to the establishment of such quota.

(d) Any limitation prescribed pursuant to this section shall be periodically reviewed, and may be modified from time to time in such a manner as the Secretary deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

PERMITS

SEC. 103. (a) The Secretary may issue permits, after notice and opportunity for public hearing, which authorize the taking of any ocean mammal.

(b) Any permit issued under this section shall—

(1) be consistent with any applicable limitation established by the Secretary under section 102, and

(2) specify—

(A) the number and kind of animals which are authorized to be taken,

(B) the location and manner (which manner must be determined by the Secretary to be humane) in which they may be taken,

(C) the period during which the permit is valid, and

(D) any other terms or conditions which the Secretary deems appropriate.

(c) The Secretary may modify, suspend, or revoke in whole or part the terms and conditions of any permit issued by him under this section—

(1) in order to make any such permit consistent with any change made after the date of issuance of such permit with respect to any applicable limitation prescribed under section 102, and

(2) in any case in which a violation of the terms and conditions of the permit is found. Any modification, suspension, or revocation of a permit under this subsection shall take effect at the time notice thereof is given to the permittee. The permittee shall then be granted opportunity for expeditious hearing by the Secretary with respect to such modification, suspension, or revocation.

(d) Any permit issued under this section must be in the possession of the person to whom it is issued (or an agent of such person) during—

(1) the time of the authorized taking;

(2) the period of any transit of such person or agent which is incident to such taking; and

(3) any other time while any marine mammal taken under such permit is in the possession of such person or agent.

(e) The Secretary shall prescribe such procedures as may be necessary to carry out this section, including the manner and form in which application for permits may be made and the information which should accompany with an application to enable the Secretary to review and evaluate the proposed taking.

PENALTIES

SEC. 104. (a) Any person who violates any provision of this title or any regulation issued thereunder may be assessed a civil penalty by the Secretary or not more than $5,000 for each such violation. No penalty shall be assessed unless such person is given notice and opportunity for a hearing with respect to such violation. Each violation shall be a separate offense. Any such civil penalty may be compromised by the Secretary. Upon any failure to pay a penalty assessed under this subsection, the Secretary may request the Attorney General to institute a civil action in a district court of the United States for any district in which such person is found, resides, or transacts business to collect the penalty and such court shall have jurisdiction to hear and decide any such action. In hearing such action, the court may review the violation and the assessment of the civil penalty de novo.

(b) Any person who knowingly violates any provision of this title or any regulation issued thereunder shall, upon conviction, be fined not more than $10,000, or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

FORFEITURE

SEC. 105. (a) Any vessel subject to the jurisdiction of the United States that is employed in any manner in connection with a violation of the provisions of this title, including its tackle, apparel, furniture, appurtenances, cargo, and stores, shall be subject to forfeiture and all marine mammals or parts thereof, taken or retained in violation of this title or the monetary value thereof shall be forfeited.

(b) All provisions of law relating to the seizure, summary, and judicial forfeiture, and condemnation of a vessel, including its tackle, apparel, furniture, appurtenances, cargo, and stores, for violation of the customs laws, the disposition of such vessel, including its tackle, apparel, furniture, appurtenances, cargo, and stores, or the proceeds from the sale thereof, and remission of mitigation of such forfeitures shall apply to seizures and forfeitures incurred, or alleged to have been incurred, under the provisions of this title, insofar as such provisions of law are applicable and not inconsistent with the provisions of this title.

ENFORCEMENT

SEC. 106. (a) The Secretary shall enforce the provisions of this title. The Secretary may utilize by agreement, the personnel, services, and facilities of any other Federal agency for purposes of enforcing this title.

(b) The Secretary may also designate officers and employees of any State or of any possession of the United States to enforce the provisions of this title. When so designated, such officers and employees are authorized to function as Federal law enforcement agents for these purposes, but they shall not be held and considered as employees of the United States for the purposes of any laws administered by the Civil Service Commission.

(c) The judges of the United States district courts and the United States commissioners may, within their respective jurisdictions, upon proper oath or affirmation, showing probable cause, issue such warrants or other process, including warrants or other process issued in admiralty proceedings in Federal district courts, as may be required for enforcement of this title and any regulations issued thereunder.

(d) Any person authorized by the Secretary to enforce this title may execute any warrant or process issued by any officer or

court of competent jurisdiction for the enforcement of this title.

(e) Such person so authorized may—

(1) with or without warrant or other process, arrest any person committing in his presence or view a violation of this title or the regulations issued thereunder;

(2) with a warrant or other process or without a warrant, if he has reasonable cause to believe that a vessel subject to the jurisdiction of the United States or any person on board is in violation of any provision of this title or the regulations issued thereunder, to search such vessel and to arrest such person;

(3) seize any vessel subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, together with its tackle, apparel, furniture, appurtenances, cargo, and stores, used or employed contrary to the provisions of this title or the regulations issued hereunder or which reasonably appears to have been so used or employed; and

(4) seize, whenever and wherever found, all marine mammals or parts thereof taken or retained in violation of this title or the regulations issued thereunder and shall dispose of them in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Secretary.

EXCEPTIONS

SEC. 107. (a) The provisions of this title shall not apply with respect to the taking of any marine mammal by Indians, Aleuts, or Eskimos who dwell on the coasts of the North Pacific or Arctic Oceans if such taking (1) is done solely in accordance with customary traditions as an adjunct of the native culture, and (2) is not done for purposes of direct or indirect commercial sale or resale. The provisions of this title shall apply to Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos who are employed by any person for the purpose of taking marine mammals, or who are under contract or agreement to deliver the skins of any marine mammals to any person.

(b) (1) Nothing in this title shall prohibit any person deemed qualified by the Secretary from obtaining written consent from the Secretary to capture on his own account and in a humane manner any marine mammal for (A) public display or educational purposes, or (B) for legitimate scientific or medical research.

(2) The Secretary shall by regulation specify the methods of capture, supervision, and transportation applicable in the case of marine mammals captured under the authority of this subsection.

(3) Any person authorized to take a marine mammal under this subsection shall be required by the Secretary to furnish a report on his activities pursuant to such authority. Such report shall be made to the Secretary as soon as practicable after the close of any expedition made for the purpose of such taking, whether or not any marine mammal was taken during such expedition.

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM

SEC. 108. The Secretary, in cooperation with the Secretary of State and other appropriate Federal officers and agencies, shall develop an international program for the protection of marine mammals and shall take every possible step to encourage the adoption of international arrangements which would be appropriate for effectuating such program.

COOPERATION WITH STATES

SEC. 109. The Secretary is authorized and directed to develop cooperative arrangements with the appropriate officials of the several States for the conservation and protection of marine mammals. Such arrangements shall prescribe the circumstances under which marine mammals which pass through or reside within the territorial waters of any State may be taken, and any marine mammal taken within the scope of such cooperative arrangements shall be deemed to have been lawfully taken within the meaning of this title.

NORTH PACIFIC FUR SEAL CONVENTION

SEC. 110. The Secretary shall undertake an immediate review of the current activities involved in the taking of fur seals on the Pribilof Islands for the purpose of determining whether such activities are consistent with the purposes and policy of this Act. If, as a result of such review, the Secretary determines that such activities should be significantly curtailed or terminated, then during the time commencing with the date of such curtailment or termination and ending on the date of the expiration of the International Convention for the Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seals, Japan and Canada, for each annual period occurring within such time, shall each be given the opportunity to select one of the following options in lieu of receiving the fur seal skins to which such country would otherwise be entitled—

(1) the average dollar value (based on the average dollar value received for fur seal skins during the 5-year period immediately preceding such date of curtailment or termination) of the fur seal skins to which such country would otherwise be entitled during the annual period concerned; or

(2) 9,000 fur seal skins, to be shipped directly to such country from the Pribilof Islands. In any case in which Japan or Canada elects to take the skins, under clause (B) of the preceding sentence, the killing of the seals shall be done in the manner prescribed by the Secretary, taking into account the desirability of preserving and improving the genetic stock of the Pribilof herd of seals. This section shall be interpreted so as to give maximum effect to such Convention.

REGULATIONS

SEC. 111. The Secretary shall prescribe such regulations as are necessary and appropriate to carry out the purposes of this title.

APPLICATION TO OTHER LAWS AND CONVENTIONS

SEC. 112. The provisions of this title shall be deemed to be in addition to the provisions of any other law, treaty or convention which may otherwise apply to the taking of marine mammals.

APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 113. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out this title.

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 114. This title shall take effect 180 days after the date of its enactment.

TITLE II—MARINE MAMMAL COMMISSION

ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSION

SEC. 201. (a) There is hereby established the Marine Mammal Commission (hereafter referred to in this title as the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of three members who shall be appointed by, and serve at the pleasure of, the President. The President shall make his selection from a list, submitted to him by the Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, of individuals knowledgeable in the fields of marine ecology and resource management. No member of the Commission may, during his period of service on the Commission, hold any other position as an officer or employee of the United States, except as a retired officer or retired civilian employee of the United States.

(c) The President shall designate a Chairman of the Commission (hereafter referred to in this title as the "Chairman") from among its members.

(d) Members of the Commission may each be compensated at the rate of $100 for each day such member is engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission. Each member shall be reimbursed for travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5703 of title 5, of United States Code, for persons in Government service employed intermittently.

(e) The Commission shall have an Executive Director, who shall be appointed by the Chairman with the approval of the Commission and shall be paid at a rate not in excess of the maximum rate for GS–18 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of title 5, United States Code. The Executive Director shall have such duties as the Chairman may assign.

DUTIES OF COMMISSION

SEC. 202. (a) The Commission shall—

(1) undertake a comprehensive review and study of the activities of the United States pursuant to existing laws and international conventions relating to marine mammals, including, but not limited to, the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling, the International Convention on the Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seals, and the Fur Seal Act of 1966;

(2) conduct a containing review of the condition of the stacks of marine mammals, of methods for their management, and of humane means of taking marine mammals;

(3) undertake or cause to be undertaken such studies as it deems necessary or desirable for determining the need for additional measures for the protection and management of marine mammals;

(4) recommend to the Secretary and to other Federal officials such as it deems necessary or desirable for the protection and management of marine mammals;

(5) recommend to the Secretary such revisions of the Endangered Species List, authorized by the Endangered Species Conservation Act of 1969, as may be appropriate with regard to marine mammals;

(6) recommend to the Secretary, other appropriate Federal officials, and Congress such additional measures as it deems necessary or desirable to further the policies of this Act, including provisions for the protection of the Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts whose livelihood may be adversely affected by actions taken pursuant to this Act.

(b) The Commission shall consult with the Secretary at such intervals as it or he may deem desirable, and shall furnish its reports and recommendations to him, before publication, for his comment.

(c) The activities of the Commission, and the reports and recommendations which it makes, as well as all comments and correspondence in regard to such reports and recommendations, shall be matters of public record and shall be available to the public at all reasonable times. The Commission shall furnish to the Council on Environmental Quality copies of any such reports, recommendations, and related comments that are made by Federal, State, or local agencies.

(d) Any recommendations made by the Commission to the Secretary and other Federal officials shall be responded to by those individuals within 90 days after receipt thereof. Any recommendations which are not followed or adopted shall be rereferred to the Commission together with a detailed explanation of the reasons why those recommendations were not followed or adopted.

COMMITTEE OF SCIENTIFIC ADVISORS ON MARINE MAMMALS

SEC. 203. The Commission shall establish, within 90 days after its establishment, a Committee of Scientific Advisors on Marine Mammals (hereafter referred to in this title as the "Committee"). Such Committee shall consist of nine scientists knowledgeable in marine ecology and marine mammal affairs appointed by the Chairman with the advice of the Director of the National Science Foundation, the Chairman of the National Academy of Science, and the Secretary

of the Smithsonian Institution. The Commission shall consult with the Committee on all studies and recommendations which it may propose to make or has made, and any recommendations made by the Committee or any of its members which are not adopted by the Commission shall be transmitted by the Commission to the appropriate Federal agency and to Congress with a written explanation of the Commission's reasons for not accepting such recommendations.

COMMISSION REPORTS

SEC. 204. The Commission shall transmit to Congress, by January 31 of each year, a report which shall include—

(1) a comprehensive description of the activities and accomplishments of the Commission during the immediately preceding year; and

(2) all the findings and recommendations made by the Commission pursuant to section 202, together with the responses made to its recommendations by the appropriate Federal agencies.

COORDINATION WITH OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES

SEC. 205. The Commission shall have access to all studies and data compiled by Federal agencies regarding marine mammals. With the consent of the appropriate Secretary or Agency head, the Commission may also utilize the facilities or services of any Federal agency and shall take every feasible step to avoid duplication of research and other efforts in carrying out the purposes of this Act.

ADMINISTRATION OF COMMISSION

SEC. 206. The Commission, in carrying out its responsibilities under this title, may—

(1) employ and fix the compensation of such personnel;

(2) acquire, furnish, and equip such office space;

(3) enter into such contracts or agreements with other organizations, both public and private, including the Committee; and

(4) incur such necessary expenses and exercise such other powers,

as are consistent with and reasonably required to perform its functions under this title. Financial and administrative services (including those related to budgeting, accounting, financial reporting, personnel, and procurement) shall be provided the Commission by the General Services Administration, for which payment shall be made in advance, or by reimbursement from funds of the Commission in which amounts as may be agreed upon by the Chairman and the Administrator of the General Services Administration.

AUTHORIZATIONS

SEC. 207. There are authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year in which this title is enacted and for the next two fiscal years thereafter such sums as may be necessary to carry out this title, but the sums appropriated for any such year shall not exceed $1,000,000.

UNC'S MEDICAL "AIR FORCE" FIGHTING TO SAVE LIVES

HON. RICHARDSON PREYER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. PREYER of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the regional medical program in North Carolina has been a great success, and I urge the Congress to do everything possible to continue and strengthen it.

A recent article in the Greensboro Daily News gives a particularly dramatic example of the effectiveness of the regional medical program.

ORGAN TRANSPORTATION, CLINICS, HEALTH SERVICES—UNC'S MEDICAL "AIR FORCE" FIGHTING TO SAVE LIVES

CHAPEL HILL.—Late in February, a twin-engine airplane owned by the University of North Carolina Medical School touched down on the grass runway at Horace Williams Airport at Chapel Hill in a cold drizzle. Aboard was a small cardboard box with the words "Left Kidney," scrawled on one side.

Only two hours earlier the kidney had belonged to a Baltimore, Md., man who had died—probably in an accident.

Thirty-five-year-old Robert McCarter of Salisbury was already in the operating room at the university's North Carolina Memorial Hospital, where his own diseased kidney was being removed.

The donated kidney was transferred from the airplane to a waiting police car and two officers of the UNC campus police sped it to the operating room.

Total time consumed in the transportation of the kidney was just over two hours and 10 minutes. The surgery was successful and McCarter is alive and well today, going about normal daily activities in Salisbury that would have been impossible with his own diseased kidneys.

Ground transportation, even in the police cars that are usually used, would have pushed the time in transit close to the eight-hour life expectancy for a kidney outside the human body.

The transportation of living kidneys between the Southeastern hospitals that participate in the Regional Organ Donor Program occurs about once every two weeks. And the backbone of the program is the UNC Medical School's "air force," the only one of its kind in the nation.

The organ transportation program is probably the best-known function of the air force—two twin-engine Cessna Super Skymasters and a smaller Cessna Skylane. But the program, under the direction of the Medical Foundation of North Carolina, also helps the university put its medical personnel to work in rural communities and other places where their skills are badly needed.

Projects manned by medical school personnel in conjunction with local agencies and physicians include weekly surgical and pediatric exchanges with Wilmington; biweekly ear-nose-throat clinics at Morganton and Tarboro; monthly orthopedic clinics at Elizabeth City, Jacksonville and monthly surgical consultation at Wilson.

At many of the sites, patients begin signing up to see the specialists weeks before they are due and are waiting in lines when the small planes land on grass and dirt runways.

Carl Travis, chief pilot for the foundation, estimates that the air arm of the medical school has carried about 50 kidneys in the three years it has been in operation. Participating hospitals are in Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Chapel Hill, Charlottesville, Va., Nashville, Tenn., and several smaller cities.

As of December 1970, the three airplanes had flown 1,229,066 miles and aided in the treatment of 7,063 patients in the regional clinics.

The foundation figures it has saved the participating doctors about 20½ man years of travel time as compared to automobile travel. That, the foundation says, comes out to a saving of $409,680 if you figure the doctors make an average yearly salary of $20,000.

The mileage charge, together with some federal funds from the Regional Medical Program of North Carolina, make the air service self-supporting.

The airplanes were purchased with money donated to the foundation. Three full-time pilots and one part-time pilot are on the foundation payroll.

The operation is run with military precision under the direction of Col. Earl Provancha, a former Air Force pilot. Daily flight schedules are almost always filled. In fact, 56 requests for transportation already have been turned down this year.

Travis sees the flying service as a means of letting the rest of the state share in the expertise that has been centered at North Carolina's only state-supported medical school.

None of the flights are wasted. On a typical day, one of the twin-engine planes left Horace Williams Airport early in the morning, dropped off two physicians in Wilmington and continued on to Beaufort, S.C., with two other doctors needed there.

Another plane took physicians to Rocky Mount and Washington, N.C., to the east while the third took doctors to Asheville, Franklin and Charlotte to the west.

RECYCLING SOLID WASTES

HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, the Oregon Environment Quality Commission has called for a statewide program of recycling of solid wastes.

In a thoughtful editorial, Eric W. Allen, Jr., editor of the Medford, Oreg., Mail Tribune, discusses some of the difficulties involved in putting such a policy into effect and the importance of overcoming such problems. Mr. Allen, one of the finer and creative minds in Oregon's Fourth Congressional District, calls for a change of attitudes toward solid wastes. He concludes:

Rich as this country may be, it is not so rich that it can continue to throw away raw materials.

I commend this incisive editorial from the July 26, 1971, issue of the Medford Mail Tribune to my colleagues:

SOLID WASTES AS RAW MATERIALS

It is easy to adopt a policy calling for a statewide program providing for recycling of all solid waste—as the State Environmental Quality Commission did last week.

It is more difficult to put it into effect. It will save time, money and a lot of planning, to say nothing of the cooperation of municipalities, counties and companies—and householders.

Disposal of solid waste is not really a single problem; it is a whole series of related problems, many of which require differing solutions.

One doesn't treat garbage the same way one treats old automobile bodies. For that matter, we're going to have to be more precise in the definition of garbage; it should not embrace those things that can be recycled, such as bottles and cans.

Recycling, which is simply making use of things that have served their purpose, is nothing new. But the emphasis on it is relatively new, and a start has been made. More and more, old automobile hulks are being collected, mashed, and shipped off to be converted into raw materials again. (A tip of the hat, here, to the Oregon National Guard, which locally has done a good deal to get this program moving, devoting many weekends of their training time to collecting such hulks.)

The recycling of cans (particularly alu-

minum ones) and some kinds of bottles is in its infancy. Some of the beverage firms and some of the glass companies have made a start, offering modest incentive payments to bring these containers back for either recycling or (something that will increase in Oregon when the new "bottle law" becomes effective) reuse.

But what about paper, cardboard, plastic, old tires, discarded grass and yard and garden clippings, grapefruit rinds, uneaten spinach, grape seeds and banana peels?

These can be burned—but open burning pollutes the air, and only a few localities have developed methods by which they can be burned without pollution. But this is coming, including burning that will take advantage of the heat to generate power. This is well along in some forward-looking communities, and the federal government is also sponsoring pilot programs through which this can be done.

Much of this type of garbage (and some other waste products) can be converted into usable petroleum by the application of high temperatures, pressure, and carbon monoxide. A pilot operation is showing the feasibility of this process, too.

One conventional way of disposing of such solid waste—one that has long been used here—is by dumping, either with or without a land-fill covering of dirt. This will have to go. We're running out of appropriate places for such dumping, and there are many problems connected with it, including the possible pollution of groundwater.

Almost all solid waste has some value. The problem is finding economical ways of dealing with it. (An example is old newspapers, which can be converted into new newsprint. But to make it economically possible to do this, quantities must be in the hundreds of tons. The Mail Tribune is interested in this, but at present the nearest plant that can do such recycling of old newspapers is in southern California.)

All these various things are going to have to be put together, and organized into a complex system of collection and re-use. The adoption of a statewide policy, as urged by Gov. Tom McCall and adopted by the EQC, is an important step in this direction.

But unless the garbage collection firms, the cities, the counties, and the thousands of individuals who bear some part of the responsibility, are provided with ways in which to cooperate, it will all come to nothing.

It is now up to the Department of Environmental Quality to provide these ways. It won't happen overnight, but it will happen. And it's time we stopped thinking of "solid waste" as a nuisance to be gotten rid of, and started thinking of it as a source of valuable raw materials.

Rich as this country may be, it is not so rich that it can continue to afford to throw away raw materials.—E.A.

CITIZENSHIP

HON. JORGE L. CÓRDOVA

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. CÓRDOVA. Mr. Speaker, in view of the publicity gained by the activities of a small group of terrorists who favor independence for Puerto Rico, I believe it may be helpful to a better understanding of Puerto Rico's attitude to insert in the RECORD the following remarks, which I made at San Juan, Puerto Rico, on March 26, 1971, at a banquet honoring our citizenship:

CITIZENSHIP

(By JORGE L. CÓRDOVA)

When the troops of the Army of the United States landed on the south coast of Puerto Rico in 1898, the commanding general, Nelson A. Miles, proclaimed that, "We have come . . . to bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government." However, almost twenty years passed before we were recognized as citizens of the United States.

Early this month we reached the 54th anniversary of the approval of the Jones Act which granted American citizenship to Puerto Ricans. That achievement, perhaps the most important in the political history of Puerto Rico under the American flag, was the fruit of the efforts of that great patriot—one of the greatest men Puerto Rico has produced—don Luis Muñoz-Rivera. Some have tried to tell us that Muñoz-Rivera had his doubts about the advisability of American citizenship. But Muñoz felt quite the contrary. It is true, as he himself confessed, that when on October 18, 1898 the rule of the old metropolis ceased in Puerto Rico, Muñoz-Rivera was one of the few who sounded a note of pessimism and reservations. But he did not take long to change. In 1899 Muñoz visited the United States. He came back convinced of the necessity of strengthening our ties with the Nation. I will quote a few paragraphs from the speech which Muñoz-Rivera made upon his return to Puerto Rico on September 6, 1899, at the very dock where the people gathered to greet him. (The quotations have been taken from the second volume of the History of the Political Parties in Puerto Rico, written by the late Puerto Rican Socialist leader, Bolívar Pagán):

"I come from a country whose vigor is the wonder of the world.

"I have been able to study it in its work activities and in its government institutions. And I admire it deeply, for its fertile fields and its industrial cities, as well as for its laws, written and obeyed with the spirit of a true democracy. In North America, the only power, the only force lies in the vote. And this sovereignty of the people is not a useless, empty phrase. It is a real, positive, invincible fact which shapes every act of the government and which is reflected in all aspects of life. A man there feels like a citizen. His vote acquits or convicts in the courts. His vote influences the march of the Federation, of the states, of the municipalities. And when the polls speak, the majorities rule and the minorities submit and assist in the common task, because there is no reason for protest and tumult, where the liberty of man and the dignity of the people are safe, where they remain inviolate.

"But do not forget, my friends, the greatness of nations stems from the virtues of their children. The North American sacrifices himself to build a comfortable home, a solid position, an independent individual existence. And from the conglomerate of all the families built and reproduced in this way, arise the typical characteristics of the community: firmness of purpose, energy of will, perseverance of effort. And do not believe that this way of life is limited to the upper spheres: to the Broadway businessman and the Wall Street banker, to the factory owner, the railroad entrepreneur, the attorney with a prosperous practice or the doctor with a large clientele. No, this way of life extends to the factory worker, the miner, the tiller of the fields; and it goes even further: it extends to woman, who studies, who works, who produces, who receives a very broad education and who, in every social class, possesses abilities to transform her into the vigorous, intelligent and discreet mother of a race of Spartans.

"Beholding the moral and physical power of that race, I, sirs, never felt envy: I felt the stimulus to reach those heights, that my people would reach those heights through the arts of labor and through civic commitment. We must move rapidly toward identity. The Liberal Party wants and asks for Puerto Rico to be transformed into a kind of California or Nebraska, with our own initiatives, with our own laws, with our own practices, equal in duty and rights; equal in advantages, equal, if there are sacrifices, in sacrifices. Inequality is for us inferiority. And we reject it as proudly, as frankly and as resolutely as New York and Pennsylvania might reject the harshness and abuses of dictatorship. In this also, and in this above all, my friends, in the noble and legitimate pride of free men, we, from the small islands must be equal to those of immense continents.

"Oh, my friends, the son of this land must claim this identity and not be satisfied with anything less than identity. But not only must he have the enthusiasm to want it, the prudence and the spirit to achieve it, the serenity and the patience to await it; he must make the effort day by day, hour by hour; it is necessary that every Puerto Rican prosper in his home, and that from the sum of these prosperities, the prestige and the grandeur of the country may be the result. . . . By serving the national cause, we serve the insular cause, for just as the interests of the Island demand the progress of the Nation, so the interests of the Nation demand the progress of the Island. And, in order for us to be good and loyal Puerto Ricans, we cannot be, we must not be, we do not want to be, absolutely and without reservations, anything but good and loyal Americans. . . .

"And you, my friends, if you grant any authority to my advice, remember that we do not engage in politics for the childish pleasure of engaging in politics, that our aim is the welfare of Puerto Rico, and that we can only reach that aim by good sense and wisdom, by firmness of purpose, energy of will and perseverance of effort; by the private and civic virtues which convert the United States into the Rome of our time and which open the doors to a majestic future. Let us set our course in that direction; let us not descend into obscure quarrels; let us not encourage personal, low and miserable diatribe; let us turn our thoughts to the anguish of our country and let us march forward, confident that the approval of our conscience and the blessing of our people await us."

A man of the dignity, integrity, courage and patriotism of Luis Muñoz-Rivera could not fail to fight, as he fought successfully for American citizenship as the first step, as the minimum step, in the achievement of Puerto Rican identity with the American nation, and of the equality in duty and in rights to which that citizenship entitles us.

As Muñoz-Rivera reminded us when he advised us to move toward identity quickly, that identity implies "equality in duty in rights." The American citizenship for which Muñoz successfully fought, that citizenship which is the first step on the road toward identity which the great patriot pointed out to us, that citizenship makes us individually equal to the other citizens of the Nation, it makes me equal in duties as well as in rights.

It is hardly necessary to remind a people of Spanish ancestry such as ours, a people which has nobility in its blood, that among the duties of a citizen is that of loyalty. As Muñoz-Rivera told us in 1899, in order to be good, loyal Puerto Ricans we must not be anything other than good and loyal Americans. And that became even more evident upon the acquisition of American citizenship in 1917.

An example of the loyalty to which our citizenship, both American and Puerto Rican, binds us, was given to us by that well known promoter of Puerto Rico's independence, José de Diego, in a speech made in the Puerto Rico House of Representatives shortly after the approval of the Jones Act. I quote his words, as they stand in the records of

the House. It must be recalled that at that time de Diego had been pleading for a plebiscite so that the people of Puerto Rico could express the political status they preferred. When we were granted citizenship, upon the entry of the United States into the First World War, de Diego suggested that it would be inopportune to hold a plebiscite as the United States was involved in a conflict, and because of the loyalty which we owed to the citizenship which we had just acquired. Here are de Diego's words:

"We are citizens of the United States, we live and twenty thousand of our soldiers will go to fight and die under its glorious flag; the plebiscite resolution would engage us in a campaign of four years, where in some fashion we would be discussing delicate matters affecting the sovereignty and the soul of our country and perhaps disturb American policy in the war. . . . This should not be so and instead of obstructing, we must accompany the United States in this epic struggle . . . we must close the eyes and minds of our soldiers to any vision except that of victory, we must wait for Puerto Rican blood to brighten the splendor of the United States flag, so that that blood spilled for it may enrich our rights with a new title and speak for us to the American people in the triumphant joyous days of the world's peace, when the great with the help of the small will have affirmed on unyielding foundations the liberty of all the peoples of the earth."

With the passage of years, Puerto Rico's right to adopt its own constitution was recognized and in the preamble of the Constitution drawn up by members of a convention elected by the Puerto Rican people, Puerto Rican feeling regarding American citizenship was recorded as follows:

"We consider as determining factors of our way of life, our citizenship in the United States of America and our aspiration to enrich continually our democratic heritage in the individual and collective enjoyment of its rights and privileges."

The Constitution which thus reads received the overwhelming support of the Puerto Rican electorate when submitted for ratification.

It gives me great pleasure that the organizers of this event have called it the Citizenship Banquet. I am pleased because, at the same time that I am honored by a tribute for which I am sincerely grateful to all those who have attended and to all those who have worked on its organization, this tribute is joined to the act of emphasizing and honoring our citizenship. I am pleased because what hurled me into the political arena in 1967 was my conviction that, as Muñoz-Rivera said, in order to be good and loyal Puerto Ricans, we must not be anything other than good and loyal Americans; the conviction, which I share with the Muñoz-Rivera of 1899, that it is necessary to move toward identity, that is, toward equality with the states of the Union, because inequality is inferiority for us Puerto Ricans, and for that reason we reject it proudly, frankly and resolutely; and my conviction that I could not as a Puerto Rican remain aloof from a political movement intended to lead Puerto Rico toward equality within the American nation.

That conviction that we Puerto Ricans should not remain aloof from movements to settle the problem of our definite status, but that we have, on the contrary, the civic obligation to intervene in the solution of that problem, that conviction which has led me to join a political movement which seeks equality for Puerto Rico within the American union, obliges me to insist with all who are listening that they must reject the preaching of a few who would have us renounce the heritage to which our citizenship entitles us, equality through statehood, in exchange for the mess of pottage of a so-called independence which would be imposed on Puerto Rico by the puppets of the Cuban dictator who dominates the intellect and the will of his proficient Puerto Rican pupils. I have said Puerto Rican, but I doubt that those who place the interests of foreign countries before that of their own, those who form part of movements addressed to the murder of our own fellow-citizens, those whose goal it is to achieve unemployment of Puerto Ricans by the stratagem of destroying the property of those who employ Puerto Ricans and of frightening away from our shores through terrorism those who might give employment to our fellow citizens, deserve to be called Puerto Ricans. I have said Puerto Ricans but in referring to people who act thus it would be more appropriate to call them enemies of our country, because those who deliberately bring mourning into Puerto Rican homes, those who deliberately try to keep the bread away from many Puerto Rican homes by means of their terrorist tactics—those who act this way, based on teachings and instructions of a foreign dictator whose highest court of justice is the firing squad, they do not deserve to be called Puerto Ricans.

It is necessary for the entire country to reflect, and to realize what these few are seeking, to force the Puerto Rican people by threats of violence, by murder and arson, to follow paths alien to the will of the people. They mean, and they do not hide to proclaim it, to establish here a republic not only independent, but also what they call socialist—that is—they mean to establish here a satellite of the Castro dictatorship in Cuba, another satellite of the Russian empire. They mean for us to exchange the rights and guarantees which our American citizenship offers us, including the right to become one of the states of the Union, in exchange for a dictatorial system, with no guarantees for the individual, in exchange for the firing squad, under the dictatorship of one of those who today claim to be leaders of the socialist republic. These men, the public enemies of Puerto Rico and of Puerto Ricans, are today at liberty thanks to the guarantees which our American citizenship affords us all, including those enemies of the community. Our people have shown on more than one occasion that we are not willing to follow these false prophets. Precisely because they know that they do not have the support of the people do these false prophets prefer to resort to violence and terror. It is necessary to convince them that the people not only reject their ideas, but that they will not be intimidated by threats and terror. The Puerto Rican is not a coward, nor is terror nor violence the means to convince him. Perhaps these tactics may be successful in other countries. It is up to the Puerto Ricans to convince the puppets of Fidel Castro, and the foreigners who come here from New York trying to initiate our people in tactics of insults, insolence and violence, it is up to us Puerto Ricans, to convince these outsiders, foreigners and puppets of foreign dictators that we are American citizens, that we prize our citizenship and that we will not exchange our heritage as American citizens for the mess of pottage of a dictatorship by firing squad, or for the dictatorship of a bunch of New Yorkers who regardless of the degree of their rebelliousness or of their insolence, do not share our culture, nor appear to hold convictions of the merits of the democracy in which we live.

In truth the tranquility of the democratic community in which we live is threatened by murder, by arson, and by the insolence and insults to which the enemies of that community, the enemies of Puerto Rico, have resorted. As a consequence, passions have become inflamed. Perhaps it would be fruitful to recall here a paragraph from Muñoz-Rivera's speech when he returned to Puerto Rico in September of 1899. That great patriot, fiery defender of the country's interests as he saw them, who was the object of affronts and insults because he defended those interests as he saw them in the light of the clear intelligence which God gave him, said then:

"No one more than I, no one else more than I was the victim of violent attack, of uncouth calumny, of gratuitous affront. They wounded and they passed. If they wound again, they will pass again. However many my enemies, though they should multiply like the sands of the sea and the stars of the heavens, I am not the enemy of anyone. If you approve of my conduct, if you judge it to be honest and good, I beg you to emulate it, not to return blow for blow, to consider not what your own pride demands, but what the credit and tranquility of the country demand to do away with your resentments and your anger, in honor of Puerto Rico our unfortunate motherland. I beg the Liberal Press not to answer outrage, the liberal youth to repress the ardor of their years; the Liberal Party in the bitter and difficult days to measure up to the lofty height of its mission which is a mission of peace and harmony and to pay homage to two supreme ideals: the reconstitution of our economic life and the restoration of our hallowed liberties."

I have quoted this evening the words of Muñoz-Rivera in 1899 stressing the need for identity with the American people to reach equality. But perhaps we should clarify that the statehood which Muñoz-Rivera advocated and which I advocate, statehood which is the main raison d'ete of the political party to which I belong, is in no way at odds with our language nor with our culture.

The states of the American union have complete liberty with respect to language and culture, the same as Puerto Rico has today. California and New Mexico, among other states, had in their constitutions, upon being admitted as states, provisions recognizing Spanish as well as English as official languages of the state.

President Eisenhower said on one occasion:

"It is probably a pity that every citizen of each State cannot visit all the others, to see the differences, to learn what we have in common, and to come back with a richer, fuller understanding of America—in all its beauty, in all its dignity, in all its strength, in support of moral principle."

There is nothing in the Constitution of the United States with reference to any language. There is simply no constitutional language. There is simply the practical problem of citizens communicating with each other, the same problem which was resolved in India and in the Philippines by means of the use of English as the common instrument of communication between millions of citizens with different tongues. We Puerto Ricans need to speak English today to communicate with our fellow-citizens to the north. Anyone who does not speak English today in Puerto Rico is at a disadvantage. The day we become a state of the Union the situation will be the same: it will be equally important to know the English language in order to understand and to be understood by our fellow-citizens, but there will be no need for us to give up Spanish, and much less our culture, our customs. To summarize, statehood will bring Puerto Rico neither cold nor snow. We will continue to be Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans will simply come to enjoy our hereditary rights as American citizens, we will come to have the equality collectively, as a people among other equal peoples, that is, the fifty states, which today our American citizenship gives us as individuals. Being a state, as being an American citizen, will take nothing away from our Puerto Ricanism, either as individuals or as a people. As Muñoz-Rivera said so well in 1899, for us to be good, loyal Puerto Ricans, we cannot be, we must not be, we do not want to be, absolutely, and without reservations, anything other than good and loyal Americans.

"Let us set our course in that direction," as Muñoz-Rivera told us, "Let us not descend into obscure quarrels; let us not encourage personal, low, and miserable diatribe; let us turn our thoughts to the anguish of our country and let us march forward, confident that the approval of our conscience and the blessing of our people await us."

And above all, I add, let us ask God to enlighten us that we may follow the wisest road and to banish from our hearts any sentiment other than that of the closest and firmest fraternity for all our fellow-citizens, Puerto Ricans and Americans.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1971: THE UNIVERSAL VOTER REGISTRATION ACT

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, voter participation is the heart of democracy. The extent of a government's claim to democracy is measured by the number of citizens who partake in the electoral process. Yet, while we would have other nations look to the United States as a model of democracy, voter participation has been discouraging low.

VOTER PARTICIPATION HAS BEEN LOW

In the 1968 presidential election 47,000,000 people failed to vote—40 percent of the electorate. This exceeds by 17 million the number of votes which President Nixon received in winning the presidential election. And the number of nonvoters is increasing; in the last decade the number of nonvoters has increased by more than 1 million each year. In 1960 39 million people did not vote; in 1964 it was 43 million. In 1968 it was 47 million. America is heading full steam toward being ruled by the voting elite.

RESTRICTIVE REGISTRATION PROCEDURES ARE A CAUSE OF POOR VOTER PARTICIPATION

In the latter half of the 19th century, between 75 and 85 percent, voters were between 75 and 85 percent voters were generally not required to register and in most places where registration was required, there were systems of automatic registration. In the period from 1896 to 1924 the turnout of voters declined almost steadily as State after State enacted registration laws which typically required registration annually. Rigid registration procedures restricted the voter turnout by placing undue obstacles in the path to the ballot box.

Today local differences in the turnouts for elections are to a large extent related to local differences in the rates of registration, and these in turn reflect to a considerable degree local differences in the rules governing, and the arrangements for handling, registration of voters. Of those who failed to vote in 1968, 72 percent were barred by failing to meet registration requirements. In 1968 while only 60 percent of the total electorate voted, 91 percent of those registered claimed to have voted. Low voter turnout is not indicative of voter apathy, but of voter exclusion by registration procedures. It has long been a maxim among political organizers that, if you can get people registered, they will vote.

Eight States severely restrict the time and place of voter registration, while the other 42 States close off the registration period from 112 to 14 days prior to the election and up to 45 days after the election. Furthermore, 12 States require reregistration if a person fails to vote once every 4 years, and 23 States if not once every 2 years. As if this were not bad enough, six States require a loyalty oath, while eight States disenfranchise paupers, 46 disenfranchise those suffering from a mental disease, and 43 those convicted of a crime. It is little wonder that so many people are not registered to vote.

Registration systems were originally established to provide up-to-date lists of eligible voters to prevent multiple voting and other election frauds. Our present systems do little to advance that original purpose; what they do in fact is prevent otherwise eligible voters from partaking in the electoral process.

UNIVERSAL VOTER REGISTRATION ACT OF 1971

By introducing the Universal Voter Registration Act of 1971, also known as the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1971, I hope to pursue the recommendations of President Kennedy's Presidential Commission on Registration and Voting Participation by making the ballot box easily accessible to all citizens. As automatic registration provided access to a broad electorate in the latter half of the 19th century, so automatic registration will provide access to a broad electorate today.

Under this bill a person who registers with the Social Security Administration will automatically be registered to vote in Federal elections. Once registered, the person's name would be added to a compiled voter registration roll. Each congressional district would periodically be sent a list of the eligible voters in that district for each Federal election. Those considered to be paupers, those suffering from a mental disease, those convicted of a crime, and those who have not voted for a period of years would not be disenfranchised from Federal elections, unless there is a court order justifying disenfranchisement. There would be no need for reregistration; the registration is permanent. If a registered person moves, he need only notify social security so that they may update their lists. Furthermore, registration could take place throughout the year, and by mail.

Thus a voter registration system would be established which would fulfill registration's original purpose of providing exact information as to who is eligible to vote and where that person may vote without hindering or discouraging any person from registering and voting.

WHY SOCIAL SECURITY

Registering a voter automatically when he registers with social security best serves to alleviate the problems associated previously with registration. Social security is an existing system which already successfully registers most Americans at an early age. An individual in our society needs a social security number for a wide variety of functions—employment, tax returns, stocks and bonds, banking, and driver's licenses in some States. As a result an extremely broad segment of the electorate registers with social security, and thus would be registered to vote in Federal elections. Presently, over 200,000,000 numbers have been issued by social security. No other system of registration can claim such comprehensiveness.

Individuals are registering with social security at an increasingly early age. Many people are registered while in their early teens and even earlier. In as much as the 26th amendment was just ratified providing for the 18-year-old vote, it is essential that a registration system reach the young, as social security does. Those who register with social security prior to their 18th birthday would receive a registration card which includes the date upon which it would become effective—the registrant's 18th birthday—so there would be no delay between the time a person would become eligible to vote and the time he is registered.

The Social Security Administration has an established computer screening system whereby it can determine whether or not an applicant has been previously registered with them. By using the person's name, birthdate and place, and parent's names social security can check its lists of registrants to prevent any fraud. This same established system of screening provides the means whereby a person would be prevented from registering to vote more than once and from committing any election fraud. The act provides criminal penalties for any fraud which is committeed.

Social security offers many local offices for registration. In addition, it now is possible for a person to register with social security through the mail. Some States presently conduct voter registration through the mail. If Federal voter registration is united with social security registration, individuals in all States would be able to register to vote through the mail without raising fears of registration fraud.

In as much as the social security system compiles a complete listing of those registered with the agency, the rolls of those registered to vote in each congressional district can be easily furnished to each district for Federal elections.

Once the system is established, Federal voter registration need not be restricted exclusively to social security application. Applications for voter registration can be distributed through the mail, at the post office, in high schools, and in voter registration drives—as long as the application is forwarded to the Social Security Administration for their screening.

By using this system of registration there would be no invasion of privacy. The information required in a voter registration application is the same as that already required for social security registration due to the use of the same screening process. No new information is taken from the registrant, and that already taken is not afforded to any agency other than that which already has it—social security. In addition, the fears of the invasion of privacy which the public justifiably has concerning the computerized use of the social security number for

identification are not related to this system of registration. The registration of a voter at the time of social security registration has no connection with the social security number, and at no time is the voter identified by the social security number. Thus the voter's integrity and privacy remain unaffected.

RELATION TO STATE VOTER REGISTRATION

The question may arise as to how this system will relate to State voter registration. Under the recent case of Oregon against Mitchell Congress can legislate only regarding Federal elections. Therefore, this bill establishes registration procedures only for Federal elections. The States will be able to continue to register voters for all elections. It is provided, however, that any State may recognize registration under this bill as being effective for that State's elections also.

CONCLUSION

A government whose legitimacy rests on full participation by the governed cannot afford to exclude substantial numbers of its people from the voting booths, even by inadvertence. Existing systems of voter registration do have the effect of discouraging many potential voters from participating in the electorial process. Automatic universal voter registration, as provided in this act, will go a long way toward insuring that all citizens enjoy free access to the ballot box.

A copy of the bill, and a section-by-section analysis of the major provisions, are included for the consideration of my colleagues:

UNIVERSAL VOTER REGISTRATION ACT: SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

SECTION 401

This section states the underlying purpose of the Act, to facilitate voter registration and to encourage voter participation.

SECTION 402

Subsection (a) provides that registration with Social Security shall also constitute automatic registration to vote in federal elections. Anyone who has already been registered with Social Security at the time of passage of the Act would automatically be registered to vote in federal elections. In the future, when a person obtains a Social Security number, he will also be automatically registered to vote. If the registrant applies for a Social Security number before the legal voting age of 18, he will be automatically pre-registered to vote. In other words, he will be eligible to vote in federal elections *as of his 18th birthday.*

Subsections (b) and (c) empower the Administrator of Social Security to fill in the details of the registration system, subject to the guidelines set out in these subsections. The system could operate as simply as to provide each registrant with a voter registration card with his name and date of voter eligibility (18th birthday). The Social Security Administration, through the use of its massive computer facility in Baltimore, would provide each Congressional District with up-to-date print-outs listing the names and addresses of all those registered to vote in that District. When the registered voter presents himself at the polling place, he must be permitted to vote if he displays a valid federal voter registration card or signs an affidavit stating he is entitled to vote in that District. Criminal penalties for false swearing or fraudulent voting are provided in section 405 of the Act.

Voter registration is keyed to Social Security registration for convenience only, in order to take advantage of the efficient computer system already in use to handle the millions of Social Security registrants. One need not be registered with Social Security in order to register to vote in federal elections. Voter registration applications could be distributed through the mail, in schools, in Post Offices, by voter registration canvassers, etc. Anyone who mailed in the application, on which he swore to his identity and residence and age, would be entitled to be registered to vote, subject to the criminal penalties in section 6. Upon changing residence, the registrant would have to inform the Social Security Administration, which would then advise the registrant's old voting district to delete his name from the registration rolls, and advise the new district to add his name.

SECTION 403

This section prescribes who may be permitted to vote in a federal election. Anyone who fails to present a valid voter registration card must be permitted to vote if he signs an affidavit attesting to his eligibility. Furthermore, anyone who is eligible to vote in state elections must be allowed to vote in federal elections as well, regardless of whether he has met the requirements for federal voter registration.

Subsection (b) prohibits disenfranchisement in federal elections of certain groups which have commonly been denied the vote by the states. This group includes persons convicted of crimes, persons refusing to take loyalty oaths, paupers, persons who have not exercised the vote for a given number of years and persons deemed mentally unsound. Persons convicted of a crime, and those found by a court to be in need of mental treatment, may be disenfranchised only by a specific finding of the court.

SECTION 404

Absentee balloting is made less burdensome with respect to presidential elections. Wherever in the United States a registered federal voter happens to be on election day, he can appear at any polling place and obtain a presidential ballot. The ballot can be completed and mailed to the election district where the registrant would be entitled to vote, and must be counted by that district. Unfortunately this procedure can be extended only to Presidential elections, for there is no uniformity among the election districts' ballots for the lower offices.

SECTION 405

This section provides criminal penalties for vote fraud committed under the Act, including improper registration or voting.

SECTION 406

Since Congress has power only to regulate federal elections, the states cannot be required to respect the federal voter registration card for state elections as well. However, this section makes it clear that any state which wishes to do so may honor the federal voter registration system for purposes of state elections as well as federal.

SECTION 407

This section defines "federal elections" in accordance with the Supreme Court decision in *Oregon* v. *Mitchell*, and defines "state" to include the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.

H.R. 10442

A bill to amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1971".

SEC. 2. The Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended (79 Stat. 437; 42 U.S.C. 1973 et seq.) is amended by adding the following new title thereto:

"TITLE IV—UNIVERSAL VOTER REGISTRATION

"SEC. 401. (a) The Congress finds that the primary purpose of any Federal voter registration system should be to facilitate the identification of those persons who are qualified to vote in any Federal election, and to determine at which polling place the qualified voter is eligible to cast his ballot. A Federal voter registration system should not be a hindrance to any voter who attempts to exercise his constitutional right, and responsibility as a citizen, to vote. Every citizen of the United States should be registered so that he may vote in any Federal election held on or after his eighteenth birthday.

"(b) It is the purpose of this Act to provide for a system of voter registration, to be used for all Federal elections, that will facilitate the registration of every citizen so that the greatest number of citizens will be eligible to vote in every Federal election.

"SEC. 402. (a) Every person in the United States to whom has been issued a social security account number shall be held and considered to have registered to vote in any Federal election held on and after his eighteenth birthday and in which he is otherwise eligible to vote.

"(b) The Administrator of the Social Security Administration (hereinafter referred to as the "Administrator") shall prescribe such rules and regulations as he deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act. The rules and regulations prescribed by the Administrator shall establish a system to inform the appropriate officials in each State (prior to a Federal election) of the name of every person who is registered to vote in that State in the next Federal election, and in which congressional district he is eligible to vote.

"(c) The Administrator shall issue to each person deemed to be registered to vote under this Act an identification card which shall be the Voter Registration Card for that person for purposes of voting in any Federal election. Presentation of the Voter Registration Card at an appropriate polling place for a Federal election shall be prima facie evidence that the person presenting such card is eligible to vote in that election at that polling place.

"SEC. 403. (a) No person shall be prevented from voting in any Federal election merely on account of his failure to obtain, or present, his Voter Registration Card. If a person attempts to vote in any Federal election and does not present his Voter Registration Card to the election official at the polling place where he attempts to vote, he shall be permitted to vote in that election upon the execution by him of an affidavit attesting to his eligibility to vote at that place in that Federal election. Any person eligible to vote in any State election shall be eligible to vote in any Federal election, without regard to whether he obtains a Voter Registration Card under this Act.

"(b) No person shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal election because—

"(1) he has been convicted of any crime, unless the sentencing court makes a specific finding justifying disenfranchisement on the basis of the conduct of the person convicted;

"(2) of his economic status;

"(3) he refuses to take any oath or affirmation of loyalty to the United States or to any State;

"(4) he failed to vote in any Federal election for a period of time; or

"(5) of his mental condition, unless the court which finds the person to be in need of mental treatment makes a specific finding justifying disenfranchisement on the basis of the person's mental condition.

"SEC. 404. In the case of any election of electors for President and Vice President, any person who is absent from the State in which he resides may go to any appropriate polling place and, upon the presentation of his Voter

Registration Card, or upon the presentation of an affidavit attesting to his eligibility to vote in that election in a named State, may obtain a ballot to vote in that election. Such ballot must be mailed to the appropriate polling place in his State of residence, and must be postmarked not later than 12 o'clock midnight of the day of that election. Such a ballot shall be received and counted for the purpose of electing electors for President and Vice President in that election in the State in which he resides, in the same manner as a ballot cast in person by any other person in that State.

"SEC. 405. Any person who—

"(a) knowingly makes any false or misleading statement in order to obtain a Voter Registration Card; or

"(b) knowingly swears to or offers any false affidavit for the purpose of voting in any Federal election; or

"(c) knowingly votes more than once in any Federal election;

shall be fined not more than $5,000, or imprisoned for not longer than one year, or both.

"SEC. 406. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to preclude any State from using the Federal voter registration system established under this Act for purposes of voter registration in any State election.

"SEC. 407. For the purposes of this Act, (a) the term "Federal election" means—

"(1) any general, special, or primary election, or convention or caucus of a political party, held to nominate candidates for, or elect persons to, the office of United States Senator, or Member of, Delegate to, or Resident Commissioner in the United States House of Representatives; or

"(2) any primary election held for the selection of delegates to a national nominating convention of a political party, or a primary election held for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President, or any general election held to select electors for President and Vice President.

"(b) the term 'State' means each of the United States, the District of Columbia, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico."

CONSERVATION ON THE BACK 40 BY "GENE" POIROT

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, Jonathan Swift once wrote:

Whoever can make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind and do more essential service to this country than the whole race of politicians put together.

There is no doubt in my mind that the personification of those words is a man who abides on a farm near Golden City, Mo. He is Gene Poirot, a master farmer and conservationist, who has applied the fruits of science to his farm operation with remarkable success. An author, whose book, "Our Margin of Life," should be a reading must for all who would till the soil. A conservationist and philosopher, the inspiration for the Hall farm bill and a good friend who provided hours of delightful companionship to this Member of Congress.

Recently, Gene Poirot offered a backward look at his 50 years as a farmer. In it he sets forth what he has sought to accomplish and describes the fruits of his labor and its benefits to mankind. Believe me, his contribution in this day of emphasis on conservation and our ecology has been magnificent.

I offer Gene Poirot's words for the enlightenment of all:

CONSERVATION ON THE BACK 40

(By E. M. "Gene" Poirot)

For you this is Earth Day plus one year. For me it is Earth Day plus fifty years. My report covers that space of time. It tells the story of how to do soil and water restoration, its effects, its values and then suggests a way we can get it done on a national basis.

I am a farmer. My final product is human bodies with minds capable of thought and reason. My profession requires me to bargain with my fellow man to get dollars according to his economic laws. I must also bargain with nature to get human foods according to her laws of life and death.

When I do both in a way I will describe, I get abundance in food for man for which he pays dollars and a lot of by-products also of value to him, for which he does *not* pay.

Some of those by-products are wildlife, recreation, flood control, siltation control, environmental improvement, resource conservation and restoration as these apply to soil and water, the two resources already limiting factors to that which you hope to accomplish.

I can farm efficiently without creating any of these by-product values. Many farmers already do so and more will follow that path because advertising pressure from those who want to sell us products at a profit encourage such a course. Example, steel posts and wire in place of hedges and roses for a fence. Insecticides in place of biological controls, expensive deep well, pumps, and power equipment to run mechanical sprayers in place of ponds and gravity flow of water through cheap plastic pipes for irrigating farm crops.

Why do I resist these advertisements and the stories that support them? Why do I follow a different course that results in wildlife and other values I cannot sell? The answer is my way is cheaper and results in more net profit so I tolerate the wildlife and the human nuisance attracted by it.

Can farmers be sold on the same kind of ideas? The answer is yes, by shifting the present money incentive for retiring crop land to buying these extra values. The shift can best be accomplished by creating a market for using land for growing these values at a price which is in direct competition with the market now buying food and fiber. The values I have mentioned go far beyond hunting and fishing. They reach all people. They are in the package called soil and water restoration.

I have just given you a summary of fifty years of farming which began at a very low level of scientific agricultural information, a very low level of the land's capacity to produce crops and live stock and a very low level in numbers of fish and wildlife species. I have suggested a way the correction can be made for many of the problems you are considering and many others, farmers and consumers understand.

I will now tell you in more detail what the results are, how they were accomplished, and what we can do on a national basis.

Why should you believe me? Simply because, if this way had not worked I would be broke, retired for at least eight years and a first class relief client in some city instead of here talking to you. The other farmers who are now supplying this nation with cheap abundance would also be broke.

WHAT ARE THE RESULTS OF CONSERVATION OF THE BACK FORTY IN PRODUCTS I CAN SELL FOR DOLLARS

1. The increase in the production of human foods such as livestock and crops is seven times what it was fifty years ago. The potential for doubling present production is possible.

2. The health and quality of products has increased even more. Once-badly diseased cows are disease-free for 32 years—including some diseases that could have been transmitted to people. Biological insect control has been effective for nearly fifty years.

RESULTS IN WILDLIFE PRODUCTION (AT POIROT'S)

From 15 prairie chickens in 1922 to enough to fill one booming ground with 150 birds in the spring of 1971.

From 13 quail to enough for a field trial that find their summer protection in a corn field yielding 100 bushels per acre.

From 64# of fish seined from two miles in Coon Creek for a Sunday school picnic in 1922 to enough more that a greater amount is often caught in one afternoon by hook and line from one hole in Coon Creek.

From no ducks to 30,000 wintering and feeding on wasted corn in 1970-1971.

From no geese to over 8,000 staying for two months in the late winter of 1971.

From no coons in 1922 to 65 taken in one 80-acre pasture in 1969.

From no deer for 100 years to the first reproduction in 1970 by a doe seeking shelter from hounds amoung 200 head of my cows.

From a few song birds to many of 42 different kinds, counted one day by a bus load of birdwatchers from Kansas City in the spring of 1970.

RESULTS IN BYPRODUCTS: SPORTS, EDUCATION, RECREATION, ENVIRONMENTAL, IMPROVEMENT

The hunting of quail and ducks must be done with me under my rules and restrictions. Other hunting is by permission only. Values of importance?

Fishing may be done by anyone at any time at no cost. People come for forty and more miles to fish. Some of them are over eighty years old, others too poor to buy transportation to the large lakes. Values of importance?

Three colleges bring their classes in biology and their students being trained for elementary teaching to see first hand ecology at work. Values of importance?

Birdwatchers, wildlife and wild flower lovers, soil conservationists, irrigation and flood control engineers, economists, bankers, fertilizer producers, and business men come to take a look at the natural beauty that comes with healthy plants and animals, fresh wild flowers that have not been destroyed by weed sprays and the clear water that runs for a mile over grass in a hay meadow without carrying any silt. Values of importance?

On last May 10th I told the story of soil and water restoration to a large group of 4–H club kids. Four days later Ambassador El Goulli from Tunisia came to hear the same story and take back what might apply in his task of feeding 6 million people from the products of 12 million acres of land. Values of importance?

The place is not marked by a great flood-controlling dam, impounding miles of water covering rich soil and offering a surface where people can play with boats costing millions of dollars while a half mile from shore there is poverty. There are no signs that say, National Forest, Public Fishing and Hunting, Ride a Horse, pay when you come in and again when you go out. The unwritten sign that such people as you can read says "Nature works here, unrestricted and in cooperation with man creating new life that begins with the microbes in the soil and ends with

human bodies carrying brains capable of thought and reason."

HOW WAS IT DONE?

The method is little more than to supply nature with the tools, the resources she needs to grow living things. As you already know they are sunshine, air with its elements of carbon dioxide, oxygen and nitrogen, water at the right time and soil with its plantfood minerals in the proper proportion.

In most cases soil, plantfoods and water are the resources in short supply. In short, what I have reported was done by restoring the soil plantfoods and water resources.

Soil restoration was done by returning, in the proper portions, the plant foods of limestone, phosphorous, potassium, magnesium and later, for higher yields, copper, zinc and iodine.

The methods for returning these elements and the necessary tests telling how much of each is needed are already perfected by all colleges of agriculture and the information and testing equipment is in the hands of all extension agents.

The good results of soil restoration done in this manner are higher yields, better quality and good health of plants and animals generally in proportion to the amount of water available when it is needed. Water therefore is the next limiting factor. It is available as rain, in wells, flowing rivers and large lakes.

The method of water restoration I will discuss is cheaper and has many advantages and values I have mentioned before. It is different since it depends upon rain coming at a time when it is not needed, and being held in ponds, on the high place of the farm so it can be delivered by gravity flow when it is needed. This is pure distilled water supplied by nature. If it is not used it causes soil erosion, siltation of streams and down stream floods. If it is stopped in its natural channel, a flood is prevented. If it is pumped or allowed to run to another place out of the channel and stored, the first pond is ready to prevent the next flood. The mechanics of this method is to first hold the water in its natural flow with a dam, and second store it on a high place for use later on by gravity flow to the crops needing it. These values are evident at once:

1. Flood control.
2. Siltation control.
3. The conservation and restoration of our underground supply of water for wells.

Now just give nature two ponds and she will soon fill them with fish, use them for migratory water birds and upland game of all kinds. This is value four. When either pond is used for recreation, we have value number five. None of these values can come from an irrigation well. None of them can come if water is taken from a stream or lake already in existence, but there are still more.

The water in the second pond can be used to produce fish for sale to people who like to eat that kind of protein not contaminated with insecticides. One-fifth of the wild fish are already so contaminated. So here is value number six, but doing so causes the water to become contaminated similar to that going to streams from city sewers.

When such water becomes contaminated on fish farms, it is also discharged into streams and new water is pumped from wells, but not here. Value number seven is realized when the water is used for irrigation. The water transpired by plants is as pure as it was when it came down as rain. The water going into the soil is stripped of its nitrogen, phosphorous, potassium, etc. and used as plant foods or these plant foods are locked on the clay for use later on.

Value eight comes as an increase in yield to the farmer. Value nine is the six and six-tenths tons of oxygen one acre of corn will deliver to the air. Number ten is the nine tons of carbon dioxide each acre takes from the atmosphere and number eleven is the organic matter left in the soil which feeds the cellulose-decaying bacteria that use and hold with their living bodies the nitrate nitrogen that would otherwise find its way into wells and streams.

Of these eleven values the farmer gets money for only two, the growth of fish he can sell and the increase in the bushels he can harvest.

Why do I use this method of irrigation? Because it is cheaper than any other way, even though I lived on the bank of a river where the water was free. I have mutiflora and hedge fences because they are cheaper than steel posts that will rot in eight years and barb wire that will not outlast a living fence. I leave uncut and unplowed places around my ponds and in my fields to provide biological control of harmful insects because it is cheaper than buying insecticides. It has worked for forty years. Extra values to people.

I hold my soil in place with grass and run clear water to the creek, Why? Because the soil has no value to me after it leaves the farm. Extra values to people.

Why do I leave the round bales of hay in my fields and run in cows to eat them in winter? Because it is cheaper to do it that way than to haul the hay to the barn and out again in the winter and spread the manure if the cattle were fed in one place. In addition, the hay yields more by 400% and there is no manure going into the streams for the public to complain about, and the health and reproductive capacity of the cows is near fantastic. Values to people.

If government standards are used for productive capacity of farms, this one will rate in the top 3% of all the farms in the nation. Values to people.

WHAT MORE DO YOU WANT OF A FARM?

You can have what I have reported to you and demonstrated for many years by supporting government farm legislation which will create a market for buying soil and water restoration as I have described it, in direct competition with the present market buying food and fiber. It is based upon the fact that the production of farm products is, in most cases, destructive. Symptoms of this destruction are, a reduction in wildlife, poor plant and animal nutrition, muddy streams, floods, sewage carrying the plantfoods to the sea in place of back to the land. On the way to the sea, such excessive plantfoods destroy rivers and lakes. Dr. Whitley of our Department of Conservation reported that this town of Springfield using modern sewage disposal methods was discharging 1750 number of phosphoric acid equivalent into James River every day, already an excessive amount. Under the terms of the soil and water restoration, these environmental destruction actions can be prevented and much of the loss can be restored, if a MARKET is provided for doing so.

I have described such a market in my book "Our Margin of Life" I presented the idea to farmers in four states and without any exception they approved it. Since 1964, our Congressman Durward G. Hall has introduced three bills regarding it. The last one was as an amendment to the present law and a shift of only 22 votes would have passed it.

It came that close to passing without a single letter supporting it from any of the farm organizations, any Chamber of Commerce, any college of agriculture, any department of conservation and bird watchers or sportsman group or any environmental improvement organizations.

PEOPLE NEEDED CONSERVATION INFORMATION

The reason the bill came that close to passing was because quite a number of the committee on agriculture and members of the USDA have been on my farm through the efforts of Congressman Hall to see in person what I have told you about. Others saw my slides telling the story during my two visits to Washington, D.C. at my own expense. Advisors to the Secretary of Agriculture after being here said they would recommend at least seven of the practices they saw to become in some way part of the new farm legislation. There was not enough public opinion to cause these to be included in the bill and not enough public opinion to pass the amendment. It was best stated by one Congressman when he said "It is not yet time for this kind of legislation."

More farm land must first go to the sea, more air must stink, more water must become thick with sewage and more people must understand that the creeping, crippling illnesses of body and mind that come with polluted air, water and malnutrition is nature's way of destroying the creatures that cannot obey her laws be that creature a man or a bug.

Let me show you how futile it is to pass legislation that only prohibits. I can destroy every value I mentioned here today and no law can prohibit my doing so, nor can any law force me to do conservation on the back forty. To destroy it all I will replace my flood controlling ponds with a well, pump, power to pull it and a sprinkler system. I will replace my rose and hedges with steel posts and wire. I will plow up my biological insect controls. The people who sell this kind of equipment will support me. Some of them may be paying your salary and supporting your various organizations. By their advertisement, they keep farm magazines alive to tell their story. By their grants to Universities for research, they find sound selling points for their products without being required to also do research concerning its long time effects. I can talk freely but you better watch your step in repeating what I have said. It may get you fired. Isn't that a spot to be in when conservation information is so badly needed to guide us?

Let me show you what I mean. Some people want to forbid the use of all insecticides, some want to forbid the use of all nitrogen fertilizer, the concentration of cattle in feed lots and a group of other activities because they have caused trouble by their misuse. The same people would not forbid the manufacture of automobiles, trucks, air craft, gas stoves, detergents and the like. They approve coal burning electric plants moving to the deserts of the southwest and polluting the air with the oxides of sulfur, carbon and nitrogen because they don't live there. They do not know, as perhaps you can tell them, that there is no rain in a desert to wash the air clean of these pollutants and no plant life to use the carbondioxide they produce and release oxygen to the air as I described as taking place in a corn field. Muddy rivers carrying a million acres of farm land top soil to the ocean each year don't bother them but water nature has turned green with plant growth using the plant food released from city sewers that stinks when the plant growth dies is pollution. Such people mean well but they are uninformed.

They were absent and their letters were missing when soil and water restoration legislation was being considered. Legislation that would reward those who began cleaning up the stink following the scientific direction of agricultural scientists to deliver the results I have told you about today.

This is the end of my story, Earth Day plus fifty years. I have described two groups of values that can come from farming. Let us call the first good food and the second environment protection and restoration. Both of them are in the package I have called soil and water restoration.

Let me emphasize this point; production

of good food, the first value, one the farmer can sell, destroys the second group, environmental values, which the farmer could not sell if he preserved them.

The simple answer is to buy the second group of values in a second market *competing* with the present market now buying food and fiber. The second market must be *pegged* at a fair parity of income level so that food will be produced in the first market as long as the consumer is willing to pay that much for it. The economic farm problem will be solved for the farmer and the consumer will be provided with abundance in both the good food values and the environment values. This is very simple first grade economics that determines human activities in their relationship one with the other.

Let me close with this thought regarding my profession. I am your farmer, you are my final product. You the people have placed in my hands the choice of destroying or restoring. You have encouraged destruction by rewarding me for it. Are you ready for the change? What do you want of me? What do you want of farmers? Yours is the task of giving information. In the past thirty minutes I believe I have given you a bucket full.

THE OMNIBUS NARCOTIC ADDICT CONTROL, REHABILITATION, AND RESEARCH ACT OF 1971

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, together with other Republican Members of the House of Representatives, I am introducing this week a bill which we feel deals more comprehensively than any other with the "demand" side of the drug problem. Although I am chairman of the Republican Task Force on Drug Abuse, the introduction of this legislation is neither a task force project nor a project of the Republican Party. As individual Republican members, we profoundly and sincerely believe that much more has to be done than either present or proposed approaches to this problem can possibly accomplish.

We cannot wait for long, drawn-out studies to be completed so that we have all the facts at hand. Narcotic addiction has become truly a national epidemic, and something must be done immediately to stop the contagion of disease and crime sweeping this country. A new approach and the commitment of substantial resources is required if we are to prevent the loss of an entire generation of young Americans.

The estimate of the number of narcotics addicts has been estimated at being between 250,000 and 500,000. Over 1,000 persons died in 1970 in New York City alone, where over half the Nation's drug addicits reside. It is the greatest single cause of deaths among young people between the ages of 15 and 35 in New York City. More lives have been lost to drugs in the last 8 years in New York Ctiy than the entire State of New York has lost in the war in Vietnam.

There is, moreover, a direct correlation between addiction and crime. An addict may need from $50 to $150 a day to buy heroin to support his habit. Consequently, 98 percent of the addicts in New York City resort to crime to support their habit. In the District of Columbia, 60 percent of funds obtained to support addiction are obtained through burglary, robbery, and larcency; 15 percent through prostitution; and 10 percent from other illegal activities. In addition, at least 20 percent of all addicts obtain heroin by pushing drugs.

Moreover, addicts must steal goods worth five times the cost of their habit. Thus, an addict with a $50 a day habit would have to steal over $90,000 worth of goods per year to maintain his habit. Organized crime reaps between $2 and $5 billion from the illegal sale and distribution of drugs.

In addition to the huge economic costs due to narcotic addiction, there are substantial social costs. The entire criminal justice system—the police, courts, and correcting institutions—has an enormous burden placed on it. Additional costs include the lost productivity of addicts, costs due to personal injury and property destruction incurred in crime, and illnesses and premature deaths brought on by addiction.

Moreover, families are destroyed, young lives have been ruined, and large segments of our society live in the fear of becoming the victims of addiction-related crimes.

Present programs are not working. Since 1966 under the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act, only 6,000 addicts were civilly committed for treatment. Six thousand, when there are over 250,000 addicts spreading the contagion of disease and crime.

Our proposal is the result of extensive hearings held by the Republican Drug Task Force. It builds upon, not detracts from, the administration proposal for a Special Action Office. We also support the efforts the President has called for in enforcement and internationally. Two weeks ago, the drug task force with almost 100 cosponsors introduced a resolution endorsing his efforts in this area. Our concern is to develop procedures and programs to stop in the shortest possible time the spread of narcotic addiction and, at the same time, aid those who have become addicted.

TITLE I. INVOLUNTARY CIVIL COMMITMENT

The cornerstone of our proposal is the establishment of a national involuntary civil commitment program. The Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act is amended to allow a relative, law enforcement officer, or health official who believes a person not charged with a crime is an addict to report such a belief to the U.S. attorney in a sworn affidavit. If there is reasonable cause, he will petition the court for commitment. The court will then make a determination that there are adequate facilities to treat the alleged addict and that there is reasonable cause. Within 72 hours the person will then receive both a psychiatric and physical exam to determine if in fact he is an addict. The physical exam is administered first and may be given within several hours. If there is no trace of narcotics in his system, the person will be immediately released. The examining doctors will determine if the person "requires medical treatment" instead of whether he is "capable of being rehabilitated," as the vast majority of those who volunteered for treatment last year were rejected on this basis. Any patient with respect to whom a hearing has been set may be confined in a suitable facility to receive treatment pending the hearing.

Presently, only the addict himself or a relative can initiate commitment proceedings. This expansion to allow law enforcement officers and health officials, who come in the greatest contact with addicts, to also initiate proceedings will result in putting substantially more addicts in a therapeutic climate and, thereby, prevent the contamination of others. Numerous safeguards, such as the 72 hour testing procedure and having the U.S. attorney determine whether or not there is reasonable cause, are built in to prevent any abuses. It should be noted that under the New York and California civil commitment programs there have been very few reported instances of abuse.

The second major change we make concerns the drug addict who is charged with a crime. Presently, only a very limited class of persons may volunteer for commitment in lieu of prosecution. Under our bill, the U.S. attorney may initiate the civil commitment of a person charged with a Federal crime who is either ineligible to volunteer to be committed or is eligible and does not volunteer. He goes through the same testing procedure as a person not charged with a crime. If he is found not to be an addict, he will be immediately returned to the court for further legal proceedings, including being released on bail.

The commitment hearing will be held prior to the trial on the charge and will not be in lieu of prosecution. He will be confined in a suitable facility for treatment pending his commitment hearing and the criminal trial. If the person was ineligible to select treatment in lieu of prosecution and is found innocent of the charge or if he was eligible but did not volunteer, he will be committed for treatment following the criminal trial. If he was ineligible and found guilty of the charge, he will be incarcerated—as he is presently—in a penal institution and treated for withdrawal symptoms.

Since a large portion of the street crimes are committed by addicts on bail, it is important that we place those charged with a crime in a treatment facility.

These new involuntary civil commitment procedures for both persons charged and not charged with a criminal offense will have the following results: one, put substantially more addicts in a therapeutic climate; two, protect the addict against himself; three, prevent the contamination of others and protect society against criminal acts; and four, reduce the demand for narcotics by placing any known addict under medical supervision and control.

Japan, which is the only major country to successfully solve its drug abuse problem, turned to massive civil commitment to stop the spread of addiction. Both the New York and California civil commitment programs have achieved good results in stopping addiction-related crimes as well as rehabilitating chronic addicts.

The Congress has the constitutional power to adopt legislation to involuntarily commit addicts as a necessary and proper means to assure the effectiveness of its regulation of narcotic drugs under the tax and commerce powers, provided the program does not otherwise violate some specific constitutional guarantee or prohibition. The only Federal court case to test the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act, *Kelly* v. *Rasor*, 283 F. Supp. 445 (1968), concluded that it was unconstitutional as it was "for the purpose of protecting the general public against those addicted to the use of narcotic drugs and the consequent problems resulting from such persons seeking the acquisition of narcotics to satisfy their habit."

TREATMENT OF REHABILITATION

A. Drug maintenance programs, such as methadone, will be allowed for chronic addicts. Presently, there are no maintenance programs under the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act. Our proposal also provides for much stronger controls over the distribution and use of maintenance drugs. Young persons only marginally involved in narcotics and pregnant women should be ineligible.

B. We feel that under NARA there are adequate provisions to allow the referral of an addict to either a Federal, State, or local facility and to provide grants or reimbursement to cover such care. Also, the $105 million which the President has agreed to set aside for such will be adequate to treat those who volunteer for treatment. However, with involuntary commitment, substantially more funds will be required. Based upon present costs per patient under NARA, an additional $200–$250 million will be needed to provide adequate facilities for those who will be involuntarily committed under our bill.

TITLE II. NARCOTIC ADDICTION MANPOWER TRAINING PROGRAM

The primary need in drug treatment and rehabilitation is for additional trained personnel. New York's civil commitment program has not been as successful as California's because of a lack of trained personnel. We propose to establish a manpower training program equivalent to the Health Manpower Act of 1971. It has the following provisions:

First, $20 million for fiscal year 1972 and the next 3 years to train doctors and allied health personnel in medical treatment of narcotic addiction disorders.

Second, $5 million to train teachers—medical school primarily—in medical treatment of narcotic addiction disorders.

Third, $5 million to train allied personnel for case work, rehabilitation and administration of narcotic addiction treatment programs.

Presently, there is no Federal funding specifically designated for any of these manpower training programs. The sums above are primarily seed money. The figures were based upon the family practice section of the Health Manpower Act of 1971. Total of $120 million over 4 years.

TITLE III. RESEARCH

The administration has proposed that only an additional $4 million be spent on drug research—$2 million for detection and $2 million for herbicidal research. During fiscal year 1971, only $5 million is being spent for the areas we are especially interested in—areas where research is required if we are to really come to grips with this problem.

Under our proposal, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to first, conduct research into the causes and effects of narcotics and drug abuse; second, research into finding a nonaddictive narcotic substitute and antagonist to dangerous drugs; and third, research into the chemistry of narcotics and drug abuse to develop a drug abuse immunization.

The Secretary is required to report to Congress prior to June 30 each year through 1976 concerning progress on research and to request funds needed to eliminate drug abuse by 1976.

For fiscal year 1972, $25 million is authorized, $50 million for fiscal year 1973, and $100 million each for fiscal years 1974, 1975, and 1976. These figures were cost estimates developed by the National Institute of Mental Health.

TITLE IV. AUGMENTATION OF FEDERAL COURT SYSTEM TO HANDLE CIVIL COMMITMENT

First. The establishment of a training institute will be made available for Federal judges, magistrates, and probation officers in narcotics and dangerous drugs to better acquaint them with all aspects of the drug problem so that they can more expeditiously and intelligently handle narcotics cases, and especially, under the new procedures contained in this Act. The program would be run by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. A 4-day session will be held in each of the 10 Federal districts on all the legal, rehabilitation, and institutional aspects of the drug problem. Based upon these sessions, a handbook will be developed to be used throughout the Federal judicial system. Total cost for this program will be under $20,000.

Second. The penalty for misdemeanors under the Controlled Substances Act shall be reduced from 1 year and $5,000 to 1 year and $1,000. Section 404 of this act provides for simple possession being a misdemeanor, but since the fine is $5,000, only Federal district courts have jurisdiction. By reducing the fine to $1,000, Federal magistrates will have jurisdiction and thus take a great load off the Federal court system. This reallocation of cases is especially needed if we adopt the civil commitment program. As of May 31, 1971, there were 6,001 defendants pending trial in Federal narcotics and dangerous drug cases. Over 12 months 2,188 of these cases were pending.

SEPARATE LEGISLATION FOR PRETRIAL DETENTION AND STIFFER PENALTIES FOR PUSHERS

Mandatory jail sentences will be imposed on nonaddict pushers with no possibility of parole. There were mandatory sentences and no possibility of parole for all pushers until the passage of the Controlled Substances Act last year when they were dropped to prevent excessive penalties from being imposed on addict pushers. While we favor the change as far as addict pushers are concerned, we feel that stiffer penalties should be imposed on nonaddict pushers who profit from inducing young people to become addicts. These individuals are certainly more culpable than their addict counterparts.

A preventive detention procedure for nonaddict pushers is also provided for if the accused has been convicted of a felony within the 10-year period preceding commission of the offense for which he is charged, the alleged crime committed while the person was on bail, probation, parole, or mandatory release pending completion of sentence, or the Government certifies that based on the person's pattern of behavior and other factors, there is no condition to assure the safety of the public, and then a pretrial detention hearing shall be held. The case is put on the expedited calendar if the person is detained, and the trial must be held within 60 days.

LOCKHEED LOAN GUARANTEE ISSUE

HON. DAVID W. DENNIS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. DENNIS. Mr. Speaker. The Lockheed vote is now history, but the issue will rise again, and I insert in the RECORD a letter received from a constituent which, I believe, puts the antiloan guarantee case most persuasively and which reinforces my belief that I was right when I voted no. My constituent's letter follows:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DENNIS: Few political issues disturb me as deeply as the present proposal to establish loan guarantees for Lockheed and/or other large business firms on the basis that their bankruptcy might adversely affect the nation's economy. Our nation's economic system is founded on a philosophy of free enterprise, which means destinies of a business enterprise particularly by subsidizing one party in a competitive market.

Lockheed Missiles was recently awarded a contract by NASA on the basis of its low bid. If that bid was unrealistic, are we to assume that tax funds should guarantee them a profit, or that this is fair competition against an unsubsidized bidder? Is the burden on Lockheed to make a realistic bid, or on the government to assure Lockheed a profit through later modifications and favorable adjustments? The government can't do business in a market to which it has a subsidized interest without a natural conflict of interest between a desire to buy from the lowest and best bidder, and a desire to support the subsidized company.

The idea of extending this subsidy to a favored few, places government squarely in the position of controlling economic destinies to preserve firms which are now dominant. Note that no small tool and die shop would qualify, but only those firms which by failure would constitute a significant loss to the nation's economy. Thus firms already grown large would have the protection of the government against any scrappy young competitor who might otherwise drive them to the wall. Who will determine who qualifies? Will we subject our political leaders to the persuasions of financial interest in certain business activities in order to gain such assured support?

It seems to me that we will open a barrel of snakes if we permit the Administration's short-sighted interest in protecting the economy from temporary adversity to subject that economy to a long-range overthrow of

basic principle. It is as if we should amputate a finger to relieve a hang-nail!

Americans who work for their pay without benefit of welfare state handouts or inherited wealth deserve and need your help, sir. Americans of middle income have long had to subsidize lethargy on the one hand through welfare costs. Now we are being asked to support incompetent or unfortunate big business interests on the other hand! All that will be lacking in this new economy is a subsidy for those who are caught in the middle, if and when they grow tired of paying a disproportionate share of our national extravagance.

Please, if given the opportunity, speak out and vote against this monstrous abuse of America's free enterprise system. Let us preserve the opportunity for a man of modest means to succeed in businss without having to buy political favors or fight Federally-supported business competitors.

TRIBUTE TO MRS. VERA H. WAGNER

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, I cannot recall having ever seen an ugly covered bridge. Something about these structures indicate a certain harmony with nature, which man has seldom achieved.

Pennsylvania is fortunate in that 400 covered bridges still span our mountain rivers and streams—more than in any other State. The same situation, however, can be viewed from a more discouraging outlook; at one time, Pennsylvania could boast of nearly 1,500 covered bridges.

Much of the success in preserving these picturesque and historic structures can be attributed to a small number of dedicated individuals. One such person is Mrs. Vera H. Wagner, founder of the Theodore Burr Covered Bridge Society of Pennsylvania. She has been most instrumental in effecting the restoration and preservation of 45 covered wooden bridges in the past 12 years, and is currently working on a program to have certain bridges declared both State and National historic landmarks.

Recently, Mrs. Wagner, of Harrisburg, and the Theodore Burr Covered Bridge Society of Pennsylvania, were honored by the Pennsylvania General Assembly. It is a pleasure to have the opportunity to endorse the sentiments of the following resolution:

RESOLUTION

Whereas, The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, having numerous mountain streams and rivers over which were built approximately one thousand five hundred wooden covered bridges, became known as the "STATE OF BRIDGES" as well as the Keystone State; and

Whereas, By 1958 the original number of covered bridges had become reduced to four hundred; and

Whereas, In response to a suggestion by Dr. S. K. Stevens, Executive Director, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, to save these remaining bridges, Mrs. Vera H. Wagner of Harrisburg organized a group in 1959 known as "The Theodore Burr Covered Bridge Society of Pennsylvania," for a Connecticut bridge builder, and wrote in 1969 Act No. 12, sponsored by Representative William O. Shuman of Franklin County, which provides for annual observance of "See Pennsylvania's Covered Bridges" Week honoring various restoration projects and pertinent activities concerning covered bridges; therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, commends Mrs. Vera H. Wagner of Harrisburg for her singularly unselfish, energetic and outstanding historical contribution in effecting the restoration and preservation of forty-five covered wooden bridges in the past twelve years, and for the founding of "The Theodore Burr Covered Bridge Society of Pennsylvania," which has made Pennsylvania first in the Nation in the number of covered bridges; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be delivered to Mrs. Vera H. Wagner, c/o The Theodore Burr Covered Bridge Society of Pennsylvania, 235 Boas Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 17102.

We hereby certify that the foregoing is an exact copy of a Resolution introduced in the House of Representatives by the Honorable William O. Shuman and Honorable Marvin Miller, and adopted by the House of Representatives on the 11th day of May, 1971.

HERBERT FINEMAN,
Speaker.

VINCENT F. SCARCELLI,
Chief Clerk.

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF OUR ENVIRONMENT: LINDE DIVISION'S BREAKTHROUGH

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, we have, since the beginning of the environmental decade, been subjected to repeated news stories giving the impression that industry cannot meet the tightening of air quality standards without wholesale closing of facilities and a resulting loss of jobs. Recently, a major industrial plant located in the State of Maryland threatened to close its doors on the 2,400 people and the families and communities who depend on that employment if the facility were required to meet stringent new air quality standards of the State. The knee-jerk reaction by some industrial spokesmen to the public's desire for an improved environment is growing tiresome.

I will not argue the merits of the threatened industrial closing in Maryland, but I do want to comment on a similar situation in the Keystone State. The State of Pennsylvania has without a doubt, the toughest air quality regulations and standards in existence. Because of that, the howls of industrial anguish have been particularly loud in our part of the country. However, in my district there is an example of industrial public spiritedness which overwhelms the arguments against the installation of pollution abatement equipment or systems.

The Linde Division of Union Carbide Corp. sent me two photographs—"before" and "after"—of their plant located in Kittanning, Pa. The "before" picture shows three smoke stacks belching particulate matter emissions into the surrounding environment. The "after" picture shows three perfectly inert stacks. I recall with clarity the forecasts made by some of the Divisions' personnel when the Air Pollution Abatement Order was issued to the firm by the Pennsylvania Department of Health. Instead of closing the plant, a concerned and environmentally aware management at Linde prevailed over the doomsayers and the facility complied with the new regulations. The result is an improved local environment with employment secure.

I have extended my congratulations to the corporation executive offices and I commend the Linde Division's environmental leadership to other industries throughout the State and the Nation.

PROFILE OF THE WEEK—MRS. KATHERINE MOTZ

HON. LAWRENCE G. WILLIAMS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, because of the great importance of civil defense, I am most pleased with the work of my constituent, Mrs. Katherine Motz, in establishing the kind of civil defense programs that the Office of Civil Defense has been advocating for several years. A recent article that appeared in the Delaware County edition of Town Talk, Media, Pa., concerning Mrs. Motz' efforts, is important enough to be inserted in the RECORD in its entirety:

MRS. KATHERINE MOTZ, DELAWARE COUNTY CIVIL DEFENSE DIRECTOR

(By Dorothy W. Kress)

Say "Civil Defense" to anyone over 45 and chances are they will conjure up a mental picture—vintage World War II—of a group of elderly men and women with Air-Raid Warden bands on their arms conscientiously watching the sky for the approach of possible enemy air craft.

"Things have changed since then," smiled energetic Katherine Motz, who, like the Boy Scouts firmly believes in 'being prepared'. In the first place, the emphasis now is on preparedness for civil disasters—not, that we discount the possibility of a man-made disaster striking. (Editor's note: "Man-made Disaster" is Civil Defense jargon for War.) Our aim is to be ready to relieve the suffering and protect the life and property of the citizens of Delaware County in an emergency situation."

A large order? You bet, but one that Mrs. Motz is well-equipped to handle.

"I began working for Civil Defense in Upper Darby right after World War II," she continued as we talked in her office deep in the bowels of the County Courthouse in Media—one of a suite of rooms so set up so that the vital communications of the County would continue even if disaster should strike.

"I've always felt that our ability to operate in the face of an emergency depended on having trained people who knew what to do and when to do it. After disaster strikes is too late to organize people to help those who can't help themselves. An efficient system is the only answer, and I don't think it's being particularly gloomy to prepare for the worst.

That doesn't mean we think awful things are going to happen here in Delaware County, just that I want to know we have resources on which to call if it does.

"It's difficult for people to understand the chain of command, but, in the long run, it works for greater efficiency," said Mrs. Motz who shares her office with an assistant.

"The National Civil Defense Headquarters is in Washington, D.C. They distribute their information to the state capitals. In our case, Harrisburg informs the area divisions, who in turn, see that the County offices are kept aware of developments. Then, I, here in Delaware County release the information to my 49 area captains.

"Each area captain has a group of volunteers working with him. The number depends on the size of the community. There are roughly 6,000 dedicated people here trained to jump into action should the situation call for their services.

"In order to acquaint our volunteers, and any others who are interested, in every phase of Civil Defense, we sponsor a series of classes for them. The course is actually given by Pennsylvania State University, and covers the latest techniques in the management of emergency resources—in short—what to do until some greater authority takes over. This course is just one of the many we offer from time to time to help our volunteers."

The emphasis today in National Civil Defense is on help during a natural disaster, such as a hurricane, large scale fire, earthquake, explosion blizzard, and so on. The volunteers also stand on the ready as back-up teams during any Civil Disturbance. Mrs. Motz, and others like her throughout the country have been taught to call upon government and non-government sources in order to make best use of the facilities and resources in a disaster area.

"In order to keep information at my fingertip, I've organized a Civil Defense Advisory Board made up of people in many phases of industry," continued Mr. Motz. "I've asked representatives from the police, the fire department, the telephone companies, the electric company, labor, the food industry, the medical professions, Red Cross, Banks, Salvation Army, and many others to serve on the board, to supply us with information concerning their specialty should the need arise. I hope to eventually have the whole thing organized so that I can pick up the phone and ask my food representative what the food situation in the County is at that moment, or find out what emergency communication system can be set up if needed.

"The one concern of Civil Defense is to get business back to normal as soon as possible. In other words, to help people to help themselves. The way to do it is to build up a channel of communications so we know what is available where, and how soon it can be put to use. More than that, though we have four package disaster hospitals here in the County ready to be set up if needed. This would provide 800 more beds than we ordinarily have in hospitals, and could make the difference between life and death for many. We also have four emergency first aid stations ready. These would be manned by hospital personnel and volunteers. And 'volunteers' is the key word in the success of the whole Civil Defense organization. These are the remarkable people who aren't afraid to 'be involved'. They're the ones who serve without pay, and turn up ready to go to work—sometimes in grim and dangerous situations—when needed. I can't praise them too highly, for, without them, there just wouldn't be any Civil Defense. Maybe that doesn't seem too important when there is no emergency, but, when disaster hits they're mighty important people."

Delaware Countians can rest assured that the Civil Defense picture is rosy under Mrs. Motz' command. Not only has she lined up a fine group of people to help her, but the underground rooms devoted to her organization at the Courthouse house an amazing amount of equipment ready to be used if needed.

A special room is devoted to communication equipment and a teletype is manned 24 hours a day, seven days a week. There are special fire and police control rooms should the regular ones be knocked out. Another part of the wing is equipped to house the officials vital to the running of the county. This has a food supply and everything necessary to sustain life for a period of time.

"We don't expect a nuclear attack," said Mrs. Motz, seriously. "But we are set up to handle the aftermath of one. Actually, Civil Defense in a man-made disaster (war) is but a continuation of our work in a natural disaster area. No matter what the problem, well-trained people who know what to do is the key to survival—and I think we've got that ingredient here in Delaware County."

A CASE OF SEX DISCRIMINATION

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the addition of the word "sex" in the civil rights amendment has certainly helped some women. The Washington Daily News of Wednesday, August 4, carried the story of Mrs. Lorena Weeks. Please note not only the remedy that was at last available but the problems of Mrs. Weeks.

The article follows:

NOW VICTORY: SWITCHMAN—WOMAN, THAT IS—AT LAST

(By Judy Flander)

Lorena Weeks emerged as the heroine of a women's lib drama in 1966 when she was turned down for a job as switchman for Southern Bell Telephone Company, in her hometown of Wadley, Ga. The company's reason for not hiring a woman for a "man's job" was the never-used state regulation that women and minors should not lift more than 30 pounds. Carrying a 31-pound relay time testing set is intrinsic to being a telephone switchman.

Five years later and $30,761 richer, Mrs. Weeks, now 44, is a telephone switchman. Southern Bell gave her the job on March 2 of this year, and the money on April 19, as compensation for her losses in not getting the job in the first place.

All it took was courage and strength on the part of Mrs. Weeks; a completely supportive husband, and the tenacity of Sylvia Roberts, 38, a lawyer from Baton Rouge, La., who is southern regional director of the National Organization of Women.

CAREER

Mrs. Weeks, who had been a telephone operator since her graduation from high school in 1947, worked in Swainsboro, a town 20 miles from home, ever since the Wadley exchange went dial. When the opening came up for a switchman in Wadley—at $51 more than her $98-a-week job as operator—she put in her bid. Refused, despite her seniority, she wrote to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission which advised her that she had a Federal case.

With a court-appointed lawyer, she went to the U.S. District Court, Southern District, Georgia, in Swainsboro which upheld the Georgia weight-lifting regulation.

Southern Bell's lawyer, David J. Heinsma, of Atlanta, explains that his client was in an "untenable position." Hiring Mrs. Weeks would have meant breaking a state law.

At this point, members of the National Organization of Women "read about Mrs. Weeks' defeat and came to the rescue of a woman," relates Marguerite Rawalt, who was NOW's general counsel. Mrs. Rawalt and, subsequently, Mrs. Roberts who was geographically closer and ended up "doing most of the work," took Mrs. Weeks' case.

Considerably encouraged when the weight-lifting regulation was rescinded in August of 1968, NOW took the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals, Fifth District, sitting in Atlanta. Using showmanship as well as logic, Mrs. Roberts, who barely weighs 100 pounds, coolly lifted, piece-by-piece, all of the switchman's equipment.

On March of 1969, the appeals court ruled that Southern Bell was in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in refusing to give Mrs. Weeks the job as switchman.

Deprived of the weight-lifting regulation, Southern Bell's "remaining defenses" didn't hold up, according to Mr. Heinsma. The court said, "The promise of Title VII is that women are now to be on equal footing." It was a landmark decision, one that put teeth into Title VII for the first time. Shortly afterwards, other women bid for switchman's jobs and were accepted, Mr. Heinsma reports.

The court sent the case back to the District Court "for determination of appropriate relief"—financial renumeration. But neither money nor the job arrived until this spring. Mrs. Roberts claims it was necessary to "apply continuing pressure on Southern Bell" to bring the case to a conclusion.

REASONS

Mr. Heinsma suggests other reasons for the two-year delay, including a crowded court schedule, the decision by the judge to disqualify himself because of a conflict of interests and, even some foot-dragging on the part of Mrs. Roberts.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Weeks' life took on the dimensions of a soap opera. Her husband, a rural mail carrier, was seriously injured in an automobile accident and incapacitated for a year. She had to take her son, Bruce, who has cerebral palsy, to school and doctors while continuing to commute 40 miles daily to Swainsboro. To put her two daughters thru college, she sold her house and took out a high-interest loan.

Finally, this March, Southern Bell gave Mrs. Weeks the job as switchman, "voluntarily," according to Mr. Heinsma who says they wanted to settle the case quickly. "We were acutely aware of the tremendous time elapsed."

Even on the job, Mrs. Weeks' troubles were not over. Although Southern Bell had instructed its people to cooperate with her, Mrs. Weeks was subjected to harassment from fellow-workers, who, among other things, called her a "switch-bitch," something that had been happening on and off to her during the entire case. Mrs. Roberts wrote to Southern Bell (thru Mr. Heinsma) in protest and in a couple of weeks, things calmed down.

END

Then, on April 19, the case finally came back to the District Court sitting in Savannah. According to Mrs. Roberts, "Southern Bell arrived with a settlement that amounted to unconditional surrender"—more than $30,000 to cover overtime, premium pay differentials, even travel pay and expenses for commuting to Swainsboro—plus interest.

Mr. Heinsma admits the settlement was "most generous," but contends the company acted out of concern for its public image as well as in the sincere desire to show "they were willing to do anything necessary to treat their employees in a very satisfactory way."

The settlement was certainly satisfactory to Lorena Weeks, who is now a member of NOW.

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE'S 1971 PLATFORM

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the 1971 platform of the American Veterans Committee is a document of wisdom, intelligence, and concern for humanity. That is not surprising: The hallmarks of the American Veterans Committee always have been these qualities.

This year marks the 25th anniversary of the founding of the committee, an organization which, always rejecting parochial concerns and interests, exemplifies in its actions its own motto: "Citizens first, Veterans second." The Committee's deep and abiding concerns for civil rights and civil liberties culminated last year in a major national conference on "The Human Rights of the Man in Uniform," which examined an area where guidelines are vague and often nonexistent. The Committee's 1966 National Conference on the Draft brought before public attention many of the controversial aspects of the draft which are currently under debate. And, as a leader in the search for peace, the AVC was a moving force in the creation of the World Veterans Federation, one of the largest international, nongovernmental organizations.

The 1971 platform of the American Veterans Committee is a commendable document. It is divided into three major sections—Veterans and Armed Forces Affairs; National Affairs; and International Affairs. I should like to quote briefly from the introductions to each of these sections, because I believe they eloquently articulate the aims of this admirable organization—aims which we should all emulate.

In its introduction to the section on Veterans and Armed Forces Affairs, the 1971 platform states:

The American Veterans Committee has constantly reiterated, since its founding, its fundamental belief that rehabilitation and integration of veterans into the community is the proper scope and purpose of a veterans program. The achievement of economic security for veterans through sound economic planning for all citizens rather than through special grants or favors to veterans is basic AVC policy.

The introduction to the section on national affairs states:

AVC stands for the Bill of Rights as a living force animating the political life of our Nation and as a firm limitation on the arbitrariness of government.

AVC stands for the Bill of Rights as a guarantee of our freedom to speak, to assemble, to believe, and to dissent without fear from the conformities of the day.

AVC stands for equality for all, regardless of race, color, ancestry, national origin, religion, sex or age, and for the constitutional guarantees of such equality.

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.

AVC stands for a policy of gainful, full employment and security for all, as outlined in the Employment Act of 1946.

AVC stands for responsible, efficient, and honest government and for the merit system in government employment.

AVC stands for a government possessing and willing to exrecise all powers necessary to bring about a solution of our national problems.

AVC supports the active intervention of government, primarily of the Federal Government, in the economy and the general welfare of our country to stimulate and provide employment to improve the physical condition of our cities and towns, of our housing and our schools, to bring all the greatest benefits from the development and conservation of our natural and industrial resources and to provide for the general welfare and health of our country to stimulate and provide employment to improve the physical condition of our cities and towns of our housing and our schools, to bring all the greatest benefits from the development and conservation of our natural and industrial resources and to provide for the general welfare and health of our people.

AVC supports a tax policy based on ability to pay and opposes regressive sales and excise taxes.

AVC stands for the recognition of equal rights for labor and management and for improved social benefits of employees.

AVC supports an educational system and a public health system which will give the American people, and America's youth in particular, the knowledge, skills, and training, and the physical and mental health and stamina, to continue their forward march toward America's democratic fulfillment.

And the introduction to the section on international affairs of the 1971 platform of the American Veterans Committee states:

We, the members of the American Veterans Committee, believe that in international affairs the objective of the United States is the maintenance of peace. All else aside, the world must avoid the holocaust of nuclear war. Within that framework or foreign policy, like our domestic policy, must be oriented to enhance the welfare of the individual, be he black, white, brown, or yellow, so that he may eat and sleep in safety, live his life under government of his choice and realize to the fullest extent possible the measure of his aspirations.

I commend the complete 1971 platform of the American Veterans Committee to my colleagues. It is a document which should be read by all:

PLATFORM OF THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

VETERANS AND ARMED FORCES AFFAIRS

The American Veterans Committee has constantly reiterated, since its founding, its fundamental belief that rehabilitation and integration of veterans into the community is the proper scope and purpose of a veterans program. The achievement of economic security for veterans through sound economic planning for all citizens rather than through special grants or favors to veterans is basic AVC policy.

1. Compensation

For many years, AVC has pointed out the need for a thorough review and reappraisal of this Nation's policies on veterans as follows:

1. We oppose bonuses and general pensions as being class legislation and unrelated to the real needs of individual veterans and tending to set veterans apart from their fellow citizens.

In the matter of benefits, two basic standards should be applied.

a) For death or disability incurred in military service: Are the benefits sufficient to provide a decent standard of living for the veteran, his family or survivors?

b) For all veterans: Are the benefits so designed as to enable a readjustment from military service to civilian life with a minimum economic loss?

Since benefits are a Federal responsibility, uniform standards of administration and compensation should be applied nationally without regard to race, creed, color, sex, or national origin.

2. Draft

AVC recognizes the necessity for the United States to maintain adequate military forces in present world circumstances. It also recognizes the citizen's obligation to military service and recognizes a selective service system as an appropriate model of raising military manpower. We object, however, to the inequalities of the draft system as presently administered, especially the deferment of students, the lack of uniform guidelines and the lack of fair representation of the citizenry, especially for minority groups, on the draft boards.

3. Reserve programs

The world we live in, with its emphasis on speed of operation and technical superiority, demands standing Armed Forces of sufficient size, training and equipment and organization to be effective immediately for defense and counter attack. It is apparent that the Regular Armed Forces must remain our first line of defense. They must be of sufficient size and mobility for deployment anywhere on the globe within a minimum of time so that we may continue to provide, when necessary, those forces needed for collective security under our international obligation in peripheral conflicts occurring in the strategic localities of the world.

AVC believes that the National Guard is ill-fitted to serve both roles which it is currently called upon to play. One role is that of assisting civil authorities in the United States in peace-time. Forces suited for that role should primarily consist of military police, possible infantry, with some supporting units (medical, signal, QM, etc.). The other role is that of forming a part of our highly complex and sophisticated Armed Forces with guided missiles, high mobility, heavy weapons and requirements for intensive technical training.

AVC regrets that the steps taken to integrate the National Guard have, so far, been for from adequate. While an office has been established in the National Guard Bureau to deal with equal opportunities, neither the staff nor the influence of that office are sufficient for the purpose.

Regretably, while the percentage of minority group members in the regular Armed Forces is and remains relatively high, the percentage in the National Guard is low and has remained low despite certain recruiting efforts. We cannot afford to have a polarization within the Armed Forces as between the National Guard on one hand and the Regulars on the other. While the domestic peacetime tasks which the National Guard is called upon to perform tend to involve minority group civilian populations, the troops involved should not present the appearance of an army of occupation.

While a National Guard remains a part of the structure of our Armed Forces, incentives should be provided so that a larger number of minority group personnel with active duty experience will choose to enter and remain in the National Guard.

AVC is opposed to any policy whereby the Armed Forces award discharges other than honorable to reserve personnel based upon the political or other activities in which these individuals may participate following separation from active service under the draft.

We believe that the conditions of discharge should be based solely upon the military activity and efficiency of the reservists.

4. Benefit dollar

AVC believes that provision should be made to maintain automatically the purchasing power of the benefit dollar and upward adjustments be made annually in accordance with the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Consumer Price Index.

5. Civil service

AVC believes that veterans point preference in the civil service be limited to the initial appointment only, and that no person should receive a position unless fully qualified to perform the duties involved.

We oppose the principle of granting absolute preference to veterans in state and local civil service.

6. GI bill

AVC applauds the passage of a permanent G.I. Bill of Rights as a responsible means of enabling servicemen and women to return to civilian life with facility and ease at the end of their service and become useful and productive member of their communities. We also applaud the recent passage of legislation improving the benefits provided through the G.I. Bill of Rights.

However, we feel that benefits are not yet in line with the World War II and Korean War G.I. Bills and the current cost of living. Unfortunately, many existing programs remain unavailable to veterans because of the financial stress they now entail, or are available only at great sacrifice. This is particularly true in the area of educational programs.

AVC urges the Congress to further adjust benefits to match current costs of living and education.

The G.I. Bill of Rights should be administered in such manner as to guarantee the absence of discrimination.

7. VA hospitalization

AVC urges that treatment of non-service-connected disabilities in VA hospitals be continued on a space-available basis, but that such treatment be charged at the full cost, if a patient has the means to pay for such service; certificates that a veteran is unable to pay should be investigated thoroughly to determine the true ability to meet the cost of hospitalization. Further that terms of coverage of all prepaid medical associations, plans and companies be amended by action of the legislatures, supervisory bodies or membership, so as to provide payment to VA hospitals for non-service-connected treatment on the same basis as payment to private voluntary and public hospitals.

8. Unification

AVC notes with satisfaction that the process of unification of the Armed Forces has been making progress. AVC commends the actions hitherto taken in this regard and urges that the Department of Defense continue these efforts vigorously.

9. Discrimination—Foreign and domestic

We maintain that no assignment of any military personnel should be made whether within the United States or overseas, for consideration on grounds of color, religion, ancestry or national origin.

Our goal is to insure that no member or employee of the Armed Forces, and no dependents of such person shall be subject to discriminatory treatment, on or off base within the United States or outside the United States on the grounds of color, religion, ancestry or national origin, and that the power, including the economic power, of the United States be consciously used to further this objective.

10. Information service

We owe the men of our armed services the best possible training to equip them for the rigors of modern combat under the most adverse conditions of weather, terrain, supply and enemy action. We further believe that an orientation program be instituted in order to acquaint the prospective draftee, at the time of registration, with all the rights privileges, benefits and special training he and his family will be entitled to if and when he is inducted into the Armed Services.

11. Jurisdiction over ex-servicemen and civilians accompanying the Armed Forces overseas

We believe that the ex-servicemen, military dependents, and civilians accompanying the armed forces abroad should not escape punishment for serious offenses committed while in such status, but should be tried before civilian courts. By serious offenses we mean crimes of that same degree of seriousness as felonies at common law.

12. Awards and benefits

All laws of the United States pertaining to the granting of military medals or decorations, military disability retirement or compensation, dependents and survivors benefits, veterans benefits (including benefits to dependents or survivors), or other special benefits to military personnel or their dependents on the basis of wartime service of such military personnel shall apply in like manner to service performed in such areas and during such periods as proclaimed by the President where combat or combat conditions exist and the United States forces to which such person is attached are either engaged in the combat, engaged in military operations designed to carry out any treaty or other international obligation of the United States.

13. AVC notes that legislation has been enacted which expedites the naturalization process of servicemen and ex-servicemen and which allows noncitizen widows of servicemen who die while on active duty to be naturalized without penalizing them for the death of their husbands.

The problem of aliens in the armed services being sent overseas before their naturalization is complete, even though no prior period of residence is required, persists. AVC urges that, *either*, following the precedent set in former Section 702 of the Nationality Act of 1940, provision be made for such persons to be naturalized while outside the United States, *or that the services adopt a ruling whereby service personnel in process of naturalization, who are not themselves contributing to the delays involved, will not be sent overseas until the naturalization process is complete.*

RESOLUTION ON THE DRAFT

AVC reaffirms its position on the draft as stated in our platform and as presented in detailed testimony before the House and Senate Armed Services Committees in 1967.

AVC also continues to deplore the lack of Congressional action for specific reforms of the draft law which have received wide public support, and which were endorsed by AVC, which are urgently needed.

Further;

1. AVC reiterates its position against a mercenary army.

2. AVC supports provisions which will enable students who have begun their studies to delay their active duty until they have reached a reasonable point of completion of these studies, but which will *not exempt* them from service. In this connection, AVC suggests that consideration be given to an adaptation of the Enlisted Reserve Corps program used during World War II.

3. AVC reiterates the positions it has previously taken concerning the improvement of the legal rights of draftees, composition of draft boards, system of election, etc.

4. AVC agrees with the Supreme Court decision whereby total conscientious objection need not rest exclusively on a religious basis, but may instead be based on sincere philosophical or ethical views.

AVC asks for a uniform implementation of the new principles enunciated and urges that consideration be given to ways in which sincere selective conscientious objection can be recognized.

RESOLUTION ON MILITARY EXPENDITURES AND DOMESTIC NEEDS

It is well established that the needs of our domestic economy are so critical that they cannot be met at the existing level of federal expenditures. The problems of pollution, hunger, poverty, living conditions in our cities and rural areas, public safety, and other domestic needs, require massive infusion of federal funds not available in the present budget.

Our inflated military budget has taken badly needed public funds from our domestic programs. AVC believes that the present military establishment can be cut, especially our Forces stationed in Bases throughout the world, without sacrificing our National Security, and that the requirements of domestic programs should have at least as high a priority as our military requirements.

We therefore urge:

That the military budget be substantially cut and such funds be used in domestic programs.

That any savings from a cut-back in Vietnam expenditures be used for domestic rather than be transferred to other military purposes.

That we actively pursue the SALT talks and any savings resulting from an arms limitation treaty be diverted to domestic needs.

That a more effective scrutiny be given new and untried weapons systems which would put a heavy financial strain on the defense budget in future years, and that funds not be used to bail out defense contractors facing insolvency.

That significant cuts be made in the size of our armed forces and supporting civilian personnel especially in our forces stationed in bases throughout the world, without impairing our national security.

RESOLUTION ON DRUGS IN THE MILITARY

Recent reports estimate 10 to 15% and perhaps as high at 25% of servicemen in Vietnam are addicted to heroin. This growing threat to the well-being of the G.I. and in turn to American society has been grossly underestimated by the Pentagon and the V.A. The practice of giving Undesirable Discharges and Bad Conduct Discharges for addiction must be halted. Addiction is a medical problem and must be treated as such. A massive rehabilitation program for all types of drug addiction is needed. However, the response must be more than simply medical, and many of the well-intentioned recent proposals are unrealistic at best and could be disastrous for thousands of veterans present and future.

AVC strongly believes that DoD and VA should be prevented from wholesale and exclusive reliance on any one method of treatment. The psycho-social aspects of addiction must also be considered.

AVC calls for strong new imaginative programs to be considered and geared to the needs of servicemen and veterans.

Many varied treatments and therapy programs should be investigated. A promising example would be for government funds to be channelled into existing drug treatment facilities in the veterans' home communities. Therapeutic communities (civilian agencies like New York Phoenix House) could be set up for, and run by veterans.

Those veterans who have already received less than honorable discharges for drug addiction must also be attended to.

AVC strongly condemns the Administration's decision to cut back the two facilities open to all addicts: Fort Worth and Lexington. To call such action anti-inflationary is truly short-sighted and a real danger to American society. AVC believes there should be an expansion of treatment and therapy facilities to counter the heroin epidemic.

The response to this human tragedy and thread to our national well-being must be a top domestic priority of the national administration.

RESOLUTION ON MILITARY JUSTICE

AVC favors revision of the Uniform Code of Military Justice to take the court-martial system out of the line of command. Congress is considering proposals to set up a separate court-martial command. AVC generally favors such legislation.

RESOLUTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE DISCHARGE

While AVC favors in principle the legislation now pending in Congress which is designed to:

1) Provide the statutory framework for the administrative discharge process.

2) Insure that those whose administrative discharge is proposed are given fair hearing, have access to counsel who are members of the bar, have the right to have witnesses called on their behalf and are given other safeguards.

AVC also calls for the amendment of the legislation now pending so that the so-called "General Discharge under Honorable Conditions" will be treated as the mildest form of punitive or less-than-honorable discharge. Military personnel faced with the prospect of being awarded a General Discharge under Honorable Conditions should be given safeguards which substantially approach those now proposed for the lesser forms of discharge. The oft-repeated contention of the military services that the "General Discharge under Honorable Conditions" is merely another form of Honorable Discharge is not borne out by the experiences of those whose service has been so stigmatized, and the existing power of a single commander to impose a General Discharge must be curbed.

AVC further calls for the deletion from those copies of discharge certificates which are to be exhibited to prospective employers and others of references to service regulations which reveal the reason for discharge, if such reason can reflect on the individual. If it is necessary to delete the reason for discharge from all discharge certificates in order to prevent adverse comments to be drawn from the absence of an indication of the reason, then AVC supports deletion of all reasons for discharge.

RESOLUTION ON PILOT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR SERVICE PERSONNEL

The National Convention of the American Veterans Committee has considered the "Army's Pilot Legal Assistance Program" as outlined in the circular bearing the above title, dated 4 January 1971, from the Judge Advocate General of the Army to all Staff Judge Advocates.

The AVC has long believed that the members of the Armed Forces should be given all the rights which they would have, were they not currently in military service. AVC has also been aware of the fact that many of the lower-ranking members of the armed forces are not paid sufficiently well to be able to afford privately retained legal counsel whenever they become involved in litigation, and that the particular circumstances of military service have made it difficult for such members to gain access to the Neighborhood Legal Services and other OEO-funded legal programs which exist in many parts of the nation. Furthermore, AVC is aware that the members of the Judge Advocate General's Corps of the various services have been unable to render effective legal assistance to service personnel because they were restricted from representing such personnel vis-a-vis creditors, and other litigants.

For the foregoing reason, the American Veterans Committee endorses and supports the efforts now being made by the Department of Defense and the Military Departments to set up pilot legal assistance programs in which the range of assistance given by legal assistance officers to appear in civilian courts. AVC will be interested in evaluating the results of the pilot programs when these results become available, and in supporting such legislation or administrative action as may be necessary to make such a program permanent if the results justify such action.

RESOLUTION ON "ATROCITIES AND SILENCE"

As Veterans of savage and bloody wars, we are shocked and ashamed at the reported atrocities committed by both sides in the war in Southeast Asia. In addition, we are convinced that incidents such as that in My Lai could not have been prevented from coming to public attention for two years if a considerable number of officers in senior positions had not been determined to keep the matter secret. AVC calls for whatever action may be necessary to make sure that members of the Armed Forces who take it on themselves to call the attention of the Congress and the people to any such incidents are effectively protected from reprisals and that "conspiracies of silence" are explicitly, severely punished quite apart from the incidents themselves.

RESOLUTION ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

The AVC supports the principle of freedom of religion in the armed forces. Religious observance should be neither denied nor compelled, nor exploited for non-religious purposes.

The AVC recognizes the propiety of providing chaplain and chapels, so that military personnel are not deprived of the right to worship as they see fit.

Instances have recently come to light in which chapel attendance has been made compulsory in service academies. In other instances, armed forces chaplains have been used to indoctrinate service personnel on military, political, and religious matters. The AVC deplores such practices and urges that they be discontinued promptly.

RESOLUTION ON CIVIL RIGHTS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE ARMED FORCES

The American Veterans Committee has a record unique among veterans organizations, of concern for racial justice and equal opportunity in the armed forces, a record which has extended from early support for President Truman's orders to integrate the regular Army in the late 1940's to early and public support for the use of the off-limits sanction against discriminating landlords.

AVC has watched, with growing concern, as racial polarization, reflected in the reports of the Render mission to Europe as well as in the report of the NAACP investigation, has apparently greatly increased in the past few years.

AVC is aware of the efforts which have been made by successive incumbents in the position of Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Civil Rights, aided by a small and overworked staff, to stem the tide, and to create a real equality of opportunity; AVC is also aware of the degree to which that office is understaffed, and of its relative lack of "clout."

AVC herewith reiterates the following portions of the resolution on the same subject passed at its 1970 Convention in Washington, D.C.

1. AVC reminds those concerned with military-related costs that the cost of racial friction (lost man-hours, reduced combat effectiveness, added cost of burdens on the military justice and miltiary confinement systems, lower efficiency by those alienated) is many times greater than the cost of a Civil Rights staff large enough, well funded enough, and sufficiently well backed to do an effective job.

2. Urges the Secretary of Defense to strengthen the Office of Civil Rights, Department of Defense, in personnel and in funds to the point at which, it will have a real impact.

3. Points out that among reserve and National Guard personnel with the obligation or the opportunity to serve short tours of active duty, are many with particular expertise in the civil rights area and urges that these skills be better utilized.

4. Recalls that AVC has, throughout its history, worked closely with the Department of Defense in the civil rights area, on projects such as the tour of Southern military bases by AVC leaders in 1960 and the Audit of the National Guard undertaken in 1963.

5. Offers whatever services it can render in this area to the Department of Defense.

RESOLUTION ON CONFERENCE ON RETURNING VETERANS

The 1970 AVC Convention took note of the severe problems faced by returning veterans, particularly those with battlefield experience, when they make the transition from military to civilian life, by directing the National Board to make every effort to call a conference on the problem of the returning veteran. Special attention was given to the glaring hardships of the veterans returning to the ghetto, too many of whom remain unemployed, untrained for new professions, restricted to the ghetto, and disillusioned and frustrated.

Recent disclosures of the dismaying unemployment rates for returning veterans and the servere drug problem in the military now coming to light are but two indicators that this problem is deepening and is turning into a national disgrace.

There are many legislative proposals to improve the lot of the veteran in housing, employment, and in some provisions of the G.I. Bill. Yet, so long as the problem is attacked on an ad hoc basis, this national problem will be diluted and remain festering.

Therefore be it resolved: That the AVC Convention as a matter of top priority and urgency direct the National Board to call a conference on the problems of the returning veteran.

RESOLUTION ON ADVANCED ALLOWANCE FOR RETURNING VETERANS

Be it Resolved: In order that the disadvantaged Vietnam era veterans have an opportunity to attend a college or technical school without due hardship, he should be given his G.I. Educational Benefits Check in August, prior to the commencement of the school year, rather than receiving his check in November which is the current procedure. This forces many veterans into debt and hardship, and also keeps many veterans from applying for benefits which they have earned by their military service.

We strongly urge passage of S. 740, the Veterans Advanced Educational Payment and Work Study Act of 1971.

RESOLUTION ON UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION FOR VETERANS

Whereas, the needs of Vietnam Veterans and the unemployment level of the nation both indicate that the amount of veterans unemployment compensation benefits is not now sufficient.

Whereas, the U.S. Congress has considered increasing unemployment compensation benefits not to exceed $75.00 per week.

Whereas, the legislation proposed preserves State requirements and regulations for veterans employment compensation benefits.

Resolved, that the AVC adopts the postion that unemployment compensation benefits shall be increased in amount of $75.00 and considers a current bill, H.R. 7833, as illustrative of the AVC conviction and position.

RESOLUTION ON LISTS OF SERVICEMEN

Whereas, the Veterans Administration refuses to make available lists of returning veterans to AVC and others; and

Whereas, it has been established that the Veterans Administration is, in fact, releasing such lists to some organizations, such as

the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and private interests,

Therefore be it resolved that AVC strongly condemn this discriminatory practice and demands free access to such lists under the Freedom of Information Act.

RESOLUTION ON NAMING OF VA HOSPITALS

AVC supports the bill introduced by Congressman Bingham, H.R. 4197, to rename the VA Hospital in Jackson, Mississippi as the Medger Evers Hospital.

RESOLUTION ON NON-DISCRIMINATION IN THE MILITARY MEDICARE PROGRAM

While AVC was greatly encouraged by the decision of June 10, 1968 of the Department of Defense to coordinate its efforts in achieving non-discrimination in the Military Medicare (CHAMPUS) Program with the Title VI enforcement effort in medical facilities being conducted by the Office of Civil Rights at HEW . . .

AVC regrets that the plans for coordination have not been implemented (except with regard to some eight hospitals), due to the failure of the Department of Defense to authorize a very minor item of reimbursement to HEW.

Calls upon the Department of Defense to implement its policy and to launch coordination effort so long delayed.

We regret that, one year later, the policy adopted in 1968 has not yet been implemented.

We call on the Secretary of Defense to inform us by when we can expect progress in this area.

RESOLUTION ON RATIONALIZATION OF VA AND OTHER GOVERNMENT HOSPITAL SYSTEMS

The United States Government currently operates six separate hospital systems: Army, Navy and Air Force (operated by Department of Defense), Public Health Service and Indian (operated by DHEW) and the Veterans Administration.

AVC has a long history of favoring rationalization of government processes. AVC believes that federal decisions to build hospitals, to open and close its hospitals, and to set up specialized medical, surgical and psychiatric programs should not be made system-by-system. While we do not, at present, insist on unifying all hospital systems, there should be comprehensive planning, much more cross-utilization and rationalization.

In addition we ask that the secretaries responsible for these systems undertake studies on the feasibility of contracting with civilian hospitals for services to selected beneficaries.

RESOLUTION ON ABORTION IN MILITARY HOSPITALS

AVC deplores President Nixon's order that therapeutic abortions in United States military hospitals be allowed or disallowed in accordance with the laws of the state in which the hospital is located. Such a policy discriminates against those who are domiciled in states with more restrictive laws by reason of the military service of the head of the family. It also denies women the right to control their own bodies and physicians' rights to practice medicine according to professional standards.

We endorse the principle that abortion should be a matter strictly between the woman patient and her physician. We urge that this principle be applied in military and all other government hospitals and clinics and become the basis of legislation in all states.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

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AVC stands for the Bill of Rights as a guarantee of our freedom to speak, to assemble, to believe, and to dissent without fear from the conformities of the day.

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AVC stands for a government possessing and willing to exercise all powers necessary to bring about a solution of our national problems.

AVC supports the active intervention of government, primarily of the Federal Government, in the economy and the general welfare of our country to stimulate and provide employment to improve the physical condition of our cities and towns, of our housing and our schools, to bring all the greatest benefits from the development and conservation of our natural and industrial resources and to provide for the general welfare and health of our people.

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AVC supports an educational system and a public health system which will give the American people, and America's youth in particular, the knowledge, skills, and training, and the physical and mental health and stamina, to continue their forward march toward America's democratic fulfillment.

Government and liberty

I. The Nation's freedom—the Bill of Rights

1. We affirm the basic right of all Americans to due process of law, the right to counsel and to freedom from unlawful search and seizure. We oppose all efforts to suppress freedoms to believe, speak, write, assemble, criticize, and dissent.

2. A. We urge strong and consistent enforcement of existing laws and regulations which will insure to the citizens of the United States and of the several States the full measure of their privileges and immunities of due process of law and the equal protection of the laws guaranteed to them by the Constitution, regardless of race, color, ancestry, national origin, religion or sex, or age, and urge the national, state and local governments to enact such further laws, ordinances and regulations as may be needed further to insure these ends.

B. We believe in the principles of the separation of church and state.

C. We favor freedom from censorship of newspapers, magazines, radio, television, motion pictures and other media by the Post Office, Customs Bureau, police departments, and other units of government as well as by private pressure groups.

D. We oppose the use of wiretapping and electronic and other forms of eavesdropping devices whether by private individuals or Government officials, elected or appointed.

E. We urge protection by Federal law of all members of the Armed Forces from physical violence because of race, color, ancestry, national origin or religion.

F. We urge making lynching a Federal crime, as well as making provisions for compensation to the families of lynching victims.

G. We favor Federal legislation making it a crime to bomb or to conspire to bomb school, church and other public and quasi-public property.

3. A. The right against self-discrimination. No inference should be drawn in regard to guilt in any legal proceeding of any person solely because he exercises this right.

B. The right to travel. The right of an American citizen to travel abroad should not be arbitrarily abridged by the Federal Government.

II. The Nation's Government

1. Freedom of information. The right of the people to full knowledge of government affairs must not be abridged, except where disclosure would imperil the national security or where disclosure would, without substantial public benefit, encroach on the right of the individual to personal liberty or freedom.

2. Congress: We urge proper changes in the rules of the Congress of the United States which will make it possible for the majority of the members to vote cloture or closed debate on legislation after a reasonable period, and which will make merit, not tenure alone, the standard to be used in the selection of committee chairmen.

We urge changes in the House and Senate rules to require recorded votes on all actions to facilitate this procedure, we urge that electronic voting machinery be provided.

3. Federal-State Relations: We favor strict Federal standard-setting and enforcement in all federal grants in aid.

4. State and local government: We urge reapportionment within the States consistent with the principle "one man-one vote."

5. The Federal civil service:

A. Apart from discharges based on reorganization of Government activities or reduction in force, Government employees should be discharged only for cause and through due process of law. The employees should be presented with a written statement of charges, have the right to a hearing before an impartial board. He should have the right to present evidence, be confronted with adverse witnesses, cross-examine witnesses, and receive a transcript of the hearing free of charge. Action toward his separation from the Government service should be taken only on the basis thus made.

B. The rights granted to veterans in the Veterans Preference Act in regard to discharge procedures and appeals should be extended to all Government employees except those in probationary status.

6. 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.

Economic security

III. Basic Economic Policy

1. We continue to support the Employment Act of 1946 which states it is the policy of the Government to create and maintain "conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities including self-employment for those able, willing and seeking to work and to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power."

2. To insure the interest of the consumer, we urge Congress to establish a Department of the Consumer, to be headed by a Secretary of Cabinet rank.

IV. Monetary Policy and Tax Policy

1. Monetary policy:

We urge the establishment of Federal capital budget for reimbursable public works appropriations and to improve the

accounting and budgetary operations of the Government.

2. Tax policy:

A. We urge elimination of special provisions in the internal revenue laws which are discriminatory in nature. As blatant examples, we point to the favored tax treatment of the extractive industries, the restrictive stock options for corporate executives, the retirement income credit, the prferred tax treatment of profits on stock market transactions, and the dividend exclusion and credit provision.

B. We also call for an end to the abuse of the deductibility of business expenses to finance luxurious travel, vacations, and entertainment for business management, professional men and sales executives.

V. The Urban Crisis

AVC from its inception has been vitally concerned about the urban crisis, and we recognize the urgency of effective action to overcome the conditions which have caused it. These are manyfaceted, including a shortage of jobs, of homes, of services, of educational opportunities. They also include environmental pollution and the citizen's increasing inability to influence or even participate in city government by democratic means. Many of these evils are most concentrated in the slums.

The concept embodied in the Model Cities program, of strengthening local government and the people it serves to solve these problems, offers a sensible approach to solution of the urban crisis itself. AVC urges expansion of this demonstration program to all communities which may benefit from it, with adequate financing for both the development of local plans and the federal program which are expected to contribute to their implementation. We intend to be vigilant, that the focus remains, under the new program guidelines on the disadvantaged in the cities.

Citizen participation in the planning and administration, as provided for in Model Cities, Community Action and other programs, is the democratic means of assuring that resources intended to help the disadvantaged are not bargained away with the consent, or at least the understanding, of the poor themselves. We urge the Congress to retain its requirements for citizen participation and extend them to additional programs which the federal government supports. We urge also that provision be made and funds be allocated for independent planning staff and facilities for citizens' groups and commissions.

An important aspect of the urban crisis is housing. Physical reclamation of the slums requires the provision of housing for those who now inhibit the slums, at rents or prices which are fair and which they can afford to pay. To bring this about, we favor flexible use and adequate funding of the variety of programs now in use, including rent supplements, eased purchase credit, reduced interest costs. We also recognize that it will be some time before the private housing industry will be able to play a significant role in such low-return activities, and we therefore call for the widest variety of public investments in housing, such as traditional public housing, turnkey housing, direct interest-free loans and leased housing. And we need serious thought about new approaches.

Beyond the creation of the necessary housing, our government must assure that access to housing is assured regardless of the race, color, creed, national origin, age or size of family of the prospective user. We call for vigorous enforcement of the Fair Housing provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which was a start toward elimination of the ghettos.

We also recognize that the urban crisis is affected by the rural crisis which has long been apparent but ignored. We therefore demand that the scantly-funded rural counterpart program be revitalized and used toward stabilizing the life of our rural citizens in the countryside where they prefer to live instead of forcing them to migrate to the cities, often to be engulfed by the slums.

VI. Conservation and Development of Natural Resources

We accept as a cardinal principle of conservation policy that the natural resources of this land are given to us in trust for the people of this and subsequent generations. The benefits of these resources must be distributed widely and equitably and a share thereof must be preserved for future citizens.

Through comprehensive and coordinated national and regional planning and development, wise use, and enlightened conservation, this can be done. The very nature of the problem requires that Government play a major and controlling role is assuring that conservation.

1. Department of Natural Resources. We propose the organization of the Department of Natural Resources. Such a new department should provide for regionally decentralized opportunities for program formulation and execution, while clearly placing federal responsibility for resources development within the framework of a single agency. The regional multi-purpose concept may require that specific localities or projects be reserved or developed for one or more preferred use.

2. Water and Air Conservation:

A. We reaffirm our strong support of comprehensive multi-purpose river basin development and urge the accelerated application of this principle to our river basins.

B. We similarly favor regional planning by the States and metropolitan areas as well as area redevelopment.

C. We urge the Federal Government to undertake the planning and construction of multi-purpose water and power projects similar to the one provided in the Tennessee Valley. Their very scope requires government development and precludes the short-term, piecemeal operations of private interests.

D. The conversation and development of adequate fresh water supplies to meet expanding needs for domestic agricultural, industrial, wildlife and recreational uses, and the protection and improvement of water quality, especially in relation to accumulated pesticides and other contaminating matters, are of increasingly urgent concern.

3. Energy resources conservation. We call for:

A. The maximum feasible development of our only renewable energy resource hydroelectric power including Federal construction of multi-purpose power dams and other waterpower, irrigation, flood control and navigation works using standards of feasibility and repayment schedules for such projects based upon their reasonably expected service life.

B. A continuation and acceleration of the Federal programs to develop and stimulate development of effective processes for the utilization of our immense reserves of oil, natural gas, shale and coal.

C. We urge a major increase in the scope and speed of air pollution prevention measures.

D. The development of atomic energy (both fission and fusion type) for power and other peaceful purposes.

4. Recreation and Wildlife:

The expansion in the demands for outdoor recreation opportunities requires that we add to our national park system and increase the recreational developments on our national forests, public lands, reservoirs and seashores.

We endorse legislation to control billboard erection in scenic areas. Urban planning and redevelopment should include provision for open spaces and outdoor recreation areas.

5. National Land Reserve.

We support the concept that our remaining public lands constitute a "National Land Reserve" to be administered for the benefit of the public with appropriate safeguards for future generations.

6. Pesticide Control.

We urge careful consideration and close supervision of pest control programs in recreational, farming, and urban areas.

VII. Agriculture

American agriculture is increasingly the victim of the owners of the new machines, themselves investors rather than farmers. Hired workers are displaced from jobs and farm lands are being concentrated in fewer hands as farmers themselves are displaced.

AVC calls for a four-part approach to the resulting probelms:

1. A reduction of subsidies to industrialized agriculture, those now being paid in proportion to production or for practices which, like some in other industries, are a normal part of the business;

2. New approaches to two problems of the sub-marginal farmer and the farm laborer, recognizing that their plight is closely related to that of the underemployed urban worker and is only in part agricultural.

3. Strengthening the economic family farm through greater attention to credit, service and marketing needs;

4. Providing for rural people the whole range of educational, cultural, recreational, health and other opportunities already accessible to dwellers in metropolitan area.

VII. Labor

We urge:

1. Periodic updating of the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act to insure the coverage of maximum numbers of categories of workers and a realistic and decent Federal minimum wage.

2. Enactment of laws for the full disclosure of the administration of pension and health and welfare plans, whether administered by unions or management or jointly by both. Federal law should follow existing Federal securities legislation and State laws such as that of the State of New York for the exemptions contained in the latter.

IX. Social Welfare

As veterans concerned with the social welfare of all citizens we urge:

1. Federal standards to increase unemployment insurance benefits, more realistic eligibility standards and lengthening of the period for which benefits are paid.

2. Development of a strong and unified child welfare program with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

3. Development of Federal services and grants-in-aid for the prevention and control of narcotics addiction, based on the premise that drug addiction is a disease to be treated.

X. Education

1. We recognize that "in the quality of education lies the fate of freedom itself." We urge the provision of educational opportunity for every American to the limits of his capacity, and the identification of the talented among us in order to challenge them to their highest achievement.

2. To improve and extend existing scholarship and loan programs for college and university students.

3. To extend scholarships and exchange programs for study by Americans abroad and by nationals of other countries in the United States.

4. To appropriate adequate Federal aid to communities impacted by Federal programs.

5. We oppose the use of public funds whether as grants or loans to non-public elementary and secondary schools.

XI. Public Health

We urge:

1. Increased Federal expenditures for research in the prevention and care of illness.

2. Expansion of medical insurance and group medical care plans, including a plan for national health insurance.

3. Expansion of public health facilities and services hospitals and nursing homes, without regard to race, color, ancestry, national origin, religion or sex.

XII. Indian Rights

We oppose revocation of commitments entered into by treaty between the U.S. Government or the Government of any state and the various Indian tribes.

We support all efforts (1) to safeguard Indian lands and resources from exploitation and expropriation in violation of treaty rights and (2) to make the Indian tribes capable of supporting themselves from the proper development of their resources.

We support adequate health and educational services for the Indian tribes capable of supporting themselves from the proper development of their resources. We support adequate health and educational services for the Indian reservation as well as training in modern industrial and management skills to enhance the opportunities for better living and the ability of the Indian tribes to manage their own affairs.

We also support social services to those Indians who desire to live outside their tribal reservations so as to assist them in adapting themselves especially to urban living and to protect them against discrimination and hostility in their new environment.

RESOLUTION ON OPENING THE SUBURBS TO LOW AND MIDDLE INCOME HOUSING

AVC notes with dismay the increasing isolation of two societies—the black inner city and the white suburbs. This has resulted from continued racial discrimination in suburban jurisdictions and the action of such jurisdictions to deny low and middle income housing through zoning restrictions. The effect of this action has been to increase polarization between black and white and rich and poor; to deny black and low income workers job opportunities in the suburbs, accelerate the physical blight and economic decline of our cities and negate federal programs designed to provide low and middle income housing.

AVC therefore urges that the Department of Housing and Urban Development deny federal grants to suburban and other jurisdictions unless such jurisdictions establish affirmative action programs to provide and permit low and middle income housing commensurate with the needs of the residents in the metropolitan region.

RESOLUTION ON ADDING COMPLIANCE PROVISIONS TO EEOC

To enable the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to quickly and effectively halt abuses and enforce its directions, AVC supports the adoption of the pending EEOC Bill which authorizes the Commission to issue and enforce restraining orders and to avail itself of injunctive procedures.

RESOLUTION FOR A NATIONAL HEALTH SECURITY SYSTEM FOR THE UNITED STATES

The escalating expense of Health Care, the lack of sufficiently trained medical personnel and facilities, the unmet medical needs in the treatment and prevention of disease for all segments of our society, the special medical problems of the poor and the aged, and the inefficiencies and excessive costs of the present patch-work system of public and private financing of medical aid urgently require the adoption of a nationally administered actuarially sound, and federally financed Health Security System which adequately benefits all members of our society in the most efficient and least costly way. The proposals contained in the jointly sponsored National Health Security Acts, S. 3 in the Senate proposed by Senators Kennedy, Cooper, Saxbe, and others, and H.R. 22 introduced by Representatives Griffiths, Corman, Reid, and Mosher, among others and in S. 934, although lacking adequate provision for dental and psychiatric care and prescription drugs and being deficient in dealing with the delivery of health services evenly throughout the society, do present a comprehensive reform program of federal health insurance with a broad range of medical services designed to cover the bulk of unmet medical personnel, the cost of which will be provided to the extent of 50% from General Revenues and the remainder by Health and Security Taxes on employers and employees. It is superior to the other Health proposals made to Congress, none of which have universal application, all of which rely largely on costly private insurance funding, and only partially meet the needs and fail to solve many of the basic problems of the present system.

Although we recognize the shortcomings of S. 3 and S. 934, we believe that if they are improved and broadened to remove the deficiencies noted herein they will provide an excellent major betterment to our present Health System. The fact that the funds will be collected and administered through the Social Security System implies greater efficiency from privately funded plans.

RESOLUTION ON WELFARE REFORM

AVC urges action in this session of Congress to create a new system of income maintenance which will meet the basic needs of all individuals and families who are unable to work, whose earnings are inadequate and for whom jobs are not available. Such legislation should be based on the following principles:

1. A unified and largely federally financed program of assistance to assure equitable and efficient treatment and administration.

2. Benefits should be available to everyone in need—those in low paying jobs as well as the unemployed, those without families as well as dependent children and their parents.

3. Assistance grants should provide all Americans with an income adequate to sustain them in a state of health and minimal decency. If fiscal consideration precludes such immediate grant levels, then provisions should be placed in the legislation for orderly steps at time intervals to reach standard of adequacy for health and decency as determined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics with flexibility of grant levels to meet realistic variations in costs of living.

4. Incentives and realistic aids should be employed to encourage those eligible for public assistance to move into job training and full employment. No recipient should be required to take a job at less than the minimum federal wage to prevailing area wage, whichever is higher. Recipients should have the right to keep enough earned income to make working more attractive rather than relying solely on public assistance. Further, public service jobs should be provided where there is a shortage of private or other public service jobs.

5. A declaration of need should be accepted as *prima facie* evidence of eligibility. Spot checks can be used to determine accuracy of eligibility and payment, such as those used in the Social Security and Income Tax programs.

6. Rearing children should be recognized as important and meaningful employment. Mothers of pre-school age children should not be forced to accept work or training against their will.

7. Adequate child care facilities are necessary if working mothers are to take advantage of work and training programs. Provisions should be made for national standards for child care services. Child care should be not merely custodial but should be designed to meet the educational, nutritional and health needs of the children. Care should be provided for elementary school children after school. The poor should be trained and employed as child care center workers. No family should be required to pay a fee for child care unless it has income sufficient to meet its needs with minimal decency.

RESOLUTION ON REVENUE SHARING AND FEDERAL AID

AVC supports the principle of federal financial assistance to state and local governments because of the far superior revenue-raising capacity of the federal government through the progressive rates of federal income and estate taxes, etc.

However, we are opposed to the "no-strings" revenue sharing proposal of the Nixon Administration known as "general" and "special" revenue sharing. The "general" revenue sharing proposal contemplates grants to states starting at $5 billion a year totally unrestricted as to use, purpose or level of local revenue raising efforts. The "special" revenue sharing proposal would give no "new money" to the states and localities but would merely combine into broad subject area "block grants," such as health, housing, education, etc., the funds now going to specific project and categorical grant programs, and would end or endanger many constructive and creative programs such as Model Cities and the multi-state Appalachian Regional Commission. It would also eliminate almost all of the federal conditions (or strings) necessary to see that the funds are distributed on a non-discriminatory non-boondoggling basis.

We favor the continuance of the present method of making categorical grants for specific purposes and projects, on a matching and grant-in-aid basis. With respect to the allocation of these funds by statutory formulas, however, we demand that all federal agencies strictly observe the conditions attached by Congress to the grants.

We believe the Federal Highway Trust Fund should be ended by 1975, upon the completion of the presently allowed mileage in the Interstate System, and that all taxes now earmarked for it to go to the General Treasury where they would help provide funds for mass transit, housing, education, health, etc.

We also wish to encourage those State and Local governments which make a significant effort to raise their own funds through progressive rate taxes such as the income tax rather than regressive sales and real property taxes—to this end we favor a tax credit for a significant portion (say 80%) of local income taxes paid instead of merely a tax deduction for them.

We are sympathetic to the great needs of our American cities—because of the high cost, in many areas beyond mere welfare, necessitated by the large concentration of our poorest citizens in urban areas. Therefore, we will be interested to examine the recent proposal of Rep. Wilbur Mills for federal tax-sharing aid going directly to the cities when it is fully developed and announced.

RESOLUTION ON PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT

AVC has long stood for forceful implementation of the Employment Act of 1946, calling for full employment. In particular, we have from time to time specifically called the attention of the federal government to the need for it to act as "employer of last resort." That is, we have been willing to allow free enterprise to provide the jobs that are needed for those who want to work, with government to take up the slack when necessary.

On this 25th Anniversary of the Full Employment Act, we veterans for whose benefit the Act was passed; Call attention to:

1. Record levels of unemployment (including veterans)

2. Rising demands for people to go to work

3. Increasing effective demand for public services and

4. Declining ability or willingness of local and state government to provide services.

Legislation to enable the federal government to take action to deal with these related problems has now been passed by both houses of Congress *for the second time*. Last year, the President vetoed a Public Service Employment Act; this year, two versions must go to conference.

We agree with the President that "leaf-raking" jobs solve no problems. For that reason, we *support* Public Services Employment legislation, so that local governments can provide jobs in health, education, parks and public safety.

We urge that the conferees adopt the present House version and that the President approve either version that the Congress may send to him.

RESOLUTION ON PRICE AND INCOME POLICY

In spite of the trauma of two years of economic recession and a 6.2% overall unemployment rate, the rate of inflation and cost-of-living increases continue at an unacceptable rate.

AVC therefore urges that the Nixon Adminstration 1) abandon its reluctance to exert a strong influence on our major corporations, particularly in basic industries such as steel and oil, to restrict price increases. 2) Use the powers granted it by Congress to control credit, and, when necessary, prices, profits, and wages. 3) Use its powers and influence to lower interest rates. 4) Consider and implement effective new programs of increasing employment.

RESOLUTION ON POLICE ACTIVITIES DURING MAY DAY PROTESTS

Early in May, 1971, a large number of people assembled in our Nation's Capital for the express purpose of disrupting by force and violence the operations of the government. The city's police met that threat by arresting some 12,000 persons.

AVC condemns those who attempted to disrupt the processes of government by force and violence. The AVC recognizes the need for governmental authorities to preserve order during protest activities. However, such police activities must be done only in a manner that is consistent with the law and the protection afforded by our Constitution. We are deeply concerned lest precedents be established which would undermine cherished constitutional rights, give unlawful authority to police officers and establish the principle of preventive arrests and detention. For this reason we condemn certain actions taken by the District of Columbia police and other authorities during the May Day protest; namely:

1. The use of dragnet mass arrests in which innocent bystanders in the area of the protest, who committed no unlawful activities, were arrested and held for long periods of time.

2. The use of fraudulent papers after the fact in which false names of arresting officers were inserted.

3. Capricious and arbitrary collateral and bond policies.

4. The failure to plan for adequate facilities when the police had reason to expect that thousands would be arrested—as a result thousands were crowded for periods of time without adequate facilities to house or feed them.

The American Veterans Committee strongly condemn the statements of President Nixon praising the police action and of Attorney General Mitchell that the police reaction to May Day "will set an example for other communities, in similar circumstances, to do the same." We urge the American Bar Association and the Judicial Conference of the United States to sharply condemn this type of action and issue a set of guidelines that will grant the police the ability to preserve order during protest activities but at the same time require the police to adhere to the law and constitutional rights.

RESOLUTION ON THE OFFICE OF OMBUDSMAN

The growing complexity of state, county and local governmental agencies is frequently bewildering and disillusioning to citizens seeking redress of their grievances with these agencies.

Efforts are currently underway in some states to make local and state governments more accountable to its citizens by providing for an "Office of Ombudsman" whose prime responsibility would be to receive and investigate citizens' complaints against governmental agencies and recommend corrective action. Under the proposal, the "Ombudsman" would also be empowered to make recommendations to the state legislature that could eliminate duplication, waste, and inefficiency in these agencies.

Be it resolved that AVC endorses the concept of the "Office of Ombudsman" in state and local governments and work to support efforts in various states to make the concept law.

RESOLUTION ON NATIONAL VOLUNTEER SERVICE

Whereas, the zeal of our youth to build a better society has never been clearer than it is now. Yet opportunities to work constructively for a better society are limited. Compared to national needs, relatively few jobs in the service fields are available to young men and women.

Whereas, such service is vitally needed by society—in such fields as education, health, conservation and municipal services. Many of these needs could be met by young people, those who are asking for relevance in education, for a chance to meet their service responsibility outside the armed forces, and for first-hand experience with problems whose outcomes will determine the kind of world to be passed on to their children.

Now, therefore, be it resolved that in order to meet many of our most pressing needs and to permit young men and women to become engaged in the building of a better society, the American Veterans Committee *endorses a program of national volunteer service*, which would have these basic features:

1. Service opportunities would be available to all young people. The main criterion for admission would be willingness to serve.

2. Each participant would serve and learn. Learning would range from development of specific skills to growth in self-knowledge, problem-solving, and working with people.

3. Service activities would be directed and financed at the local level to the extent permitted by available resources and would include projects organized and directed by young people. Thus, maximum local initiative would be encouraged.

4. The basic reason for national volunteer service is the need society has for the service of youth. Main areas are tutoring, health and mental health, as well as conservation and beautification, the cleaning up of our rivers, lakes and seashores, our cities and our forests, and various kinds of community and family service. By serving in these fields, young people would be able to test themselves through service to society and would receive valuable experience for their careers.

5. Young people who seem poorly qualified by conventional standards could serve effectively. High school dropouts are today serving as tutors, and doing a good job; others are receiving specialized training for responsible hospital positions. Each participant would be given the training and supervision needed for the assignment.

6. There would be a transition phase. Growth of national volunteer service would be constrained by identification of useful tasks, finding enough trainers and supervisors, and obtaining sufficient funds. The transition phase would permit experimentation with various techniques and activities on a pilot program basis.

7. Participation would be by means of contract, voluntarily entered into by all parties. The contract would spell out the responsibility of the participant, the sponsoring agency and the funding agency.

8. Duration of service would range from a minimum of one year to a maximum of four years. The normal contract period would be one or two years, renewable.

9. Participation in national volunteer service would be viewed as fulfillment of a person's service obligation. Thus, satisfactory completion of national volunteer service—for at least the same period of time as needed to complete one's military service obligation—would place participants in the same draft category as veterans of military service. Also as armed forces manpower requirements are likely soon to be met solely by volunteers in view of large increases in service pay and diminishing manpower needs for Viet Nam there may be no need to relate civilian service to military service since both would be manned by volunteers.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

We the members of the American Veterans Committee, believe that in international affairs the objective of the United States is the maintenance of peace. All else aside, the world must avoid the holocaust of nuclear war. Within that framework our foreign policy, like our domestic policy, must be oriented to enhance the welfare of the individual, be he black, white, brown, or yellow, so that he may eat and sleep in safety, live his life under government of his choice and realize to the fullest extent possible the measure of his aspirations.

I. The United Nations and world government

The United Nations continues to be man's best hope for peace. American support to the United Nations must be an essential part of our foreign policy. The authority of the United Nations must be progressively strengthened in a process which sees the selective yielding of the prerogatives of national sovereignty in a manner that will enhance the fundamental freedoms and the well-being of all the peoples of the world.

Recognition of the rule of law principle in international relations is an essential of action in reinforcing the United Nations role in the maintenance of peace and security. Appropriate means must be found to widen the area of internationally accepted standards and American compliance therewith. Prompt repeal of the Connally reservation by the United States Senate would be a step in this direction.

We believe that there must be an acceleration of progress in the ratification of existing international human rights conventions by the United States. Where necessary, enabling national legislation should be enacted to bring our laws into conformity with these conventions. United States action in this respect has been grossly inadequate and has hindered a greater assertion of American leadership which is required.

We regard the integrity and independence of the Secretary General's office as expressed in the Charter crucial to the existence and growth of the United Nations. We shall oppose any attempt which seeks to weaken the powers of this office.

We favor encouragement and aid to the formation of supranational authorities of a regional nature consistent with the U.N. Charter and of treaty arrangements which limit the sovereignty of the participating nations in order to secure mutual advantages, such as the European Common Market, Euratom and others. The United States should further encourage and support European initiatives through the European Economic Community, Euratom, the Council of Europe, or otherwise to create, consolidate and strengthen institutions which may

lead to a politically stable and prosperous European entity.

We fully support the enlargement of the peace-keeping function of the United Nations. The use of peace-keeping forces by the United Nations should be supported financially on an obligatory basis by all members of the United Nations. The allocation of military forces on a standby basis should be encouraged and established systematically through the creation of a permanent planning mechanism in the United States.

We favor the ultimate establishment of democratic world government.

II. World Veterans Federation

We point with pride, and pledge our continued support to the World Veterans Federation, a world-wide organization of former fighting men whose activities are a remarkable example of the kind of private international co-operation on which lasting world peace and justice can be built.

III. Nuclear testing and disarmament

Complete elimination of nuclear weapons testing and establishment of international controls on this most dangerous weapons technology should be the goal of American foreign policy. Our world finds itself in the unique and unenviable position where one generation can make life on earth unlivable for another generation.

The adoption by the United Nations of a non-proliferation Agreement is a significant advance despite the reservations of some member states. The United States as the foremost nuclear power, must move forward in this regard by ratifying the Agreement as rapidly as possible.

The new initiatives by the United States and the USSR to begin negotiations toward the limitations of offensive and defensive nuclear ballistic missile systems is an important next step. United Nations action to convoke meetings of the five nuclear powers—Britain, France, the Soviet Union, China and the United States is further movement toward the desirable goal of creating controls of these awesome weapons. Only by showing their good faith can the nuclear powers induce other states to forgo development in this most dangerous area, lower international tension, and avoid the allocation of needed resources to essentially destructive and wasteful ends.

Complete and total disarmament is the ultimate summum bonum, but this is an objective remote in time and immediate achievement is not feasible. Efforts toward that goal, nonetheless should be made by the United States and should be encouraged in other nations. Mankind can never reach its true destiny if it must continue to allocate so high a percentage of its resources to forge the weapons of war.

IV. The United States and its allies

Inevitably differences will arise between the United States and its Allies, but there are differences which can be resolved around the conference table. In its negotiations the United States should seek no more than the rights and privileges of a willing partner.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed in a world considerably different from the world of today. It is time for the NATO Nations to reassess the objectives and reformulate the NATO role. Its continued organization and operation should reflect its changing purpose.

In Latin America, the United States has uneasy allies, but allies nonetheless. We must bend every effort to erase the image of the United States as a prosperous, patronizing, and paternalistic benefactor. It should be the objective of the United States foreign policy to create instead an image of a United States that wants to be a good partner, as well as a good neighbor, in helping the peoples of Latin America work out their own destinies.

The United States should, at every turn, encourage the United Nations or the Organization of American States to be the forum in which to resolve differences and disagreements among or with our Latin American neighbors. We must show by word and deed that we have no desire to impose our own form of government or way of life upon any country of Latin American. At the same time we must make it clear that we will honor a call for help by any Latin American country whose existence and destiny is being threatened by external foreign directed activity.

V. The United States and the world

The twentieth century is the era of the developing nations of Latin America, Africa, and of Asia. The United States must stand ready to help these nations and peoples, if they seek our help, to establish their way of life and direct their own destinies.

The forum of the United Nations must be held open to them in their efforts to develop responsible independence, and the services of the specialized agencies should be placed at their behest.

Our era is characterized by an ever-widening gap between the social and economic bases of the developed countries and those of the developing countries. This decline in the relative position of the developing countries, accompanied as it is by a population explosion, can lead to dangerous world tensions which could threaten world peace because of increased violence and disorder. New means must be found to close this gap through mobilization of efforts on a world-wide basis, including increased economic assistance from developed countries and greater self-help from the developing countries. The United States must be prepared to make greater contributions to the United Nations' efforts in this field, through other multilateral arrangements, and through bilateral aid. The goal of allotting 1% of the gross national product to this end as set by the United Nations is not unreasonable and well within the means of the United States.

United States foreign aid to developing countries should be utilized at points of greatest potential. In providing bilateral aid the United States should give priority to those countries which can make the most rational and productive use of such aid. In measuring the efficacy of United States aid, due weight should be given not only to economic considerations, but also to the nation-building process including the strengthening of democratic institutions and the consolidation of efforts on a regional basis. The United States should use its financial and economic resources to help the people of weak and developing nations achieve self-government, and should, if requested, provide economic help to prevent them from engulfment or encroachment by foreign powers seeking to impose their own ideologies, disciplines or governments.

Only when asked and only when it is clear that armed force is necessary to thwart a takeover by powers inimical to the welfare of a weak and developing nation should the United States furnish military assistance. In these circumstances the United States should stand ready to give military aid to such a country to oppose imposition of an external power, and should make it clear that its military effort is directed toward that objective alone.

VI. Soviet Union and Communist China

The years have shown that coexistence with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is not only possible, but is also a necessity if the world is to remain at peace. This must be our modus vivendi for the foreseeable future. Every step should be taken to enhance, improve, and expand the spheres of coexistence whether by more frequent cultural exchanges, increased travel by United States citizens to the Soviet Union and the satellite countries, extended trade beyond the Iron Curtain, or others. If we follow this policy and practice we shall find the areas of agreement becoming wider and the differences, narrower. The inevitable result, where people meet people, is that the government of the Soviet Union will no longer be able to insulate the Russians from the ways of the free world and disregard the yearnings of the Russian citizenry—which we believe to be the same as ours—for a world at peace and for good will to other peoples of the earth.

Communist China is the riddle wrapped up in the enigma that Russia used to be.

Any and all avenues that help us learn more about it or initiate exchange of ideas, must be explored. The forum of the United Nations is one primary means of increasing our knowledge. It should no longer be denied the Communist Chinese. We would not, however, deprive Nationalist China of its place in the United Nations.

VII. World trade

The path to world peace through world trade is long, tortuous, and not always clearly marked. The United States should take the lead in, where possible, and encourage, where not, the movement toward freer trade among nations. Countries must export as well as import and stabilizing adjustments will have to be made. Where hardships are visited upon domestic industries, some form of temporary relief should be provided. AVC endorses the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and urges its continued implementation by negotiations and agreements.

VIII. The example of America

Events beginning with World War I and continuing in the post World War II world we live in have thrust upon the United States a position of power and responsibility it can neither avoid nor minimize. That position inevitably generates envy, jealousy, and hostility by less fortunate peoples of the earth. It is the difficult, but essential task of the United States to wear its mantle of world leadership gracefully, to use its power cautiously, and to exercise its responsibility wisely, striving to make the right decisions in order to preserve world peace and to enable the peoples of the world to work out their destinies in an atmosphere that accords the individual his basic human rights and permits him to achieve the fullest measure of self-expression.

RESOLUTION ON SOUTHEAST ASIA

The toll of human and material destruction wrought by the continuing conflict in Vietnam is repugnant to all people who are determined to pursue humanitarian objectives and to stop the process of killing and destroying of property as avenues for settling disputes. The people of Vietnam have suffered severely for too long a time from controversies that had their genesis in colonialism and in ideological conflicts which most of this tortured people would surely prefer to solve through peaceful means.

The people of the United States have also suffered severely because of the war. Urgently needed domestic programs have either been reduced or postponed. In addition, our country has become divided and many of our people have lost faith in the viability of our democratic processes.

AVC therefore welcomed the initiation of the peace talks in Paris as a means of resolving the bloody conflict in Vietnam. Unfortunately, despite a progressive narrowing of the political differences on many matters which divided the two sides, the Paris negotiations are still at an impasse.

New initiatives and directions are imperative. To bring peace and stability to Southeast Asia and restore a healthier social, poli-

tical and economic climate at home, AVC urges:

1. The continuing de-escalation of the conflict and withdrawal of United States military personnel.

2. The Congress of the United States adopt and the National Administration implement the current McGovern-Hatfield Amendment to the Military Procurement Authorization, the essence of which is the withdrawal of U.S. Military personnel from Vietnam be completed no later than December 31, 1971, unless Congress, by joint resolution approves a finding by the President that an additional stated time period is required to insure safety of personnel during the withdrawal period.

3. United States to make clear its concern that the forthcoming Vietnam election be one in which persons of all political persuasion have an opportunity to vote or run for office. Other than that United States agencies to maintain a complete "hands-off" policy.

4. Long range programs for the political and economic development of Vietnam should proceed under the auspices of the United Nations to which the United States should pledge economic and other support. The following specific objectives should be sought:

a. Self-determination through free elections;

b. Internationally guaranteed protection of minorities and dissident political factions;

c. Neutralization of Indochina;

d. Establishment and support of massive relief program for victims of the war;

e. The adoption of a comprehensive land reform program to give the Vietnam peasant a stake in the future of his country;

f. Adoption of a regional development plan for the utilization of the natural resources of the area, including the Mekong River.

RESOLUTION ON THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

1. The withdrawal of the United Nations presence in the Middle East in 1967 was the significant event that led to the intolerable condition which now exists there. Therefore, until international peace keeping and diplomatic procedures, administered by the United Nations, are re-established, no meaningful solution will be found to this dilemma.

2. AVC believes that the only way a lasting and stable peace can be achieved in the Middle East, favoring all countries, is by means of negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries, through and with the participation and assistance of the United Nations.

RESOLUTION ON THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS

AVC notes with aproval that the Soviet Union and the United States are apparently making progress in their discussions on limitations of both offensive and defensive nuclear weapons. AVC wishes to emphasize its belief in the significance of these discussions and its hope that a meaningful arms limitation treaty will be reached. Failure to reach such an agreement would heighten the balance of terror and increase the possibility of nuclear war. Failure to reach such an agreement would result in increased arms expenditure not only in our country but throughout the world at a time when resources are needed to combat poverty, hunger and pollution. We urge as broad an agreement as possible for limitation on ABM systems, and the testing, production and deployment of MIRV and other similar systems.

RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The world celebrated Human Rights Year in 1968. But the "celebration" was less of an achievement than the urgency to commit ourselves even more strongly to the eradication of violations of the rights of men throughout the globe.

The United Nations General Assembly has designated 1971 as International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. A list of examples would be tragically long, but we point with special shame to the unending oppression of the black majority of South Africa by the white minority; to the reprehensible anti-semitism of the government of the Soviet Union which both limits the freedom of its Jewish citizens within that country and prevents them from emigrating; and to the abandonment of free political debate within a growing number of countries.

Just as our government must continue to promote greater human freedom within our own country, so do we call on it to take dynamic leadership and specific action in encouraging and working for an end to the deprivation of human rights, racism and racial discrimination wherever they occur.

RESOLUTION ON GENOCIDE CONVENTION

It is inexplicable that for over 20 years the United States has failed to ratify the International Convention against genocide, originally promulgated by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights under the chairmanship of Eleanor Roosevelt, and which has been ratified by virtually all other nations in the world. Today, at least, this agreement, which has been supported by all administrations since its promulgation, should be ratified by the U.S. Senate without further delay.

RESOLUTION ON HUMAN EXISTENCE

In view of the increasing threat to Man's continued existence on this planet by reason of growing world-wide pollution and the population explosion, AVC calls for intensive international action through the United Nations for greater co-operation among nations for environmental preservation and population control.

TELEVISION FAIRNESS—THE CRITICAL ISSUE

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, on the motion to recommit the CBS citation to committee, and thereby bury it, I voted "no." There has been a significant outcry against this vote on the part of some, particularly on the issue of a free press. Unfortunately, emotion has beclouded one major issue which has been left completely open because of this vote. I refer to the concept of fairness in presentation of news and how it is affected by the nature of different media.

I believe the difference between newspapers and electronic media is crucial to an understanding of this issue. It was a critical factor in the vote I cast.

The committee was seeking to shed some measurable light on bias and distortion of national news. Major networks claim they are exactly like newspapers, and therefore are entitled to the same constitutional protection. This does not seem to me to be borne out by the facts.

Almost every newspaper has a limited geographical impact. Few people in New York are aware of the content of papers in the West. Few southerners avidly devour the contents of Midwestern papers.

Television, on the other hand, particularly national and international news presentations, are national in their effect. Fifty million viewers are able to hear what one commentator has to say. An editorial in one of our national news shows, in whatever form, can and does have an impact on virtually every State of our Nation. It is easy to see that a differentiation must be made. Such a decision can only be made by the courts. Such a decision has yet to be made, I regret to say.

Congress, on the other hand, has no mandate to decide such an issue. In seeking to make a determination, we avoid putting responsibility for it where it truly belongs, thereby allowing this constitutional time bomb to continue ticking in a place and area where it is almost sure to go off in some future crisis.

Sending the contempt citation back to committee leaves the door open for a repetition of this impasse, rather than placing it in the hands of the judiciary, where it would be finally decided, once and for all. There I believe a definitive judicial line would have been drawn between newspapers and traditional press sources and our electronics media.

It is almost a certainty that the Supreme Court would have eventually received this case. Previously, the Court had sustained the right of Congress to require "fairness" from both radio and television stations. Once again, then, we can see that the judicial branch has primary responsibility for such judgments, rather than the Congress.

Newspapers are private property, possessing the right to be as biased as they choose. This has long been recognized. It has also been the subject of numerous judicial opinions.

On the other hand, radio and television stations utilize public property in the form of publicly-owned air waves and channels, which are licensed for use. They are regulated by the Federal Communication Commission under the Federal communications act, and are therefore in a completely different situation from that which governs newspapers.

For this reason, I felt the question should not be left open for the Congress to become involved in again—until the courts have made a proper dispensation. The question should never have been brought before the Congress until boundaries had been blocked out by the courts. This has been the case previously in similar situations. It should have governed the issue here.

This in turn left many members of the Congress in a devastating dilemma. Vote for the citation or not. Bringing it to a head in order to ensure its presentation before the courts seemed the best way at the time, in my own opinion. To do so, however, roused a storm that includes accusations of opposing our precious first amendment, which is a thoroughly repugnant thought to me.

As one familiar with fine lines that often must be drawn in the area of such rights under our Constitution, I find such an accusation unfair and distressing. Although denials after the fact are often ignored, I feel constrained to outline and explain the situation as I saw it then and as I see it now.

AUTOS, AIRBAGS, AND THE PUBLIC SAFETY

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, will airbags in the dash of your car save your life or will it increase the chance of your serious injury or death? This is a troublesome question and those who build cars are by no means certain that airbags are the answer to public safety in auto crashes. Neither am I.

The American Automobile Association is concerned about this question. The reason for its concern is shown in its letter to me of August 2, 1971 enclosing its protest to Hon. Dean Burch, Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.

It would be foolhardy for Congress to insist on anything as structurally radical and expensive as airbag standard equipment until demonstrated proof that it will perform the essential function of protecting human life. This is presently undetermined.

Its use in such circumstances should remain optional with the car owner. It should not be mandatory.

The letter follows:

AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WYMAN: The issues surrounding the air bag passive restraint safety device for automobiles are of critical importance to every motorist, yet it seems to the American Automobile Association that serious questions are being answered with self-serving statements of belief and hope rather than fact.

The outcome of the air bag controversy could mean the difference between future prolifieration of expensive gimmicks for safety or the use of thoroughly-researched methods of making autos safer. We do not believe that the motorist or the Congress should be misled by unsubstantiated statements.

Recently, the AAA wrote a letter to the Federal Communications Commission objecting to the attempts of a private interest group to obtain free broadcast time to air its views on the air bag.

Though the device could add between one or two billion dollars annually to the cost of automobiles, and though it could very possibly be a destroyer as well as a saver of lives, the local news media paid little attention to our letter with one exception. The WASHINGTON STAR unfortunately interpreted it as a personal attack but failed to mention anywhere in its article *why* we were concerned about the air bag.

We feel the basic issue is so serious that you should have the opportunity to judge for yourself. We have attached a copy of our original letter.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. CREAL,
Executive Vice-President.

AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D.C., July 22, 1971.

HON. DEAN BUSCH,
Chairman, Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN BURCH: The American Automobile Association challenges the petition filed with the Federal Communications Commission by the Center for Auto Safety which seeks broadcast time, under the FCC's fairness doctrine, to reply to Ford Motor Company commercials relating to the air bag restraint device for automobiles.

The AAA challenge is based on the grounds that it believes the Center for Auto Safety lacks the legitimate qualifications to speak either as a representative of the automobile consumer or as an expert on matters relating to automotive safety.

At the same, time, the AAA requests equal time to answer any claims or statement made by the Center for Auto Safety if broadcast time is granted it by the FCC. The AAA is a 13-million member motorists organization and was founded in 1902. It has been on record with questions about the air bag for more than two years. To date, none of the issues it has raised has been answered in a manner that would quell doubts about the reliability of the device. Yet the Department of Transportation wishes to force this on the motoring public at a conservative cost of one billion dollars a year to the car buyer!

The Center for Auto Safety is a self-proclaimed "auto safety and consumer advocate." In the news media it has been identified as either being supported by or backed by Ralph Nader. Mr. Nader has defined for himself the role of a consumer advocate. Is this the basis on which the Center makes its claims?

Who does the Center really speak for—is it the consumer and, if so, how do they participate in the decisions of the Center? Or do a handful of men decide the policy for the organization? Where do the funds for the Center come from? If the majority of funds are based upon large grants, were any strings attached to these grants?

Specifically, how many consumer members does the Center have and where did it obtain its mandate to speak on behalf of the consumers on the air bag issue?

These are just a few of the questions, Mr. Chairman, which the AAA feels the FCC and the public have a right to have answered before the Center for Auto Safety can be considered a legitimate spokesman for any viewpoint on the air bag issue.

After all, the American public is under no illusions as to what the Ford Motor Company is, or who its commercial spokesmen represent. Should not the same degree of openness be required of any group which demands to speak in opposition to a Ford commercial?

The AAA contends that it is reasonable for the FCC to demand to know what the Center for Auto Safety is, and who its spokesmen represent.

The Center, in its petition to the Commission, has declared that Ford Motor Company commercials are "inaccurate." As has been the case throughout the debate over the merits of the air bag, the Center offers no concrete rebuttal arguments to these points, other than its own and the government's bland assurances that the air bag "could save approximately 24,000 lives a year."

This appeal to emotionalism has characterized the efforts of the Center and others to foist an unproven, untested, and possibly unreliable gadget on the unsuspecting motoring consumer.

The Center labels as inaccurate the statement that the air bag is complicated.

In fact, the air bag is extremely complicated. It is operated by a system of interconnecting components, including a sensor which must be delicate enough to fire the device in a low-speed crash, yet sophisticated enough to distinguish between a crash and a non-crash impact. Electrical wires carry the sensor's message to a high-explosive cap on a bottle of nitrogen gas mounted behind the instrument panel. The gas, stored at a pressure of 3500 pounds, per square inch, is forced through a distributor pipe when the cap explodes. The distributor pipe carries the nitrogen to a large, coated-nylon bag stored in the instrument panel, forcing it to deploy.

All of this must occur in just 40 milliseconds, or four per cent of a second!

Whatever else the air bag may or may not be, it is most definitely complicated.

The Center characterizes as inaccurate the statement that the air bag will be costly.

As a matter of fact, no one—The Center, the auto manufacturers or the government—knows how much the air bag will cost. Auto manufacturers, who must manufacture, test and install the device claim that the cost will be more than $100 per bag. The Center and the government, on the other hand, blandly assure us that the cost will be less than $100. On what evidence do they base this belief? Have they attempted to mass produce them? Install them on 10 million cars a year? Have any of the government or Center's experts had any practical experience in manufacturing?

It would appear to the AAA that any charge of inaccuracy regarding cost figures of the air bag must be reinforced by more factual data and less self-serving statements of belief and hope.

The Center, in its petition, states that the statements labeling the air bag as lacking in "reliability" are inaccurate.

An article appearing in the Washington Daily News on February 1, 1971, quotes Lowell Dodge, director of the Center for Auto Safety, as saying: "The air bag's reliability is questionable. We worry it is being developed too quickly."

The American Automobile Association would like to know what evidence has surfaced since February to make Mr. Dodge change his mind? And, if true, why is it only known to a private interest group?

The problem of reliability does not concern only one or a dozen air bags. It concerns the problem of mass-producing and installing 10 million of them every year.

The Center claims that calling the air bag "extreme" is inaccurate.

Perhaps it depends on how the Center chooses to define "extreme." The American Automobile Association believes that hastily rushing into production a gadget which is complicated, costly, and of unproven reliability, solely on the unsubstantiated hope that it may save lives, is "extreme" by any reasonable definition of the word.

It is particularly extreme considering the available evidence that the air bag is possibly a maimer and killer.

A series of tests conducted by scientists of the Mercedes-Benz Co., (as reported in Automotive News on January 4, 1971) using human cadavers not more than three hours dead, showed that the air bag could kill, especially by knocking the head back and breaking the neck.

In tests at Wayne State University (reported in an Associated Press dispatch on July 7, 1971) it was shown that the air bag can cause serious harm to small children. According to United Press International on July 7, 1971, the testers showed that the force of a deploying air bag was strong enough to propel a baboon—or a child weighing 25 to 40 pounds—over a front seat backrest. The injuries sustained in the test included: a ruptured liver, a collapsed lung, hemorrhaging, a broken tooth, a dislocated clavicle, cuts and bruises.

The AAA firmly supports all efforts to develop effective passive restraint systems and believes air bags may eventually be an answer. However, AAA believes that there is considerable doubt about the merits of the *present* air bag, and that the questions are too important to rush blindly ahead with installation of the system without more detailed knowledge of how the system will perform under real-world conditions.

We have put off mailing this letter until now in the hopes that we would be able to

sit down for another session with technicians of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration to discuss any possible new developments. Unfortunately, the man they feel best qualified to counsel with us is currently on vacation and will not be able to meet with us until the first week of August. Since you may soon arrive at a ruling, we feel compelled to send this letter to you today.

The AAA believes that the motoring public has the right to be confident that when a safety device is mandated by the government, that device has been thoroughly tested and thoroughly tested again, and that its value and reliability are beyond dispute.

AAA believes that the motoring public has the right to expect that those who presume or pretend to speak for the motorist will speak with due regard for his safety and will not attempt to mislead him with unsubstantiated statements.

The AAA does not believe that the Center for Auto Safety is a representative spokesman for the automobile consumer. AAA therefore asks that the petition of the Center for Auto Safety be denied.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN DE LORENZI,
Managing Director, Public & Government Relations.

SICK OF HEARING COUNTRY IS ILL, SO I AM HELPING SOCIETY GET WELL

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, there are admittedly many paradoxes in our society, and we often have those who are bent on undermining our institutions and dividing our people in the news.

I commend to your attention an article which appeared in the "Editor's Mail Bag" of a recent edition of the Camden, N.J., Courier Post which puts things in its proper perspective:

TO THE EDITORS: I am sick . . . and there are those who claim that ours is a "sick" society. That our country is sick, that we are sick.

Well, maybe they're right. I submit that maybe I am sick . . . and maybe you are too.

I am sick of having policemen ridiculed and called "pigs" while cop killers are hailed as some kind of folk hero.

I am sick of being told that religion is the opiate of the people . . . but marijuana should be legalized.

I am sick of being told that pornography is the right of a free press . . . but freedom of the press does not include being able to read a bible on school grounds.

I am sick of commentators and columnists canonizing anarchists, revolutionists and criminal rapists but condemning law enforcement if it brings such criminals to justice.

I am sick of paying more and more taxes to build schools while I see some faculty members encouraging students to tear them down.

I am sick of Supreme Court decisions which turn criminals loose on society . . . while other decisions try to take the means of protecting my home and family away.

I am sick of being told policemen are mad dogs who should not have guns . . . but that criminals who use guns to rob, maim and murder should be understood and helped back into society.

I am sick of being told that it is wrong to use napalm to end a war overseas . . . but if it's a bomb or molotov cocktail at home, I must understand the provocations.

I am sick of not being able to take my family to a movie unless I want them exposed to nudity, homosexuality and the glorification of narcotics.

I am sick of pot smoking entertainers deluging me with their condemnation of my moral standards on late night television.

I am sick of riots, marches, protests, demonstrations, confrontations, and the other mob temper tantrums of people intellectually incapable of working within the system.

I am sick of hearing the same phrases, the same slick slogans, the pat patois of people who must chant the same things like zombies because they haven't the capacity for verbalizing thought.

I am sick of reading so called literature with its kinship to what I used to read on the walls of public toilets.

I am sick of those who say I owe them this or that because of the sins of my forefathers . . . when I have looked down both ends of a gun barrel to defend their rights, their liberties and their families.

I am sick of cynical attitude toward patriotism. I am sick of politicians with no backbones.

I am sick of permissiveness.

I am sick of the dirty, the foul mouthed, the unwashed.

I am sick of the decline in personal honesty, personal integrity and human sincerity.

And most of all, I am sick of being told I'm sick. And I'm sick of being told my country is sick . . . when we have the greatest nation man has ever brought forth on the face of the earth. And fully 50 percent of the people on the face of this earth would willingly trade places with the most deprived, the most underprivileged amongst us.

Yes, I may be sick. But, if I am only sick, I can get well. And I can help my society get well. And, I can help my country get well.

Take note you in high places, you will not find me under a placard. You will not find me taking to the streets. You will not find me throwing a rock or a bomb. You will not find me ranting to wild eyed mobs.

But you will find me at work within my community. You will find me expressing my anger and indignation in letters to your political office.

You will find me canceling my subscription to your periodical the next time it condones criminal acts or advertises filth.

You will find me speaking out in support of those people who contribute to the elevation of society and not its destruction. You will find me contributing my time and my personal influence to helping churches, hospitals, charities and those other volunteers backbones of America which has shown the true spirit of this country's determination to ease pain, eliminate hunger and generate brotherhood.

But, most of all, you'll find me at the polling place. There you'll hear the thunder of the common man. There, you'll see us cast our vote . . . for an America where people can walk the streets without fear . . . for an America where our children will be educated and not indoctrinated . . . for an America no longer embarrassed to speak its motto "In God we trust."

The above were the concluding remarks of an address given at a policeman-fireman awards presentation in Oakland, California, by Pat Michaels of Radio Station KGO in San Francisco.

GEORGE D. ROTHERMEL.

CHILE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND THE UNITED FRONT

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, events often tend to repeat themselves, and they do so precisely because they follow a pattern which is purposefully set in motion. Such, many fear, is now the case with regard to the Government of Chile, its Popular Front philosophy, and its inclusion of the Chilean Communist Party in a position of prominence and power.

In a three-man race last September, Chileans elected as President, Marxist Salvador Allende Gossens with 36 percent of the vote. Despite Allende's frequent assurances that neither he personally nor the members of his Unidad Popular coalition plan to install a totalitarian government in Chile, several analysts, including former Christian-Democrat President Eduardo Frei Montalva, fear that the leftwing government is in fact "installing a regime that will make democracy impossible."

Carlos Altamirano, Secretary-General of the Socialist Party, has been quoted as saying that he plans to make Chile, after Cuba, "the second free territory of America." Equally disconcerting is Allende's own apparent inconsistency. Le Monde Weekly quotes the President to have said:

> The important thing to remember is that what we are doing in Chile is being done in the legal framework of bourgeois legislation and under a democratic, bourgeois regime. We are committed to this procedure and we must honor that commitment.

But the April 10, 1971, issue of the Economist notes that Dr. Allende has made no secret of his impatience with "relics of bourgeois legality," and has called for a "people's constitution" that would provide for a single-chamber congress and people's tribunals as a means of bypassing the independent judiciary.

What the future holds for Chile, none of us can know at this time. The fact is, however, that the pattern now emerging in that country is reminiscent of the Popular Front pattern which came brutally to power in Czechoslovakia after World War II. The current Soviet leadership, in fact, hails Chile as an example for Communists elsewhere in the world. Leonid Brezhnev stated on April 3, 1971 that:

> Great changes have been taking place in a number of Latin American countries. The victory of the popular-unity forces in Chile was the most important event. There, for the first time in the history of the continent the people have secured, by constitutional means, the installation of a government they want and trust.

In an important research paper comparing the acquisition of power by Popular Front governments in Czechoslovakia and in Chile, Dr. Brik Vesely concludes that the patterns are strikingly similar. It is no surprise, he points out, that Chil-

ean Communists have adopted this strategy:

The Communist Party of Chile, next to the Communist Party of Cuba, is the oldest and ideologically most mature, best organized, and most influential party in Latin America. Its secretary general, Louis Corvalan, conceded already in the nineteen fifties that other Latin American countries may choose the path of "armed revolutionary struggle," but has not left it open to doubt that as regards Chile, the Chilean communists stand for the "peaceful road to socialism" by means of People's (Popular) Fronts' ultimate victory at the polls.

After presenting a detailed description of the Communist paths to power in both Chile and Czechoslovakia, Dr. Vesely concludes that:

Following the events in Czechoslovakia one question remains unanswered—When will Chile enter the final stage of Communist consolidation and will proclaim itself as a Socialist Republic governed by the Popular Unity Alliance as it is still the case of the former.

Hopefully, a careful review of the parallel situations in Chile and Czechoslovakia can prevent such a Communist takeover from ever happening in Chile.

I wish to share Dr. Vesely's paper with my colleagues, and insert it into the RECORD at this time:

THE ALLENDE "CONSTITUTIONAL" TRIAL FROM MOSCOW TO SANTIAGO VIA PRAGUE

(By Dr. Erik Vesely)

[Italics added]

AMERICAN RESEARCH FOUNDATION

April 1971.

"We have struggled to take over the *government* in order to take over the power and the resources with which to satisfy the people's needs. It may be possible later to form a new mentality in man . . . We are not making a social revolution now.

". . . For the people to come to power there must be *democratic freedom* in the country. The popular forces must be able to organize. If such conditions exist, then these peoples can come to power. We are not going to export Popular Unity. It cannot be done"—President Salvador Allende, *Madrid,* (Madrid, Spain), 26 March 1971.

"Great changes have been taking place in a number of Latin American countries. The victory of the popular-unity forces in Chile was the most important event. There, for the first time in the history of the continent, the people have secured, by *constitutional means,* the installation of a government they want and trust"—L. I. Brezhnev, *Speech,* XXIVth CPSU Congress, Moscow, 3 April. 1971.

The purpose of this paper is to point out the strategy and tactics of the World Marxist-Leninist/Communist Movement headed by the Communist Party of the *Soviet Union* (and the Communist Party of China), by promoting, guiding and supporting United Front organizations throughout the world and this case in Czechoslovakia and Chile by forming "alliances" with non-Communist elements and organizations based on "mutually" acceptable programs embracing popular themes and slogans. Through these short and long range activities (tactics) Communist Parties are seeking to broaden their real and apparent bases for support for their eventual attempts to seizure of government power followed by a seizure of total ideo-political and socio-economic power, as in the case of Czechoslovakia and Chile.

This comparative study of the *United Front* in Czechoslovakia and the *United Front* in Chile is based on general consideration of parallel historical developments leading up to the formation of these fronts in both states and a consideration of announced reasons and the real purposes of Communist "cooperation" as prescribed by the Marxist-Leninist theory and practice to illustrate the flexibility of the Communists in attempting to obtain their ultimate world-wide strategic aims, i.e. a world-wide "classless society."

Marxist-Leninist strategic objectives in Czechoslovakia were fully realized in February, 1948, when the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia succeeded in a complete seizure of de-jure power by "constitutional" means. By doing so the CPCz methodology and tactics of seizure of power by "parliamentary" non-violent tactics became the "model" to be followed by other fraternal parties.

INTRODUCTION

Research reveals that Marxist-Leninist/Communist operations to take over a sovereign nation is an organized and programmed manner and not an opportunistic exploitation alone. In order for this paper to be of real value it must be reduced and applied to a simple model applicable to individual states.

The Communist de-jure takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1949 was chosen as an example since the Communist Party's accomplishments and its time table are available in sufficient detail to allow evaluation of the stages and phases beginning with the *preconditioning stage* through the *action stage* which includes the *de-facto seizure of political power* and lastly the *consolidation stage* in which the Party established itself sole de-jure total power.

When identifying these stages and phases of operation of a Marxist-Leninist party it is important, in the first place, to identify its main objective (strategy) and chief adversary by a given *stage of revolution* against whom the CP will concentrate its activities. Thus during the *first stage* of the revo*lution* (transformation, restructuring of the society from a class to classless society) in a given country, Communists proceed to establish a foothold in non-party organizations (political parties, institutions, establishments, etc.)

In the *second stage* and its phases the CP selects and trains its local members to act as *fractions* (not factions) in power institutions (government, public institutions, police, political parties, etc.). Following this initial step, the CP coordinates all activities of these fractions by establishing a United Front which in turn takes over all operations of the fractions within all spheres of life of a country.

During this period U.F. activities are fully guided by widely acceptable slogans such as "nationalization" of banks, industry, mineral resources, transportation, communications, "agrarian reform" and other relevant catch words. These action slogans, of course, are elements of CP Programs based on Marxist-Leninist concepts of dialectics, base and superstructure, proletarian internationalism, and democratic centralism with which the general public is not familiar.

In the last or third phase of the second stage, which the Communists recognize as the most difficult, they identify the *objective situations* such as economic disparities, civil disturbances, riots, class struggle and also the *subjective situation,* or the strength and power of the Communist Party to assume total political control of the existing class society.

Obviously the capability of the Communists to assume power is dependent upon their ability to overcome non-Communist strengths in the country. According to Marxist-Leninist principles, when the *objective* and *subjective situations* attain *revolutionary balance,* both internal and external, the Communist *will make the decision to seize de-facto power,* they will not set the time, but will make the decision and announce it to the Party membership at an appropriate time.

In the case of Chile, there is a historical example and model of sequences of the Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia. Between the years of the Nazi German occupation of the country and the liberation in May, 1945, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz) readied *action committees* which actually were full blown *party fractions* in organizations and institutions throughout the country. They were instructed to take over establishments such as printing presses, banks, radio stations, cooperatives, etc. When the Communists came into the de-facto phase of seizure of power, they fully armed members of *action committees* and *plant guards* (people's militia, Red Guards).

Shortly after the seizure of power in May, 1945, members of action committees began *purging* and *eliminating undesirables* and anti-Communists. After this phase of action, they continued to seize power within the spheres of *national committees* representing "people's power" paralleling the existing conventional governmental structure.

If successful the seizure of political power is followed by the formation of a "national democratic" or "people's democratic" "workers" regime directly guided and controlled by the Communist party providing complete and undisputable control of the country through the United Front party controlled apparatus.

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's accomplishments and its time table are available in sufficient detail, elements of which are discussed in this paper, allow evaluation of the *stage and phase* process in Chile and the validity of a general matrix for parliamentary takeover.

The validity of this model which reduces party actions to an identifiable and chartable example apparent when the present and future Chilean situation is being discussed. General and historical events following a given CP model(s) provide the researcher with a conclusion that Marxist-Leninist/Communist takeover of soverign states is an organized and carefully programmed manner and not a simple opportunistic exploitation of a given revolutionary situation.

I. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz)

As the consequence of the successful Bolshevik coup d'etat of October, 1917, bolshevik ideas quickly began to assert themselves among the Czech and Slovak intelligencia and among actions of the working class. This may be explained by the racial affinity with the Russians and by the return of thousands of Czechoslovak Legionnaires, former prisoners of war, who having lived through the civil war, returned home via the United States. Among these returnees was a number of convinced apostles of the Marxist-Leninist/Communist creed.

During the period of 1918–1920, the followers of Marxism-Leninism were busy within the Czechoslovak Republic (CSR). Among these people many became active in promulgating bolshevik propaganda and agitation, and introducing into Czechoslovakia the idea of class-consciousness leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the system of soviets (national councils, Narodni-Vybory), and the breaking off of all cooperation with the bourgeois class. This element was the one which penetrated (via fractions) with such an effect into the Czech Social-Democratic Party that its Left Wing was soon to be known as the "Marxist Left". It was the Marxist Left which proclaimed that the Russian October Revolution was the true harbinger of Czechoslovak independence, and which was an attempt to blacken the Social-Democratic Party for participating in the coalition government, launched the slogan: "Away with the coalition, back to the class war."

The "Marxist Left" was formally constituted in December, 1919, when it issued a declaration criticising the role of the Social-Democrats. During the early years of the new Republic from 1919–20, the main center of the Communist activities was Kladno in the coal mining district of Bohemia. Another stronghold of Communism was Brno in Moravia.

In 1920, at the Second Congress of the Third Communist International (Comintern), Communist delegates were led by A. Zapotocky and others, as representatives of the "Marxist Left" and other communist factions in CSR. Disagreements over the problems of policy and the entry into the Comintern soon brought about a complete breach within the Social-Democratic Party. In the earliest era of the CSR, this Party occupied an extremely influential position in the political life of the republic. At the time of its first national elections, having won about ⅓ of the total number of votes cast, it emerged as the strongest single political force, thereby entitling it to 70 parliamentary deputies out of 300. However, ceaseless agitation and propaganda of the "Marxist Left" and other Communist groups, both of whom favored affiliation with the Comintern and constantly defamed clericalism of the country. These leaders succeeded in a large part in undermining the confidence of the people in the Party.

In December, 1920, the Left Wing Social-Democrats, led by Dr. B. Smeral in the process of separating from the "Right Wing" oust, organized with the help of Communist groups, engineered a nationwide general strike, in which about one million workers participated in view of effecting a coup d'etat which would put them in power. However, the immature Czech Communists, still under the illusion of the World Revolution, seriously misjudged the temper of the people and the efficiency of the authorities. The coup failed and was suppressed within three days. The net result of the coup was to strengthen the bourgeoisie against further concessions of a Socialist nature and to inaugurate a swing towards the right.

Though the failure of the "December Strike" had greatly discouraged the workers, the "Left Wing" elements within the republic continued to promulgate their views with renewed vigor. By penetration and infiltration, the "Left Wingers" succeeded in winning over the Shoemakers Union and the Agricultural and Forestry Workers Union.

Against a background of economic discontent, rising unemployment, and failing value of the currency, penetration by the Communists into the Trade Unions and the rift inside the Social-Democratic Party, the Congress of the Left Socialists of the CSR opened in Prague on May 14, 1921. At this Congress, a resolution was passed to create immediately a Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz). Finally, on the motion of J. Dolezal, and an editor of the "Rude Pravo," the following resolution was passed: "The Congress of the Left Social Democrats of the CSR declares for the unconditional affiliation with the Comintern. At the same time, the Congress changes the name of the Party to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a Section of the Comintern. The Congress thereby expresses the Party's wish to be distinguished even in name from the Party of Social Patriots. The delegates present solemnly undertake in the name of their organizations to carry out under all circumstances, the conditions laid down by the 21 Points; and to carry them out not only in the party of armistice, but also in the fall of the class struggle which will culminate in an open war against capitalism."

In 1921, within the newly formed CPCz, there appeared a split between the right-wing, or conservative members of the Communist element, and the left-wing. The right-wing felt that a world revolution was not immediately forthcoming and developed a wait and see attitude. The complete subservience to the 21 Points of Admission to the Comintern caused many of the leading members to withdraw from the party. It was therefore not surprising that the Executive Committee of the Comintern (ECC) long debated the admission of the CPCz. In fact the German-Bohemian Party appears to have been admitted before the CPCz, though that was perhaps not suprising at the time of the situation in Germany.

During the period 19–21–29, the CPCz was having its difficulties. The membership had declined after 1926 to about 60,000 members, many of whom were not bothering to pay their dues. Rightist elements within the Party were still active. At the Ninth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern (ECC), February, 1928, it was declared that there existed three oppositional tendencies within the CPCz—the ultra-left, the right, and the "Brno opportunists group." These elements were "thoroughly infected with bourgeois ideas . . . and shady characters." "The policy of the CPCz was undermining the fighting capacity of the working class, was untenable and certainly not Communism."

In 1927, the ultra-left and Right were expelled from the Party. They thereupon united their forces, founded a joint weekly paper called "Rudy Prapor", and announced they would not deal with their own differences of opinion until they had proved successful in their fight against the CPCz.

In the course of 1928, the CPCz experienced other difficulties, in which the government adopted strong measures against the Party functionaries and the Party press. The police suppressed for varying periods of time a number of Communist papers. The police also suppressed the CPCz in various areas by arresting leaders and dissolving their "clubs". It was during the period, the late twenties and early thirties, that Klement Gottwald and J. Slansky came to the forefront of the Party to lead it through the perilous era that lay ahead. As hard-core members, directed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they managed to steer the Party through the period which found the CSR government enacting laws detrimental to the "cause of class struggle". These men promulgated the new "Party Line" which appealed to the masses, and the United Front course of action.

On 21 October, 1938, General Syrovy's government restricted the activities of the CPCz and on 27 December 1938, under Premier Beran's administration the Party was finally dissolved. However, despite these set-backs, the Party continued its work among the peoples of Czechoslovakia. When the "Munich Pact" was signed the Central Committee of the Party instructed most of its cadre men to go into exile.

March 1939, with the establishment of the Bohemian Protectorate, ended the sovereign state of Czechoslovakia. With President Eduard Benes in exile, the CSR came under the complete domination of the Third Reich.

The World War II record of the CPCz differs from other eastern European Communist Parties as much as its pre-war record. In other countries party tactics were to develop a strong underground movement and draw active support from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union through its Partisan Directorate and the USSR government. However, neither of these was the case in CSR. The "Munich Pact" and its consequences produced much pro-Russian (ethnic) and pro-Communist sentiment. Early in the war, President Benes gave relations with the USSR first priority in Czechoslovak search for security.

During the early period of the war, the CPCz underground was ordered to remain passive in national resistance. The war to them was an "imperialist war" and Czechoslovak soldiers fighting against Nazi Germany were "mercenaries of imperialism". It was not until June 1941 (the German attack against the USSR), that the Communists joined in the fight against the Germans. The "imperialist war" theme was forgotten and they too began a fight for "survival". Gottwald, who went into exile to the USSR along with Slansky, Nejedly, and Kopecky, made broadcasts and published a Czech-language newspaper for the underground.

In December 1943, President Benes travelled to Moscow where he signed the treaty of "friendship, mutual-aid, post-war cooperation between the Czechoslovak Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." The full text of this "Moscow Agreement" was never published. However, the following eight points of the conditions for Communist cooperation were disclosed:

1. The formation of a *National Front Government* was demanded;
2. The *National Front* would be composed of the limited number of political parties now permitted, i.e. Communists, National Socialists, Social-Democrats, the People's Catholic (populist) and the Slovak Parties;
3. Former parties whose leaders were held by Communists to be responsible for the "Munich Policy" were permanently abolished;
4. Slovakia was to receive a wide autonomy;
5. Heavy and key industries were to be nationalized;
6. A new land reform was to be introduced;
7. A State Council in London would start discussions regarding a "retribution law" for the punishment of all collaborators, which law would be implemented by the President in a form of a decree;
8. The Communist Party would enter the government only in the closing phase of the war, when the Czechoslovak government in London would move to Moscow, where a new "government of national unity" would be formed in conformity with the CPSU and USSR government guidelines.

The CPCz underground, acting on orders from CPSU/CPCz and reiterated by President Benes upon his return from Moscow, began setting up "national councils narodni vybory—(soviets)" in all communities throughout Czechoslovakia, except in Carpaltio Ruthenia. These so-called national Councils were, upon the end of hostilities, to take charge of each area within their control. In other words, the power vested to these councils were unlimited until the national government was restored. The CPCz took full advantage of this decree and began forming special cadres for the task that awaited them.

Again, in 1945, after the USSR forces entered Czechoslovakia, the Benes government returned to Moscow to discuss with CPCz, CPSU party leaders the formation of a new *democratic government*. As a result of these conferences was the establishment of the *National Front Government*, with K. Gottwald as deputy prime minister.

In accordance with the "Moscow Agreement," the new Czechoslovak *Government of National Unity* was formed in Moscow and then moved to Kosice, Eastern Slovakia, where they joined remaining officials of wartime government from London. The "Kosice Agreement" was announced, which in principle contained the "Eight Points" on which agreement had been reached with the Communists by President Benes during this previous visit to the USSR in 1943.

The "Kosice Program" was in theory agreeable to all political parties—all, that is, that were allowed to exist. In addition to being a sort of a "Provisional Constituton", it provided for the reestablishment of Czechoslovakia within the pre-Munich boundaries, with the exception of Carpatho-Ruthenia

(Ukraine) which was incorporated "by a plebiscite" into the USSR, expelling all German and many Hungarian elements, the confirming of the establishment of "People's Democracy", and the banning of the former rightist parties including the Agrarian, the National Democratic and Slovak People's Party.

After the general election of 1946, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia more than tripled its pre-war strength. They succeeded in securing the following ministers: Interior, Agriculture, Education, Information; they had two vice-Premiers, one representing the Czech and the other the Slovak Communist Parties; and a "non-party" Minister of National Defense, and an Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

In addition, of the three Social-Domocrats who were members of the Cabinet, two were definitely pro-Communist, the Prime-Minister Frierlinger and Lausman, the Minister of Industry. With the above members of the government in power it was to be sure that Communist policies in Czechoslovakia would be established.

Labor Unions, which under the first Republic were organized and supported by the various political parties were consolidated into the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH). The leading organ of the Trade Unions was the Central Council of Trade Unions (URO), under the leadership of Communist Antonin Zapotocky.

"People's Courts" were another institution founded by presidential decree. These courts were originally established as temporary organs of the government to prevent violence after the war. These courts were used in practice by the Communist Party to dispense "justice" to those persons whose presence was unwelcome to Marxist-Leninist thought.

Since the formation of the National Front Government in Czechoslovakia, the Ministry of Interior, under the leadership of Communist Minister Vaclav Nosek had established within the State Security Police a hard cadre of Communist police officials. It was essential to the Communist cause to neutralize the older, democratic members of the police and to remove all those in leading positions. This was necessary for the Communist Party policy, i.e. the planned seizure of political power, in the event armed force was needed. The policy of this wholesale dismissal of the leading pre-war police officials came to the attention of the members of Parliament.

On 14 February 1948, the editor of the Communist paper "Rude Pravo" wrote: "There are political parties which have formed in the government a coalition against the 'leading party'. On the other side of the scale now falls the tremendous weight of the United Trade Union movement. Reaction has been warned on innumerable occasions. We are now entering upon a period in which it will be shown that the patience of the workers is not inexhaustable."

The Communist Party and its front and infiltrated organizations began distributing arms to the reliable members, the "Shock Troops" and the "Workers", Factory Guards. Hence the CPCz was taking no chance on the outcome of the planned parliamentary (non-violent) takeover of the state and its government.

The non-Communist members of the Cabinet drew up and sent to the Minister of Interior V. Nosek, a referendum demanding that the Commander of the State Security Police in Prague re-instate the eight non-Communist police chiefs who had been replaced by Communists. This referendum was ignored by Minister Nosek. The non-Communist Deputies, feeling that their positions in the Cabinet, in view of Nosek's complete refusal to deal with or take orders from them, was untenable.

On 20 February 1948, the crisis came to a head when twelve non-Communist members of the Cabinet turned in their resignations en masse to President Benes. When these Ministers resigned, it left open to the Party the ability to denounce this action as a violation of the "Kosice Agreement" which had provided for a national unity government.

Lenin laid down the fundamental rules of a revolution which was, once it starts, never lose the momentum and the offensive. The provoked resignation of the anti-Communist leaders left Gottwald in a position to refuse to let them return on the ground that their resignation violated the agreement for a national-democratic coalition. Soon new leaders were found in each party who would accept office in the new Cabinet. The Communist majority was secure. In February, 1948, Gottwald announced that the Benes government had agreed to the new Cabinet. Thus, the *Cabinet now legal,* the crisis was over and socialist revolution based on "scientific Marxism" was successful.

The Czechoslovak National Committees that were formed before 1945 were not mere accident or the result of new ideas, but had their theoretical foundations in the CPSU Comintern strategy and tactics. The following quotations from Lenin and Stalin document this:

"The highly remarkable feature of our revolution is that it has established a *dual power*. In what does this dual power consist? In the fact that side by side with the Provisional Government, the government of the bourgeoisie, there has developed another government ... the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies."

"The historic preparation of a revolution brings about in the pre-revolutionary period a situation in which the class which is called to realize the *new social system,* although not yet master of the country, has actually concentrated in its hands a significant share of the state power, while the official apparatus of the government is still in the hands of the old lords. That is the *initial dual power.*"

The Czechoslovak National Committees owe their origin to the directives given to the CPCz by the CPSU in 1941. As a result of Nazi Germany's invasion of the USSR, the role of Communists in Czechoslovakia changed from one of political opportunism to one of cooperative action against the Germans. Therefore, in September, 1941, the Central Committee of the CPCz upon instruction from the Central Committee of the CPSU, issued the following resolution:

"The Central Committee of the CPCz and the Central Leadership of the National Resistance Movement have decided to form a joint Central National Committee of Czechoslovakia as the central political organ of the national war against Hitler, and to call upon all citizens immediately to form Unified National Revolutionary Committees in all sectors of the struggle." The leadership of the CPCz, both at home and in exile, saw from the beginning in the National Committees not only organs of the revolutionary struggle, but also the future organs of state power and state administration; and systematically propagated this conception in all discussions.

In May, 1944, Gottwald, leader of the Czechoslovak Communist exiles in the USSR, announced from Moscow that "The National Committees as organs of people's power and public administration *will be transformed* after the liberation from organs of the *fight against the occupants* into organs of a *democratic public administration.*"

As a result of the Slovak uprising, which began late in August 1944, and the advance of the USSR Army into Czechoslovakia, it became necessary to determine a legal basis by which the constitution and activities of the National Committees would be regulated. As a result of discussions relating to such legislation, the President issued a Constitutional Decree on December 4, 1944. This decree regulated the exercise of the power of National Committees during the *transitory* period, which began on the day on which any part of the Republic was liberated from enemy occupation and *was to end* on a day to be determined by the duly elected National Assembly. The CPCz, through its underground organizations, went ahead with their formation. They utilized proclamations, published by their underground organizations, supposedly bearing the signature of the very leaders who opposed their establishment. There is another aspect that is important in addition to the fact that the CPCz used fraudulent means to establish the National Committees.

During this period until the liberation was accomplished, the Communists concentrated all their efforts on establishing control in the National Committees through *infiltration of party fractions,* rather than in the fight against the Nazi occupiers. Therefore, the CPCz was the first group to establish National Committees and were fairly well able to control their political composition. This control, plus their *high degree of organization* and quality of guidance, secured for them the power contained in the committees.

As the result of the USSR Army liberation of Slovakia, President Benes and the Czechoslovak Government in Exile in London were "invited" to go to Moscow to form the new National Front Government that would be put into effect in the newly liberated areas. An examination of the "Program" that was agreed upon in Moscow in March, 1945, the eight Points of the conditions for Communist cooperation agreed upon in Moscow in 1943, show that in principle they were identical.

In summary, the various means utilized by the CPCz to arrive at its position of power is quite impressive. The Communists took advantage of the liberation by the USSR army and the USSR military dominance, in 1945, to gain control of the National Committees, the Government and to weaken the opposition. They also were successful in putting their various social-economic and cultural programs into effect in order to gain potential members and votes.

The night of February 20, 1948, Prime Minister K. Gottwald put all the Party forces into action: police, mob, Action Committees, works councils, peasants' committees and Factory Guards. The police occupied the radio station, post office, and other important government and public buildings. The *Action Committees* were summoned to meet and to establish themselves in every organized body in the nation. Finally, the Red Militia drew arms from secret caches and massed in the suburbs. The *Action Committees* headed by *Communist Party fractions* began purging the ranks of civil and public servants, businessmen, scientists and others. They also prevented four of the non-Communist Ministers from entering their offices. By these tactics, the central governmental authority was actually taken over by the *Central Action Committee.*

The role played by the National Committees in the seizure of power by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia cannot be overemphasized. During the period from 1941, when they were first introduced by the Communists, until the setting up of the first Government at Kosice (Slovakia) in 1945, the National Committees were busy organizing and planning to effect a *dual power* situation on post-war Czechoslovakia. They were active after the liberation in gaining control of the governmental administration on local and district and regional level. As a result of the CPCz strength in 1943, they were able to get eight cabinet posts: Interior (control of the police), Agriculture, Education, Information, Social Welfare, Undersecretariat of Foreign Affairs and two vice-premierships. Through these Ministers, they had control of propaganda, army, agrarian

reform, and the resettlement of the Sudeten lands. This was very important in enabling them to have the strength they needed to win the 1946 elections. In short, the National Committees were the *primary weapon* in the class struggle to achieve the necessary *dual power* situation described by Lenin, Stalin and others.

II. The Communist Party of Chile (CPCh)

Communist designs of Latin America are as old as the Communist Party of the *Soviet Union* itself, and its subordinate executive-administrative front—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Communist party members were already at work in Argentina, Brazil, *Chile*, Cuba and Mexico in 1919, by setting up Communist Party cells, agitation and propaganda centers, party schools and fronts. It was a programmed and methodical strategic as well as a tactical short and long range plan contemplating and discarding eventual setbacks and failures, but having an *ultimate goal* or seizure of political power and transformation of the existing socio-economic class status to a "new" classless one. It expected that the "useful fools" among politicians, diplomats, intellectuals, professionals and "national Capitalists" would assist the Communists. Latin America in itself was important not only because of its peoples and resources, but much more, because it was the back door to the United States. Domination of Latin America by CPSU through the controlled World Communist Movement and its subordinate subsystems would serve to encircle the United States and make it vulnerable to Marxist-Leninist assaults. As early as 1926 and 1928 in the meetings of the Executive Committee of Communist International CPSU delegates were emphasizing that Latin America must become the most important strategic outpost of world communism.

Their first attempts to gain power failed in Brazil (1926), *Chile* (1931), Colombia (1928), Cuba (1933) and El Salvador (1932). They employ dual sets of tactics, one for "political struggle" (parliamentary and extra-parliamentary) i.e. aggressive semantic subversion and deceit, and the other for "armed struggle" (partisan-guerrilla warfare). In Latin America the CPSU and its subordinate "fraternal" parties, operating under their true or assumed names, utilize the USSR and its Satellite governments' diplomatic, trade, commercial, cultural and other channels in addition to a host of multiple world-wide, regional, national and local front and infiltrated mass organizations such as the "official" TASS Agency; "Novosti Press Agency" of the AGITPROP controlled USSR Writers Union, Moscow; MEZHKNIGA Government Publishing House controlled by the Central Committee of the CPSU; TORGPREDSTVO, USSR Trade Missions, and their technicians, experts, advisers, "correspondents", artists, dancers and other "friends" of the Latin American people.

The other set of tactics of "armed struggle" (urban and rural and terror warfare) has its main base in Cuba and operates throughout Latin and North America. At present both long and short-range sets of tactics and combinations thereof are also directly and indirectly controlled by the CPSU and its a) World Socialist System—the Commonwealth of Socialist countries; b) the World Marxist-Leninist/Communist Movement; and c) the World National Liberation Movement which are making headway not only in Latin America but throughout the world by paving the path for Communist political seizure of power in respective countries.

The Communist Party of Chile (CPCh), next to the Communist Party of Cuba (CPCu) is the oldest and ideologically most mature, best organized, and most influential party in Latin America. Its secretary general, Louis Corvalan, conceded already in the nineteen-fifties that other Latin American countries may choose the path of "armed revolutionary struggle", but has not left it open to doubt that as regards Chile, the Chilean communists stand for the "peaceful road to Socialism" by means of People's (Popular) Fronts' ultimate victory at the polls.

Socialist activities promulgating *dynamic* social changes began in 1912 when the Chilean Socialist Workers' Party was founded by Emilio Rebacarren. In 1920, Chile inaugurated Arturo Alessandri as the first "People's" president. The powerful Labor Federation of Chile joined the PROFINTERN (Red International of Trade Unions) in 1921. In 1922, the Socialist Workers' Party changed its name to the Communist Party of Chile in compliance with the "Twenty-one Conditions of Admission to the COMINTERN which the new party joined at the same time. One of the leading cadres of that period was Clotario Blest, a leading Marxist-Leninist theoretician, who lately defected from the CPCh and joined the Trotskyite Communist faction which advocates revolutionary violence and terror. Blest, however, left behind some of his former disciples, among them Louis Corvalan, present Secretary General of the CPCh, who for more than thirty years maintained a role of the party theoretician and *leading cadre* of the Marxist-Leninist movement in Chile and in Latin America in general.

Communist attempts to become a leading force in the Chilean military revolts of 1931 and 1932 met failure. It was very difficult for them, taking into consideration the peculiar geographic isolation and the traditional enmity of neighboring Argentina, Bolivia and Peru, to have external support. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) could not render direct assistance due to extreme shortages of shipping facilities operated by the USSR itself and severe air travel limitations until larger planes were introduced in the following decades. In Auraucan, the native Indian language of Chile, Chile means "the end of the world".

Chile's constitutional laws like those of Czechoslovakia (1918) provided an extreme form of proportional congressional representation within the existing parliamentary governmental framework established by the Constitution of 1925. The result of this constitutional democratism in both countries has been one of the most stable multi-party parliamentary systems in Latin America, running from the extreme right to the extreme left. From Conservatives through Liberals to Radicals in the Center and on the left to Christian-Democrats to groupings of Socialists, and quarreling Communist factions. Close similarity, both in Chile and Argentina, to the political party "rainbow" of France, Italy and Germany is no accident; all these countries are deeply influenced by their European politico-ideological fountainheads.

After several serious setbacks during the proceeding periods of time the CPCh changed in 1935, its basic tactics of force and violence to long-range united front parliamentary tactics promulgated by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, held in Moscow the same year. The result of this dramatic change from "via violenta" to "via pacifica" resulted in the formation of the Chilean Popular Front in 1936, the first one in Latin America. The CPCh joined forces with the Chilean Radical Party and won the following elections.

At that time the Communists contacted regular political parties offering them a solid bloc of votes in exchange for revised policies, reforms and influential positions within the governmental and public service hierarchy. Popular Front tactics were successful from 1938 until 1945 during the administrations of presidents Pedro Aguirre-Cerda, Jeronimo Mendez, Juan Antonio Rios, and Gabriel Gonzales-Videla who finally shook off the Communists.

Non-violent tactics of seizure of political power were introduced by the CPSU when the party realized that the parliamentary way of capture of government power will eventually lead toward revolutionary class victory.

Lazaro Cardenas, a Stalin Peace Prize recipient and president of Mexico at the time, played an important role in the promotion of the United Front principles and techniques. He engineered the "Pact of Mexico" (1938–1939) while dictator F. Batista collaborated with the Communists in the United Front in Cuba until 1944.

During the same time Chile had become a center and safehaven for L.A. exiled Communists and other Marxists, the most important of whom was Eudocio Ravines, Peruvian, who later defected from Marxist-Leninist camp to become one of the most outspoken counter-Communists.

Since 1929, however, Chile was also troubled by a number of splinter parties, none of which was strong enough to win the presidential election by itself. By 1934, Chile even had a Nazi party organized by a number of fanatic German immigrants and their descendants.

Within this heterogeneous political conglomeration of political trends the CPCh gained respectability and acceptability in the Chilean political community. CPCh ideological and organizational links with the World Communist Movement (headed by the CPSU) were deliberately obscured from the public. It was, however, Corvalan and his comrades who made frequent trips to Moscow to "exchange experiences" with the CPSU and other "fraternal parties", and to replenish party resources.

Socialists and Communists controlled separate and rival national labor organizations when, in 1953, President Ibanez moved to the right, thereby endangering labor's gains. They sponsored the formation of a unified labor organization, the Chilean Workers' Central (CUTCh), modeled on the CP fraction controlled Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) organized in Czechoslovakia during and after World War II (which in 1948 was the "leading revolutionary force" in the seizure of power in Prague. ROH was a full member of the CP fraction controlled Czechoslovak National Front (Narodni Fronta) consisting of Communists, Socialists, Social-Democrats, Christian Populists and Free Democrats in Slovakia. Both the CUTCh and the ROH are members of the World Federation of Trade Union, successor to the PROFINTERN, which in turn is also fraction controlled by the CPSU through the Central Council of USSR Trade Unions, the "most equal" member of the WFTU.

Student, faculty and other non-party organizations and institutions were also penetrated and manipulated by corresponding party fractions. In 1956 the People's Front changed its name to the Popular Action Front (FRAP).

Back in 1939, the CPCh supported the abortive "Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact" after the Munich Pact sell-out of Czechoslovakia under the slogan "Chile fuera de la guerra imperialista" or "Chile apart from the imperialist war." This cooperation, however, lasted only until June, 1941, when German forces attacked the USSR, but in the meantime the CPCh went along not only with the invasion of Czechoslovakia, but also of Finland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, the partition of Poland, and the incorporation of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania into the USSR.

The Chilean Communists adopted a very belligerent attitude after the invasion of the USSR by the Germans in 1941. They "fulfilled their obligations" to the organization of

American States against the Axis Powers, not so much in sympathy with the Allies, but rather because the CPSU/USSR—"the workers' fatherland"—was engaged in revolutionary "armed class war" with the "Nazi Imperialists", i.e. a war between two mutually antagonistic world class systems, Capitalism and the Third Reich. El Siglo, a Chilean Communist newspaper, and some other "leftist" papers were fully engaged in pro-Soviet and pro-Communist propaganda activities, called "captation", meaning recruiting of new members without bragging about results.

The break with President Gonzales-Videla, later on, which forced the Chilean Communists out of the Popular Front was a lesson easily mastered by Comrade Corvalan. Again, as on previous occasions, Communists displayed clearly a desire to share government power with their partners, a move which caused a serious split within the Front. Another setback for the CPCh took place a few years later when the son of a Chilean diplomatic representative in the USSR married a Russian girl and tried to leave the USSR with her. The USSR Government, then under J. Stalin, denied the bride a permit to leave the country, and even tried to annul the marriage. A bitter diplomatic controversy ensued which aroused public opinion in Chile causing strained relations between the two states. As a result of this diplomatic "faux pas" the CPCh lost most of the ground it gained through cautious policy of ingratiating itself without alarming the Chilean people.

While the CPCh was on the defensive, the old Socialist Party was profiting from this shortcoming. This Socialist Party was originally staffed by Socialist ideologues from Western Europe who had settled in Chile, bringing with them concepts and methods of the French, German, Italian and Spanish Socialists of the nineteenth century. However, under a new and young leadership the Socialists drifted away from the Communists. They advocated seizure of political power by any means, including violence, while openly advocating total socialization of the society. Their leadership was in the hands of professional revolutionaries, young intellectuals, writers, and a number of prominent leftist labor leaders. They were experimenting by "mixing" socialism with nationalism, a tactic which was clashing with the CPCh's adherence to the principles of "proletarian internationalism" practiced by the CPSU and its disciplined world-wide World Communist Movement. Among these new Socialist leaders was also Dr. Salvador Allende-Gossen (present president of Chile), a physician, who climbed the leadership ladder through his personal and service contacts, intelligence, and independent wealth with which he supported "Ultimas Noticias", besides the Communist "El Siglo". The editor of the "Ultimas Noticias" was Jose Toha-Gonzales, who later became one of Dr. Allende's most trusted lieutenants.

Chilean Socialists were able to infiltrate the middle classes and intellectual circles more easily than the Communists. Many people longing for meaningful social and economic reforms believed that the Socialists were not as "radical" and "dangerous" as the Communists, Nazi and Fascist persecution in Europe, as well as the immigration following World War II provided the Socialists with a number of new Marxist theoreticians from Europe and other parts of the world.

Chileans did not realize the importance of this important influx of new immigrants, especially after 1948, when the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia seized political power de-jure, when Socialists and Communists began to move along mutually agreed upon parallel policy lines. This important event was a serious set back to the Christian-Democratic Party, as it heralded the appearance of another "leftist" group without having an open Communist or Socialist label. This new situation called for tactical penetration by Communist factions into the ranks of the Christian-Democrats for a "planned future classless society."

Dr. Allende ran for President of Chile on three different occasions and lost all three bids for power, but instead, he succeeded in being elected a senator. Later supported by the CPCh and other Communist faction controlled leftist parliamentary groupings he became President of the Chilean Senate. As such, Dr. Allende was important enough to have personal contacts with CPSU–USSR, CPChina–PRP, and CPCuba–R.C. and other "fraternal parties" and governments with the World Marxist-Leninist Communist and Workers' Movement.

In the election of 1964, Eduardo Frei, as the candidate of the Christian-Democratic Party, also supported by Conservative and Liberal parties, received over 55% of the vote, while Dr. Allende, backed by the Socialists and Communists, polled only 38.7% of the total vote. Despite this failure, Dr. Allende, however, retained his position as president of the Senate. Penetration of the Christian-Democratic Party by Communist factions, resembling the infiltration of the Peoples Party (Populist-Catholic) in Czechoslovakia, was to pay political dividend in the only run. By 1968 the more extreme leftist faction of the Christian-Democratic Party separated from the regular party and quit its participation in the government. Its leader was Jacques Chonchol, a Chilean, who was responsible for the original planning of the land reform in Cuba. Chonchol organized the MAPU, or the Movement for Popular United Action in Chile, which among other "reforms", promised immediate distribution of land to the peasants, in addition to other benefits.

The Communist faction controlled Confederation of Chilean Workers (CTCh) began also to drift away from the Christian-Democrats. A concentrated Communist drive among university students resulted in planting Communist factions in leadership positions within these organizations.

While this was in progress, other groups, specializing in subversive terrorist activities were organized by MIR, or "Movement of the Revolutionary Left", which was operating apart from the normally leftist parties.

The Christian-Democratic Party at this time was already seriously split. President Frei was denounced by the Socialists and Communists as a weakling who did not dare to implement vitally necessary reforms. Radomiro Tomic, former Chilean ambassador to the United States, who was considered to be their heir apparent to Frei, disassociated himself from Frei and declared himself to be a candidate for the presidency. It is not known however, why he did not go through with this decision. Instead, Pablo Neruda, a known Communist poet, was nominated for the presidency by the CPCh, while Dr. Allende got the nomination of the Socialist Party.

At this turn of events the *"Frente de Unidad Popular"* (United Popular Front—F.U.P.) came into being. Long-range Communist parliamentary and extra-parliamentary tactics of the United Front, promulgated by the COMINTERN in 1935 and successfully applied by the CPCz in 1945, became the 1970 tool of the Marxist-Leninist de factor takeover of the government in Chile. The following parties and groupings are at present participants in the F.U.P.: Socialist, Communist, Radical and Social-Democratic parties, the MAPU, Independent Popular Action (API) and some other small splinter groups.

The National Party nominated former President Jorge Allessandri as the candidate for president. He might have won the necessary plurality, but as a French reporter of "Paris Match" wrote, many moderates and conservatives did not vote because they were sure that Dr. Allende would have been defeated again. Campaign managers who directed Allessandri did not stress effectively many critical issues to impress the voters about the possibility of a Marxist-Leninist electoral victory. For instance, one may quote the case of Oleg Kunakov, a staff member of the Chilean-Soviet Cultural Institute of Santiago, who died in a hospital and left behind a number of compromising reports dealing with Soviet espionage activities in Chile which remain unexploited. These documents contained factual information concerning Socialist and Communist contacts with Hungarian security officials who were assigned to Chile to assist in organizing workers' and peasants (peoples) militias.

Former President Frei is referred to all over Latin America as the "Chilean Kerensky" because of his role in the Marxist-Leninist victory. Rodomiro Tomic, on the other hand, is called the "Grand Elector" since many Chileans contend that he was the one who made such victory possible.

Dr. Allende played his Marxist role "softly" until the official confirmation of his election as President of Chile in 1970. Since then he is rapidly changing his "constitutional attitude". His new Cabinet is overwhelmingly committed to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. The key man in his Cabinet is Jose Toha-Gonzales, who may become Dr. Allende's successor if it becomes politically mandatory to do so because of his position within the Front and his control of Chile's "restructured" security and police forces, as was the case in Czechoslovakia.

The present Popular Unity government lacks of a working majority in Congress for which there will be elections in 1972, for it controls only 90 out of 200 seats in both Houses of Congress.

Dr. Allende's statement to the "Excelsior" of Mexico City that he "would never accept a personal identification with the Communist Party, one of the mainstays of the Popular Unity, nobody, including myself, would accept the hegemony of one party" sounds like statements made some time ago by Social-Democrats under the leadership of Prime Minister Dr. Fierlinger in 1945, during the formation of the still "governing" National Front in Czechoslovakia.

The present "constitutional" phase of Dr. Allende's "Chilean Trail to Socialism" follows well proven operation patterns originally promoted and still being carried out by the CPCz—and other "fraternal parties" in the Commonwealth of Socialist Countries since 1945, when the National Front Government based on the "Kosice Pact" of April, 1945, became "constitutional" in Czechoslovakia.

The short and long-range tactics of this phase called for "amnity" between parties of the Front, but excluding, or rather completely eliminating all parties right of center which were accused of collaborating with the capitalists-imperialists.

During the "liberation" of Czechoslovakia from the Germans by the "conventional," USSR Forces in May 1945, and after CP "apparatchiks" and their ideo-partisans organized so-called "Action Committees" and "Plant Guards" (workers' and peasants' militia) which seized printing establishments, banks, private transportation, land and other properties, industrial and commercial enterprises, in short all "capitalist or oppressor" owned properties which were "socialized". They also organized "detention camps" and *"people's courts" (neighborhood tribunals)* which handled all cases of the "enemies of the people." These CP fraction controlled "Action Committees" also imposed strict ideological and organizational controls over the remaining emasculated political parties and their parliamentary representatives, as well as over all non-party organizations and establishments, Church, educational institutions and all social, economic and cultural life in Czechoslovakia. During this initial

"consolidation phase" of National Front's activities the CPCz leadership maintained a "low profile" in the control of the government. The commanding slogan of the CPCz, "With the Soviet Union Forever." (i.e. the CPSU), took hold of the country not only by the Party, but also by the USSR government itself through introduction of numerous interlocking (CPSU fraction controlled) USSR trade, commerce, cultural, and other organizations such as the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association, (an instrument of cultural and educational Russification)—the USSR publishing monopoly MEZHKNIGA, Soviet Film, TV, NOVOSTI PRESS, TASS and other communications media, ballet, folklore and dance, symphony, magazines and press.

In addition to the above mentioned "fraternal" exchanges, Czechoslovakia was and is still subject to additional penetration and control exercised by the CPSU/USSR controlled subsystems consisting of World, Regional, National and Local front organizations such as WFTU (World Federation of Trade Unions), WIDF (Women International Democratic Federation), IUS (International Union of Students), WPC (World Peace Council) and other party auxiliaries.

Many of these CPSU/CPCz activities which began their activities before and during the May 1945, events in Czechoslovakia gave the impetus to the first phase of its National Front Government, with slight variations in Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, are now being carefully and slowly introduced by the CPSU/CPCh through the Latin American trail to Socialism (in Prague) under the leadership of Dr. Allende and his Marxist (Leninist) ideo-partisans—the Dr. Fierlingers, General Svobodas, and others—of Chile.

Following the events in Czechoslovakia one question remains unanswered—When will Chile enter the final stage of Communist consolidation and will proclaim itself as a Socialist Republic governed by the Popular Unity Alliance as it is still the case of the former.

DOLLARS AT A DISCOUNT

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, with inflation continuing relentlessly to strip away the value of the dollars our citizens earn, own, and save, the need for giving them the right to protect themselves against this legalized robbery through the ownership of monetary gold becomes more and more obvious. The international monetary crisis in May showed the startling weakness of the dollar relative to foreign currencies such as the German mark and the Swiss franc.

The corrective measures proposed by famed economist Henry Hazlitt in a recent article deserve most careful study by Congress, particularly his recommendation that what he calls the outrageous prohibition on owning, buying, selling, or making valid contracts in gold in the United States be removed. Congressman CRANE of Illinois and I have introduced legislation for this purpose which is gaining increasing support, and deserves a prompt and thorough hearing before the Banking and Currency Committee.

Mr. Hazlitt's article follows:

DOLLARS AT A DISCOUNT

(By Henry Hazlitt)

The American dollar has been toppled from its throne, the bankruptcy of the International Monetary Fund system has become obvious, and the world now faces a period of currency disorder. The problem confronting the world's governments is how to mitigate the gravity of this disorder and how to minimize its duration.

The foundations of the present crisis were laid at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire in 1944. The chief architects were Lord Keynes of Britain and Harry Dexter White of the United States. The system they set up was designed to imitate a gold-standard system but not really to be one. It was to free every country from the annoying necessity of keeping its currency convertible into gold on demand. It was to allow every country freedom to "manage" its domestic currency and credit mainly, if not solely, with regard to "the needs of its domestic economy," particularly the need to maintain constant full employment at home. It was to relieve each country from the necessity of maintaining a "mere external stability" for its currency unit.

But some stable relationship of currencies to each other was still thought, by some of the participating governments at Bretton Woods, to be necessary to ensure the free flow of international trade and investment. The system that emerged was a compromise. All that was necessary, it was thought, was to make one key currency—the American dollar—directly convertible into gold. All the others could be tied in value to each other by being tied at a fixed rate to the dollar. Instead of a gold standard, the world would henceforth be on a dollar standard.

What was overlooked was that, once the disciplinary penalty of a gold drain was removed, the temptation would increase for governments to launch huge welfare programs, to run a chronic deficit in their domestic budgets, to pay for it by issuing more paper pounds, francs or whatever, and thereby to pump up home demand and prolong full employment.

Each country was protected against immediate external crisis. It was pledged under the IMF agreement to keep its currency within 1 percent of par by buying or selling dollars within that range. But this arrangement meant that, when any single country went on an inflationary spree, other countries, and particularly the United States, would have to keep supporting the inflating country's currency at par for a while, until that country suddenly devalued. Instead of daily market fluctuations reflecting the true state of any currency, it would remain steady for a long period, and then suffer a violent collapse, throwing losses on all the foreign holders.

This has been the history of the IMF system over the 25 years of its operation. Since it opened for business, nearly every one of the 117 currencies now in the Fund has suffered at least one major devaluation. The French franc has devalued several times. The once-mighty British pound was devalued from $4.03 to $2.80 in 1949 and again to $2.40 in 1967. And before and during such crises the United States Government (alias the Federal Reserve System) sought to soften or prevent them by extending huge credits running into billions of dollars. Each time the foreign holders of the devalued currency, whether pounds or francs or pesos, were swindled.

Nevertheless, the IMF and central bank officials continued to hail the system as a brilliant success. And it could indeed look like a success as long as the anchor currency, the U.S. dollar, remained firm—as long as the U.S. itself refrained from inflationary sprees, kept tight rein on the expansion of its currency, kept its budget in reasonable balance, did not try to push down interest rates, and maintained convertibility of the dollar into gold at $35 an ounce, at least for dollars held by foreign central banks.

But the U.S., in spite of the warning signal of a huge and persistent deficit in its balance of payments since 1957, did none of these things. Since 1957 it has been doing the exact opposite; and since the election of 1970 the Nixon Administration has allowed the situation to deteriorate alarmingly. It has planned a so-called "full-employment surplus" in the budget, which means a real deficit estimated at $18.6 billion in the present fiscal year and at $11.6 billion in 1972. The actual deficit of 1972 will probably be nearer to $25 billion. The "Fed" has increased the money supply (currency in circulation plus demand bank deposits) of the country in the last four months at the extremely high annual rate of 10.3 percent. And just when the deficit in the balance of payments soared to unparalleled levels, the Administration decided to treat the whole thing with "benign neglect."

The result was at least a temporary international flight from the dollar—and a flight into, especially, Swiss francs and West German marks. Under the IMF rules, Germany had to buy dollars from marks within 1 percent of parity. But when a couple of billion dollars had to be absorbed in a couple of days, the Germans, already holding some $16 billion in dollars, gave up. On May 5 five major central banks—those of West Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands and Austria—withdrew their support for the dollar and temporarily closed down their foreign-exchange markets.

At the time of this writing, a few countries have decided to let their currencies "float," and others have revalued upward. The outlook for the world's currencies is now, to put it mildly, uncertain and disturbing.

What should be done? In answering this, we should distinguish between technical reforms, and more basic reforms in economic policy.

The first technical monetary reform that ought to be made internationally is to dismantle the 25-year-old IMF. But if the bureaucratic resistance to this proves to be insuperable, the greater part of the reform needed could be achieved simply by repealing a few of the IMF rules. No country should any longer be forced to maintain its currency at par by buying or selling the dollar or other currencies at that rate. No country should any longer be entitled to automatic drawing rights or automatic loans when in trouble, but should have to negotiate voluntary loans and abide by their conditions. No more Special Drawing Rights should be issued. Those already issued should be gradually retired.

Each country would then be free to adopt its own currency policy. If each country simply allowed its currency to "float," that currency's price would change daily and hourly on the foreign exchange market. This of course would be unsettling. There would be no fixed prices for either exports or imports. Either the buyer or the seller would have to protect himself by "forward" exchange transactions, which might often prove too costly. But in compensation for all this, currency values would be real market values; adjustments would be made daily; there would be no more fears of violent overnight devaluations. The market quotations for currencies would daily tell the truth about them.

There would be nothing to prevent a country with a so-called floating currency from operating its own stabilization fund against minor fluctuations. But other countries would be relieved from the obligation of assuming that risk. Countries that wished to do so would still be free to maintain fixed rates in terms of gold, the dollar, or some other currency.

The first technical reform that the United States ought to make is to repeal the outrageous prohibition it has kept on its books since 1933 making it a crime for American citizens to own, buy, sell or make valid contracts in gold. This is a breach of their liberties that Americans ought never to have tolerated. If individuals all over the world were legally free to hold, buy or sell gold they would be able to protect themselves against being ruined by their monetary managers. Under such conditions gold, whether "monetized" or not, would soon become the de facto international currency, in terms of which international transactions would increasingly be made.

Simultaneously with this, the American Government should permit a free gold market at home and announce that until further notice it would neither buy nor sell gold but keep its existing stock.

This means that it would suspend gold payments formally. To a believer in the gold standard and the integrity of currencies, it is painful to suggest this, but it is merely a proposal that our government acknowledge de jure what it has already been doing de facto. The truth is that ever since the spring of 1968—*for three years*—the U.S. Government, except for a few minor window-dressing operations, has been refusing to convert even dollars owned by foreign central banks into gold at $35 an ounce. The proof lies on the face of the figures; Treasury gold stock, June 12, 1968, $10,367 million; December 1968, $10,367 million; December 1969, $10,367 million; each of the thirteen weeks January 6 to March 31, 1971, $10,732 million.

If the U.S. allowed the dollar to be fully convertible now, at the $35 rate, it would probably be drained of all its gold in 24 hours. Our liquid liabilities to foreigners in January were $44 billion, of which more than $20 billion were legally payable in gold to foreign central banks.

After these technical monetary changes, the real problem would be how to return the United States and the world to a sound and stable monetary basis. This need not be done by any new formal monetary agreement among 117 nations or even among the Big Ten. The traditional gold standard of the nineteenth century did not involve any formal "cooperation" among central banks. It worked as long as each country adhered voluntarily but rigorously to certain rules. The most important rule was that each country would refrain from expanding its currency to a point that endangered its convertibility into gold on demand. In short, each country had to refrain from inflation.

This is the painful lesson that the Nixon Administration still seems very reluctant to learn. In an ill-timed statement on April 27 John B. Connally, Secretary of the Treasury, declared that "it is neither feasible nor desirable to put the U.S. economy through the wringer in order to stop this type of capital outflow." This statement probably increased the dollar outflow.

It is imperative that the American inflation now be brought to a halt. We have to accept the unpleasant likelihood that this cannot be done without producing some recession and a temporary increase in unemployment. But this is now by far the lesser of two evils. Further inflation can now only lead toward an economic crack-up. It can no longer be counted on to bring "full employment." Inflation can have a stimulative effect only so long as it is unexpectedly high and keeps accelerating. When wages begin to rise faster than prices, as they now have, the game is up.

The dollar is now at an open discount both in terms of gold and in terms of other major currencies. If the Administration ignores this danger signal it must bear full responsibility for the consequences.

MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, August 4, 1971

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the ability of the United States to fight for an extended period of time in defense of its territories or in support of allies depends on our ability to control the seas. The United States is in reality an island between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The flow of materials to sustain our peacetime or wartime economy and industry as well as that required to support any operations overseas must travel by sea. In Vietnam, for example, 97 percent of all supplies in support of our operations there have gone by sea. More importantly, there is no viable plan of the Army, the Air Force, or the Amphibious Force with embarked Marines that does not rely on the use of the seas for their support and ultimate success. The sheer bulk of daily requirements of oil and petroleum products for military and industrial needs precludes peacetime stockpiling.

Admiral Rickover recently stated:

That the vulnerability of our overseas logistic supply lines is greater now than in the past and that this vulnerability is increasing.

He went on to say:

This is so for the following reasons: The increased threat of submarine attack brought only the advent of nuclear powered submarines. The increased threat of an attack because of increased range of aircraft and missiles.

The quantity of fuel that must be transported over the oceans has increased vastly because of the significantly higher consumption rate of modern military units.

Each tanker lost today has a manyfold greater impact because of the substitution of a smaller fleet of larger tankers for the large fleet of smaller tankers used in World War II. Most tankers then displaced 10,000 to 15,000 tons, the largest being 25,000 tons. Today, many tankers displace over 100,000 tons and plans are underway to build tankers of 500,000 tons and larger.

As the ability of a potential enemy to interdict our sea lanes increases so does the difficulty of providing logistic support when supply lines are under attack.

The Soviets have embarked on a program which leaves no doubt that they are resolved to become a first rate sea power. They have developed to a remarkable degree in a short time the three elements which make up sea power, a powerful navy, a large, modern merchant marine, and a thorough knowledge of the application of both.

The Soviets now have by far the largest submarine force in the world—about 375 submarines, all built since World War II. By comparison we have 146, including 59 diesel submarines most of which are of World War II vintage. It is estimated that by the end of 1971 they will have a numerical lead even in nuclear submarines, and, of course, these submarines pose a greater threat to our ships than diesel powered submarines because of their submerged high speed endurance.

The Soviets have not neglected the development of other ships. Most of them are new and modernly equipped with surface-to-surface missiles and air-to-surface missiles. They are now operating two modern helicopter carriers with naval infantry embarked.

For the first time in its history, the Soviet Union is employing its naval forces in peacetime in support of its foreign policy. Their Mediterranean fleet is now numerically larger than ours, and, although I feel we still maintain a superiority there, certainly the balance has shifted. Recently we witnessed a visit by a sizable Soviet task force to Cuba followed by maneuvers in our own backyard—the Gulf of Mexico.

To provide a force capable of countering this growing Soviet naval threat and of defeating it if that should become necessary, and to retain a capability to use the seas for our own purposes, this country must have a strong modern navy.

The attack carrier is the primary striking force of the Navy. It provides the essential tactical air power necessary to ensure the free passage of the seas and the air space over the seas, and the capability to project United States air power into areas where adequately prepared, provisioned, and defended land bases are not available. Attack carriers can quickly concentrate this sea-based tactical air power.

Critics of the military oppose the authorization of the CVAN–70 because they claim it is vulnerable to modern weapons. A carrier is vulnerable to some degree as is any weapons system in time of war. However, the carrier is the least vulnerable system of providing tactical air power because of its mobility. It cannot be pretargeted. When the threat requires, a carrier task force can present a formidable defense indepth from enemy attack. This defense consists of an integrated force of antisubmarine ships and ships equipped with surface-to-air missiles. These are in addition to the fighters and attack aircraft organic to the carrier air wing. The carrier itself is the best defense against the celebrated Soviet surface-to-surface missile as well as air-to-surface missiles because of the ability of its aircraft to attack the launching ships before they are within missile firing range of our forces and to shoot down antiship missiles while they are in flight.

Even if bombs, missiles, or torpedoes are able to reach a carrier, it does not mean it will be sunk or put out of action. The new carriers will give our attack carrier forces the best protective capability that can be built into ships. The CVAN–70 will be the best protected and least vulnerable ship ever designed. The added protection will be provided by extensive use of armor plating against bombs and guided missiles and improved antitorpedo hull design. Further, the high speed endurance and freedom from the need to slow down to refuel which is provided by

nuclear propulsion, significantly reduces the nuclear carrier's vulnerability. All of these factors add up to the conclusion that the modern nuclear attack carrier is the least vulnerable of surface ships.

The most vulnerable are the cargo ships and tankers which supply the materials necessary to sustain the economy and industry here at home and the logistic supply train to support any operation beyond our shores. A modern force of attack carriers is vital to insure the flow of these materials.

With regard to the force level of carriers required, I do not claim to know the exact number required. We maintain 15 now—with an additional one authorized for the duration of the Vietnam war—and this would appear to be a marginal number in view of present worldwide commitments. However, regardless of the number of carriers we maintain in the future, the CVAN–70 is needed now to insure that the force is kept modern. It will replace an old World War II designed ship which will be over 30 years old when the CVAN–70 joins the fleet in 1977 and which is now rapidly becoming obsolescent. By 1977 it will be hopelessly obsolete.

I feel that future force levels should be determined by future developments. If future analysis or budget stringency should require reduction in the attack carrier force level, it should be accomplished by retiring old carriers, not by canceling construction of new ones. Were the Navy required to operate a smaller force, the improved capabilities of the CVAN–70 would become even more vital. The smaller the force, the more important it is that each carrier have the greatest achievable capability.

The funding of $152 million this year is part of an orderly planned Department of Defense program to acquire three ships of the *Nimitz* class at least cost. All three ships are to be of the same design and procured in series production from a single shipbuilder. The success of this plan depends upon the availability of funds in accordance with the program schedule. The continuity of component and ship production lines is essential to avoid major cost increases. Delay or deferment of scheduled funds would result in increased component costs and ship construction delays which are in themselves costly.

Another little known fact is pertinent to this discussion. Industry currently has a substantial backlog of unfilled orders for civilian nuclear plants. Because of the growth in demand for civilian nuclear plants and the decline in and uncertainty of future requirements for naval reactors, a number of suppliers have turned to commercial work exclusively. Once a supplier leaves the naval reactor business the task of reconstructing the specialized skills, the quality control, and the engineering groups to meet naval requirements is similar in scope to starting over again. It takes years to develop a company's capabilities to perform to required standards, and this capability will be lost in a short time if the experienced technical and production personnel are disbanded.

For these reasons, failure to authorize the CVAN–70 would be wasteful and would adversely affect our ability to build nuclear plants for future aircraft carriers and submarines.

The uninterrupted use of the seas must be assured if our way of living is to be continued. If the present trend in our national strategy of disengagement and withdrawal continues with accompanying abandonment of our overseas bases, we must insure a means of providing this assurance. The carriers are the principal element in doing so. This new attack carrier is needed to maintain that element in its proper strength.

ALL THAT SURPLUS BALONEY

HON. HAROLD RUNNELS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. RUNNELS. Mr. Speaker, I address these remarks to those of my colleagues who have been closely following the continuing drama surrounding the fiscal year 1971 deficit. Explanations of how a $23.2 billion deficit is really a surplus have captivated our imaginative and left us spellbound from one episode to the next. We anxiously look forward to each new administration statement with anticipation matched only by that of the afternoon soap opera audience which stares at millions of TV sets across the Nation.

Some of you may have missed a recent column which appeared in the Evening Star on August 3 on this subject. It was written by James J. Kilpatrick and is entitled "All That Surplus Baloney Is Hard To Digest," and reads as follows:

ALL THAT SURPLUS BALONEY IS HARD TO DIGEST

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

The story broke on Wednesday afternoon that the Nixon administration had achieved a new triumph in fiscal management by running up a deficit of only $23.2 billion for the year that ended June 30.

On Thursday morning, a Fairfax County restaurateur named Dilby Flagestone went to see George P. Schulz, director of the Office of Management and Budget. Flagstone was seeking clarification. Shultz sent him up 11 flights and down 28 corridors to a cubicle occupied by Dr. Rodney Downside, special assistant for imaginary numbers.

Downside's office is bugged. The conversation was recorded and transcribed: a microfilmed copy was smuggled to me Saturday night in the folds of a six-egg omelet at La Nicoise.

As soon as Dilby caught his breath, Dr. Downside asked how he might be of assistance, and Dilby replied that he was about to go broke in the lunch counter business. Dilby said he had read in The Star how the Nixon administration had managed to go in the hole by $23.2 billion while still achieving a $2.5 billion surplus, and he wanted to know how this interesting feat had been performed. Dilby had a 10 a.m. appointment with his bankers, and he needed help.

"Certainly," said Dr. Downside, "but first I should like to make one thing perfectly clear: *Deficits must be distinguished.*"

Dilby wrote that down.

"Now," said Dr. Downside, "you will recall that in the eight fiscal years from 1961 through 1968, the government recorded eight successive deficits. These totaled $60.4 billion, and they were bad. Very bad."

"Well," said Dilby, "it's no wonder. Those were the Kennedy-Johnson years, so those were Democratic deficits, and Democratic deficits are——"

"Bad," said Dr. Downside sorrowfully. "Very bad. Such deficits reflect the irresponsibility of spendthrift administrations. They are the direct and proximate cause of the inflation that cruelly oppresses the people."

"Yes," said Dilby, "but now tell me about the $23.2 billion deficit just reported by the Nixon admin——"

"Shhh," said Dr. Downside. "The place may be bugged. The inconsequential, immaterial and irrelevant figure you have just had the bad taste to mention is a mere paper figure. Dismiss it from your mind. The year was in fact a model of prudent management and frugal administration. If we had received full revenues, we would have had a $2.5 billion surplus, if we had experienced full employment. Think surplus, Dilby . . . Surplus . . ."

"Dr. Downside," asked Dilby, "why are you swinging that large silver watch just in front of my eyes? I believe. I really do. Democrat deficits, bad; Republican deficits, good. See? I have it. But what I need is help. Last year was terrible. I lost $23,200 in the past 12 months. My notes are due this morning. My customers are leaving me, my wife is——"

"Dilby," said Dr. Downside firmly, "you must pull yourself together. You did *not* lose $23,200. This is only in your mind. If you had enjoyed full sandwich consumption, you would have made $2,500. Don't you understand? This was a very good year for you. Kindly tell your bankers this for me."

"But, Doctor," protested Dilby, "I didn't enjoy what you call 'full sandwich consumption.' All that money I paid out! And every month, I count the receipts and the receipts are way down! Down, down, down! Last night my counterman quit. 'Dilby,' he says to me, 'if we had some ham, we could make some sandwiches, if we had some bread.' That's a joke, Doctor. But $23,200! This is no joke."

"Think positive," Dr. Downside said. "You must think positive. You must not think of deficits. Think of full sandwich revenues. Full sandwich revenues. Full sandwich rev——. Incidentally, Dilby, what kind of sandwich do you specialize in?"

"Baloney," said Dilby. "Pure baloney."

At this point the bug, on Dr. Downside, failed. The microfilm ends in an oregano dot. And to avoid what is now known in our trade as the Buckley Pitfall, I should add: The foregoing was writ sarkastick.

MAN IS UNLIKELY TO CHOKE, BURN, FREEZE, JUST YET

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, in the past few years there has been a considerable amount of conversation concerning our environment and how pollution is creeping upon us so rapidly that in a relatively short time, we will not be able to live on our planet without a cannister of oxygen strapped to our backs.

Recently, in Stockholm, Sweden, a 3-week study of man's impact on climate was conducted. The study was sponsored by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and hosted by the Swedish Academies of Science and of Engineering Sciences. The meeting was held to gather

the soundest available information on the subject.

A summary of the findings as reported was somewhat surprising. These findings do not give us any comfort, but they do indicate that some of the "doomsayers" are not entirely accurate in their present appraisals of the state of the environment.

I wish to insert this article in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues and of all who care about the preservation of our precious environment:

[From the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal & Times, Aug. 1, 1971]

MAN IS UNLIKELY TO CHOKE, BURN, FREEZE JUST YET

(By Claire Sterling)

STOCKHOLM.—Literally to the best of our knowledge—the source is the most authoritative international gathering of scientists ever held in this field—it now seems unlikely that we are going to end up gasping for air, blinded by ultra-violent rays, perishing in unbearable heat, freezing in a new ice age or drowning in biblical floods because of whatever it is we are doing to the climate.

Just what we are doing is not at all clear (we appear to be heating and cooling the planet at the same time), nor is there any certainty of how much longer we can get away with it. So far, though, human activities are having much less effect on the global climate than doomsday prophets have led us to suppose. If experts cannot yet be sure of much more than that, they are at least beginning to learn what else they will have to find out so as to save us from ourselves later on, if necessary.

This, in effect, was the consensus of 30 distinguished scientists from 14 countries after a three-week Study of Man's Impact on Climate (SMIC). Sponsored by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and hosted by the Swedish Academies of Sciences and of Engineering Sciences, the meeting was held to pool the soundest available information on the subject, primarily to help guide next year's planet-wide U.N. Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm. The carefully chosen group, led by MIT's much respected Prof. Carroll Wilson, geophysicists, oceanographers and chemists from the United States, Canada, France, West Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Italy, Hungary, Belgium, Israel, India, Japan, Australia and Soviet Russia (whose representative, Prof. M. I. Budykov, was among the most illustrious present).

(The scientists' conclusions conflict with another MIT-sponsored study of world environmental conditions done by a computer at the school's System of Dynamics Laboratory. Results of the study, published in the July 11 "Environment" section, predicted that policies now being used to solve environmental problems would lead only to worse crises in the future.)

In two days of briefing for the press at the close of their conference, the group's spokesmen were careful to avoid definitive pronouncements. But they did give comprehensive—and comprehensible—answers to several questions tormenting the lay public. These are some of them.

It is true that the sea around us is rising—by nearly 10 inches in the past 80 years, a rate certainly worth watching but by no means calamitous. But it is not true that man is to blame, for having injected too much carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, creating a "greenhouse effect" causing polar ice caps to thaw. The North Pole's ice cap is not melting at all, while the Antarctic's has actually grown by 600 cubic kilometers. The only ice known to be melting in quantity is Greenland's—and that has amounted to no more than 100 cubic kilometers during this time, whereas the world's ocean waters have swelled by 12 times as much.

SMIC delegates are not sure why. But they do cite experiments by a "reputable scientist" suggesting that man may be partly to blame in a way nobody seems to have thought of—by pumping too much groundwater for irrigation, mining and other purposes, possibly also forcing leaks in underground aquifers, causing such "fossil" waters to drain off into rivers emptying into the sea. If this theory is correct, the planet's water tables must have dropped an average five meters in less than a century—an irreplaceable loss, and a very serious one.

It is true that manmade pollutants (gases, dust particles, vapors) are entering the atmosphere in increasing quantities, amounting now to anywhere from a tenth to a half of an estimated total million tons a year. But no amount of such pollutants can compare remotely to such natural forces as erupting volcanoes for effect on the climate. In 1815, for instance, dust sent up into the stratosphere by the Tambora Volcano near Bali stayed there for two or three years, absorbing a fifth of the sun's rays. During that time, the world had no summer.

Much the same happened in the 17th century, when a series of big eruptions brought on the Little Ice Age, causing glaciers to advance to their maximum since the peak of the Pleistocene Age. Since most (not all) of these glaciers receded—and more particularly since the start of the Industrial Age—there has been no important fluctuation in worldwide temperature. In the Northern Hemisphere, producing the lion's share of all industrial pollution, the average temperature rose barely more than half of 1 degree Centigrade from 1880 to 1940, after which it has fallen by half that. If man may have had a minor part in that barely discernible change, natural forces are plainly much more responsible.

It is true that more and more carbon dioxide, produced by burning fossil fuels (coals, oil and natural gas), has been entering the atmosphere continuously, worldwide, since the industrial revolution; the quantity detected was 312 parts per million in 1958, it is now 322, and is expected to be 375 by the year 2000. But even if the world's entire fossil fuel reserves should be burned and the air's carbon-dioxide content doubled, the rise in planetary temperature—assuming everything else were equal—would be no more than 2 degrees Centigrade. If this might complicate our lives, we could live with it.

It is true that fine manmade particles known as aerosols may encourage cloud formation, and are as likely to cool the planet as carbon dioxide is to heat it up. (The one tends to trap and scatter or absorb the sun's rays before they reach the Earth, whereas the other, letting the rays through as a pane of glass would, tends to catch and return them to Earth again on their way back to space.) Unable so far to make accurate measurements of these aerosols' capacity for absorption, SMIC scientists cannot really tell whether the effect of these particles and carbon dioxide on temperature may be to cancel each other out. While they may indeed have local effects, however, especially over big industrial cities, there is no evidence of this on a global scale.

It is true that supersonic aircraft flying at commercial frequency through the stratosphere would leave condensation trails of water vapor and gases such as nitric oxide theoretically capable of severely upsetting climatic conditions. The risks are real enough to make "commonplace" supersonic flying inadvisable until accurate studies are made.

Up to now, though, there have been no such measurements in the stratosphere, nor have the necessary computer "models" been devised. Until that is done, there is "no convincing evidence" to justify alarmist predictions, particularly about nitric oxide—which, according to the widely publicized findings of a California scientist not present at the SMIC conference, would destroy enough ozone within a year, once commercial SSTs were flying in force, to blind all the earth's living creatures by ultra-violet radiation. Although nitric oxide is thought to be "leaking" into the stratosphere already from high-flying subsonic aircraft, there is no sign of a decrease in ozone so far. On the contrary, six of the world's weather stations have reported an increase in ozone during the past 10 years.

Man has many other ways of potentially affecting the temperature, from intensive central heating in cities (Moscow, Stockholm and Montreal produce more heat in wintertime than the sun does), to changing or destroying vegetation, to artificial cloud-seeding and hurricane deflection, to building roads (superhighways of dark asphalt tend to reflect less of the sun's rays than dirt roads), dams and manmade lakes to large-scale irrigation. Indeed, Professor Budykov believes that irrigation now covering 1 percent of the Earth's surface, producing dark green foliage with lower reflectivity, has raised the planet's temperature by a tenth of 1 degree Centigrade. All in all, however, SMIC delegates believe that man's injection of heat into the atmosphere, presently one-sixtieth of a watt per square meter compared to the sun's net radiation of 100 watts, is "negligible from every point of view," globally speaking.

How long this will continue to be so is another question. "Local" areas with heavy industrial and human concentrations are quickly growing to enormous "conturbation" size, almost inevitably with global implications. The most serious of these, say SMIC spokesmen, would be the possible effect of more heat, from whatever source, on polar ice.

Snow and ice reflect light very strongly, greatly reducing solar heat in the atmosphere, and are particularly sensitive to climatic change. Should there be enough change to melt the Arctic ice, covering 10 million square kilometers, a fiftieth of the Earth's surface, it would be unlikely to form again. Since this ice already takes up space beneath the sea's surface, melting it would not directly raise sea levels. But it would certainly change the region's temperatures, now hitting minus 20 degrees Centigrade and unlikely to go below minus 2 degrees if the zone becomes ice-free.

In that event, the change might cause accelerated melting of Greenland's huge ice cap, which, once melted, could raise the sea level by seven meters. The results, unpredictable, could be calamitous.

For this reason particularly, SMIC scientists have strongly recommended a planet-wide convention "to prevent large-scale (directly affecting over 1 million square kilometers) experiments in persistent or long-term climate modification, until the scientific community reaches a consensus on the consequences." For reasons like this in general, also, these scientists point out, their findings in Stockholm should not encourage complacency but simply discourage hysteria, until more intensive and conclusive study—badly needed on nearly all counts and imperative on some—can be completed.

SPEAK UP FOR AMERICA

HON. THOMAS F. EAGLETON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. EAGLETON. Mr. President, the Plumbing Industry Council of Metropoli-

tan St. Louis plays an important role in the community life of the 15 counties represented on the council. One of its most commendable programs is the sponsorship of an annual essay contest for high school students on the general theme of "Speak Up For America."

In addition to the students who are given an opportunity to win cash prizes in this contest, a number of their teachers are also awarded a trip to Washington.

Recently, I had the opportunity to meet and talk with the teachers who toured Washington as guests of the Plumbing Industry Council in connection with this year's Speak Up For America Contest. The teachers were Sister Jean Fontbonne, of Rosati Kain High School; Sister Winnifred, of St. Joseph's Academy; Mrs. Dorothy Friday, of Northwest High, House Springs, Mo.; Sister Mary Alma, of Mercy High; Sister Joseph Andre, of St. Thomas Aquinas; and Sister Dorothy Marie, of Bishop DuBourg High.

They were accompanied by Mr. Robert Hellman of the Plumbing Industry Council. All are from St. Louis except as indicated.

The winner of this year's contest was Debbie Kaemmerer of Rosati-Kain High School. Miss Kaemmerer won a cash prize of $1,000 for an excellent essay based on the theme expressed in Emma Lazarus' poem inscribed on the Statue of Liberty. I ask unanimous consent that Miss Kaemmerer's winning essay be reprinted at the conclusion of my remarks.

The other major winners and the schools they represented were Joe Meadows, Northwest High, House Springs, $750; Madonna Sachs, St. Dominics, O'Fallon, $500; Michael Carter, Helias High, Jefferson City, $250; and Christopher Wuerz, Chaminade College Prep, $125.

Mr. President, I want to express my congratulations to the contest winners and to their teachers and in addition I want to commend the Plumbing Industry Council of St. Louis for their outstanding public service as exemplified in the sponsorship of this contest.

There being no objections, the essay was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOD BLESS AMERICA

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

EMMA LAZARUS.

These words appear at the foot of the Statue of Liberty at the entrance to New York harbor. These words and the statue have served as a welcoming beacon to all who have come to these shores since 1886.

Do we, the people in America, really mean what these words would seem to imply?

"Give me your tired." How does America treat those who have given their energies and many times their lives to seek refuge in this land? Does America offer any comfort to these tired, dejected citizens of the world? For the tired there is the quiet repose of a meandering stream, a park bench on which to rest one's weary bones, the comfort of a quiet church, the serene beauty of a forest glade. Surely, the tired of the world can find a place of comfort in this vast land of ours.

"Give me your poor." What does America offer the poor? It offers them a land of opportunity, a place in which they can rise above the squalor of a ghetto. America still offers to those willing to work for it, the chance to achieve wealth, fame, prestige, or whatever their goals in life may be. Ralph Bunche is a good example of a poor man rising to become a well-educated man. He was born in the slums of Detroit, but with an education and a strong determination to overcome his setbacks, he became the United Nations mediator in 1946. In 1954, he became the U.N. Undersecretary, the highest position held by an American. His life's example shows that America is still the land of opportunity for those who seek its wealth. America's educational system is one of the best in the world because it provides an opportunity for all children, rich or poor, to advance themselves through knowledge.

"Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free"—To the oppressed peoples of the world, America is still the shining light of freedom. To those escaping from a police state, America is like a breath of fresh air. Albert Einstein is one who chose to make America his homeland when the Nazis took over in Germany. Here he was received with kindness, and the fact that he was a Jew was of no consequence, and he was free to continue his research on the atom. The freedom to go as you please, to do as you wish, to speak your thoughts without fear—these freedoms can only be truly appreciated by those who have suffered under the tyranny of oppression. A chance to breathe free for many immigrants can be a priceless experience. A free soul provides man with happiness and the unconquerable sense of a desire to live. Many have given up their homes and have come to a strange country in hopes of finding something better. When they arrive here, they are not concerned with our petty squabbles, for they see only the beauty and tranquility experienced by people who are free.

"The wretched refuse of your teeming shore"—The vastness of America stretches out as an unending sea before those who have been outcast by their native land. Surely, there is a spot for even the most wretched in our free society. Each man can find a spot which pleases him. Outcast by his native Hungary, Joseph Pulitzer came to this country as a castaway to join the army. He started out as a very poor boy with nothing to his name but the clothes on his back. Eventually, however, he made enough money to buy his own newspaper, and in the long run he became a very influential citizen. In fact, it was Joseph Pulitzer himself who was instrumental in collecting enough pennies, nickels, and dimes to total $100,000 so that a base for the Statue of Liberty could be constructed. He felt so strongly about what America had meant to him that he was determined that other immigrants should experience a share of this same sense of gratitude. Truly, he proved that the anguished peoples of the world can often times find new hope in America.

"Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Truly, these lines express the thoughts of Americans and immigrants alike, for were we not all immigrants at one time! America was not only the land of opportunity for those people living in the 1700's, or the 1800's, or even the early 1900's when some of the giants of industry rose to fame and fortune. America is still the beacon light of freedom and opportunity. One has only to talk to a Cuban refugee, a recent Polish immigrant, a former native of Czechoslovakia, to realize what the terms freedom and America symbolize for these people. They come to America poor and penniless with nothing more than the clothing on their back, and many times with no knowledge of the language whatsoever. Against these obstacles yet they come in search of a better life for themselves and their children. These are the unsung heroes of today. They may never make the headlines or the history books with their deeds, as did Joseph Pulitzer, Ralph Bunche, or Albert Einstein, but nevertheless, they all speak out for America—the land of the free.

If ever a groundswell of voices should ascend from ages past to the present day, there is no doubt that it would echo throughout the land with one grand sentiment—

God Bless America!

MANPOWER FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, we all recognize the dangerous threat posed by unemployment resulting from the private and Federal cutbacks in scientific research and development projects. It has become obvious that legislative measures must be taken to insure full utilization of our precious human resources. These resources, represented by the investments of education and experience in scientific and technological personnel, can provide valuable assistance to programs designed to resolve our pressing domestic and environmental problems.

Realizing the urgent nature of this increasing problem, our colleagues Congresman GIAIMO and Congressman DENT introduced H.R. 34, the "Conversion Research and Education Act of 1971," earlier this year.

Subsequently, scientists from the University of Miami contacted me urging that action be taken to retrain highly qualified professionals who are more and more frequently finding themselves unemployed. In future correspondence with the university professors, we discussed the many advantages of the Conversion Research and Education Act, and determined that that approach would indeed provide many of the solutions so desperately needed. I subsequently introduced legislation identical to H.R. 34.

Our colleague JOHN DAVIS, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, moved quickly on the proposal and held hearings in June and July. During those hearings, I testified and noted:

We cannot escape the realities of the domestic and environmental problems which demand solutions. Yet while we have moved closer to a national policy of de-emphasizing military and space expenditures in comparison to expenditures to combat our domestic crises, we are actually neutralizing one of our nation's most precious resources—its trained scientists and engineers. We can and must find the means to apply that resource to the concerns which threaten our very existence, such as pollution, nutrition, housing, health care, transportation, education and social alienation.

The equation for the solution of this interrelated economic and social problem can

be sensed intuitively, but there is a factor lacking. The missing link in the equation is the relatively small investment in a conversion program such as the one outlined in the legislation before this Subcommittee.

Mr. Speaker, the urgent need for action in this area was recently expressed in the April 1971 issue of Environmental Science and Technology. The article, "Manpower for Environmental Protection," written by Ralph C. Graber, Frederick K. Erickson, and William B. Persons of the Environmental Protection Agency outlines quantitatively and qualitatively the projected manpower need in the field of environmental protection for the coming decades. The authors of the article clearly demonstrate that the gap between supply and demand of needed personnel in this field, already at a dangerously high level, will continue to widen with serious and obvious effects on our domestic problems.

I call the article to our colleagues' attention and again urge prompt and favorable action on the Conversion Research and Education Act.

The article follows:

MANPOWER FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

(By Ralph C. Graber, Frederick K. Erickson, and William B. Parsons)

Mushrooming public concern over environmental quality has resulted in marked interest in the manpower needed to plan and implement prevention and control activities. Although this public attention is new, the basic mechanisms and technology have been developing for many years. Begun largely by the effort of health officers and sanitary engineers in providing safe supplies of drinking water, milk, and foods, the fields of action and the variety of professionals and technicians involved have expanded and extended into a broad-scale view of protecting or restoring the quality of modern environment.

Environmental protection represents a diverse area of work; thus, it draws heavily on a wide variety of professionals including chemists, physicists, and biologists of many specialities; hydrologists, meteorologists, and oceanographers; engineers, sanitarians, ecologists, physicians of several specialties; attorneys, mathematicians, statisticians; political scientists; planners, economists; and social scientists. They are engaged in carrying out technical and administrative or legal functions concerned with prevention and control programs, conceiving, designing, and constructing environmental protection facilities, planning, implementing, and directing general and specific service programs (including public water supply and waste treatment equipment and facilities), conducting relevant research and development, conducting investigations, surveys, and surveillance programs, and teaching at all educational and training levels.

There has been relatively little effort to assess the manpower situation in depth and over time. Deterrents to the development of such information are a lack of understanding or definition of the various professional and paraprofessional occupational roles and functions, and the need in terms of disciplinary versus categorical program specialization. Much effort is necessary to identify and measure factors of supply, demand, utilization, and production of environmental manpower.

In 1970, the total personnel employed in environmental protection exceeded 243,000 (Table I)—an estimate based on over 35,000 engineers, 37,000 scientists, sanitarians, etc.; 69,000 technicians; and 101,000 aides. The manpower needed to make significant improvement in environmental quality in 1970, 1975, and 1980 is estimated in Figures 1 and 2. The rate of increased demand for such manpower will be determined largely by the regulatory and fiscal impacts of federal, state, and local governments. Historically, environmental manpower assessment has been limited to two professions—engineer and sanitarian.

ENGINEER

Many engineers devote a major portion of their time applying engineering and scientific principles and practices to the prevention, control, and management of factors that may influence man's environment. During the last decade the need for a more comprehensive view of all environmental factors and their interrelationships has broadened the opportunities for engineers. Prior to that time, the engineer was concerned primarily with such factors as water supply and water pollution; therefore, the use of occupational title "sanitary engineer" was not inappropriate. The more comprehensive outlook validates the title of "environmental engineer."

Of the estimated 35,000 engineers employed in environmental protection activities in 1970, some 12,000 were the expanded counterparts of the earlier "sanitary engineers." The remaining engineers were engaged in some aspect of environmental protection in public works, in municipal services, or in increasing industrial attention toward preventing or controlling air, water, and land pollution.

Estimated 1970 levels of employment in which all or a major proportion of the engineer's activities was directed to environmental engineering number 35,800. Many engineers function in more than one environmental area; therefore, it is difficult to estimate the number employed in any one field, particularly relating to public water supply and water pollution, and even solid wastes. The classification of engineers employed by consulting firms which practice across-the-board is illustrative of this fact. For example, many of the more than 5400 professionals reported by those consultants listed in the "1970 Annual Yearbook of the Water Pollution Control Federation" also work on water supply and (or) solid waste management projects during any given year. However, the 1970 engineering billings on new facility plans of $6.9 billion for waterworks and pollution control, reported by *Engineering News Record* 186 (1), indicated a heavy weighting toward sewerage and water pollution control works.

With heightening concern over air pollution, water pollution, solid wastes, shortcomings in public water supplies, controllable hazards of the occupational environment, and the quality of environment in urban neighborhoods, the total requirements for engineers in planning, constructing, operating facilities, and monitoring the performance and environmental impact of such facilities, and monitoring the performance and environmental impact of such facilities can be expected to increase several-fold. Present need far exceeds present utilization, but the realities of probable public and private response to the need could well represent doubling engineering employment for environment by 1975.

A 1962 national survey showed that about one-third of the respondent engineers were employed by state and local governments, one-third by private industry and business, and the balance by the federal government or other organizations. Management or administration was the most important function and involved nearly one-third of the respondents.

Numerous professional organizations are concerned with the environmental engineering field. Eight have joined in sponsoring the Environmental Engineering Intersociety Board, Inc. (formerly the American Sanitary Engineering Intersociety Board, Inc.). The objectives of the board are to improve the practice, elevate the standards, and advance the cause of environmental engineering. Certification as a Diplomate of the American Academy of Environmental Engineers (AAEE) is awarded by the board, based upon compliance with educational and experience standards, state licensure, and satisfactory completion of written and oral examinations. Currently, the board certifies environmental engineers in four subspecialties—air pollution control, industrial hygiene, radiation and hazard control, and sanitary engineering. The AAEE roster at the end of 1970 lists over 1150 Diplomates.

SANITARIAN

The sanitarian applies his knowledge of the physical, biological, and social sciences for the improvement, control, and management of the environmental factors which might affect man's health. According to the most recent figures available, an estimated 12,000 sanitarians were employed in 1968. Prior estimates by the Public Health Service combined the data for sanitarians and sanitarian technicians and showed about 5000 in 1959 and 11,000 in 1960 for the combined groups.

The first national survey of persons who regarded themselves as sanitarians was conducted in 1962. State and county governments were the major employers. Inspection, testing, and control were the major activities of half of those answering the survey questionnaire. Two-thirds indicated a specialization in milk, food, and meat technology.

Thirty-five states require the registration or licensing of sanitarians. In 1960, a model registration act was developed by the Sanitarians Joint Council which consists of representatives from the International Association of Milk, Food, and Environmental Sanitarians (3000 members), the National Environmental Health Association (6000 members), and the American Public Health Association. The minimum requirements for sanitarians under the model act are: a bachelor's degree with a minimum of 30 semester hours of academic work in environmental health or in the physical and biological sciences, at least two-years full-time employment as a sanitarian, and successful completion of an examination given by a state registration board.

Three professional environmental health organizations have sponsored the establishment of the American Intersociety Academy for Certification of Sanitarians (AIACS). The academy is dedicated to recognizing the professional quality and achievement of the sanitarians in the various environmental health fields. Certification as a Diplomate of the academy is based upon meeting educational and experience standards, state registration, and satisfactory completion of a written and oral examination. The AIACS 1969 roster lists over 300 persons.

PROGRAM SPECIALIST

Environmental protection personnel may practice their basic discipline per se or acquire a categorical program expertise beyond their disciplinary specialization. Three examples of categorical program specialists include industrial hygiene personnel, radiation protection personnel, and air pollution control personnel.

Industrial hygiene personnel include engi-

gineers, chemists, nurses, toxicologists, physiologists, occupational hygienists, dermatologists, technicians, or similar occupations. Basic industrial hygiene activities include recognizing, evaluating, and controlling those environmental factors which adversely affect health and efficiency of workers in places of employment. These specialists are essentially concerned with four categories of stresses—toxic chemical agents such as dusts, gases, plastics, and pesticides; physical agents or energy stresses such as excessive noise, temperature extremes and radiations; biological hazards such as infectious agents and enzymes; and other work-related stresses such as monotony, rigors of work process, and equipment design.

In federal agencies and in large industrial companies, these personnel may also conduct research studies on toxicity of materials, analytical methods, and field instrumentation. In such organizations, occupational health programs may also be staffed with physicians, nurses, toxicologists, x-ray technicians, and laboratory personnel offering a comprehensive preventive health program for workers. Industrial hygiene personnel in state and local official agencies provide various consultation and technical services to workplaces within their jurisdiction.

The latest estimate available indicates that nearly 1700 industrial hygiene personnel are employed by manufacturing and other industrial and commercial enterprises, insurance companies, universities, federal agencies, and state and local agencies.

Major professional associations concerned with industrial hygiene are the American Industrial Hygiene Association (1650 members in 1969), the American Conference of Governmental Industrial Hygienists (1065 members in 1969), and the Occupational Health Section, American Public Health Association (700 members in 1969). The first two organizations sponsor the American Board of Industrial Hygiene, an organization established in 1960 to improve the practice and educational standards of industrial hygienists. Certification as a Diplomate of the American Academy of Industrial Hygiene is awarded by the board based upon a system of written and oral examinations. By 1970, the board had certified 570 persons. Certification requirements include graduation with a baccalaureate in chemistry; physics; chemical, mechanical, or sanitary engineering; biology; or other acceptable major subject and eight years full-time employment in industrial hygiene.

Radiation protection personnel at the professional level include health physicists, engineers, chemists, biologists, and other scientific and technical occupations with specialized training. The radiation exposure problems with which they are concerned are associated with electronic products, such as x-ray machines, particle accelerators, microwave ovens, and color television; radioactive materials; and nuclear reactors, as well as environmental radioactive contamination. Their work is conducted principally in industrial, medical, research, or educational institutions that use radiation sources and in governmental agencies that have responsibility for public health protection.

Several professional associations and societies serving radiation protection objectives provide opportunity for membership, such as the Health Physics Society (3000 members); Radiological Health Section (350 members) of the American Public Health Association; American Association of Physicists in Medicine (450 members); and the American College of Radiology. The first three of these serve as sponsors of the American Board of Health Physics, an organization established in 1959 to improve the practice and elevate the standards of health physics. Through a system of written and oral examinations, by 1969 the board had certified almost 500 people as professionally qualified to assume higher level positions in health physics. Requirements for certification include a bachelor's degree in a physical science, or in a biological science with a minor in a physical science, and six years professional experience in health physics (three years of which must have been in applied radiation protection work).

Air pollution control personnel include engineers, chemists, meteorologists, statisticians, physicists, biologists, sanitarians, technicians, inspectors, etc. The principal activities in air pollution control programs are identifying and measuring chemical pollutants and airborne particulate matter, measuring and analyzing the meteorological effects on atmospheric pollution conditions, determining the effects of air pollution on biological systems and inorganic materials, controlling air pollution sources including industrial production processes, combustion and space heating equipment, and vehicular sources, developing, installing, and operating a variety of processes and equipment designed to reduce or eliminate the emission of air pollutants, developing and enforcing air quality and emission standards, and coordinating and integrating air pollution control efforts with other environmental protection activities and with diverse industrial and governmental programs and agencies conducting activities which affect, directly or indirectly, air quality.

National concern for the air pollution problems has resulted in a major expansion in state, local, and regional control efforts. In 1963, for example, only 11 states had basic air pollution control legislation; by the end of 1970, all 50 had basic statutes. In 1969, there were more than 200 state, local, and regional control agencies. Most control agencies are small in terms of staffing. Fifty percent of the state agencies had fewer than ten full-time positions, and 50% of the local agencies had fewer than seven full-time positions.

The Air Pollution Control Association (5000 members) is the major professional society concerned with air pollution. Other societies including the American Industrial Hygiene Association, American Society of Civil Engineers. American Society of Mechanical Engineers, American Chemical Society and American Public Health Association are also involve with air pollution activities.

TECHNICIAN AND AIDE

As environmental protection facilities and services have increased in number and complexity, the need for more trained technicians and aides has become more apparent. The environmental technician is an individual prepared for jobs which consist of subsections of work, previously done by professionals (for which full professional training is not necessary); jobs which include new functions supporting the professional that expand the scope of professional services; jobs designed at the entry level so that persons with less than the training or academic credentials that usually accompany profesisonal status can, in relatively short periods, become sufficiently skilled to perform technical tasks; jobs which allow opportunity for individual development, regardless of traditional credentials or other arbitrary status symbols, and permit advancement to duties of greater challenge and responsibilities.

Technicians are utilized in a variety of ways in environmental protection programs. The application of such skills includes, but is not limited to, inspections, surveys, investigations, evaluations, and operation of facilities. Specific tasks may include obtaining appropriate samples of air, water, and food and assisting in tests to determine quality; operating, or assisting in the operation of, water and waste water treatment plants and solid waste disposal facilities; and inspection and evaluation to determine compliance with laws and regulations. Administrative organizations and units which employ technicians are state and local health departments, air pollution control organizations, water purification plants, waste water treatment plants, solid waste collection and disposal units, radiation protection units, consulting firms, and a variety of business and industrial firms concerned with environmental controls. New careers, such as oceanography and meteorology, are continually being developed in environmental protection for technically trained persons.

The number of environmental technicians is difficult to estimate. The 69,500 people employed as technicans in 1970 (Figure 2) occupied positions for which the desirable qualification in training and experience would be those included in the technician definition cited above. In fact, a substantial proportion of the personnel so employed at this time has not had the training or equivalent experience to qualify adequately.

By 1980 the rapid population growth will have created environmental problems requiring 214,000 trained technicians. At the present rate of training—less than 1000 new graduates per year—there will not be enough trained people to meet the demand. Educational facilities and teachers must be updated and added to in significant numbers for the necessary production of trained technicians needed over the next five to ten years.

The environmental aide assists professional personnel and technicians in carrying out prevention, control, and service programs. He performs routine tasks under supervision. The aide is usually a high-school graduate and receives on-the-job training in environmental protection activity. As estimated 101,000 aides were employed in 1970 in public water supply, waste water collection and treatment, industrial wastes disposal, solid waste collection and disposal, community sanitation and rodent control activities, industrial safety, air pollution control, and recreational management.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The minimum educational requirement for engineers, sanitarians, and many other environmental disciplines is the bachelor's degree. However, in a number of other instances, graduate education is required for disciplinary qualification or for categorical program specialization. In several disciplines the qualifying professional degree is the doctorate.

Most engineers now enter the environmental protection field at the bachelor's level, having completed curricula in civil, chemical, or mechanical engineering, however, graduate preparation frequently is a requisite for employment and (or) advancement Graduate education for engineers in air pollution, water pollution, industrial hygiene, solid waste management, radiation protection, and general practice is offered at more than 100 institutions (Table II). The full range of such specialization is not offered at every institution.

The minimum educational requirement for the sanitarian is usually a bachelor's degree with a major in environmental health or in the physical or biological sciences. Presently, 35 academic institutions offer undergraduate four-year programs in environmental health. In 1968, the National Association of Sanitarians (now the National Environmental Health Association) initiated

an accreditation program for undergraduate environmental health (or related) curricula.

The minimum educational requirement for the environmental technician is an associate's degree, or equivalent, in environmental health, environmental science, radiologic technology, or related areas of specialization. A number of community (junior) colleges or technical institutes offer technical training in these areas.

The environmental aide normally is a high-school graduate with varying amounts of on-the-job training, vocational education, and (or) appropriate short-course training in specialized subjects.

A wide variety of short technical courses in environmental subjects is offered by the Environmental Protection Agency and the Public Health Service. In addition to the short courses conducted in the states in response to requests, short technical courses for continuing education are also offered by several other federal agencies and nonfederal institutions.

TABLE I.—ENVIRONMENTAL MANPOWER NEEDS NOW OUTSTRIP THE SUPPLY

Occupation	Supply 1970	Need 1970	Need 1975	Need 1980
Engineer	35,700	44,000	70,000	105,000
Scientist	11,300	22,000	28,000	32,000
Technologist	26,600	51,000	66,000	76,000
Technician	69,500	86,000	150,000	214,000
Aide	101,000	126,000	157,000	188,000

TABLE II.—ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS OFFERING ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION GRADUATE PROGRAMS IN 1970 (SUPPORTED BY SELECTED FEDERAL GRANTS)

Location and school	Environmental area of program emphasis [1] Air	Ind. hyg.	Rad. protect.	Solid wastes	Water	Other [2]
Alabama:						
Tuskegee Institute					X	
University of Alabama					X	
Alaska: University of Alaska						X
Arizona:						
University of Arizona					X	
Arkansas: University of Arkansas			X		X	
California:						
California Institute of Technology						X
San Jose State					X	
Stanford University					X	
University of California, Berkeley		X			X	X
University of California, Davis					X	X
University of California, Irvine						X
University of California, Los Angeles			X			X
University of California, Riverside	X					X
University of Southern California	X					
Colorado:						
Colorado State University			X		X	
University of Colorado					X	
Connecticut:						
University of Connecticut					X	X
Yale	X		X			X
District of Columbia:						
Georgetown						X
Howard					X	
Florida:						
University of Florida	X		X	X	X	X
University of Miami			X			X
Georgia:						
University of Georgia						X
Georgia Institute of Technology	X		X	X	X	X
Emory						X
Hawaii: University of Hawaii				X	X	X
Illinois:						
University of Illinois	X			X	X	
Illinois Institute of Technology					X	
Montana: Montana State University					X	
Nebraska: University of Nebraska					X	
New Jersey: Rutgers	X		X		X	X
New Mexico: New Mexico State University					X	X
New York:						
Columbia			X			X
Cornell					X	X
Adelphia					X	
Manhattan College					X	
New York University	X	X	X		X	X
Rensselaer Polytechnical			X	X		
Union College and University						X
North Carolina:						
North Carolina State University	X				X	X
University of North Carolina	X	X	X		X	X
Duke						X
North Dakota: North Dakota State University			X			X
Ohio:						
Ohio State University		X			X	X
University of Cincinnati	X	X	X		X	X
University of Toledo					X	
Oklahoma:						
Oklahoma State University					X	
University of Oklahoma		X	X	X	X	X
Oregon: Oregon State University	X		X		X	X
Pennsylvania:						
Pennsylvania State University	X				X	X
University of Pennsylvania			X			
Drexel Institute of Technology	X			X	X	X
Temple	X		X			
Southern Illinois University					X	
Northwestern University			X		X	X
Indiana:						
Purdue	X		X		X	X
University of Indiana						X
Notre Dame					X	X
Iowa:						
Iowa State			X		X	
University of Iowa					X	
Kansas:						
Kansas State University		X				X
University of Kansas			X	X	X	
Kentucky: University of Kentucky	X				X	
Louisiana:						
Louisiana State University	X				X	
Louisiana Polytechnic Institute					X	
Tulane	X					X
Maine: University of Maine					X	
Maryland:						
University of Maryland	X					
Johns Hopkins	X		X		X	X
Massachusetts:						
University of Massachusetts	X				X	X
Harvard	X	X	X		X	X
Massachusetts Institute of Technology						X
Northeastern University					X	X
Tufts					X	X
Michigan:						
University of Michigan	X	X	X	X	X	X
Michigan State University					X	X
Wayne State University					X	X
Minnesota: University of Minnesota	X		X		X	X
Mississippi: Mississippi State University					X	
Missouri:						
University of Missouri					X	X
Washington University						X
Thomas Jefferson University						X
University of Pittsburgh	X	X	X		X	X
Puerto Rico: University of Puerto Rico			X			
Rhode Island: University of Rhode Island						X
South Carolina: Clemson University					X	X
South Dakota:						
South Dakota State University					X	X
University of South Dakota						X
Tennessee:						
University of Tennessee			X			
Vanderbilt	X				X	X
Texas:						
University of Texas	X		X	X	X	X
Texas A. & M. University			X			
University of Houston				X		
Rice					X	X
North Texas State University					X	
Utah:						
Utah State University					X	
University of Utah	X				X	
Virgina: Virginia Polytech					X	X
Washington:						
University of Washington	X		X	X	X	X
Washington State University	X				X	
West Virginia: West Virginia University	X			X	X	X
Wisconsin:						
University of Wisconsin	X				X	
Marquette					X	
Total, 103 schools	33	10	32	13	73	63

[1] Includes research training in each program.

[2] Includes one or more of following, as illustrations: injury control, toxicology, systems planning, environmental biology, etc.

FOREIGN NATIONS DISREGARD CONSERVATION PRACTICES

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, how long can we endure the unbridled effrontery we are witnessing on the high seas outside of our territorial jurisdiction?

One of our most precious fishery resources, the North Atlantic salmon is now the target of unthinking, unfeeling fishermen from foreign nations greatly more interested in immediate profits than in insuring the long-run survival of fine species of fish.

The North Atlantic salmon is an economic necessity to commercial fishermen and a delight to sports fishermen and gourmets as well. The Congress has previously recognized the salmon's importance by authorizing conservation programs to protect the fish when they ascend our streams to spawn.

Unfortunately, however, these salmon spend most of their lives at sea. All conservation measures that protect them while they are in coastal and fresh waters are meaningless if, during the years they are at sea, they are ruthlessly harvested by greedy exploiters. In many cases, foreign fishermen are reflecting the policy of their own government against adherence to any semblance of sound and effective conservation procedures.

Our natural resources would not last long if all nations ignored the need to act in the best interests of both the present and future generations. The United States, recognizing this problem, must establish its national policy to take whatever steps are required to insure that this vulnerable species is not desecrated further.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation that will permit U.S. sanctions against foreign nations who, in the judgment of the Secretary of Commerce, are failing to honor reasonable conservation practices in fishing for the North Atlantic salmon and are therefore causing severe harm to these fish.

This legislation will close the vast American marketplace to the food and agricultural products of nations whose fishermen are permitted to disregard conservation practices in their fishing. Since we cannot take direct action to insure that these fish are protected on the high seas, we must take whatever effective steps are available.

The bill makes it unlawful for anyone to bring into the United States the food and agricultural products of any nation certified by the Secretary of Commerce as endangering conservation programs for the North Atlantic salmon. A penalty of not more than $10,000 for the first offense and $25,000 for any subsequent offense is provided.

It is important that the Congress act quickly on this issue. The damage is being done right now to the North Atlantic salmon and it may be irrevocable. This legislation should have one of our highest priorities.

INTERIOR MUST ACT ON VISITOR PARKING

HON. JOHN T. MYERS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, I have today written Secretary Morton of the Department of Interior asking him to take action on a proposal for underground visitor parking at the Mall and Ellipse.

More than 18 million visitors will travel to the Nation's Capital this year, with more than 12,500,000 arriving by automobile.

It is unfair for us as lawmakers, as Government officials, and as businessmen in Washington to encourage this influx of tourists anxious to see their Government at work only to send them home frustrated and discouraged by the transportation problems in the Capital.

I urged the National Park Service to assume leadership in solving this problem by taking a positive position based on numerous studies made in recent years which provide the feasibility of constructing visitor parking facilities under the Mall and the Ellipse, in the heart of the major Federal buildings and shrines.

The complaints I hear most often from constituents visiting my office center on the lack of parking facilities and the frustration of searching for a place either on the street or in a commercial lot. In at least one instance, I remember a constituent who gave up and returned home to Indiana without seeing many of the historical sites in Washington.

I am aware of at least one survey which recommends underground parking at the Ellipse just south of the White House which would accommodate 2,800 private autos and 400 buses. Similar plans have been proposed for an 11-block stretch under the Mall running from the Capitol Building to the Washington Monument. Still another proposal would provide for underground parking at 17th Street and Constitution Avenue, the former site of the Naval Munitions Building.

The harsh fact is that parking is especially acute in the vicinity of the Capitol, the Senate and House Office Buildings, national shrines, and the other areas visited by millions of citizens from throughout America and the world who come to Washington annually.

This problem not only affects these visitors but also such shortage creates a parking and transportation problem for the thousands of employees of the Federal Government with whom the visitors must compete for what limited parking there is available.

It is time for decisive action in meeting this problem. The studies have been made and the recommendations have been under consideration for several years. We owe it to the millions of Americans who visit Washington each year and the thousands who live and work here year-round to provide the best possible transportation system.

I feel certain Congress will act favorably on a constructive plan for visitor parking once the National Park Service and the Department of the Interior agree on a proposal and send it to Capitol Hill for consideration.

NEW YORK KNICKERBOCKER DRUM AND BUGLE CORPS

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, the New York Knickerbocker Drum and Bugle Corps wins praise wherever it goes. I am proud to join in that praise by inserting in the RECORD a recent article in the magazine Drum Corps America/Canada which describes the Knickerbockers with all the enthusiasm and praise it so richly deserves:

DRUM CORPS AMERICA/CANADA SALUTES N.Y. KNICKERBOCKER DRUM & BUGLE CORPS

"From the concrete canyons of the Capital City of the World, here is New York's own Knickerbocker Drum & Bugle Corps" . . . . To tens of thousands of people this verbal fanfare heralds another exciting performance by the city's unique "Teenage Marching Ambassadors of Musical Goodwill," the fabulous New York Knickerbocker Drum and Bugle Corps.

Although only two seasons have passed since the advent of the Knickerbockers, it is already one of North America's most sought after drum corps. It's thrilled thousands at competitions where it's always in the running, and was chosen from among 600 applicants to march in last year's Macy's Thanksgiving Parade. (A double distinction, since the committee that runs this fabulous pageant is known to be least receptive to New York City units.)

Clad in brilliant gold tunics with scarlet cross-sash and ebony trim, the corps never fails to present an outstanding musical show. Last season on it's first major Mid-America and Mid-Canada tour, the Knicks gained thousands of new fans and sold hundreds of famous Father Knickerbocker Buttons from a genuine New York pushcart.

A veritable United Nations on the march, the New York flavor of the corps is conveyed through its magical music—pulsating percussion, dynamic drill and fascinating faces showing latin, white, oriental and black ethnic backgrounds. "Knickerbocker" means "Son of New York." To thousands it also means excitement and unique musical entertainment.

Not only is the New York Knickerbocker Drum and Bugle Corps well known, but its entire organization, including its successful Cadet unit and powerful Parent and Booster Association, have drawn a great deal of respect and attention from the New York community.

The "Knickerbocker Gallery of Honor," which designates persons who have helped the corps, includes: Mayor John Lindsay, for has proclamations establishing the corps as Official Ambassadors of Good Will; Cardinal Terrence Cooke, who has made financial

donations to the corps; Bronx Borough President Bob Abrams, who has worked with community leaders to support the Knicks, Congressmen Mario Biaggi and Jim Scheuer, who help the corps in legal matters, and world famous entertainer Sammy Davis, Jr., who ran a benefit for the corps and raised thousands of dollars for it. . . . The Knicks are very special and will be great in 1971.

JACKSONVILLE SHERIFF'S OFFICE PROMOTES FAIRER JUSTICE

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the sheriff's office in Jacksonville, Fla., is one of the most innovative law enforcement agencies in the Nation. To protect citizens and provide for fairer law enforcement and justice, the Jacksonville sheriff's department has a police legal advisor, financed through the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, of which I was a cosponsor.

The so-called "squad car lawyer," is Eric Smith, who is on call 24 hours a day to provide legal advice to police officers. Smith, a graduate of the University of Florida College of Law, is also president of the Jacksonville Junior Chamber of Commerce, and a dynamic young leader in the community.

To point out this unique law enforcement service provided by the Jacksonville sheriff's office, financed with Federal funds, I include an article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD from the Florida Sheriff's Star, a magazine published by the Florida Sheriff's Association, reprinted from the Jacksonville, Fla., Chronicle:

ON 24-HOUR CALL: ERIC SMITH
THE SQUAD CAR LAWYER

(NOTE—The following article appeared in the monthly Florida SHERIFF'S STAR, a magazine published by the Florida Sheriff's Association.)

JACKSONVILLE.—While cruising a neighborhood hard hit by burglars, Officer Jackson spots a suspicious person in the shadows carrying a tool box and paper bag.

The suspect says he is carrying his work tools and lunch but indignantly refuses to allow Officer Jackson to inspect the contents.

Tauntingly he tells the officer to "get a search warrant."

Can this suspect be legally searched without arresting him? Or must he be arrested, then searched?

If Officer Jackson searches the man illegally he has left himself and the department open to a civil suit. If he makes the arrest and the suspect is carrying his tools and lunch instead of burglar tools and loot, a false arrest suit is sure to follow.

The above is a fairly common occurrence and most officers would know instinctively how to handle it. But even the oldest pro can't be ready for every situation and have every answer. And there must be an answer and quickly or the suspect is gone, the case lost.

In Jacksonville this is less likely to happen. The Sheriff's Department has a man on call 24 hours a day to have answers to most of the questions.

He is a Police Legal Advisor, commonly referred to as the "Squad Car Lawyer." His name is Eric Smith, and he has several jobs.

Being on call with his radio-equipped, unmarked police car is just one of them.

To cut down on the number of times he is called in the middle of the night, Smith is instructing police officers in the areas of criminal law; what they need to know about search and seizure, laws of arrest and Supreme Court decisions.

At the Sheriff's Academy, recruits get 20 hours of instruction in basic criminal law, courtroom procedure.

A group of 20 correctional officers attended a four-hour course entitled "Legal Rights of Correctional Officers."

Smith is also involved in presenting an in-service training program to all 730 sworn personnel.

The Police Legal Advisor Program by a discretionary federal grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

For $15,000 a year Sheriff Dale Carson has a 28-year-old lawyer with a degree from the University of Florida who has been an assistant state attorney and a prosecutor in municipal court. In addition, he has taught courses in criminal law and economics at Florida Junior College.

The Sheriff's Department has established five goals to be accomplished through the Police Legal Advisor.

1. Provide the Sheriff's Office with full-time legal assistance responsive to police needs.

2. Provide "high-level" recruit and in-service training in the area of criminal law.

3. Provide a research capability in areas of need such as in drafting needed statutes and evaluating proposed legislation.

4. Distribution of information in the field of criminal law throughout the Department.

5. Bring about better communication with the courts and prosecutors.

Since the beginning of the program in January, Smith has noted a steady increase in the number of telephone opinions he is asked to give, routine questions he is asked and evaluation reports he is asked to make.

One of the first jobs was to let officers know they had someone to call on for legal help. This was done by giving introductory briefings to various units in the Department.

Officers are getting reminders of his presence in the form of Police Legal Bulletins which serve to keep them up-to-date on the latest changes and interpretations of the law.

Smith says one of the big gains has been the fact "officers feel that for the first time they have full-time, police oriented legal advice."

He noted the offices of the state attorney and city attorney are among the best and provide the Sheriff's Department with excellent service, but "they cannot devote the time and involvement which a police legal advisor provides."

The advisor is maintaining a close relationship with these agencies. He is also attending weekly staff meetings at the State Attorney's Office.

Some of his other duties are to observe crime scenes and civil disorders, interview witnesses and accompany officers on raids.

RECEIVES 1971 APOLLO AWARD

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate Anna Berliner, Ph. D. and emeritus professor of psychology at Pacific University College of Optometry, in Forest Grove, Oreg., for receiving the 1971 Apollo Award from the American Optometric Association in recognition of her "distinguished service and significant contribution to the visual welfare of mankind." Dr. Berliner, a constituent of my district, has played an active role in recognizing the importance of the behavioral sciences to optometry.

The Apollo Award is the highest tribute that can be bestowed upon an individual by the American Optometric Association. The association is a federation of 51 associations representing all 50 States and the District of Columbia. The award was presented to Dr. Berliner at the American Optometric Association's annual congress in Houston in June.

Endorsing Dr. Berliner's nomination for the Apollo Award, Dr. John R. Pierce, chairman of the University of Alabama School of Optometry noted that—

. . . It was she who first pointed out the importance of the behavioral sciences to optometry. . . . The movement that she started has had such an impact that it has influenced the curriculum of all schools and colleges of optometry. Her contribution to optometry is immeasurable.

Dr. Berliner received her Ph. D in 1913 at the University of Leipzig, in psychology and philosophy. She carries with her the truly rare honor of having been the first female doctoral student under Wundt. She subsequently because part of the Gestalt movement which radically changed the course of psychology. A list of her friends and colleagues contains the names of the many notables who chartered the course of modern behavioral science.

I am honored to have the privilege of congratulating Dr. Berliner. She has proven herself to be an outstanding member of our society, the academic, and professional community, and I applaud the American Optometric Association for recognizing her brilliant career and monumental contributions.

TRIBUTE TO HON. JOHN DOW

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I deem it a pleasure and an honor to participate in the tributes being paid by his colleagues to the gentleman from New York (Mr. Dow).

JOHN Dow has earned a reputation in the House of Representatives for total integrity and great courage. He also gratifies partly for the term we use here so casually: "Gentleman."

He was one of the first to see clearly the evils of the Vietnam war, to speak out against them and to vote against any authorization or appropriation bills that might be considered to provide support for that military misadventure.

I have worked with Congressman Dow on a number of occasions and have always found him willing to work as a

member of a team, without regard for parading his own virtue, but he never carries this spirit of cooperation to the point of compromising his principles.

Although the word "politician" has an honorable origin, in modern times it has come to convey a sense of expediency, of catering to the voters regardless of the rights and wrongs, of making deals for personal advancement. In this sense, JOHN Dow is the opposite of a politician. Fortunately, the voters of his district have been wise enough to recognize his sterling qualities on repeated occasions. I hope they will continue in the future to recognize that they are fortunate indeed to have as their representative a man of such quality. Then the Congress of the United States will have the benefit of his dedication, his ability and his wisdom, and his colleagues will have the privilege of his advice, his help, and his friendly presence in the House.

A COP NAMED JOE

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, his name was Joe Monteparo.

He showed that reasonable men can work together in order to make a community a better place to live in and work.

He died while carrying out his duties as a policeman, a job he loved and at which he worked with dedication.

"Joe Mont" was a life-long friend of mine. We played together as youngsters. We went through school together. And we remained friends until his untimely death.

On July 27, 1971, Look magazine carried a story on "Joe Mont" which outlined the great contribution he made to his community and his country. I commend the reading of this article to my colleagues:

A COP NAMED JOE

(By Fletcher Knebel)

They entered the room like wary lieutenants of warring armies, summoned to truce talks they regarded as foredoomed. They wore an air of righteous mission. They came ostensibly to talk peace, but actually to pin guilt on the enemy before the outbreak of new fighting.

They were six whites and six blacks. The field of battle was a square mile of real estate, the once fashionable but now frayed Atlantic seaside resort, Asbury Park, N.J., a century-old town of 17,000 inhabitants and a microcosm of America's raging urban plague. The meeting date last year was October 11, thirteen weeks after black riots burst on the city, resulting in injury to 180 persons, 167 arrests and $4 million in property losses. When the New Jersey State Police withdrew and the curfew was lifted, Asbury Park was shattered, and Springwood Avenue, outdoor living room of the black ghetto west of the railroad tracks, resembled a street after heavy bombardment.

Behind the sea-sprayed boardwalk, creaking with tens of thousands of visitors on summer weekends, Asbury Park was a city of fading hopes. It was governed by a standpat mayor and council, unresponsive to the needs and demands of the growing black population, now 35 percent of the total. The city manager's post stood vacant. The Chamber of Commerce had died of apathy. Businessmen deserted the town at sundown for scrubbed and bowered residential havens outside Asbury Park. Whites complained bitterly of rising taxes, robberies and muggings. Blacks were indignant over the scarcity of year-round jobs, high slum rents and the drug dealers and junkies who haunted Springwood Avenue. Twenty-nine percent of the city lived on welfare. Racial antipathies were fast acquiring the face of hatred, particularly between the blacks and the hard-pressed, clannish Italians, the largest white ethnic bloc.

The two-day October session, billed as a "laboratory confrontation," was viewed as a forlorn effort by those few residents who knew of it. Fear stalked the town. Rumors mushroomed. Asbury Park High School had suffered a racial eruption only two weeks before. People were arming. Bigots of both colors spread their venom. Talk between the races was confined almost exclusively to shrill public blasts from combatant leaders.

The black-white encounter was directed by two outside professionals, Mrs. Holly Porter, a serene, comely WASP housewife from Grand Rapids, Mich., and Irving Goldaber, a sociology professor at Brooklyn College who skillfully blends classroom theory with the street lore absorbed as a boy in a poor Jewish family living in Brooklyn's now embattled Brownsville section. Goldaber and Mrs. Porter, operating as Community Confrontation and Communication Associates, share basic views about the nation's urban turmoil: that warring factions would really rather talk than fight, that massive infusion of money without attitude and behavior change is of dubious value, and that such changes can emanate from dialogue.

But the most important person in the room that October morning was one of the white confronters, a cop named Joe. He was a great barrel of a man with powerful muscles and steady blue eyes. Joe was stubborn, quick-tempered, outspoken and fearless. He was a strict by-the-book, law-and-order man. He had been bruised, bitten and butted in ten years as a policeman, had once severely damaged his back and again suffered a chipped elbow in pursuit of fleeing suspects.

Joseph Michael Monteparo, son of an Italian immigrant, had been born 41 years before on Springwood Avenue when that now black street was the heart of Little Italy. In his youth, Italian boys did not venture far from Springwood. The family was poor. Joe and his two brothers were products of a split home, and their mother labored as a factory hand at $11 a week, to supplement money sent by their father. Athletics then was the route up and out for Italian boys, even as it is now for black youngsters. Joe became a fierce competitor, starred in baseball and basketball at Asbury Park High. Later, he played minor-league baseball. Drafted for the Korean War, he served Stateside, chiefly with a championship Army baseball team of Ft. Myer, Va. Later, he became a fine amateur golfer, shooting in the 70's.

Aside from his baseball days, Joe's entire life was Asbury Park. He was provincial in outlook, hearse-driving and cleaning out theaters, usually sleeping only six out of 24 hours. The night before this October meeting was routine for Joe. He worked until 2 a.m., sweeping out a movie house.

There were many reasons for Joe's importance in the room that morning. For the whites, he was a natural leader, trusted by the politically potent Italian community, respected by others. Popular with fellow officers, he was the New Jersey State Policeman's Benevolent Association delegate. To the blacks, Joe was the symbol of feared police power. Joe had tried to get one of the blacks, Donald Hammary, fired from his anti-poverty job, had argued heatedly with Hammary on a David Susskind TV show three weeks earlier.

Joe had played a major role at a recent secret meeting the night after black students rampaged through the high school, beating white students in the corridors. Almost 200 white youths, many armed with chains, clubs and other weapons, gathered in the basement of the home of Nicky West, 17-year-old son of Charles West, a contractor and special-duty policeman. The white boys aimed to invade Springwood Avenue in retaliation for the school assaults. The elder West summoned Joe Monteparo, who told the gang to cool it. Retaliation would start a vicious circle of warfare, he said. But Joe also made it plain that the white boys should fight if attacked again. Fear would only breed more assaults, he said. The meeting broke up without a raid into black territory. When word of Joe's counsel filtered out to blacks, distortion dimmed the "cool it" order and magnified his advice to fight if attacked. The blacks had no love for Joe Monteparo.

The 12-member confrontation that morning embraced ten men, five white and five black, and two women, one black, one white. The blacks included anti-poverty officials, students, a nurse's aide and a college administrator. The whites included a lawyer, housewife, city official, boys' club director, policeman and a contractor who was also a special-duty policeman. They were all prominent in the city and represented a "cross section of hostilities," in the words of David Parreott, Jr., a black detective assigned to assist the group leaders. Easy-mannered Parreott, popular with both blacks and whites, was the chief reason that Joe Monteparo was in the room at all. The confrontation was part of a community-relations project of the police department, financed by a New Jersey state grant. The 50-man police force, then 38 whites 12 blacks, was as fractured as Asbury Park itself. The uniform covered white racists and moderates, black militants and Uncle Toms. Police Chief Thomas Smith, himself a black man, had set the project in motion, but many of his white subordinates viewed "community relations" as enforced fraternization with the enemy. Joe Monteparo found himself in a conflict of loyalties. Chief Smith wanted him to attend the sessions. White officers urged him to boycott them. Joe himself opposed such programs, had said so bluntly.

A few hours before the meeting opened, Joe was still uncertain. After his movie-cleaning chores, he sat in a car in front of his home until 3 a.m., while Parretott and Goldaber sought to persuade him to attend. Joe's grudging final "yes" was a concession to his black fellow officer, Dave Parreott. Joe and Dave had gone on the force together in 1960, after placing first and second respectively in examinations.

The meeting opened in frigid formality, as Goldaber explained the ground rules: "Say anything you want, but don't interrupt another person." He instructed the six whites and six blacks to retire in segregated caucuses and list all their complaints against the other side. These were transposed to large wall posters. Black complaints, headed by "police racism, brutality," included half-session schools, shabby housing, and lack of jobs and a city manager. Whites, listing complaints in form of questions, asked among other things what burning and looting accomplished, why "the term 'work' is a dirty word," what causes rats and vermin in black dwellings, why "you teach your children to hate whites," why police were called pigs and why so many blacks were on welfare.

The black charge of police racism came first. Within minutes, the room exploded in an angry shouting match. As the only regular police officer present, Joe bore the brunt of black wrath. He was soon in an irate exchange with Don Hammary, his old foe. He

also clashed with Mrs. Mary Johnson, a black mother of four children whose flooding emotions were borne along on a torrent of words. Mary accused Joe of jamming a gun into her stomach at police headquarters amid negotiations during the July riots. Joe called Mary a liar and said that she had spread the lie throughout the black community. They relived the July scene at full lung power. Hammary got into the act, said that he had seen Joe and another officer standing next to Mary. Joe had been offensive, contended Hammary, but it was the other officer who put the gun to Mary's stomach. Mary apologized to Joe in the manner of a leopard apologizing to a python. Joe accepted in glum triumph. The shouting continued at high pitch. By noon, the group was ready to call it quits. At this point, Holly Porter prescribed an integrated lunch for the combatants. The intake of food plus the normal table etiquette defused tempers somewhat.

Two significant events occurred after lunch. A white lawyer walked out, never to return. He had come not to discuss or even to wrangle. He had come to "indict" the blacks for the crime of rioting, and he had a large yellow pad on which he jotted notes. In the curious, unspoken way that groups have, this group had begun to regard the attorney as an obstacle. He was anathema to the blacks, and he had lost the support of his fellow whites. Behind all their anger, the whites were groping for elusive solutions for the future. The lawyer, they sensed, was mired in the past. In this room at this time, he had lost his clout with everyone.

The second event was a game. The moment Goldaber proposed it, the tangled black and white hostilities focused sharply on him. One man voiced the group's sentiments: "With the city dying, this is a hell of a time to play games." But Goldaber smilingly insisted. It was an arithmetical problem, to be solved individually. Farmer Brown and Farmer Jones sell a pony back and forth to each other at varying prices. At the end, Farmer Brown owns the pony, but which farmer made money and how much? The 11 people came up with five different answers, were directed to split into five subgroups according to the answers. Each contingent was to elect a spokesman who would try to convince the entire group of the correctness of his solution. This provoked minor bedlam, people scurrying from one huddle to another as they changed their minds. The spokesmen, of whom Joe was one, presented a ragged spectacle. Once convinced they were right, they now faltered in their oratory, fearful they might be proved wrong after all. "So how do we find the correct answer?" asked Goldaber at last. Willie Hamm, an articulate black on the staff of Rutgers, suggested that the money exchange be acted out with fake bills. He would do service as the pony.

Now, the scene was played for laughs, first of the day. Hamm, neighing like a horse, shuttled between Bill Green, the Irish city coordinator, playing one farmer, and Paul Gunter, 20-year-old black militant, playing the other. Green became the play's comic star when he miscounted his money, forcing reenactment of the transaction. When laughter subsided, Goldaber asked what the game's moral was for Asbury Park. Consensus: "Before you shoot off your mouth in public, be damn sure of your facts. And listen to the other guy. He may be right after all."

The confrontation never again reached the decibels of the first strident hours. There was more dialogue, less bombast, more listening, fewer accusations. Yet the further the game receded in memory, the faster tempers kindled again. When the group broke for the night, wrangling had renewed, albeit at lower key.

The next morning, a bright autumn day, saw swiftly escalating combat. At the core were Joe Monteparo and Paul Gunter, the young black. Paul warned that black kids were angry, might burn again anytime. Joe: "See, you're threatening us again." Paul hotly: "No, I'm just reporting reality." Joe warned that white people, frightened over black disorders, would move out of the city. Paul: "Good, go ahead. We'll help you pack." Joe retorted that he too was merely reporting reality. Paul, temper flaring, consistently cut in on Joe.

Joe, suddenly rising to his feet, accused Paul of violating the rule against interruption. "I'm leaving," he announced. And big Joe stalked from the room, leaving the group in gaping silence. Paul Gunter was not to be denied a last word. He rushed after Joe, and the argument raged outside. Dave Parreott followed the pair. Seeking peace, he first made Paul promise to quit interrupting Joe. Then he appealed to Joe to return. Joe refused. He said this was Chief Smith's personal program, but other officers advised him he'd only compromise himself by coming.

Parreott: "Look, Joe, you owe me a lot of favors, right?"

Monteparo: "Yeah, Dave, I do."

Parreott: "Well, I want one now. Come on back in. My neck's on the line on this program. Do it for me."

Monteparo turned to Gunter. "And you won't interrupt me any more?"

Gunter: "Not if you don't break in on me."

Monteparo: "OK. Let's go back in."

Rejoining the tight circle, Joe apologized for walking out. He was here to stay, he said. Proud Joe's willingness to humble himself deeply impressed, then galvanized, the group. From that moment, the real dialogue began. No more shouts or taunts. The tone was conversational, often subdued. A friendly note began to sound in the exchanges. Every group has its own path to mutual understanding, and in this group, it appeared to be an awarenesss that somehow the future of Asbury Park, its city, was linked to what was said and done here. But Joe and Paul were not speaking to each other.

The leaders offered another exercise, involving a complex list of instructions. This time the 11 people came up with ten different answers. Goldaber then led a group pursuit of the solution. In the end, they agreed unanimously. The obvious point of this exercise was mulled over in silence. Then Willie Hamm said: "We did it as a group." Joe nodded at the black man. "Yeah," he said in a low voice, "we did it together."

The climate was sunny at lunch. For the first time, some good-natured interracial kidding took place. After the dishes were cleared, Holly Porter and Irving Goldaber paired off blacks with whites for tours of the town. Blacks were to take whites to their turf and vice versa. To the amazement of everyone, the leaders paired Joe and Paul although the two men still were not speaking. Charles West, in whose home the mass meeting of white high school boys had been held, was assigned to accompany Joe and Paul. The leaders were accused of making their first mistake. Joe and Paul would flare into new disputes, probably would not return.

"It is a risk," conceded Goldaber. "Still, if Paul and Joe can't learn to get along, neither can Asbury Park. We might as well find out now."

The fears seemed justified. When the group reassembled at the appointed time, the Joe-Paul-Charlie trio was missing. A half hour passed. At last, the three men appeared. Paul and Joe were conversing animatedly. Reporting, Joe said that Paul had shown them appalling housing along Springwood Avenue. As well as he knew the street of his birth, said Joe, he hadn't realized the squalor in which some blacks, paying rent to white landlords, were forced to live. For his part, Paul said that Joe had shown them police headquarters, located in scruffy, second-floor accommodations. The black suspect in a shoplifting case had been treated fairly.

Now, the group's last traces of rancor evaporated. Both blacks and whites tried hard for understanding. Once, Joe, without heat, asked what black kids meant when they said, "Off the pig." Replied Paul quietly: "It depends on how it's said, Joe. It could be an insult or a threat to hurt you." Again, Joe wanted to know why Negroes now preferred to be called black. Replied Willie Hamm: "It's just the best word today. The worst is to call us 'you people.'"

By evening, the group seemed possessed of a unity of its own. It had, after all, done something unique in Asbury Park. It had listened to people of another race and tried to weigh them as individuals. Some members obviously were exhilarated by the novel experience. The closing dinner of the grueling two-day session was marked by a resolve to work together for racial harmony. In the summations, in which each person told what the confrontations had meant to him, no one was more candid or emphatic than Joe.

"I've learned more about Willie Hamm and black people in two days here," he said, "than in the last six years. We've all got the same problems. Look, I was dead set against police-community relations. I figured why should I be called pig all day and then listen to it all over again on my own time. But now I realize why this city needs to understand the police and vice versa. I listened to Paul while we were out together." Joe grinned. "He's stubborn like me, but we've got to get along. It's the only way for Asbury Park."

In the weeks that followed, ripples from the confrontation spread through the city. The dead Chamber of Commerce was reborn with a determination to aid the whole city, blacks as well as whites. The apathetic City Council began to respond to joint black-white pressure. A black social worker was hired to help bring racial peace to the high school. A rat-extermination program was launched. The city procured a state grant for additional confrontations. Ten more sessions were held, policemen facing such groups as black and white teen-agers, senior citizens, businessmen and street-wise ghetto dwellers who called themselves Brothers of the Mud Hole. The new Chamber of Commerce joined with the black West Side Coalition to provide summer jobs for needy teen-agers. A screening committee was named to find a professional city manager. Joe Monteparo served as a member, as well as Willie Hamm and other blacks. Local planning stimulated a Model Cities grant, including funds for a swimming pool in the black area and a youth-development program.

Individual acts reflected attitude changes. Charles West joined a biracial citizens' movement. His son Nicky, once itching to battle black youths, participated in the confrontation of black and white teen-agers, became an agent for social change. Paul Gunter, who once loathed cops, applied for a job as a housing-authority policeman. Mary Johnson, who said she once "hated almost all whites" become MC of a black-oriented program on a white-owned radio station.

But it was Joe Monteparo who became the symbol of change in the city's new mood of hope. He was still the resolute cop, but his approach was softer. The shouts were gone. He listened and discussed. He "became kinder and more compassionate," in the words of his brother Henry. Joe talked frequently with his former foes, Paul Gunter, Willie Hamm, Donald Hammary and Mary Johnson. At a black-white cocktail party (another Asbury Park first) for some alumni of confrontation sessions, Joe was enthusiastic over progress. He told several people that the city was getting somewhere. When Mary Johnson surprised him by asking him to be a guest on her radio program, Joe accepted immediately for Sun-

day, May 2. He became a missionary for the group method of easing racial friction, attending most of the confrontations as an observer. He persuaded a number of reluctant policemen to take part. In the spring, he and Dave Parreott attended a national police community-relations conference in New Orleans and shared the same hotel room. Flying home, Joe proposed to Dave that they form a black-white consulting firm to spread their know-how to police departments along the Eastern Seaboard. For starters, Joe expected to join Dave in a new Asbury Park police community-relations unit established by Chief Smith.

Some white policemen refused to buy Joe's new approach. He had been "indoctrinated" with this group stuff, they protested, at a time when the city needed tougher cops, ready to rely on the new arsenal of anti-riot weapons purchased by the department. They noted such racially charged episodes as the murder of an elderly Italian by a black man bent on burglary, the burning of crosses by a reactivated Ku Klux Klan, a hot dispute between Italians and blacks over reappointment of a municipal judge of Italian descent.

Shortly before 8 a.m., Saturday, April 24, two black policemen, Patrolman John Graham and Probationary Curtis Gunter, Jr., brother of Paul, were summoned to an upstairs apartment on riot-scarred Springwood Avenue. A black man, a recent mental patient named George Spaulding, was threatening his landlady and a tenant with a long kitchen knife. Graham called headquarters for assistance. Joe Monteparo, the duty sergeant, drove at once to the building. Joe, who had dealt with Spaulding before, took command. Spaulding tried to stab his brother, recently arrived, and swung at Gunter. The young cop ducked and fell backward down the stairs, carrying Patrolman with him. Recovering, Gunter aimed his gun at Spaulding, now standing between the black and Monteparo. Joe shook his head at Gunter, who lowered his gun. "Come on," Joe said to Spaulding, "give me the knife." Instead Spaulding suddenly lunged at Joe. Joe began firing as the knife fell, but it plunged into his heart. Graham also fired at Spaulding. Joe Monteparo and George Spaulding were dead within minutes.

And within minutes, the story of Joe's death sped through the town. Tension mounted rapidly on both sides of the dividing railroad tracks. KKK cards appeared, declaring that Joe would be avenged. There were rumors of arming by blacks and whites. A white policeman, trembling with emotion, told a group that some white cops were in a mood to bash heads at the first sign of trouble in the black section. But hundreds of blacks and whites were stricken, fearful that the racial understanding Joe sought would now prove a mirage. Chief Smith wept when he called at the Monteparo home. Mary Johnson broke down in tears when she came to share her grief with Joe's widow. Long lines of blacks and whites filed past Joe's casket at the wake. Black leaders paid tribute to Joe in statements to the Asbury Park *Press*. The town lived through the weekend without incident, Somehow, the memory of the new Joe was not the kind that moved men to violence.

In the aftermath, there was wide recognition that this was not a racial killing. The mentally tormented Spaulding had tried to knife four blacks, including his own brother. But people debated whether Joe's new attitude had cost his life. Some angry white cops blamed Joe's death on his "indoctrination." Standing in front of police headquarters, only a few yards from a wall placard, "Brotherhood Today Is A Better Tomorrow," one embittered white officer assailed Dave Parreott and "you people" for destroying the town.

Some of Joe's close friends believed that his chipped right elbow, reinforced by surgical wire, prevented swift arm reaction. Many whites and blacks felt Joe hesitated to fire because of awareness that the shooting of a black man by a white policeman might ignite new racial trouble. "Joe realized that an incident could blow the town apart," said Alex Groppe, director of the Monmouth Boys' Club, who had attended the first confrontation with Joe and praised him for his new insights into the city's problems. Many people vowed anew to work for unity in the hours and days after Joe died. "His death must have meaning for the city," said one.

If Asbury Park lives in peace, Joe will be partially responsible. His memory has been evoked for harmony scores of times in the passing weeks. "Be a good Joe" is the slogan coined by Dave Parreott for the new police community-relations unit. Fresh ideas for good works abound. But old, grinding problems remain, including the heavy welfare load and the scarcity of black jobs. Animosities, fueled by racial stereotypes, still crackle.

The city's inner struggle surfaced at Joe's funeral, one of the largest in Asbury Park history. Hundreds of whites, joined by many blacks, overflowed Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Roman Catholic Church for the Requiem Mass. More than 500 policemen from around New Jersey formed an honor guard. Joe was buried in a cemetery near the intersection of two roaring expressways. As the body was lowered into the earth, five officers stood at attention directly in front. One of them was the city's black police chief, Thomas Smith.

A group of white teen-agers stood by the adjoining grave of Mrs. Charles West, among them her son Nicky, whose attitudes had undergone a change similar to those of Joe. During the final rites, one boy pointed at Chief Smith and whispered: "Look at that nigger!" Nicky whirled on the boy. "God," he said, "how can you say that? You don't even know him. You don't understand."

Joe had helped lead Nicky and other to new understanding. Nicky hoped Joe's death had lasting meaning for the square mile of America that is Asbury Park. There was no certainty, Nicky knew, but there was hope.

HILL-BURTON COMMENDATION

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, 25 years ago, the Nation sought an answer to the critical problem of hospital shortages, a problem then facing communities in every State, and in particular those in rural areas.

An answer came with the enactment of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act which was signed into law by President Truman on August 13, 1946. This far-sighted act was—and remains—a fundamental achievement for the Nation's health.

Over the past quarter century, millions of Americans in more than 3,800 communities have benefited from the Hill-Burton programs. Though seldom credited for its role in saving lives, this, in fact, has been its major contribution:

Victims of automobile accidents occurring in remote areas have been given lifesaving emergency treatment in rural hospitals created through Hill-Burton assistance.

Intensive care units, stimulated by Hill-Burton research, studies, and guidelines, have marked the difference between life and death for many critically ill patients.

Two generations of American children have been born and cared for in hospitals which might not have existed without Hill-Burton support.

Thus, as intended by the Congress, Hill-Burton has been far more than just a construction program. It has meant better hospital planning, better services, better facilities, better administration, and better personnel training—all of which have meant better patient care.

THE "NO-KNOCK" LAW

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, there has been much discussion about the controversial no-knock law, wherein police officers, armed with a search warrant, may enter a dwelling without first announcing their intentions.

Many problems have been raised by the no knock law. I oppose the enactment of this provision and have been concerned about it since.

I commend to the Senate a thoughtful article which appeared in the August 6, 1971, edition of the Washington Post, by columnist William Raspberry, which discusses a tragedy which occurred recently.

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

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

CASE AGAINST NO-KNOCK

(By William Raspberry)

The Kenyon Ballew tragedy, which might have provided the occasion for a hard look at a number of questionable police practices, has been instead the springboard for near-criminal silliness from high places.

The agreed-upon facts are that the Silver Spring home of Ballew, a 28-year-old gun collector, was raided by Montgomery County and federal agents acting on a tip that Ballew was keeping illegal hand grenades there.

The raiding party, except for one officer (who was not among the first to enter the premises) were in civilian clothes. They broke through the back door of the Ballew apartment with a battering ram, and Ballew, nude at the time, grabbed an antique pistol to defend himself.

The officers fired eight shots, one of which is still lodged in Ballew's head. (He has remained in the hospital, paralyzed and unable to speak.) Ballew himself fired one shot, and there is some evidence that that one shot was fired after he was already wounded.

That is the tragedy. Here is the silliness:

Montgomery County Executive James P. Gleason issued a report that there was nothing "improper" about the police actions in the raid.

Treasury Secretary John B. Connally (the federal officers were Treasury agents) said that the raid involved "administrative and supervisory deficiencies" but that it was "legally proper."

A Montgomery County grand jury issued a report but declined to indict either Ballew or the men who shot at him.

A fair summation of the three reports is (1) It's too bad that Ballew was shot; (2)

The police informer (allegedly a juvenile house-breaking suspect) gave them bad information, and (3) nobody, neither police nor the victim, did anything wrong.

Well, it wasn't an accident. So how can Ballew be living there near death with a bullet in his head if nobody did anything wrong?

What it comes down to is official reluctance to acknowledge that police officers and federal agents can make tragic mistakes. Bad for morale, you know.

That's silly, too, and worse. Are citizens supposed to have such confidence in their law-enforcement officials that they will overlook official whitewashing of their most grievous errors? No one supposes for a moment that a grand jury would not have returned an indictment if it had been a sweatshirt-clad cop who took a bullet in the head.

Even the most open-minded investigation won't help Ballew's health, of course, but it might have helped police credibility if there had been some indication that they were rethinking their raid procedures instead of pretending that nothing wrong really happened.

It would seem obvious, for instance, that some member of Congress would use the impetus provided by the Ballew case to introduce legislation to repeal the no-knock section of the D.C. crime act.

Someone, it seems, might want to raise questions about the logic of using plainclothesmen in raids of this sort. However frightened Ballew might have been, he might not have tried to shoot if the first men to enter his apartment had been in police uniform.

THE RAIDERS insist that they announced themselves as police officers, but acknowledge that they couldn't make out what Mrs. Ballew said in response. (If they had trouble understanding her, isn't it reasonable that she might have had trouble understanding them?)

But even to settle the question of whether the announcement was made and understood is not to settle the more troubling question: Does it make sense to open up to any gang of casually dressed tough guys who say they are cops?

People do lie occasionally, and that includes housebreakers and robbers.

It will rub some tough-guy cops the wrong way, but what's wrong (at least in cases involving contraband that is not easily disposed of) with surrounding the premises and phoning the suspect to say the police are on the way? Or for that matter, what's wrong with giving a suspect time to phone police headquarters to make sure the raid is legitimate?

There may be times when busting in is the only reasonable thing to do. June 7 in Silver Spring wasn't one of them.

FATHER JOE, HOSPITAL PRIEST

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, all too often today people become isolated and alone in their individual lives. This can especially happen when a person is old or sick.

That is why people like Rev. Joseph Moellman deserve the attention and praise of this House. As Catholic chaplain to General Hospital in Louisville for the past 10 years, he has brought solace to many suffering, solitary people. I am convinced that his kind words are as healing to the sick as the best medical services available.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I insert into the RECORD at this point an article by Paul Bulleit from the Louisville Courier-Journal & Times about Father Moellman, entitled "Father Joe, Hospital Priest:"

FATHER JOE, HOSPITAL PRIEST

(By Paul Bulleit)

Some say the hulk of a man who roams the long, hot corridors and sick wards of Louisville General Hospital almost daily is a walking saint.

Some say he is the best, friendliest man on the face of the earth.

A few shout obscenities, curse him, and tell him to go away.

To those few he returns a smile, and says, "May God bless you, anyway."

Father Joe is a lot of things to the people at General Hospital, where he has served as Catholic chaplain for the last 10 years. To himself, Father Joe is "that big, black cloud with a purpose" among the institution's white-clad.

Keeping up with the Rev. Joseph Moellman as he moves his 6-foot-5, 280-pound frame in short, choppy steps through the sprawling, old hospital is no easy task.

Swinging into the hot surgery ward on the fourth floor, Father Joe pauses to press a metal box containing communion wafers to the forehead of a patient walking slowly in a hall.

"May God preserve you for now and eternity," Father Joe says softly.

He pauses later to explain that the man has a crushed chest and cannot eat, and therefore cannot take communion.

Further into the ward, he is greeted with calls, "Good morning, Father Joe," from patients, nurses and other employes.

He pauses at each bed for a consoling word, communion and blessings.

"He's a real sweetheart. He has an encouraging word for everyone," a nurse whispered to a reporter.

Father Joe is 67, and dressed as usual in a black suit, he is beginning to perspire in the temperature that will rise five or more degrees as the day wears on.

"Some say I should wear a lightweight white coat like the doctors wear, but I don't think I would feel just right," he said.

Father Joe has jumped into the same attire hundreds of times during the early morning hours in the last 10 years. This is when he receives a telephone call, "Father Joe, we need you."

It takes him less than 10 minutes to drive from the Franciscan Friars rectory at St. Boniface Church, 501 E. Liberty, where he lives, to General Hospital. He rushes into the emergency room, but usually finds that a critically ill or injured person has been sent to surgery or another section.

"I always get permission from a doctor or nurse before I talk to a patient. Then I give the patient absolution—our formula for begging God to forgive sins—and say another special prayer asking that God forgive any punishment due to sin," Father Joe said.

Besides the communion wafers, Father Joe carries a container of holy oil, with which he makes a cross on a patient's forehead.

Dr. Donald Thomas, director of General Hospital's emergency services, said Father Joe probably is the only man he ever knew who never had anything bad to say.

"I've heard drunk patients curse him in every way, but he just smiles and blesses them," Thomas said.

Father Joe's flock at General Hospital is not limited to Catholics by any means. He blesses patients and employees of all faiths, mostly at their request.

Not long ago he was blessing a Catholic in a ward bed when a critically ill man in the next bed said: "I'm also a child of God. May I have your blessing, too?

Joseph Moellman was the second oldest of 12 brothers and sisters on a farm near Olpe, Kan., and grew up amid droughts and dust storms.

When his training for the priesthood was completed, he spent several years in missionary work in China before going to Arkansas for 11 years of missionary work.

"They assigned me to Louisville General Hospital, and I almost resigned. I was a missionary, and I didn't want anything to do with a city hospital," Father Joe recalls.

"Now I love this old hospital, not for its faded buildings, but for the spirit that is truly there. The chaplaincy here is the most rewarding and intriguing work I have ever done," he says.

Father Joseph Moellman gets no pay for his work at General. His meager needs are met by the church.

"I suppose," he says, "the most fascinating feature of my present work is a freedom from structure and distraction, which allows me to concentrate entirely on the patient. There is the Lord and the patient—who often is getting ready to meet the Lord in another life—and the chaplain standing by to cheer on the relationship of those two."

And there it is. Father Joe is the cheerleader for both patient and God.

THE DELAWARE DINGERS

HON. WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, the July 1971 issue of Leatherneck, the magazine of the U.S. Marine Corps, carries an article entitled, "Delaware Dingers," a story of the manner in which "D" Company, 6th Motor Transportation Battalion—Delaware's only Marine Corps Reserve unit—keeps itself in topnotch condition as a component of the Marine Corps' "Force in Readiness."

I ask unaimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

DELAWARE DINGERS

(By SSgt. Jim Elliott)

It was a scene as familiar to a Marine as a crowded slop chute on payday.

White targets pasted on yellowed cheesecloth joined with the horizon, their otherwise blank faces enlivened by a centered, six-inch smudge of black. The acrid odor of burnt gunpowder teased the nostrils and ears stung from the staccato monotony of exploding rounds.

Utility-clad Marines stood, sat, knelt and sprawled along the firing line, the butts of rifles dug deep in their shoulders. Fingers squeezed and targets submerged, the strike of bullets marked for scoring. As the day wore on, targets began pumping up and down in a patternless motion like misfiring pistons in a giant, untuned engine.

In 1779, a small band of Continental Marines aimed their muskets across a deserted beach near Nantasket, Mass., and expended three pounds of powder—thereby initiating the Corps' first organized Marksmanship Training Program.

Since that time, generations of Marines have gathered at rifle ranges throughout the world, sending countless tons of powder and shot through an unequally uncertain variety

of weapons until the term "marksmanship" has become synonymous with the name "Marine".

Today, virtually every Marine on active duty is required to requalify with the rifle annually. (Among the exceptions are those in a combat zone or beyond specified age limitations.) These Marines usually have one week of "snapping in," four days of practice firing, and one day to shoot for record.

But what of those civilian-Marines who meet once each month as part of the Organized Marine Corps Reserve? Are they pulling their weight when it comes to meeting the Corps' standards of marksmanship?

You can bet on it! Like their active duty counterparts, reservists annually find themselves in the role of riflemen; regardless of their Military Occupational Specialty (MOS), they are tasked with doing what Marines have been doing for nearly two centuries—hitting their targets with consistency and accuracy.

This task recently befell the men of "D" Company, 6th Motor Transport Battalion—the only Marine Corps Reserve unit in the State of Delaware. Located in Wilmington, the state's most populous and industry-laden city, the company normally meets at the modern Naval and Marine Corps Reserve Training Center.

There, the unit's 105 enlisted Marines and four officers normally spend one weekend each month preparing for the day they might have to provide land transport for elements of a combat division or air wing. Normally, they were in, on, or around, their 10 diesel-burning, five-ton trucks or tuning up the engine on a smaller Jeep or sedan.

Normally . . . but not this particular weekend. This time they traded their wrenches and tire tools for M–14 rifles and met at a desolate National Guard range on the outskirts of nearby Newcastle. This time they experienced the common denominator among all Marines, active or reserve—the caliber of performance on the firing line.

The object is always the same—requalifying—but there are some differences between the circumstances of reservists and those of regular Marines on a range detail.

First, there's the time factor. The reserves simply cannot allow two weeks for this phase of their training; to do so would mean seven monthly drills, or the entire two-week Active Training Duty (ATD) period devoted exclusively to the rifle range. Consequently—although some commanders still schedule part of ATD for firing—Wilmington, like most Reserve units, now spends a single weekend on the range.

The second notable difference is a direct reflection on the first: if less time is allowed, then there must be some compensation for the Marine firing. In the case of the Wilmington reservists, the scale was balanced somewhat by the modified "B" Course.

Unlike the "A" Course, fired from the 200-, 300- and 500-yard lines, the "B" Course is fired entirely from 200 yards. The reservists would still fire the required 50 rounds from the four basic positions—offhand, sitting, kneeling and prone—and their hits would be scored on the standard descending five-point system, with at least 190 points of a possible 250 needed to qualify.

"I suppose this would seem unfair to a veteran of the 'A' Course," admited GySgt Danta Barbieri, NCOIC of the range detail. "But it has its drawbacks. Instead of the larger 'silhouette' target, all we have for rapid fire is the slow-fire target with a six-inch bulls-eye. Another disadvantage is that we only have about an hour to snap-in on our positions.

The gunny's comments were cut short when one of the company's trucks rumbled into the area, carrying enough M–14 rifles for a small war. Nine boxes of 7.62-mm. ammunition had arrived earlier from Dover (Del.) Air Force Base under a joint service contract.

The entire arsenal was impotent, however, without one man—Sgt. Charles Brice, the company armorer. He had the bolt to every rifle under separate lock and key!

"It's part of our safety effort," Brice explained, unlocking a reinforced GI footlocker; inside were numbered slots, each holding a bolt for a rifle with a corresponding number. "We won't transport complete rifles and take a chance on something happening that could endanger the civilian community."

The captain of the company's Small Bore Rifle and Pistol Teams, Brice is probably the most weapon-knowledgeable man in the unit. A school-trained coach, he recently placed fifth overall in the All-Reserve High Powered Rifle Matches at Quantico, Va.

After distributing the bolts, Brice grabbed his personal weapon—an M–1 modified to fire the 7.62-mm. round—and walked to a ready bench behind his target number. The range had 22 targets, and each had a "relay" of five Marines. The fourth and fifth would be pulling targets in the butt area first; later, elements of the second and third would take their place.

Many of the Marines, including Brice, would be firing for score the first day. Their initial five rounds would be for adjustments in windage and elevation—their sixth round would be entered on the score sheet.

Maj. Alfred Hamilton, the unit's commanding officer, was seated behind target number one, busily applying a coat of lubricant to his rifle. He explained why some shooters would fire for record on Saturday, while others would have an extra day.

"We put our most experienced shooters on the first relay," the major said. "After they've fired, they'll be free to coach our less experienced men." He paused to wipe some excess lubrication from his fingers, then added, "The rest of the first-day qualifiers are victims of circumstance. Our annual IG inspection is next week, and they're needed back at the training center to work on our equipment."

A District Sales Manager for a local manufacturing firm, Maj. Hamilton was beginning his second year at Wilmington. As a former executive officer with a Reserve rifle company in Pennsylvania, he knew the value of marksmanship training.

"As a basic concept of Marine Corps training, the range is a very important part of our schedule," he said. "Not only does it teach the men a skill that could someday save their lives, it also instills self-discipline. We can't fire for them; they have to do it on their own."

The Wilmington Marines knew they were the first of their battalion's six companies to fire the range this year. (The battalion headquarters, along with two letter companies and a Transport and H&S Company, is located in Middlesex, N.J. A fifth company meets in Connellsville, Pa.) And they were eager to match last year's record of 100 percent requalification.

"Just walk up the firing line," challenged WO Herb Dempsey, the company's Admin Officer, "and you'll see how hard these men are really trying. You can hear them helping each other, giving pointers and offering encouragement."

Dempsey, who's missed only one drill since joining the unit 16 years ago, also noted the Marines' keen competitive spirit. "We've put up some prize money for the high shooter," he said. "It's not much, but every man is trying for it. And," he grinned, "side bets are the rule rather than the exception."

LCpl Steve Simmons, however, was having trouble getting takers. A patrolman with the Wilmington Police Department, he's considered to be a top shooter. "I really enjoy the range," he said, "especially in the kind of weather we're having today. Last year, the wind was so strong we had trouble staying on our feet."

It had been cold and wet for the past three weeks in the area, but now there were clear skies and 60-degree temperatures. A gamble by the Marines had paid off.

"We usually meet on the third weekend of the month," said SSgt Ray Thomas. "But the major decided to hold off for a week, hoping for a break in the weather."

Thomas, who was wounded in Vietnam while a squad leader with "A" Co., 1/7, joined the Reserves in 1970, two years after his release from active duty. "I missed the Corps, so decided to join the Reserve," he said. "So far, I'm happy with that decision."

Thomas was also happy about his score for the day—a 226—and it became apparent by late afternoon that similar high scores would be recorded. "So far, I haven't seen one Marine who hasn't qualified," said 1st-Sgt George Mitchell, the unit's senior enlisted man. And about 25 percent of them are shooting "expert" (a score of 210 or higher.)

Mitchell, winner of the Bronze Star on Saipan, is the only original member of Wilmington's first Marine Corps Reserve unit—the 16th Rifle Company—formed in 1953. "I guess the biggest change I've seen during those 18 years was our redesignation as a motor transport unit in 1969," he said. "Being an old field Marine, I wasn't too hot on the idea. Then the attitude of the men changed my mind.

"They seemed to feel they were learning something that could be helpful to them later on," he continued. "Instead of humpin' hills as infantry, they were learning technical skills. The morale sky-rocketed and there was a noticeable improvement in drill attendance. We've had our problems, but thanks to hard work and our competent Inspector-Instructor (I–I) staff, we've survived the transition in good shape."

The seven active duty Marines and one Navy corpsmen who comprise the I–I staff are primarily administrators and organizers. They handle as many planning details as possible so that the reservists can concentrate on actual training during the brief weekends.

"Everything we do is for the reservist," said Maj Charles Manwarring, the I–I. "We're here to help, instruct and advise—but we let the reservists run their own show as much as possible."

A motor transport officer by MOS, the major reported to Wilmington last year from the First Marine Air Wing in Vietnam where he earned the Bronze Star and Purple Heart. "Changing from infantry to motor-T is a slow process," the major said, "but the progress of these men has been remarkable. Considering the shortage of maintenance repair and storage facilities, they're doing one hell of a good job."

How good was evident during the company's last ATD when they participated in Operation High Desert at Twentynine Palms, Calif. "We drove about 26,000 miles over some of the worst terrain we could find," said SSgt Jim Powell, the only other I–I staffer with a motor transport MOS. "The men performed so well that we got several letters of praise from the host command."

By Sunday afternoon it was obvious that the reservists had turned in another good performance—in fact, a perfect one. For the second consecutive year, every eligible man had qualified. Of the 97 Marines who fired, 23 percent had scored "Expert." The remainder were split evenly between "Sharpshooter" and "Marksman."

Two shooters shared the honors for high score—Sgt Brice, the armorer, and Sgt Francis Hennesey both fired 241. They also shared the cash prize of $10.

Such results did not surprise 1stSgt Willard Stahl—he was on his second tour as a member of the Wilmington I-I staff and

knew the caliber of men the area provided. "We've always had a good cross-section of skills here," Stahl said. He credited the city's emphasis on industry for the bulk of that talent "because it makes an unusual demand on a man's technical ability. Consequently, we get a higher caliber man on the average than you'd find in a less industrialized area."

Nor did the men's performance on the range come as a surprise to LtCol. Stephen Goceljak, CO of the 6th MT Bn., who drove down from New Jersey to observe the first day's firing. "I was impressed with what I saw," the colonel said. "The men handled themselves very well. But, then, that's what I expected to find . . . they're Marines."

Being Marines is not a full-time job for the Wilmington reservists; but being prepared to integrate smoothly into the Regular Establishment takes a special effort on the part of each man. The Marines of "D" Company have shown a willingness to exert that effort. Whether on the range or behind the wheel, they are keeping their pledge to be a "Force in Readiness."

ABC'S OF THE MVA—MODERN VOLUNTEER ARMY

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. HALL. Mr Speaker, Gen. Bruce C. Clarke, retired, a dedicated student of command and qualities of leadership, has set forth guidelines, that if properly implemented, should contribute greatly to the realization of an all volunteer army. To those who have concerned themselves with the proposal, I recommend the reading of General Clarke's summary.

The general's summary follows:

(By Gen. Bruce C. Clarke, retired)

1. Congress establishes the size of the United States Army.

2. It then must support measures to raise the numbers it authorizes.

3. The Policy of the Administration is:

a. To do everything practicable to make military service attractive in order to encourage enlistments and reenlistments.

b. To fill the deficit by an equitable Selective Service system in being.

4. The Army's attitude is to do everything practicable to support the Administration's policy. Increasing the percentage of enlistees in the Army is to the Army's and our country's benefit, even if we do not fill 100% of the requirements in that way.

5. Improving *leadership* in the Army on this basis is a part of the Army's policy for a Modern Volunteer Army:

What our soldiers have a right to expect from their leaders—

Honest, just, and fair treatment.

Consideration due them as mature, professional soldiers.

Personal interest taken in them as individuals.

Loyalty.

Shielding from harassment from "higher up."

The best in leadership.

That their needs be anticipated and provided for.

All the comforts and privileges practicable.

To be kept oriented and told the "reason why."

A well-thought-out program of training, work and recreation.

Clear-cut and positive decisions and orders which are not constantly changing.

Demands on them commensurate with their capabilities, not too small nor too great.

That their good work be recognized—and publicized where appropriate.

6. Improving Commandership in the Army on this basis is also a requirement and is also the Army's policy:

What battalion and company commanders have a right to expect from higher commanders and their staffs—

That their honest errors be pointed out but be underwritten at least once in the interests of developing initiative and leadership.

To be responsible for and be allowed to develop their own units with only the essential guidance from above.

A helpful attitude toward their problems.

Loyalty.

That they not be subjected to the needling of unproductive "statistics" competitions between like units.

The best in commandership.

That the needs of their units be anticipated and provided for.

To be kept oriented as to the missions and situation in the unit above.

A well-thought-out program of training, work and recreation.

To receive timely, clear-cut, and positive orders and decisions which are not constantly changed.

That the integrity of their tactical units be maintained in assigning essential tasks.

That their success be measured by the overall ability of a unit to perform its whole mission and not by the performance of one or two factors.

That good works by their units be recognized and rewarded in such a way as to motivate the greatest number to do well and to seek further improvement.

7. We can cut the number necessary to be drafted to the extent that we can fill our requirements by reenlistments and enlistments.

8. The Army will do its best to do this and it is dedicated to doing that; but since enlistment is a personal matter whereby the young man signs a contract to serve his country, he must receive a great part of his motivation to enlist from congressmen, senators, educators, the media, clergy, his family and his neighbors. When all effectively carry out the part they must play, the draft can gradually be reduced to zero.

9. There must be an effective cooperative effort between the military and the public to secure the enlistments necessary to reduce or eliminate the draft. The Army is and will continue to do its part in this effort.

WEST VIRGINIA HOMECOMING PROVIDES NEEDED PERSPECTIVE ON AMERICA'S REAL STRENGTH

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, over the next 4 weeks, Members of the Senate will have an opportunity to return to their home States and visit with their constituency.

I sincerely hope that my colleagues are able to participate in some of the gatherings that involve what is often referred to as "the common folk." These are hard-working, reverent, taxpaying citizens who come together briefly—not to protest, not to pressure, not to decry or damn the Government or society—but to extend friendly greetings, renew old acquaintances, to listen and applaud references to God or country.

How refreshing this is in an era of sneering cynicism. I recommend to any Member of Congress that during the recess a special effort be made to attend one or more homecomings. I did so last Sunday. It provides a new perspective. We need to hear and see what America is really all about in these trying times.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an address by Robert L. Smith, professor of wildlife management at West Virginia University at the annual Homecoming-Watermelon Day celebration at Independence, W. Va., be printed in the RECORD. I also include a copy of the program and remarks made by me at the Preston County celebration.

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

WVU PROFESSOR ROBERT L. SMITH SAYS WEST VIRGINIA'S RICH STORE OF RESOURCES MUST BE USED WITHOUT DESTRUCTION OF STATE ECONOMY

(Address by Robert Leo Smith)

Homecoming. It is a time to revisit old familiar places, renew old acquaintances. It is an affair to look forward to. But at this time one question should be uppermost in the minds of all. Will there be a West Virgina to come home to in the next several decades?

To many the future of West Virginia seems bright. The demand for electrical power requires coal and water, resources which West Virginia has. But the utilization of these resources which to provide income also results under current technology the destruction of the environment.

To provide coal for power plants and industry, strip mining is being increased at an accelerating rate. Mountains are being overturned, streams destroyed, lands once supporting productive forests and providing a pleasant environment that has made West Virginia a place to come home to are being devastated.

Our southern mountains, with steep slopes and narrow valleys, where even strip miners will admit reclamation is impossible, are being transformed to barren moonscapes. There is no letup in their destruction nor is there any legislation to prevent the annihilation of the southern counties.

Strip mining is increasing in northern West Virginia. In fact some counties face the prospect of seeing over half of their surface overturned. Yet reclamation practices are vague and in very few places is reclamation even remotely successful. Where reclamation is technically possible, strict regulation and enforcement are absent.

As a result, West Virginia is being transformed into a desolate, barren region that will be economically unproductive, providing no place to live or to work.

A great deal is made of the economic benefits of strip mining, of jobs made available now. But look ahead 10 years, 20 years, when strippable coal is gone, when the land is overturned and poorly reclaimed. What will be left for the children, for the young citizens of the state? Nothing but desolation. For short term economic benefits, the future of the state is being jeopardized.

To provide power for areas outside the state we are willing to allow some of our finest natural areas such as the Canaan Valley to be inundated. To provide coal for the steel industry of Japan we seem willing to permit the pollution of Shavers Fork, one of the major trout and recreational streams in the East. And this stream runs largely through public land.

Too much of the past history of West Virgina has been one of exploitation by outside interests to the disadvantages of West Virginia.

Now, we ask, is West Virginia going to be sacrificed to the growth and demand of the rest of the nation.

Our nation needs coal and other resources. But must they be obtained at such great environmental costs. If just a portion of the massive amounts of money that have been spent in the development of atomic energy—which is not the great source of electrical power it was touted to be—and in moon exploration had been used to develop new ways of extracting and stripping coal, then West Virginia would not be faced with the grave environmental problems of today.

It is up to all West Virginians to demand and to see to it that our resources are utilized without the destruction of the state. It can be done but not without technology legislation, regulation and inspection that we now have.

Unless we see to it that steps are taken immediately to prevent environmental degradation in the extraction of our mineral wealth and the utilization of our waters, we will have no homecoming several decades from now. Home will be gone.

HOMECOMING PROGRAM, AUGUST 1, 1971

Presiding Mrs. Sylvia Cornwell and James Engle.

Invocation by the Reverend Enid Harris, Newburg, W. Va.

Presentation of queen and court.

Group singing, group of young people from Newburg.

Remarks, Robert Leo Smith, professor of wildlife management W.V.U.

Solo, Pamela Adams (6 years old).

Reading, Debbie Robertson.

Remarks, Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH.

Group singing, girls from Newburg.

Closing: "My Bug Amos," John Cornwell.

THERE'S NO COMPARISON BETWEEN THE NOBLE EFFORTS FOR FREEDOM OF NATION'S FOUNDING FATHERS AND TODAY'S "NEW REVOLUTIONARIES"

(Address by Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH)

I'm sure many of you are aware that there is a special significance to this place and this date. The name Independence, of course, reminds all of us of the early struggle and sacrifice nearly two centuries ago that created this, the greatest nation in the history of the world.

And this date, August 1, marks the eve of the formal signing of the Declaration of Independence exactly 195 years ago.

Let us review the events that led up to that historic moment, when delegates to the Continental Congress would—on the morrow—formally place their signatures on that precious document. They knew that to actually sign the declaration was an act of treason against the Crown. They knew that the signatures on that document would provide a shopping list of traitors for the powerful British Army.

Today it is generally assumed that the actual signing of the Declaration was a routine matter. It wasn't routine at all. For some of the delegates, there must have been second thoughts.

These revolutionaries of 1776 were a special breed of men. With only a few exceptions—like Samuel Adams who was furnished with a new suit by friends so that he might be presentable in Congress—they were men of substantial property.

All but two had families, and the majority were men of education and cultural standing. In general, they all came from what might today be called "the Establishment." Each had more to lose than he had to gain—except where principle and honor were concerned. Yet they willingly pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to the cause of freedom.

It was no idle pledge. Of the 56 who signed the Declaration of Independence, nine died of wounds or hardships in the terrible years ahead. Five were captured and imprisoned, each undergoing torture. Several lost wives, sons or family. One lost his 13 children. All were, at one time or another, hunted as criminals and driven from their homes. Twelve of the signers had their homes burned, and 17 were made paupers by the Revolutionary War.

Yet, as each man surely realized on that fateful August evening 195 years ago that terrible times lay ahead, not one signer defected or went back on his pledged word.

Their honor, and the Nation they did so much to create, are still intact.

Or is it?

There are some people today who say that the old dream has ended, that American society is sick. There are social critics who claim that we are on the verge of moral and nervous collapse. The present day ills of our nation are too many and too big to cope with, they contend. As proof they point to examples of pollution, poverty, inflation, racism and rebellion, yelling that the sky is truly falling. It is true that the sores on our body politic can become cancerous if they are ignored and allowed to go untreated.

Today there is among us a new breed of revolutionary. His or her solution to everything is simple: Tear it down.

He feels that the only way to make things better is to reach the past, to rip off all the old reminders, to bomb the symbols of our nation's greatness. From the Lunatic Left and the Radical Right, he draws deadly support. He can spout entire passages from the thoughts of Mao and Mein Kampf, but he probably never heard of Ben Franklin. Yet in his own twisted mind, in his violent actions, he sees the "New Revolution" as a repeat of the old; he equates the bombing of the Capitol of the United States with the Boston Tea Party.

Where but in the muddled euphoria of a bended mind can one find any semblance between the two? Where is the nobility of purpose, the love of life and liberty, the pursuit of happiness in mindless destruction? Where is the "sacred honor" in destroying freedoms?

In fairness, it must be noted that the vast majority of today's youth—while attracted to the notoriety—are repelled by the acts. If there are any eyes to see the future, they are the eyes of youth, and they do not see the future as an enemy. They are no different from the youth of another time and place who saw the emergence of their future in the streets of Galilee. They see change coming and they fear it not.

The process of change is all around us, and this has been happening throughout our history. The only difference is that we are being made instantly aware of it through the media of modern technology. Today's moon walk is truly spectacular; but perhaps the first view of the Pacific by Lewis and Clark opening the Northwest Passage had a greater significance in its day. That earthbound expedition took months to report, and years to fully realize its impact on America's future, because instant communications were far in the future.

We have seen the formation of countless ad hoc committees, pressure groups, rump and stump dissenters of every hue and cry.

There is one common denominator among all these organizations: They are formed to oppose something. They oppose war and poverty—as if they invented the idea; they are against the Establishment, without realizing they are the established; they pursue an almost endless list of real and imagined causes against everything—as long as the cameras grind and someone with a note pad will listen.

It is, as you know, much easier to be against something than to be for something.

In the 1960's an organization was formed and called "The Society of Squares," its founder was a New York advertising man named Charlie Brower. It is no coincidence that the Society of Squares formed the acronym "SOS."

Charlie said he chose the word, S–Q–U–A–R–E because it is the most misused word in the English language.

I remember the word before the Now Generation grabbed hold of it. It was one of the finest words in our language. You gave a man a square meal if he was hungry. In a trade you gave the buyer a square deal. You stood four-square for what is right and square against everything else. When you got out of debt, you were square with the world. I can even remember when you could look your fellow man square in the eye.

Now everyone knows what a square is today. He's a man who has never learned to get away with it. A poor slob who volunteers when he doesn't have to. A guy who gets his kicks from trying to do something better than anyone else can. He's a kook who gets so lost in his work that he has to be reminded that it's time to go home.

A guy who faces an altar and still takes such words as love and faith and trust and beauty at face value.

That's today's square. And he can't understand why such words as fellowship and brotherhood have suddenly become signals for harangue and recrimination. He can't understand why such words as honor and duty and patriotism evoke obscene responses.

I don't buy all this talk about moral and nervous collapse of our country. And the reason I don't is because—when I am away from Washington, and other cities, away from the too many pseudo-sophisticates and the too many cynics who say our country is doomed—I run into the squares. When I meet with you, I realize there are millions more like you all over this nation.

And . . . I have hope. I'm relieved, revived, refreshed. I am no longer smothered by all the calamitous predictions of doom, or overwhelmed by the cries of catastrophe. I know that in you good people are the qualities that started this nation out on its long and thrilling adventure. In you rests the only revolutionary spirit that knows right and rejects wrong, that stands foursquare against tyranny and oppression from without AND within. In short, the same love of life and liberty that prevailed so mightily 195 years ago.

. . . and I am most happy to be . . . back among the 'squares.'

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, incredibly, when this Nation can least afford it, we are being asked to bear witness to the drowning of an entire American industry.

The industry is textiles.

The cause of death is a tidal wave of foreign imports.

The basic loss is of jobs.

The fundamental issue is people.

In my congressional district, the city of Fall River is a major garment manufacturing center. The latest figures show nearly 4,000 people are unemployed there, almost 7 percent of the work force. Most of them are workers in the needle trades.

That is 4,000 households representing some 12,000 people who are not only lost

to the economy, but who become unproductive dependents on an economy weakened by its loss of them.

Multiply these figures—representing people—by every other textile area in the United States and the cumulative effect constitutes a serious national crisis. The prediction has even been made that there will be 600,000 jobs lost in the American textile industry in the next 6 years.

The enormity of that is staggering. Particularly when this body approved legislation last week guaranteeing up to a quarter of a billion dollars in assistance to a financially troubled corporation, principally as a deterrent to protect the economy from the loss of jobs that would result.

Our lack of action in the case of textiles now becomes all the more puzzling and unconscionable.

It is compounded by the fact that this situation is the direct result of an invasion of this country by cheap foreign imports.

Last month, the Congress approved $1 million to provide continuing Coast Guard protection to American fishermen who have been victimized by foreign vandals in the coastal waters around most of the continent. Allowed to go unchecked, this vandalism in the long run would mean loss of jobs in another sinking American industry. Recognizing this, both bodies acted very quickly and directly to prevent it.

That harassment of American fishermen by foreign powers is not nearly so great or so blatant as the calculated offensive against the American textile industry by foreign governments.

They protect their own industries against American exports and flood this country with their products made cheaply by slave labor. And this will result in nothing less than the eventual extinction of competing U.S. industry and the personal tragedy that will represent in the everyday lives of thousands of American individuals.

Our course seems quite clear to me, Mr. Speaker. These countries have repeatedly demonstrated that they have no intention of imposing any meaningful voluntary restrictions on their exports. We are left with no choice.

Either we impose such restrictions ourselves by law, or we commit the unforgivable sin of fiddling while an American industry unravels before our eyes and thousands of American people are sacrificed to our inaction.

FIFTY-ONE CONGRESSMEN URGE ADOPTION OF NEW INDIAN EDUCATION REGULATIONS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, today 51 Members of the House have joined in urging the Bureau of Indian Affairs to adopt new regulations governing the Johnson-O'Malley Indian education program.

Johnson-O'Malley, first authorized in 1934, is intended to aid Indian children attending public schools.

In 1969, the Johnson-O'Malley program was reviewed in detail by the Senate Indian Education Subcommittee. At that time, the Senate subcommittee questioned whether Johnson-O'Malley was fulfilling the original intent of Congress. Similar concerns were raised in a more recent study by the NAACP legal defense fund.

It is clear that Johnson-O'Malley is not providing as much direct aid for Indian children as we intended. In many instances, Johnson-O'Malley funds are used merely as general aid for school districts with significant Indian enrollments. With the exception of some new demonstration projects, local efforts to meet special Indian needs are minimal. Moreover, Indian people have little to say about the way in which Johnson-O'Malley funds are used in their youngsters' schools.

New Johnson-O'Malley guidelines have been developed which will do much, we feel, to remedy these deficiencies. If implemented by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the new regulations will help to insure that Johnson-O'Malley funds are used to benefit Indian children directly. Indian parents will also be given a direct role in determining how Johnson-O'Malley funds will be allocated in their districts.

Our support for the proposed guidelines is spelled out in the following letter to Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner Louis Bruce:

The letter follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., Aug. 6, 1971.

Mr. LOUIS BRUCE,
Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.

DEAR COMMISSIONER BRUCE: The undersigned members of the U.S. House of Representatives are writing to you to express our support for the efforts currently underway within the Bureau of Indian Affairs to revise the regulations governing the Johnson-O'Malley Program. We are writing now because we feel that the time is right, and long overdue, for reforms in the area of Indian education and the Bureau's education programs.

The proposed new Johnson-O'Malley Regulations which the Bureau is now considering would go a long way, we feel, to reforming the Johnson-O'Malley program and to giving far more control over Indian education in public schools to Indians themselves. As you are no doubt aware, these are objectives which Indians in all parts of the country have been seeking.

Testimony of Indian people before the regional hearings of the National Council on Indian Opportunity in 1970 mentioned again and again the desire of Indian communities to gain control over Indian education, specifically the Johnson-O'Malley program. The National Congress of American Indians and other Indian groups have consistently supported greater Indian control over the Bureau's education programs. We understand that the Bureau is presently going through another period of consultation with Indian leaders on the proposed regulations. While applauding your agency's diligent efforts to consult with Indian people on this important matter, we trust that this will not prolong adoption of the regulations.

This administration has already indicated support for the concept of Indian control. We refer specifically to President Nixon's message on Indian Affairs of July 8, 1970, which strongly backed the goal of Indian control over federal programs: "that the Indian community should have the right to take over the control and operation of federally funded programs." We are aware that the Administration has introduced legislation which would empower the Secretary of Interior to contract Johnson-O'Malley funds directly with tribes. While this measure would move in the direction of greater Indian control, we feel that the Bureau's adoption of the proposed regulations—something which the Bureau of Indian Affairs is empowered to do on its own authority—would also move us closer toward that objective.

The House Appropriations Committee has recently indicated to the BIA its concern for the Johnson O'Malley program. The Committee directed that "the Bureau of Indian Affairs make certain that these funds are utilized for the purpose for which they are appropriated—to fund activities in public school for the benefit of Indian pupils." The adoption of the proposed JOM regulations would also do much to help achieve that objective.

We believe that you, Commissioner Bruce, support Indian efforts to gain a more substantial voice in the education of their children. We want you to know that we strongly support these goals and we urge you to expedite the official adoption of the proposed regulations including exercising your authority to publish the new regulations in the Federal Register at the earliest possible time.

We anxiously await notification that you have taken this step.

Sincerely,

Rep. James Abourezk, Rep. Brock Adams, Rep. Nick Begich, Rep. Bob Bergland, Rep. John Blatnik, Rep. John Brademas, Rep. Shirley Chisholm, Rep. George Collins, Rep. James Corman, Rep. John Culver.

Rep. Ron Dellums, Rep. Frank Denholm, Rep, John Dow, Rep. Don Edwards, Rep. Thomas Foley, Rep. William Ford, Rep. Don Frazer, Rep. William Frenzel, Rep. Seymour Halpern, Rep. Julia Butler Hansen.

Rep. Michael Harrington, Rep. William Hathaway, Rep. Henry Helstoski, Rep. Harold Johnson, Rep. Joseph Karth, Rep. Robert Kastenmeier, Rep. Edward Koch, Rep. Robert Leggett, Rep. Arthur Link.

Rep. Mike McCormack, Rep. Lloyd Meeds, Rep. John Melcher, Rep. Abner Mikva, Rep. Patsy Mink, Rep. Romano Mazzoli, Rep. Dave Obey, Rep. Otis Pike, Rep. Ogden Reid, Rep. Edward Roybal, Rep. Harold Runnels, Rep. Philip Ruppe.

Rep. William Ryan, Rep. Paul Sarbanes, Rep. James Scheuer, Rep. John Seiberling, Rep. Sam Steiger, Rep. Robert Tiernan, Rep. Morris Udall, Rep. Al Ullman, Rep. Sidney Yates, Rep. Don Clausen.

AID TO PAKISTAN

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, August 3, the House passed the Foreign Assistance Act of 1971. Included

in this bill are provisions to cut off all military and economic aid to the Governments of Pakistan and Greece. I would like to take this opportunity to praise both the Foreign Affairs Committee and the House of Representatives for taking positive action toward ending the slaughter in Bengal.

This is in marked contrast to the attitude of the executive branch. In his news conference of August 4, President Nixon called the House's action "counterproductive" adding that "we are not going to engage in public pressure on the Government of West Pakistan." Whatever private pressure the President might be using does not seem to be having very much effect. Every day the media reports new atrocities committed by the Pakistani Army. I have included an article in the New York Times by Mr. Alvin Toffler, author of "Future Shock," who recently returned from a trip to the Indo-Pakistani border. The scene he portrays can only further emphasize the wisdom and necessity of the House's action on Tuesday. I urge the President to reconsider his remarks, and join with the Congress in trying to stop the carnage in East Pakistan.

The article follows:

[From The New York Times, Aug. 5, 1971]

THE RAVAGED PEOPLE OF EAST PAKISTAN

(By Alvin Toffler)

A planetary catastrophe is taking place in Asia, a human disaster so massive that it could bathe the future in blood, not just for Asians, but for those of us in the West as well. Yet the response of the global community has been minimal at best. In the United States, the official response has been worse than minimal and morally numb.

I have just returned from Calcutta and the border of East Pakistan, where I conducted interviews with refugees avalanching into India as a result of the West Pakistan's genocidal attack on them. Since March 25, West Pakistani troops have bombed, burned, looted and murdered the citizens of East Pakistan in what can only be a calculated campaign to decimate them or to drive them out of their villages and over the border into India.

Part of the time I traveled with a Canadian parliamentary delegation. We saw babies skin stretched tight, bones protruding, weeping women who told us they would rather die today in India than return to East Pakistan after the tragedies they had witnessed, total wretchedness of refuge camps, and the unbelievable magnitude of this forced human migration—6.7 million refugees pouring into India within a matter of four months.

I saw Indian villages deluged by masses of destitute refugees, every available inch crammed with bodies seeking shelter from the blistering sun and the torrential rain. I saw refugees still streaming along the roads unable to find even a resting place. I saw miserable Indian villagers sharing their meager food with the latest frightened and hungry arrivals. I saw thousands of men, women and babies lined up, waiting patiently under the sun for hours to get their rations. These pitiful few ounces of rice, wheat and dahl provide a level of nutrition so low that it will inevitably create protein breakdown, liver illness, and a variety of other diseases in addition to the cholera, pneumonia, bronchitis that are already rampant. I saw Indian relief officials struggling heroically, and with immense personal sympathy, to cope with the human tidal wave—and to do so on a budget of one rupee a day—about 13 cents per human.

It is now clear that famine will further devastate East Pakistan this fall, and that millions more will seek refuge in an India already staggering under the burden.

Under these circumstances, one is forced to protest the callousness and stupidity of American policy. On the one hand we promise India $70 million in relief funds. On the other, we continue to supply arms to the same West Pakistani generals who launched the bloodbath, so that they can terrorize even more of their subjects into fleeing across the Indian border. The House vote this week to suspend aid, including military sales, to Pakistan is belated recognition of our sorry role.

In terms of *realpolitik*, the continuation of military aid to West Pakistan is supposed to buy us influence with the ruling junta, and help offset Red Chinese influence. (Ironically, the Red Chinese are also aiding the West Pakistani generals.)

Yet the heaviest stream of refugees is pouring into West Bengal, which is not only India's poorest and most over-crowded state, but the most politically unstable. Between Calcutta and Bongoan on the border, some 50 miles distant, I saw scarcely a house that didn't have a hammer and sickle painted on it. Maoists, anarchists, and conventional Marxists attack each other and the less radical parties with violence as well as rhetoric. Strikes, demonstrations, and political assassinations are already a daily occurrence. West Bengal, even before the invasion of refugees, seemed about to explode.

By shipping arms to the West Pakistanis, we are partially responsible for pouring millions of hungry, sick and angry refugees directly into this tinderbox. This vastly increases the likelihood of a bloody upheaval on the Indian side of the border as well, in which the power of Maoist movements could only grow. Thus, even if one unquestioningly assumes the necessity to halt the spread of Chinese Communist influence, our policy seems idiotic. We hang on to the shreds of influence in West Pakistan at the cost of losing it in India. Worse, we pave the way for a bigger, bloodier and even more bitter Vietnam in Asia.

But there is a simpler, less political reason why our aid policy must be changed. On grounds of simple humanity, the failure of our Government to express official concern for the ravaged people of East Pakistan, its alliance with the undemocratic generals of Islamabad, and its cruel insistence on sending still more arms to the killers, is morally repulsive.

The emergency in East Pakistan demands a more than minimal response. We need to pump immediate life-saving baby food, powdered milk, antibiotics, anticholera vaccines and similar supplies into India. But beyond that, decency and political realism both demand an immediate end to the arms shipments.

COMMUNIST CHINA POLICY

HON. JOHN ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, the recent official reversal of our policy toward Communist China is a matter of grave concern to me. The following memorandum, which is dated November 6, 1968, and was first reprinted in "Tactics" on February 20, 1969, clearly outlines the steps to be taken to "balance" our relations with this Communist dictatorship. The memorandum is addressed to "President-Elect Nixon," and it is my understanding that Dr. Henry Kissinger personally delivered this memorandum to Mr. Nixon, just after his election to the Presidency in 1968.

I urge my colleagues to carefully study this document. The effect it has obviously had on our policy toward Communist China is startling. Dr. Kissinger's "advice" so closely parallels the position taken in this memorandum that I cannot overemphasize how important it is that each Member realize that as early as November 6, 1968, at a time when we were most deeply committed in Vietnam, the plan which is being followed today to appease Communist Chinese aggressors was being presented to the President:

MEMORANDUM FOR PRESIDENT-ELECT NIXON ON U.S. RELATIONS WITH CHINA

(The signatories: Jerome Alan Cohen, professor of law, Harvard, chairman; John K. Fairbank, director, East Asian Research Center, Roy Hofheinz, assistant professor of government, Dwight Perkins, professor of economics, Edwin O. Reischauer, professor, Benjamin I. Schwartz, professor of history and government, James Thomson, assistant professor of history, Ezra Vogel, professor of social relations, all of Harvard; A. Doak Barnett, professor of government, Columbia, and Lucian Pye, professor of government, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.) (Except for one professor each from Columbia and M.I.T., they are all from Harvard. The J. F. Kennedy School of Government put it across.)

NOVEMBER 6, 1968.

As scholars in the field of East Asian studies who have completed a year of private discussion of America's relations with East Asia under the auspices of the Institute of Politics of Harvard's J. F. Kennedy School of Government, we write to give you our thoughts on the pivotal issue of United States relations with China.

UNITED STATES OBJECTIVES

The past two decades of American-East Asian relations has been dominated by the central reality of Sino-American hostility and deadlock. It seems evident that, whatever the nature or timing of a Viet Nam settlement, the China problem will continue to dominate our East Asian relations in the years of the new Administration and, indeed, through the decade of the 1970s.

Communist China's size, ideology, relative isolation, potential power and current internal upheaval increase the dangers of instability in a chronically unstable part of the world. The central objective of America's China policy has been and should continue to be to avoid war with China and to minimize its disruption of surrounding areas.

Since the end of the Korean War, previous Administrations have generally followed a twofold policy to achieve these objectives: On the one hand, military containment in order to deter possible effort at communication with the China mainland through ambassadorial talks and, from time to time, proposals for unofficial contacts. Through much of this period, of course, the first of these approaches has been given such priority as to dwarf the significance of the second.

It seems to us that the time has come for a more equal balance between these two approaches, so that, while continuing to avoid war with China and to discourage Chinese military intervention abroad, we move more positively toward the relaxation of tensions between China and the United States, and the eventual achievement of reconciliation.

The specific steps we propose below in pursuit of these objectives require some important words of caution. Although the outcome of the domestic turmoil that has dis-

rupted mainland China for the past three years remains unclear, we do not now anticipate any Chinese desire to improve relations with the United States. It is therefore highly likely that any and all of the initiatives that we propose will be rejected out of hand by Peking's leaders in the foreseeable future.

We propose these initiatives, nonetheless, because of our conviction that our national interests in Asia will best be served by an American policy that offers the Chinese the clear option of a less hostile relationship with the outside world. At a minimum, we will complicate a Peking decision-making process that has all too easily been based on a theory of implaceable American hostility; at the same time, we will be speaking—through our deeds as well as our words—to present or future Chinese leaders who harbor doubts about Mao Tse-tung's vision of the world. Unless we achieve this better balanced policy, we may at the least miss significant opportunities to moderate Peking's behavior and, at the worst, may help lay the groundwork for a war with China that neither side can hope to "win."

PROPOSALS: A. RELATIONS WITH MAINLAND CHINA

1. Exploratory Meeting. You should seriously expore the possibility of arranging confidential—perhaps even deniable— conversations between Chinese Communist leaders and someone in whom you have confidence. Your emissary would convey the new Administration's interest in hearing Chinese views on a wide spectrum of subjects including Viet Nam and disarmament and in probing, unofficially and in a more informal setting than at Warsaw, the prospects for a normal relationship. It may well be that the Chinese will refuse to receive such an emissary; the effort should nonetheless be made to signal a revised American attitude.

2. Viet Nam Negotiations. The arduous process of a Viet Nam settlement may well offer an opportunity for the improvement of relations with China and engagement of China in the international order. Despite China's present hostility to a negotiated solution, the new Administration should be alert to opportunities to involve Peking in some state of the Viet Nam negotiating process—perhaps through a reconstructed forum, perhaps through a packaged end-product that would bring China, both Viet Nams, and other divided nations into United Nations. The chief consideration: Viet Nam negotiations should be looked upon as a possible step toward a wider Asian settlement, and, thereby an instrument for the potential inclusion of China in the international community.

3. Lowering of Polemics. It is essential that all Administration spokesmen refrain from provocative statements in their comments about China, regardless of Peking's hostile rhetoric. In the past, pious hopes for "reconciliation" have often been undermined by press releases such as those that compared the Chinese Communists to the Nazis. Especially galling to the Chinese Communists is the apparent American stand that Taiwan is the only China. The new Administration should find an early opportunity to erase this lag between rhetoric and reality. Since 1955, under two parties and three Presidents, the United States Government has dealt, in Geneva and Warsaw and in Taipei, with two regimes that call themselves "China". It would be most useful for you or your Secretary of State to find an occasion to take note of the fact—without fanfare—that we have in effect accorded Peking de facto recognition for a decade and a half, but that de jure recognition is obviously a far more complicated matter that remains to be discussed.

4. Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM). The new Administration will have to decide whether to continue with the recently authorized "thin" ABM system. In our view, insufficient consideration has been given by the present Administration to the consequences for Sino-American relations that this system may entail. Aside from the questions of the Soviet-American military balance, plans for an ABM are not only militarily unnecessary as a deterrent to Peking but may well be viewed by the Chinese Communists as evidence of American intent to attack Peking. We urge that the ABM decision be reconsidered.

5. Trade. The new Administration should seek an early opportunity to modify America's trade embargo against China, a residue of the Korean War which denies China nothing she needs, is supported by none of our major allies, acts as periodic irritant in our relations with third parties, denies America even the possibility of marginal economic leverage in changing China, and prevents our businessmen from sharing in the China market. In this regard, the new Administration should build on the tentative rhetoric of its predecessors and place our trade with China on the same basis (non-strategic goods) as our trade with the USSR and Eastern Europe.

6. Travel and Other Contacts. The new Administration should likewise remove the last vestiges of control on the travel of Americans to China and, at the same time, should make known its willingness to admit as visitors to the U.S. any Chinese the Peking government is willing to send to our shores. These steps will not only reflect the confidence and strength of a free society; they will open the door to the possibility of de-isolation when some future Chinese leadership is ready to choose that option. In addition to official contacts, the new Administration should encourage private and unofficial meetings, between Chinese and American journalists, educators, scientists, artists, and others.

B. RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN

The foregoing steps involve preliminary attempts to restructure the Washington-Peking relationship. Simultaneous with such steps should come, inevitably, a restructuring of the Washington-Taipei relationship. Here again the aim should be to bridge the gap between rhetoric and reality. The United States recognizes the Chinese Nationalists as the Government of the Republic of China, purporting to rule the mainland as well as Taiwan and the Pescadores; but Washington has long since begun to treat them as a government restricted to Taiwan and the Pescadores, tacitly accepting the fact that the Nationalists will not reconquer the mainland. Ever since 1951 every Administration has made it clear that Taiwan is not legally part of China, leaving the question of its status open to future developments. The new Administration should now build upon this reality. It should reaffirm America's commitment to the defense of Taiwan and the Pescadores, so long as people in Taiwan wish to retain a separate identity from mainland China. But by taking four particular steps it should anticipate and defuse Chinese Nationalist potential for causing Washington embarrassment.

1. Your Administration should send as Ambassador to Taiwan a man who understands the Administration's broad China strategy and can communicate it. In order to demonstrate the importance that you attach to political rather than military considerations, he should not be a military man.

2. As long as relative peace prevails in the Formosa Strait, the Administration should use this opportunity to press anew for orderly Nationalist evacuation of the offshore islands, Matsu and Quemoy. (While occupied by the Nationalists, these islands provide a lever by which *either* "China" can draw American forces into an unwanted Asia conflict. It should also press for an end to provocative Nationalist acts against the mainland.

3. The Administration should prepare the ground, in frank discussions with the Chinese Nationalists, for a gradual shift in America's relationship with Peking and, specifically, for the complex problems which will undoubtedly arise in the United Nations. (See below.)

4. Finally, the Administration should be alert to political forces that are at work beneath the surface in Taiwan and, when opportunity offers, should press Chiang Kai-shek and/or his successors to offer the 11,000,000 Taiwanese and the 2,000,000 mainlanders on the island an opportunity for fuller participation in political life.

C. BROADER PROBLEMS

1. *The United Nations.* The problem of Chinese representation in the United Nations will probably not confront the new Administration until the autumn of 1969. By that time the search for a Viet Nam settlement as well as earlier China-related initiatives may have tested the prospects for normalization of relations. In the unlikely event that these previous steps have borne fruit in our relations with China, the U.N. situation would present a similar problem. If not, however, it is nonetheless our conviction that the Administration should not seek to block the PRC's representation in the United Nations. For several obvious reasons, UN representation in Peking will undoubtedly come before—and is probably a prerequisite to—improved relations between China and America. In our view, the deisolation of China requires Chinese participation, whenever possible, in international forums and the long-term "socialization" that such contacts may produce. U.S. policy-makers should therefore accept Peking's membership in the General Assembly and the Security Council while seeking simultaneously to preserve a General Assembly seat for Taiwan, whether as the Republic of China, an independent nation, or an autonomous region of China. Such objectives may best be achieved through acquiescence rather than active leadership by Washington; but they will require careful advance planning.

2. *China's Neighbors.* A gradual shift in our China policy, while welcome to our major allies, will cause anxiety among some of China's neighbors who have tailored their actions to the containment aspect of our policy. It is imperative that we ease the transition for these states by keeping them informed of our progress and plans and by assuring them of our continuing interest in their welfare.

3. *Japan.* It is especially important that we take Japan into our confidence in every step of our strategy. Although Japan will favor the substance of our strategy, if we abruptly shift gears without prior notice, we will create acute embarrassment for the Japanese Government.

4. *Third Country Contacts.* We should welcome the efforts of countries such as Japan to develop increasing contacts with mainland China, in the hope of involving the Chinese Communist regime more substantially in the world community.

5. *Washington-Moscow-Peking.* Implicit in the foregoing suggestions is the hope that the new Administration will attempt to view Sino-American relations as a separate problem from Soviet-American relations, though inevitably a related problem. The Sino-Soviet split provides us with an opportunity to treat each party separately and to scrutinize our national interests in each relationship with care. We urge that the new Administration, in its proper concern with the bilateral super-power balance, avoid judgments about China and its development that derive from Moscow's views of Peking. A Soviet-American alliance against Peking may serve

Russia's interests; but it may not automatically serve U.S. national interests.

We believe that the recommendations outlined above will establish an American posture of firmness in our declared purposes and yet of reasonableness, prudence and willingness to resolve political problems by going halfway to meet the other side. This is a posture that will command the support of the broad center of the American electorate and of most of the nations of the world.

MEMBERS SHOULD BE FOREWARNED OF SCHEDULED CHANGES IN FOOD STAMP PROGRAM UNDER NEW LAW

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mrs SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, as the Members of Congress get ready to take a summer recess at the end of this week, they should be prepared for some of the criticisms they are bound to hear back home from those who are already familiar with the changes in the food stamp program scheduled to take effect sometime between now and early next year. Once the changes do go into effect, I am sure the complaints will rise in intensity and bitterness. For Congress passed, in my opinion, a very bad law, whose shortcomings have been largely obscured by the much-publicized, but short-sighted "liberalization" in the act to provide free food stamps for the very poorest families.

A comparatively few families earning less than $30 a month and now paying $2 a month for $106 worth of food—these are figures for a family of four persons—would, under the new law, receive $108 worth of food stamps a month absolutely free. Any eligible families of 10 persons with incomes of less than $30, who now pay $3 a month for more than $200 worth of food stamps, would receive them free. This is the great so-called liberalization of the program, and the basis on which the changes were hailed as "feeding the hungry."

Actually, millions of persons now receiving food stamps would be cut off the program entirely. Although their incomes may be too low in relation to the cost of living in New York or Pennsylvania or other industrial States to afford an adequate diet, those same incomes would be considered too high for eligibility in Mississippi, and the new law requires uniformity of standards of eligibility throughout the country. Perhaps 2 million persons will be denied continued participation in the food stamp program in the industrialized areas because their incomes are "too high"—even though not sufficient to afford an adequate diet in their own cities or towns. Other millions will find it completely uneconomic to continue to participate. For instance, a family of four with what would now become the maximum eligible income of $360 a month would have to pay $99 for $108 worth of food stamps. Considering the necessary redtape, the tieup of such a high percentage of the family income in food, the required registration for work at $1.30 an hour, et cetera, it is obvious that many in what are now to be the upper levels of income eligibility will quit the program as not worth the trouble.

So the Members should be forewarned of the complaints they will be receiving from constituents who have benefited from the food stamp program up to now, but who will be cut off, or discouraged from participating, under the new regulations, particularly in the industrialized states.

THE 1970 AMENDMENTS SHOULD BE REPEALED

Mr. Speaker, as many of the Members know, I initiated the legislation which resulted in the Food Stamp Acts of 1959, 1964, 1967, and 1968, but I strongly opposed the 1970 amendments, and I have introduced legislation in this Congress to repeal the 1970 changes. I have also proposed a change in the House rules to remove jurisdiction over food stamp legislation from the Committee on Agriculture, which has largely been hostile to the whole idea of a food stamp program since I first proposed it in 1954, and transfer this jurisdiction to the Committee on Banking and Currency, which is prepared to consider such legislation sympathetically. Banking and Currency initiated the rent supplement program, the homeownership interest rate subsidy program, programs of assured access to household and crime insurance, and most of its members believe in helping the poor to improve their standards of living through self-help and intelligent assistance. The food stamps are, in effect, currency—redeemable at par through the Federal Reserve system. The Committee on Agriculture has, in its handling of food stamp legislation over the years, demonstrated that it has no real interest in the program, resents the use of Agriculture Department funds to finance it, and believes it should properly be handled by some other committee if it is to be continued at all, and actually, it would just as soon see it die.

KEEPING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In any event, Mr. Speaker, in addition to forewarning the Members on the eve of a summer vacation of the political chickens which may come home to roost when low-income constituents begin to understand what the Congress did to them last year in the Food Stamp Act, I want to share with those Members who joined me in opposing the 1970 amendments a letter I wrote to the St. Louis Post-Dispatch disassociating myself from aspects of the 1970 amendments which that outstanding newspaper had criticized in a recent editorial.

Unfortunately, the editorial attributed all of the actions of the Congress last year on the food stamp bill to an attitude I was expressing on the very minor issue of free stamps.

Where or not my colleagues agree with me on the free stamp issue—and I know some of them do not—I am sure they will be interested in seeing my reaction to the Post-Dispatch editorial.

Hence, Mr. Speaker, I submit, as part of my remarks, the editorial from the Post-Dispatch of July 25, entitled "Assistance or Uplift?" my response in the form of a letter to the editor and, following that, news articles from both the Post-Dispatch and the St. Louis Globe-Democrat. Both newspapers had supported the idea of a food stamp program over many years.

The material referred to follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, July 25, 1971]

ASSISTANCE OR UPLIFT?

While the new federal food stamp regulations unquestionably contain a number of improvements over the old, it is difficult to imagine how either Congress or the Administration can take much price in revisions that reduce stamp benefits to 2,000,000 needy persons and eliminate them completely for some 65,000 others. Much of the problem, it seems to us, is that the nation has never been able to decide whether the food stamp program should serve as a means of assisting the hungry or as an exercise in moral uplift.

We cannot otherwise explain the remarks of the usually enlightened Representative Leonor K. Sullivan that "what we give away free is not recognized with the appreciation that a person has if he has to sacrifice a bit." Appreciation should have nothing to do with food stamps; the criterion ought to be need, regardless of whether the recipient is grateful, ungrateful, lives in a commune with hippies or beats his wife every Saturday night. The personal habits of the rich, after all, are never at issue when Congress establishes tax breaks for the oil industry or when the President proposes to bail out a giant corporation that has been a model of mismanagement.

It is all to the good that the new rules will add a net total of 2,000,000 to the program by next year. That addition, however, could and should have been accomplished without reducing or eliminating benefits to current recipients; and the improvements should have been possible without the vindictive provisions to deny stamps to students or communards. A genuinely impoverished youth struggling through college should be entitled to stamps; an affluent student who feigns poverty plainly should not be. A truly concerned Government could have devised regulations that would get stamps where they are needed while also preventing them from being abused by those who can afford to purchase food at market prices.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., July 29, 1971.

Mr. GEORGE HALL,
Editor, Editorial Page, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR MR. HALL: The St. Louis Post-Dispatch was, I believe, the very first newspaper in the Nation to voice editorial support for the food stamp bill I introduced originally in Congress during the 1954 recession to assure better diets for needy Americans unable to afford to purchase sufficient food. This was at a time when we were spending billions of dollars to remove surplus agricultural commodities from the market, and spending a million dollars a day (later a billion dollars a year) to store such food until it could be given away abroad, or sold abroad at sharply reduced prices, or until it rotted away and had to be destroyed or used for cut-rate animal feed.

The Post-Dispatch's support for food stamp legislation was unwavering and vigorous during all of the long and bitter legislative battles which led to the enactment of my bill in 1959, the start of a pilot food stamp program in 1961 by President Kennedy (after President Eisenhower had refused to implement the 1959 Act), the addition of St. Louis to the pilot projects in 1963, and the eventual enactment of a much broader bill which I introduced for the Johnson Administration in 1964 under which millions of

Americans can now purchase nutritious diets at a cost within their means.

It was therefore with deep disappointment and great surprise that I read your editorial of last Sunday (July 25), "Assistance or Uplift?", which quoted me in the strange context of seeming to approve the recent changes in food stamp policies just announced by the Deparement of Agriculture, which will remove thousands upon thousands of needy persons from the food stamp rolls and make participation by other thousands impractical or uneconomic. The Post-Dispatch characterized these changes as being more in the nature of "moral uplift" than of a sincere desire to assist the hungry, and "explained" the changes by some words of mine about people appreciating benefits more if they have to sacrifice a bit for them.

I know that the Post-Dispatch's able Washington correspondents had given the readers of your paper the full story on a continuing basis of the development of the 1970 food stamp amendments, including my bitter opposition to the kind of legislation which was finally enacted. I am therefore deeply disappointed that the editorial page would now tie me in, in any way, with the 1970 amendments which I opposed in all respects and am attempting to repeal.

The words of mine which you used in that editorial had nothing to do with the basic retrogressive features of the new law; they applied only to one very minor aspect of the bill involving free stamps for those families with income of $20 a month or less. Such families have been paying, up to now, no more than $2 a month for $106 worth of food for a family of four, or $3 a month for more than $200 worth of food for a family of 10. I believe every family receiving the right to buy that much food each month in a supermarket or grocery store should be required to pay something, and I make no apology for my "hard-hearted" attitude in opposing completely free stamps.

The amount of food a family on the food stamp plan has been able to purchase, at a cost within its means, is close to, and in some cases more than, the amount afforded by a family of comparable size earning its own way and paying taxes to support the food stamp program. The best way to kill public support for any worthwhile social program is to make it into a straight handout which gives any family, absolutely free, more than the average family can afford to buy for itself. By requiring recipients to pay for the stamps the same amount of money they would normally be expected to spend for food out of their incomes, the food stamp program has not been operated as a device to enable the poor to save on food in order to have extra money to spend for things other than food. Undoubtedly, they need additional money for many other things, but the food stamp program was intended only as a means of expanding food purchasing power in order to combat hunger and malnutrition, and never pretended to try to overcome all of the deficiencies of the welfare programs. Some Members of Congress tried to "liberalize" it in that fashion and failed. Instead, a very cruel bill was passed last year, with a sop to the "reformers" of free stamps for the very poor.

But aside from the minor aspect of the free stamps for a few families, there are so many major faults in the new food stamp law that I would hate to have the Post-Dispatch, or the roaders of its editorial page be under the impression I approved of these changes out of some sort of desire to make people "sacrifice."

The sacrifices many families will have to make under this new law are cruel and excessive. The changes were recommended by the House Committee on Agriculture, whose Members have generally been hostile to the whole idea of food stamps.

I have introduced legislation to repeal the 1970 amendments to the 1964 Act. In the meantime, when the Department of Agriculture first announced in May its tentative draft of new regulations to carry out the 1970 changes in the law, and there were loud protests, I told the House that the Department was not to blame for the backward steps being taken—the blame rests in the Congress.

"The act we passed in the last Congress was an abomination," I told the House on May 13, after the draft of the new regulations was released. "But so many of the Members of Congress were so intent on punishing the poor for being poor, and so many others were so intrigued by the idea of giving some free stamps to a comparative handful of families, that the successful legislative achievement of these two disparate objectives resulted in an unworkable monstrosity."

There were a few worthwhile suggestions incorporated into the 1970 Act, such as were noted in a recent Post-Dispatch article, but nearly all of these could have been put into effect under the 1964 Act, had sufficient funds been appropriated. Sufficient funds are now being appropriated to make the act do what former Secretary of Agriculture Freeman and I had hoped it would do, and I intend to press for restoration of the program to its original concept by seeking repeal of the 1970 amendments. The enclosed excerpts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will, I hope, make clear to the editorial staff how deeply I feel about confusing some token "sacrifice" for participating in the program with outright cruelty.

There has been too much laxity in the enforcement of the program and far too much cheating, as a result. Violators should, and must, be caught and punished. But most participants are not cheats. They are enjoying the opportunity—often for the first time—to participate in "the American standard of living" at the dinner table. Changes in the law which will deprive many thousands of deserving persons from continuing in the program are indefensible, and I am, as I said, deeply disappointed to see that the editorial writer thought I had supported or concurred in those changes.

Sincerely yours,

MRS. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress.

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, July 23, 1971]

REMAINS OPPOSED TO FREE FOOD STAMPS

(By Sally Turan)

WASHINGTON, July 23.—Representative Leonor K. Sullivan (Dem.) St. Louis, welcomed today some provisions in the newly revised food stamp regulations but said she remained opposed to the use of free stamps.

Mrs. Sullivan, a main figure in steering the initial Food Stamp Act through Congress under the Johnson Administration, said in an interview that "what we give away free is not recognized with the appreciation that a person has if he has to sacrifice a bit."

Mrs. Sullivan said she did not mean that amounts charged for stamps always were appropriate. "We have argued that no family should pay over $3 (for a monthly supply of food) and that if a family can't afford $3, they need far more than food stamps."

Revisions issued yesterday by the Nixon Administration would provide free stamps for persons with extremely low income. The number of persons affected is estimated at 900,000. The revisions broadened eligibility requirements and were expected to allow an additional 1,700,000 persons to participate for the first time in the program.

The new regulations restrict food stamp aid by increasing the amount of money some persons must pay for the stamps and by setting a $360 maximum monthly income as a cutoff for eligibility.

Mrs. Sullivan said she had not studied the new revisions and would not comment immediately on the new eligibility requirements.

The Representative expressed approval of a provision that would allow food stamps to pay for "meals on wheels" for elderly, confined persons, and for a regulation barring stamps when members of a household who are under 60 years old are not related.

The latter regulation was intended to stop use of stamps by young persons living in communes. "I think that has been a misuse of the program," Mrs. Sullivan said. "Persons who should get stamps suffer while others receive them who don't need them."

Mrs. Sullivan acknowledged that the rule would effect also migrant workers, who often live outside of family groups during the season, and other poor persons. "That's sad," she said. "There should be a separate provision that would qualify such persons."

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, July 23, 1971]

FOOD STAMP BENEFITS REDUCED FOR 2 MILLION; NEW LAW AIMS TO CUT OFF AID GOING TO HIPPIE COMMUNES, STUDENT GROUPS

WASHINGTON.—A revised food stamp program that will cut benefits for 2 million higher-income persons on welfare and continue them for 275,000 was announced by the Nixon administration Thursday.

The program is designed to carry out a food stamp law passed late last year by Congress. The law seeks to keep hippie-type communes and households of students from getting food stamps.

The new plan announced by the Agriculture Department supersedes a proposal made last April to carry out the law.

Under the April plan, those now getting stamps in states where welfare benefits exceed new uniform federal income standards would have been eliminated.

Those benefits were restored in the new plan. However, an estimated 60,000 to 65,000 persons not on welfare and in the higher bracket of low-income families who now get stamps will be removed from the rolls.

Food stamp benefits also will be reduced for an estimated 2 million persons in higher income categories who still qualify for the coupons.

Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Richard E. Lyng told a news conference that the most emphasis has been put on helping the "poorest of the poor" families.

Households at the bottom of the income scale will get stamps free of charge, he said.

For example, a family of four with less than $30 income a month will get $108 worth of coupons free. Now the same family is required to pay $2 for $106 worth of stamps.

On the other hand, a four-member family with a maximum allowable income of $360 a month will pay $99 to get $108 worth of stamps. At present the family pays $82 for $106 in coupons.

Lyng said approximately 10.5 million persons now get food stamps. Despite the cutbacks for higher-income recipients, the program is expected to increase to 12.5 million by a year from now, Lyng said.

Most important to that growth, he said, is the adoption of the national income standards for qualification.

No cost estimates were made, but Lyng said he expects the program to operate in existing areas—more than 2,000 of the nation's 3,100 counties—with the Nixon budget request of $2 billion for the fiscal year.

The new rules are expected to be put into

effect in most areas by early next year, Lyng said.

The plan includes a requirement that a household must be comprised of related individuals with few exceptions such as a nurse caring for an unrelated person. This is the way Congress sought to prevent stamps going to hippie-type communes and households of students.

Another controversial rule requires able-bodied adults, with the exception of mothers with young children, to register for and accept available work as a condition for getting stamps.

Lyng said that rule, also required by law, was clarified to show possible exemptions for persons whose health and safety might be endangered by job acceptance.

AMENDMENT TO VOTING RIGHTS LAW REGARDING VOTER REGISTRATION

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join with Senator McGOVERN in introducing today a bill to allow voters to register to vote in Federal elections and primaries until 30 days prior to the elections.

A serious gap exists in the present voting rights law which would not be remedied by any of the amendments proposed during the present session of the Congress.

Registration books in many States close well before elections are to take place. This is particularly the case for primary elections. In one State, for example, registration for a primary election which will take place in the summer is closed prior to the general election in the previous year. The effect of this provision is to reduce the franchise for the primary election by imposing a kind of additional residence requirement. In addition, a voter who is only dimly aware of the forthcoming primary campaign some 9 months before the primary election has no opportunity to register once that campaign is underway.

The purpose of voting laws should be to encourage and facilitate voting by the greatest number of citizens consistent with the safeguards necessary to prevent abuse of the franchise through such practices as double voting. But, all too often, voting laws serve as an impediment to the effective practice of democracy.

The purpose of this bill is to remove a major obstacle to maximum participation. It is particularly important as many young people join the voting population. Most of them are unaware of the intricacies of existing law and may find themselves disenfranchised in next year's primaries. This bill would help them.

This bill simply reduces the time required for registration prior to a Federal primary or general election to 30 days. It does not affect residence requirements which may be covered by State law or by present or future Federal law.

If we are sincere in our desire to make it easier for all citizens to vote, we should pass this bill.

The text of the bill follows:

H.R. 10442

A bill to amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to require that persons eligible to register to vote in Federal elections shall be permitted to register as late as 30 days prior to the date of such an election

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new title:

"TITLE IV—REGISTRATION TO VOTE IN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS AND PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY ELECTIONS

"DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

"SEC. 401. Pursuant to its authority under section 4 of Article I and other provisions of the Constitution, the Congress finds it necessary to prescribe certain uniform regulations with respect to the time that citizens may register to vote in Federal elections so that they may have an opportunity to register, if qualified to do so under law, as late as 30 days prior to the date of such an election.

"DEFINITIONS

"SEC. 402. As used in this title, the term—

"(1) 'Federal election' means a primary, general, or special election held to select presidential electors, or a Senator, Representative, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to the Congress or a primary election held for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President;

"(2) 'State' means each of the United States, the District of Columbia, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

"REGISTRATION

"SEC. 403. (a) Each State and its political subdivisions shall permit any person eligible to register to vote in any Federal election to so register as late as 30 days preceding the date of such election.

"(b) This section shall not be construed to affect the duration or application of residency requirements imposed by any State or by Federal law upon the eligibility of an individual to vote in any Federal election.

"JUDICIAL RELIEF AND ENFORCEMENT

"SEC. 404. The provisions of this title shall be enforced by the Attorney General in accordance with the provisions of section 203 of this Act."

THE UNITED STATES AND THE COMMON MARKET: A NEED FOR NEW TRADE INITIATIVES

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, as the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy, I have recently had occasion to preside over 2 days of hearings to study the consequences for U.S. foreign and economic policy of Great Britain's probable entry into the Common Market and its likely further enlargement with the addition of two or three other candidates for entry.

After the recess I intend to recommend to the subcommittee that it proceed further in these hearings as well as broadening them to consider the consequences in Asia of our emergent relationships with mainland China and the special trade and monetary position of Japan. Perhaps at no time since the period of postwar and Marshall Plan reconstruction has there been so clear an intersection and interplay between our political policies and our economic and commercial policies in almost all parts of the world.

However, even in advance of these renewed hearings and consideration by the subcommittee of a formal report, I should like to sketch out the personal impressions I have already formed regarding current developments in the European Economic Community.

The overriding conviction which I have brought from these hearings is the dangerous collision course which is set for us in world trade. The emergence of the enlarged European Community will be one of the major forces at work in the international economy in the next few years. In trade it will be the predominant partner in the world system. This could be a force for good. But the introverted, increasingly self-enclosed and restrictive agricultural policy of the EEC suggests that the new power bloc will instead be a force of disruption to the world economy. Great Britain's decision to harmonize its agricultural policies to the EEC pattern as its price for admission to the Community exacerbates the dangers. The EEC is seriously disrupting and distorting world agricultural markets and trade. Its agricultural price levels are far too inflated and its import levy and preferential schemes run counter to the wider interests of fair multilateral trade and of most of the less developed countries.

Even more threatening, however, are the spillover effects and the poisoning influence which this conflict in agriculture can have on the whole fabric of our relationship with the countries of Europe and the progression of recriminations and barren retaliations which may be set in motion. This is not a distant fear; it is a present danger.

There is no present evidence of any willingness within the EEC to face these problems and to attempt through negotiations with us and other trading nations to find a tolerable reconciliation of interests. Instead we are told to wait. We are told that time and the unfolding of events must themselves be the healing process and that we must accept the present nature of agricultural trade policy as a political necessity for which there is not now any remedy. A policy of wait and see, of simply treading water, does not appear to me to be possible. The present deterioration in our trade relations will probably be aggravated in the next 12 months, especially because of the bumper crops in both America and Europe, and because of the imminence of British entry into the Common Market.

I am increasingly impressed that, though the issues in agriculture appear politically intractable and the economic

costs of policy change seem inordinate, there is growing awareness in the business and agricultural community throughout America and Europe that something must be done. Many farm groups increasingly recognize that the problem is more than a question of trade barriers. It is a problem of conflicting national agricultural policies, some of which are designed to export problems and costs to farmers in other countries.

Looked at more broadly, the problems with Europe in agriculture do not argue well for the world economic system as a whole. The tendency in Europe to proliferate special deals with nearby countries while discriminating against outsiders is yet another sign of the direction policies are taking in Europe. They are policies of exclusion, not cooperation.

Yet Europe has common interests with the United States in the long run in the preservation and modernization of a global, nondiscriminatory economic system which protects the interests of all countries on an equitable basis. We must find new ways to exploit together our mutual interests, while containing the forces of conflict.

There are even now a number of constructive policy initiatives in trade and international economic policy which can mitigate the present situation and also gradually bring about a new climate and a new framework for a more open and progressive world trade policy. A constructive U.S. foreign economic policy must look in two directions—inward to domestic policies and outward to the international political and economic situation. Specifically, I believe that the United States can contribute significantly both in preventing a debilitating trade war and in creating new working mechanisms through these courses of action:

First. Looking inward, we must pull ourselves together. We have to develop a long term trade policy, so that divisions over trade interests in industry, labor and government do not end up making us weak in international negotiations. An integral part of this complicated undertaking is pulling together the Government apparatus. In addition, we need new modes of government-industry cooperation, not only for planning and consultation, but also for aggressively promoting exports. Most important, we need to stop pricing ourselves out of world markets by controlling inflation and by providing for more orderly and efficient humane adjustment of our domestic economy to the changing forces of international competition.

Second. Looking outward, we must begin to lay out a strategy for international negotiations. These negotiations must be realistic, taking into account the changing world politics of trade, the changing patterns of trade, the changing production capabilities of nations and changing national social policies. Even in agriculture, although there is a consensus that prospects for major improvements in the common agricultural policy are dim in the short run, it is nevertheless essential that we keep up the pressure for trade liberalization and for greater fairness, if only to prevent the EEC from becoming more restrictive. Furthermore, such pressure may help influence the Common Market to impose upon itself those disciplines that it needs to take with regard to its protective policies, but that because of internal pressure it finds difficult to take.

Third. The keystone of international negotiations should be multilateral negotiations in GATT which has the proper framework of rules and penalties. However, we should also actively undertake consultations with the major trading nations in order to formulate a grand design for the 1970's. The United States cannot do this alone, but working together, the major trading nations may be able to provide the foundation for countries.

In such a context we must try to persuade the EEC that it must play the multilateral role of leadership that is a consequence of its sheer size in world trade. In this regard, the moment has arrived when consideration should be given to improved techniques and institutions for working out solutions to problems between the United States and the EEC and for exploring our mutual interests in the world economy. The Community will say it cannot carry on complex multilateral negotiations while the process of bringing Britain in is underway. However, since after enlargement the Community will have about 50 per cent of world trade, it is not unreasonable for the other major trading powers to ask them to begin now to cope with multilateral issues which are disrupting world trade, and to help plan a grand design for the seventies.

Fourth. The recent OECD agreement to establish a highlevel group should provide an opportunity to move along these lines. These preliminary negotiations can serve as basic preparation for a new international economic negotiation, utilizing the GATT and other bodies to develop a better world system in the 70's.

Fifth. In the short run, we must also be more attentive to existing world trade rules and draw the line against violations of GATT. If necessary, we should test the validity of GATT rules with regard to the proliferation of the discriminatory trade arrangements being negotiated by the EEC which subvert not only our trading principles but our actual trade interests as well.

Sixth. In the near term, we should explore the possibility of concluding new international commodity agreements similar to the international grains agreement, but which recognize that the complexities of international agricultural trade transcend price schedules alone. The question of production controls should be examined especially for countries which use artificially high supports in agriculture.

Seventh. Finally, we must recognize the interaction of international trade and international monetary relations. The deterioration of the international monetary system is one of the most troubling aspects of world economic affairs. There is considerable overlap of interests and objectives by the members of the EEC and the United States. These common interests should be more vigorously explored for while leading to monetary reform, they will also be a necessary element of the basis for more general commercial negotiations.

GAYLE BROWN: HE WANTS TO FULFILL WANTS

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, community service is needed today as never before. It is undoubtedly one of the best positive ways to attack the social ills of our country.

One of the most outstanding examples of this service that I know of, Mr. Speaker, is the Parkhill Community Planning Council in Louisville, and Gayle Dean Brown, the council's executive director, is a dedicated, thoughtful leader who has given much guidance to the center's efforts to help improve the community.

In his 4 years at the helm of Parkhill, Gayle Brown has carried on in the concern for others that first led him to the ministry. His record of helping others help themselves deserves the recognition and praise of the House.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I would now like to place in the RECORD an article from the Louisville Times by Clarence Matthews about Mr. Brown, entitled "Gayle Brown: He Wants To Fulfill Wants."

The article follows:

[From the Louisville Times, July 29, 1971]

GAYLE BROWN: HE WANTS TO FULFILL WANTS

(By Clarence Matthews)

A small girl about 9 darted across the room and interrupted the photographer.

"I want to take a picture with Mr. Brown," she declared, slipping her tiny arm around the waist of Gayle Dean Brown, executive director of the Parkhill Community Planning Council, 1218 W. Oak.

The girl got her wish and walked away happily after receiving assurances that she would be in the picture with Brown.

"It's rewarding to have small children come up and put their arms around you," Brown said later. "You feel that they have some feeling for you."

Brown feels that older persons, too, have basic desires to be wanted, needed, to be a part of something important.

"We like to make them feel that this (the council office and recreation facilities) is their center . . . like it is a good place to come to and be a part of," he added.

The council is the only one in the state—possibly the nation—that is fully supported by business and industry. It was founded five years ago and offers a variety of recreation activities and social welfare services. It serves an area bounded by Algonquin Parkway and Oak, from Fourth to 18th.

"I think what has been accomplished at Parkhill is an example of what can be done in other areas," Brown noted. "What we have done is mobilize the community."

HOLDS SEMINARY DEGREES

His outlook and general philosophy reflect the religious training and social work experience he gained before joining the council.

Brown, now 36, received a bachelor of

divinity degree and a master's degree in religious education, both from the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

He is an ordained minister and pastor of Elizabeth Baptist Church, a small congregation of about 50 families, near Washintgon, Ind.

A native of Asheville, N.C., Brown came to Louisville in 1957 to study at the seminary after graduating with a social studies degree from Montreat-Anderson College, Montreat, N.C.

While at the seminary, he bacame interested in social work and took a parttime job working on a juvenile delinquency project directed by Pauls Work Shop, Inc., 241 E. Walnut. Pauls Work Shop is a privately financed social-welfare agency.

After graduating from the seminary, Brown went to work full-time for the agency.

During this period, the workshop began a juvenile recreation and counseling program to combat delinquency in the neighborhood now served by the council. A resulting study by the agncy also turned up other unmet needs in the community.

Ministers and business and industry leaders in the area then sat down to see what could be done to help.

Out of a series of resulting meetings, the council was organized in March 1966 with the pledge of financial support from major business and industry in the community. Brown served on the council's board of directors.

When the council's first executive director resigned in the latter part of 1967, Brown applied for the job and was hired.

AN EXTENSION OF THE MINISTRY

He has had some thoughts of what it would be like to enter the ministry on a full-time basis.

Brown feels that being executive director of the center is an extension of the ministry, although not in the formal sense of ministering to a congregation. He does not use the title of "reverend" in his work at the council.

"I have found quite a challenge in this type of work," Brown said. "I have learned that you can serve outside the ministry as well as inside."

Brown described his job as a "ministry of helping people help others," as shown by the willingness of the businessmen to help residents of the community.

"Parkhill has been the vehicle for them to see that problems are met," he added. "Not only do they help financially, but through involvement (with the council)."

Most of Brown's activities center on the council programs. "I do play golf occasionally," he said.

He is also active in the Rotary Club of St. Matthews and serves as the organization's secretary.

Brown was named as "Man of the Year" recently by the club for his contributions to the community and the service organization.

Brown's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher M. Brown, still live in Asheville. His brother, Ron, is a student at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Brown and his wife are parents of two children, Morris Allen, 7 and Michele Lynn, 3. The family lives at 3912 Winchester Road.

SOVIET MILITARY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT—PART VII

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, at my request Dr. Michael Boretsky, senior policy analyst in the U.S. Department of Commerce, has prepared a memorandum presenting his views on comparative Soviet and United States military research and development activities. Dr. Boretsky's paper on "The Technological Base of Soviet Military Power" appeared in the Joint Economic Committee's Economic Performance and the Military Burden in the Soviet Union, published in 1970.

Dr. Boretsky is particularly concerned with problems of comparative total employment of science and engineering manpower and with comparative procurement of military and space hardware. His is an important contribution in this field. I would like to have Dr. Michael Boretsky's memorandum of June 1971 appear at this point in the RECORD.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., June 16, 1971

To: Congressman MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

This is in response to your letter of March 19, 1971, requesting my assistance in Mr. Harrington's inquiry into the problem of comparative Soviet and American efforts in the research and development field as it relates to military questions, particularly my judgment on analysis of DoD estimates of Soviet military R&D contained in the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute's *SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament 1969/70* (published Nov. 1970). If I interpret this request correctly, you are interested not only in what I think about the SIPRI analysis, but also in what I personally think about the problem as such.

The SIPRI analysis appears to me as a careful and critical review of practically all Western estimates of Soviet R&D expenditures that had been published prior to its completion. As I see it, its main purpose is to cast doubt as to the credibility of DoD's estimates of Soviet R&D expenditures for military and space purposes—the magnitude, rates of growth as well as their share in the total.

The gist of the SIPRI argument against the DoD estimates is that:

(a) They are based solely or almost solely on Soviet budgetary expenditures on science converted into dollars by an arbitrary "R&D exchange rate" which "does not seem to be warranted" since there is no evidence that the bulk of military R&D is included in the announced science expenditures nor are the level or trend of military R&D outlays inferrible, with any confidence, from the budget science data; and

(b) "Current disagreement over an appropriate ruble-dollar R&D exchange rate suggests that exchange rate uncertainties alone make it impossible to give dollar estimates which can be considered at all reliable."

In assessing this conclusion, I find it necessary to distinguish between the methodological adequacy of the DoD estimates, as one question, and the quality of the "message" which DoD tries to convey with these estimates as another. I presume the latter (the "message") is much more important than the former to Congressman Harrington, the House Amed Services Committee and the Congress at large. The SIPRI analysis implies that the quality of this message is low or misleading since the methodology of making the estimates is inadequate. This is not necessarily so.

Regarding the methodology I think, too, that it could stand major improvements, including a radical change of the informational base. The research which I have done on the information which DoD uses for its estimates does not permit me to state particulars or furnish recommendations for changes at this time. The "message" which DoD tries to convey with these estimates (i.e., USSR's expenditures on R & D for military and space purposes are by now 40 to 50 percent greater than U.S. expenditures, and that the USSR expenditures are growing at about 8 percent per year whereas ours are declining), however, does not appear to me as an exaggeration. Indeed, if anything, it is likely to be an understatement rather than an overstatement of the Soviet drive. This judgment is based on two of my own analyses of the problem employing methodologies and data entirely different than DoD's, namely,

(1) analysis of the comparative total employment of science and engineering manpower in both countries' R & D (defined more or less the same way as we do in this country) and the probable relative concentration on projects of military and space nature, and

(2) analysis of the comparative procurement of military and space hardware valued in 1964 dollars and the USSR's R & D input/military "hardware" output relationship as in the United States.

The following gives the highlights of these analyses.

The estimates of comparative employment of science and engineering manpower are given in Table 1. These estimates, I should like you to note, are not as precise as we would like them to be, but I believe that for the kind of judgment as the Armed Services Committee has to make they represent the most solid type of information that we have. As is shown in this table, in 1968 USSR's total employment of qualified scientists and engineers in R & D exceeded that of the United States by 46 percent (section II, item 1). Assuming that the USSR has the same proportion of the total in defense and space R & D as the United States, about 45 percent (section I, item 3), implies that in that year the USSR had about 46 percent more scientists and engineers working in defense and space R & D than did the United States (section II, item 2A). Assuming, however, that the USSR's proportion in defense and space projects was twice as great as that of the United States would make the Soviet military and space R & D effort in terms of professional manpower employed in these areas almost 2.2 times as large as that of the United States. With such an advantage in the availability of professional R & D manpower working on its projects the military establishment of the USSR would generate a larger stock of new weapon systems and other know-how than the U.S. establishment even if the productivity of the Soviet scientists and engineers were only 50 percent as great as that of U.S. scientists and engineers.

The fact that Soviet R & D scientists and engineers developed the *lunakhod* (moonwalker)—a marvel of scientific and engineering accomplishments by any standard—a dozen or so missile systems, SST, "space station," some two dozens new ships, etc., on one hand, and the Soviet Government's shopping abroad for "simple" automobile-making technology, machine tools, material handling equipment, chemical plants, etc., on the other, clearly indicates to me that their concentration on military and space programs might be even higher than twice that of the United States.

As to the growth of this effort, the changes in total employment given in this table imply a *minimum* overall rate of 7.8 percent per year between 1962 and 1968. It is known, however, that the wages and salaries represented about 80 percent of Soviet outlays "on science" in 1950, but only about 50 percent in 1967. This implies that there has also been a substantial qualitative improvement in the Soviet R & D effort over time (the nonwage outlays went into improved facilities and equipment) and the overall *real* growth in the 1962–1968 period of some 11 percent per year. Within this *overall* rate of growth the military and space portion could have

grown much faster, since the proportion of military and space R & D in the total might have been smaller in 1962 than in 1968 and the "improvement factor" in the military and space R & D might have been higher than in the economy as a whole.

The analysis based on the comparative procurement of military and space hardware and the U.S. outlays on military and space RDT & E in 1964 dollars is provided in Table 2. The methodolgy and sources of information for estimating the comparative procurements of the hardware, including the two dollar/ruble conversion ratios, are fully explained in my study "The Technological Base of Soviet Military Power" with which you are familiar. In addition, I should like you to note that tenability of the range of the two conversion factors which I estimated has recently been indirectly supported by similar Soviet estimates and that the bracketed estimates for 1970 are somewhat cruder than for other years. Bearing this in mind the analysis given in the table should be self-explanatory. For the issue at hand the most important feature of this analysis are the estimates showing that by 1968 the value of Soviet military and space hardware exceeded that of the United States by some 3 to 13 percent, depending on which conversion factor is used (section C, item 1a and 1b). This implies that if a dollar's worth of the Soviet hardware required as much dollar-equivalent R & D effort as the U.S. hardware (which *a priori* seems to be a sensible proposition) the Soviet dollar-equivalent expenditures on RDT & E in question must have been that much larger (section C, items 2a and 2b). By 1970, however, due to the drastic reduction in U.S. procurement and continued growth in the USSR, the disparity greatly increased in favor of the USSR. In that year (1970) the USSR's procurement of hardware and corresponding "R & D input" are likely to have exceeded that of the United States by 50 to 70 percent.

The estimates for the specific years given in Table 2, it should be noted, must not be interpreted as measures of the relative technological defense capabilities because they only reflect relative levels of procurement in the stated years. The capabilities at any given time might only be judged on the basis of comparative quantity and quality of the hardware in stock at the time. Some judgment as to the quantitative stock of hardware which each of the two countries had and by how many years the United States was ahead in this race at selected points in time might be made on the basis on Chart 1 and Table 3.

In view of the tight secrecy the Soviets maintain around their defense and space activities, you probably will wonder how well these estimates "square" with reality. As I explained in the study "The Technological Base of Soviet Military Power" many of the data I used are subject to uncertainties and there might be some inaccuracies. I believe, however, that on the whole these estimates represent the best that can be obtained from research in open Soviet sources of information and they are consistent with relevant "commonsense" observations. As you know, in his recently published memoirs Khrushchev stated that at about the time of Stalin's death (1953) all the artillery chassis used by the Soviet armed forces in East Germany were American-made (lend-lease). The Soviet air force or navy were hardly any match for such of the United States at that time either. This implies a very low level of technological procurement and the know-how by the Soviet armed forces at that time. Since the mid-1950's or thereabouts, however, the Soviets built up their navy (*Jane's Fighting Ships* recently described the process: "a new class of warship appears regularly. Each year for the past few years a new type of rocket cruiser or missile destroyer has appeared."); built up the air force, including SST, C-5A and skycrane type of aircraft; built up their ICBM and ABM missile systems; and built up the space program (first sputnik came only in 1957) capable of robot-type exploration of the moon, Venus and other space objects. All these programs required growing R & D outlays and, as we may judge from the U.S. experience, huge outlays. My estimates show just that.

I hope that these comments will be of some help.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL BORETSKY,
Senior Policy Analyst.

TABLE 1.—ESTIMATES BEARING ON THE 1968 LEVEL AND RECENT GROWTH OF SOVIET R. & D. EFFORT RELATIVE TO THE UNITED STATES

	1962	1965	1967	1968	Annual growth from 1962 to 1968 (percent)
I. Approximate comparative employment of qualified scientists and engineers in R. & D.[1] (thousands):					
UNITED STATES					
1. Total (economy)	394	454	493	511	4.5
2. Defense and space oriented projects	189	232	237	230	3.3
3. Item 2 as a percent of item 1	48	51	48	45	----------
U.S.S.R.					
1. Total (economy)	475	594	699	745	7.8
2. Defense and space oriented projects:					
A. Assuming the same concentration on defense and space R. & D. as in the United States	228	302	336	335	6.6
B. Assuming concentration on defense and space 50 percent higher than in the United States	342	457	503	503	6.6
II. U.S.S.R. as a percent of United States:					
1. Total	121	131	142	146	----------
2. Defense and space oriented projects:					
A. Assuming the same concentration on defense and space R. & D. as in the United States	121	131	142	146	----------
B. Assuming concentration on defense and space 50 percent higher than in the United States	181	197	212	219	----------

[1] See table 11 in my study "The Technological Base of Soviet Military Power," in Joint Economic Committee of U.S. Congress, Economic Performance and the Military Burden in the Soviet Union, GPO, Washington: 1970, p. 224.

TABLE 2.—COMPARATIVE PROCUREMENT OF SOVIET MILITARY AND SPACE HARDWARE (NET OF MAINTENANCE AND REPLACEMENT PARTS) AND U.S. OUTLAYS FOR MILITARY AND SPACE R.D.T. & E. SELECTED YEARS 1958–1970

[Billion of dollars of 1964 purchasing power]

Item	1958	1962	1965	1968	1970	Approximate annual growth (percent) 1958–68	1968–70
A. UNITED STATES							
1. Estimated value of procurement of military and space hardware	16.5	19.7	19.4	28.5	(21.0)	5.6	−13.9
2. Outlays for military and space R.D.T. & E.	6.5	8.9	10.6	10.6	8.6	5.0	−9.8
3. R.D.T. & E. as percent of procurement of hardware (item 2 ÷ item 1×100)	39.4	45.2	54.6	37.2,	(41.0)	----------	
B. U.S.S.R.							
1. Estimated value of procurement of military and space hardware assuming the same purchasing power of ruble as in all machinery and equipment ($2.75 per ruble)	5.1	15.5	17.2	29.5	(31.4)	19.0	3.2
2. Would-be outlays on R.D.T. & E. if dollar's worth of the hardware required the same proportion of R.D.T. & E. as in the United States (item A/3)	2.0	7.0	9.4	11.0	(12.9)	18.6	8.3
1a. Estimated value of procurement of military and space hardware assuming purchasing power of ruble is 15 percent higher than in machinery and equipment ($3.15 per ruble)	5.9	17.8	20.0	33.8	(35.9)	19.0	3.2
2a. Would-be outlays on R.D.T. & E. if dollar's worth of the hardware required the same proportion of R.D.T. & E. as in the United States	2.3	8.0	10.9	12.6	(14.7)	18.6	8.3
C. U.S.S.R.							
As percent of United States							
1. Procurement of hardware:							
(a) Assuming ruble=$2.75	31	79	90	103	(150)	12.7	20.0
(b) Assuming ruble=$3.15	36	90	103	113	(170)	12.7	20.0
2. Would-be outlays on R.D.T. & E. if dollar's worth of the hardware required the same proportion of R.D.T. & E. as in the United States:							
(a) Assuming ruble=$2.75	31	79	90	103	(150)	12.7	20.0
(b) Assuming ruble=$3.15	36	90	103	113	(170)	12.7	20.0

Sources: See "The Technological Base of Soviet Military Power." Data on U.S. outlays on military and space R.D.T. & E. (in current dollars) are from the National Science Foundation deflated to 1964 dollars with GNP deflator for the Federal Government's procurement of goods and services.

TABLE 3.—COMPARATIVE STOCK OF MILITARY AND SPACE HARDWARE NET OF REPAIR AND REPLACEMENT PARTS CUMULATED SINCE 1955

[Billions of 1964 U.S. dollars]

Year	U.S. total, billions of dollars	Net of Vietnam [1]	U.S.S.R. Assuming ruble equals $3.15: Billions of dollars	U.S.S.R. Assuming ruble equals $3.15: Percent of United States	U.S.S.R. Assuming ruble equals $2.75: Billions of dollars	U.S.S.R. Assuming ruble equals $2.75: Percent of United States
1955	13.0		3.8	29	3.3	25
1958	58.9		19.0	32	16.5	28
1962	132.8		69.7	53	60.8	46
1965	191.8		129.9	68	113.0	69
1968	268.9	(250.1)	216.8	81 (87)	188.6	70 (75)
1970	317.8	(289.0)	290.7	93 (100)	252.9	80 (88)

[1] Estimates "net of Vietnam" assume that U.S. non-Vietnam annual procurement in 1966–70 remained at the 1965 level ($19.4 billion).

TABLE 3A.—U.S. LEAD IN MODERN DEFENSE CAPABILITY [1]

	Assuming ruble equals $3.15	Assuming ruble equals $2.75
1962	5	6
1965	5	6
1968	[2] 4 (2)	[2] 5.5 (3)
1970	[2] 1 (0)	[2] 3.0 (1.5)

[1] Definition: Years required by the Soviets to catch up with the U.S. stock of the hardware cumulated since 1955, assuming comparative growth rates of the stock in the preceding 3 years; [2] ( )=Net of Vietnam.

CHOU EN-LAI, MURDERER

HON. JOHN ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, the entire free world was stunned by the announcement by President Richard Nixon that he intended to visit Communist China and talk with the men who wield despotic and ruthless power over some 800,000,000 Chinese. These criminal gangsters were never elected leaders of these 800,000,000 Chinese and they would never dare allow free elections.

It is not my purpose at this time to go into all the arguments pro and con relating to this new venture to establish so-called friendly relations with this Chinese "Mafia" leadership.

It is vital, however, that everyone be apprised of all the facts in the background of the Chinese Communist regime. Not the least of these facts is the makeup of the individuals who hold power in Peking.

My own position is in opposition to the trip by our President because it cannot serve the cause of true peace. In my statement of constructive criticism dated July 16, the day following Mr. Nixon's announcement, I remarked:

For an American President to believe that he can go hat-in-hand to visit and placate a ruthless dictatorship and come to peace terms is similar to a situation where a local police chief would go hat-in-hand to a ruthless gangster and hope that a so-called friendly discussion could reestablish peace in the community (in this instance, it is the world community.)

Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw to the attention of the President and the Members of this Congress a very comprehensive article in Life magazine, June 27, 1954, entitled "The Two Faces of Chou-En-Lai." This article identifies the man our President will meet in Peking as a killer who ruthlessly exterminated an entire family of 11 people because the head of that family defected from the Communist Party. I fear my comparison of the President's visit with a police chief going hat-in-hand to a ruthless gangster is all too real. The article follows:

[From Life Magazine, June 28, 1954]

THE TWO FACES OF CHOU EN-LAI

CHOU AS FUGITIVE

(By editors of Life magazine)

The Geneva conference brought Chou En-lai, Red China's premier and foreign minister, into full view of the Western world as a master politician and a suave negotiator with a keen instinct for exploiting potential cleavages among the anti-Communist nations. At about the same time some aging documents made available to LIFE revealed him as a political thug and professional assassin.

Chou En-lai's urbane facade has been fooling people for some 20 years. In the middle '30s journalists who sought him hidden out in the caves of Yenan, the Communist headquarters, were impressed by a bearded man, with an $80,000 price on his head, who spoke excellent English and French and who seemed a "reasonable" Communist. In the days following World War II, when the tragedy of China was sealed in Yenan and Chungking, Chou's charm beguiled many Americans who had conditioned themselves to believe the Chinese Reds were harmless agrarian reformers. Even General Marshall, anything but a Communist sympathizer, thought Chou a man of his word. There were rumors that Chou had killed men with his own hands but, says a U.S. newsman who knew him then in Chungking, "One could only suspect by the chilling glint in his eye that they were true."

The rumors were true. The evidence, in the form of Shanghai police records nearly 23 years old, has never before been published. Vouched for by sources LIFE considers absolutely trustworthy, the documents name Chou as the man responsible for a spectacularly gruesome mass murder which in 1931 wiped out the entire family of a political enemy.

The political enemy was a man named Koo Cheng Chang. A member of the central committee of the Chinese Communist party and head of the Chinese G.P.U., Koo went over to the Nationalist government in April 1931. He talked, and as a result, the Nationalists arrested a number of important Communists, including the party's secretary-general who was executed on June 23, 1931. Shortly thereafter Koo's wife, eight relatives and the family cook disappeared.

On Sept. 28, 1931 a man named Wong Lau Deu Ts was arrested by Shanghai police of the International Settlement and turned over to the Nationalists. Wong revealed that he was one of a party of Communist assassins who had murdered Koo's relatives by strangulation. The executions, said Wong, were ordered by the party's new secretary-general, who was also in charge of the assassination gang. French police records of Shanghai's International Settlement spell the boss assassin's name Chow Heng Lai; British records call him Tseu Ong Lai and Chow Ong Lai. The date, the circumstances and a photograph attached to the British police dossier leave no doubt that this is the man Western diplomats now know as Chou En-lai.

Wong kept talking. The final report of the Shanghai municipal police (British), dated Jan. 22, 1932, reviews the case and says:

"Wong Lau Deu Ts further stated that the bodies of the Koo family were buried at Nos. 33 and 37 Rue Prosper Paris, No. 6 Wuting Road, whilst other traitors to the C.P. cause were murdered and buried at No. 91A Sinza Road.

"Between November 21st and 28th, 1931 seven bodies were exhumed at Rue Prosper Paris, four at Wuting Road and five at Sinza Road making a total of sixteen. Full particulars in connection with all the murders will be found in attached statements. . . ."

The five Sinza Road murders had taken place earlier, sometime in 1930, and Chou En-lai may or may not have been involved. But the 11 murders to which he was definitely linked were horrible enough. A British police report described a visit, following Wong's direction, to No. 6 Wuting Road, a property rented by Wong at the time of the murders. The report says:

"Immediately after arrival work was started on digging up the garden which is situated to the south of the house. . . . At about 11 a.m. a slab of cement about 6 feet in length, 2 feet 6 inches in width and 1½ inches thick was unearthed under about 8 inches of soil near the south wall of the garden, running lengthwise. This slab of cement was broken and removed and only soil was found. Digging again commenced and a further 18 inches down traces of two bodies were found lying side by side parallel to the south wall facing north. Almost simultaneously traces of two other bodies were found on the north side of the garden. . . .

"At 3:30 p.m. Procurator Kuh Wei and Dr. Dang Ching . . . arrived and viewed the bodies.

"Dr. Wong the Municipal Police doctor then had the bodies removed from the soil . . . and the following was ascertained:

"(1) Body lying parallel south wall under 8 inches of soil, a cement slab, and a further 18 inches of soil, that of a young woman, naked and bound with rope at the ankles, wrists and around the neck, believed to be body of Chang An Hwo, wife of Koo.

"(2) Body lying parallel to No. 1 . . . that of an elderly woman, clothed, and also bound with rope round the ankles, waist, and neck. Believed to be the body of Chang Loh Sz, mother-in-law of Koo.

"(3) Body in sitting position under two feet of soil on north side of garden. Legs were doubled back to neck and were tied together with hands with rope round neck . . . facing north wall. Believed to be body of Sih Lee, the brother of General Sih [commander of the 2nd Division of the 26th army].

"(4) Body in sack in north-west corner of garden under two feet of soil. Found to be body of a female about 16 years of age. Trussed up in same manner as No. 3. Clothed, and with cord round neck. Believed to be body of Yih Siau Mei [cousin of Koo]."

Seven more bodies were found at Nos. 33

and 37 Ai Dang Li, Rue Prosper Paris: Koo's brother and two sisters-in-law, Koo's father-in-law, the brother of a sister-in-law, his wife and the cook, one Ma Bee. The only victim not a member of Koo's family was Sih Lee, who was unlucky to be around at the wrong time. According to the *North-China Herald* of Dec. 1, 1931, Koo himself ran newspaper advertisements, offering a $3,000 reward for the murderers and putting the finger on Chou En-lai as the man responsible.

From Wong Lau Deu Ts the Shanghai police got the names of nine assassination agents under Chou En-lai. But they were most anxious to find Chou and a man named Hong Tsung Poo whose job, according to the British police summary, "was to secure isolated houses suitable for murders." Shanghai police wrote Hong Kong as follows:

DECEMBER 11, 1931.

Sir: I have the honour to inform you that the following described persons:

(1) Tseu Ong Lai, native of Hupeh, age about 40, strong build, medium height, fresh complexion, speaks French and Japanese....

(2) Hong Tsung Poo, alias Hong Yang Sung, native of Yue Yao, Dzaushing . . . are wanted by the Shanghai Municipal Police and Chinese Military Authorities on charges of murder. . . ."

Eleven days later Hong Kong police answered as follows:

"Of the two Chinese names . . . the first one Tseu Ong Lai is well known to this Department as a leading Communist whose arrest we have endeavoured to secure for many months....

"The other Chinese named Hong Tsung Po is not known...."

It may be that this was what made it too hot for Chou in places like Shanghai and Hong Kong, for he next turned up as a leader of the Communist army's famous 6,000-mile Long March to Shensi in 1934. Henceforth he was one of the top Communist hierarchy, apparently a nice, plausible fellow. And in Shanghai he does not have to worry now about the law; he is the law.

CHOU AS DIPLOMAT

(By Godfrey Blunden)

GENEVA.—To Le Breuil, the famous horticultural house on the shores of Lac Leman, came two Chinese gentlemen dressed in black. On their small, delicate feet they trod among the exotic hothouse flowers for which Geneva is celebrated, pausing to examine a shell pink azalea, a miniature rhododendron, a cyclamen, sky-blue hydrangeas, an orchid. Conferring gravely together, they indicated their purchases. There was just one point they wanted to be sure about. Before delivery the plants must be examined by another Chinese gentleman. But naturally, messieurs, answered the nurseryman.

A few hours later the astonished nurseryman saw plants neatly lifted out of their earthenware pots and small Oriental fingers probe root and stem. Did the Chinese gentleman doubt the quality of the plants? Not at all. It was not bugs but bombs they were looking for. The flowers were for the private conservatory of M. Chou En-lai, premier and foreign minister of the Chinese People's Republic who was due in Geneva to play his first public role on the stage of world diplomacy at the conference on Korea and Indochina.

Though the advent of Chou at Geneva had a delicate hothouse flavor, Western representatives soon discovered that he was as brutal a negotiator as his Russian mentors. In forcing a breakdown of negotiations on Korean peace terms, he was second in importance only to the Soviet Union's Molotov. In the exasperating discussions for an armistice in Indochina he has been the No. 1 man on the Communist team. When the Indochinese talks appeared headed for deadlock last week, it was Chou who revived them with a proposal that the West felt obligated to study and therefore prolong the conference.

The preparations for housing Chou at Geneva presaged the importance of the role in which he had cast himself. And it showed how far he had come since he was the boss of a Communist assassination gang in Shanghai in 1931 (*opposite page*). This April, from the Red Chinese legation in Berne—Switzerland is one of seven Western European countries that recognize the Mao regime—four Chinese traveled to Geneva to look for a house. They made the circuit of the summer rentals until they came to Le Grand Montfleuri, a dignified 18th Century mansion owned by Jacques Salmanowitz, head of a big international grain business. Grand Montfleuri is on the bank of Lac Leman, less than 10 miles from the Palais des Nations, onetime headquarters of the defunct League of Nations, which had been selected for the meeting place of the conferences on Korea and Indochina. The Chinese liked the look of Montfleuri. It has 21 rooms, five bathrooms, a conservatory, terraces, and it stands in a 27-acre park with a small wood, a hayfield, vegetable gardens, a greenhouse and lodges at its gates. Multimillionaire Salmanowitz was reluctant to let his house to Communists, but the Swiss foreign office pressured him. The rental price for six months: 20,000 Swiss francs ($4,600).

The first thing the Chinese did was to go over the district in which Montfleuri stands. One by one they checked off their neighbors with the Swiss police, noting their names and inquiring about their social status. In a corner of the Montfleuri estate they found the humble cottage of Gardener Jules Marandaz. Stubborn Jules, maintaining that he was part of the deal, refused to move out. The Chinese argued. Finally they bought Jule's pigs and chickens and vegetables, agreed to pay his salary for the entire period of occupancy and decorated an apartment for him at Versoix, just outside Geneva.

A onetime residence of famed French statesman Chateaubriand, Grand Montfleuri had stood empty for several years. Wallpaper was stripped off and walls were replastered. An extra bathroom was put in and the house was repainted. Cost: 200,000 Swiss francs ($46,000). Then a Chinese spotted a couple of flies on the ceiling and quickly called up the Geneva Hygiene Service. The whole house was fumigated.

Curious about what was going on in his house, owner Salmanowitz paid a visit to Montfleuri. He was ordered off the grounds. To repulse other intruders barbed wire was flung around the estate, though that was later removed. A 20-man Swiss army guard, spaced at intervals of 200 yards, surrounded the estate. The Swiss police kept a permanent five-man detail at the main entrance gate. The Chinese put their own guards inside the grounds and built a small guardhouse at the gate. Here one day appeared a certain Wang, a Chinese porter who had learned his French (he said) at Peking University.

Furniture purchased in Geneva (an estimated 50,000 Swiss francs' worth) began arriving. Wang ordered the delivery wagons to be unloaded at the gate. Refrigerators, washing machines, radios, chairs and tables were moved up the driveway by a staff automobile. Wang permitted no one who was not Chinese to take a step inside the gate. Chinese guards behind him glowered at curious sightseers.

For their conference needs the Russians had organized a daily aircraft shuttle service between Moscow, East Berlin and Geneva. Russian transport planes now began flying in with crates of dragon-decorated Chinese furniture, tapestries, lamps, trays, small tables, cabinets. From East Germany a big armored Zis with double bulletproof windows and two Buick-type Zims rolled in with Chinese drivers and more guards. But three cars hardly met the needs of the delegation. Two Chinese gentlemen in black went into Geneva, bought five British Humbers, a Mercedes Benz, a Chrysler, hired five French Citroens (at 100 Swiss francs a day) and a couple of Simcas (at 80 francs a day). Now everything appeared to be ready.

On April 24, two days before the conference opened, Chou En-lai arrived by Russian plane from Moscow. At the airport Swiss officials greeted him while newsmen were held back by barricades. A brief, trifling incident marred Swiss composure. A swiss watch firm had put up an advertising sign at the airport on which the flags of the 19 conferring nations were displayed. By a singular misfortune they had mistaken the flag of Nationalist China for that of Red China. Immediately a member of Chou's entourage spotted it. The offending flag was promptly changed.

In the armored Zis, with three carloads of guards following, Chou drove straight to Montfleuri. Was he pleased? Not more than a few hours later two Chinese gentlemen in black were observed speeding into Geneva. At Fleuriot's, the city's biggest florist shop, they leaped out, bought another carload of plants. After screening by Chinese secret servicemen, the additional plants went into Chou's conservatory.

There were now some 200 people in the Red Chinese delegation. Chou had brought his own doctor and medical staff, his own cook and cook's assistants, a personal housekeeper (one of 10 women in the delegation). There were nine or 10 news cameramen, a host of interpreters, propagandists, clerks, mechanics, drivers—and, of course, a secret service staff, headed by Li Ko-nung, boss of China's equivalent of the MVD. Some 50 Chinese were quartered on the Montfleuri estate but the rest had to be scattered through Geneva hotels and in a private apartment.

In the hotels the Chinese refused to yield up their room keys, and they protested the habit of Swiss bellhops and maids of entering rooms with master keys. Just to confuse the Swiss further the Chinese began switching rooms. Swiss officials began to realize that they had no sure means of determining the number of Chinese Communists entering or leaving the country. Meanwhile the Chinese signed their meal checks in Chinese characters and refused to give tips. It was not long before the staff of one hotel began to talk of a protest strike.

For a while it was possible to tell the relative position of any Chinese delegate in the Communist hierarchy by his clothes. The top-level boys wore a kind of uniform obviously modeled on the buttoned-up jacket and high collar worn by Mao Tse-tung, just as Stalin's boys used to imitate the dictator's high-necked tunic. From this austere getup the tailoring ran down through seedy Western-style clothes to a kind of floppy zoot suit with bell bottoms. But soon all this changed. The Chinese comrades descended on Geneva's flossy department stores and were soon strolling about in new Western clothes. They also bought nylon stockings, ballpoint pens and American cigarets. At one shoestore two Chinese bought five pairs of shoes each. When presented with the bill one of the Chinese produced 15,000 francs from his pocket and asked the sales clerk to take the required amount, about 800 francs.

At Montfleuri, Chou and his staff have dined on food flown in from China and Russia. The Chinese at the hotels have eaten Western food. At the swank Hotel Beau-Rivage last week one Chinese finally lost patience, called for a plate of noodles, doused it with Worcestershire sauce and ate with a relaxed smile. They have visited Swiss cafes in small groups, seldom alone, and have not been observed to drink anything stronger

than light beer. None has been seen in either of Geneva's two Chinese restaurants.

A limited amount of fraternization with the Russians and the Vietminh has apparently been permitted, but none with the Swiss and none with Geneva's several thousand Communists who have gazed wonderingly at the international, but frigid, brothers. By 11:00 every night, as by a curfew signal, the Red Chinese have disappeared from the streets. Not for them the fleshpots of Geneva, but the deep, deep boredom of the cell meeting and the nightly orientation talk. It was a life which had Porter Wang wondering.

"In Geneva," he asked a Swiss guard, "are there many *poules?*" (Literally, "chicken"—the variety that wears nylons.)

"Well," said the Swiss, "it's as you would find it in any French speaking city."

"Ah," sighed Wang.

"How is it in China?" asked the Swiss.

"In new China," said Wang, "they are all in factories."

It would be an error to imagine that barbarians make up the delegation. The majority are graduates of China's universities and a few are U.S. college graduates. Many speak fluent English. Westerners formerly stationed in Chungking have recognized a number of former acquaintances, but efforts to renew old ties have had little success. Such has been the case with Madame Kung Peng.

Former Chungking correspondents remember her as a vivacious Chinese woman, Chou's press officer in 1943, a Communist liaison officer with the Marshall mission in 1946. Reminded by a correspondent of a dinner she had been given at the British embassy in Chungking, Mme. Peng was covered with confusion. At the first Chinese press briefing she made an appearance at the official table and objected when newsreel photographers tried to take her picture as she lit a cigaret. She has made no public appearance since then, remaining in seclusion at the Hotel Beau-Rivage, a brooding grave-faced woman in a filmy blue dress.

No day has passed without tourists peeking through the gates of Montfleuri. They should have come at night, for Chou's schedule is the same as that of his old master, Josef Stalin. The house lights at Montfleuri, like those of the Kremlin, have burned through the night. In the early hours the teletype circuit connecting Montfleuri with Berne and thence by radio with Shanghai has run hot with a load of coded European letters. Not until the time the Swiss milkman has delivered his eight quarts of milk at Wang's lodge has quiet returned. The swiss guard has been ordered to keep it that way until noon.

From the front terrace at Montfleuri there is a view across the turquoise waters of Lac Leman with its swans and sailboats to snow-capped Mont Blanc. In the early afternoon Chou and his staff have strolled on the terrace. Except for the Swiss guards, who were entertained at dinner shortly after Chou's arrival (they were delighted with the jasmine tea), not more than half a dozen foreigners have seen Chou at home. Among the privileged were India's V. K. Krishna Menon and British Member of Parliament Harold Wilson, onetime Labor party president of Board of Trade. Wrote Wilson, "We were entertained with typical Chinese hospitality, with food flown over from China, Chopsticks and all."

Later Wilson had an hour-long session with Chou on trade with China. "He obviously understood English and made no attempt to hide it, laughing at humorous references without waiting for the interpretation and occasionally expressing agreement. But he spoke only Chinese. We found him an extremely impressive personality. . . . He was entirely friendly and warm in all his dealings with us. . . . He had a quick sense of humor and seemed to delight in answering our questions with no attempt at evasion."

American diplomats who remember Chou in Chungking remember him exactly that way (they used to call him "Joe"). But they also remember how he led the Americans up th garden path, and they shake their heads sadly for the British. The garden path the British are treading is disguised as a "Hundred Million Dollar" trade order. How would moneyless China pay for the goods it wanted? A transfer of credit from Russia might be arranged, Chou suavely hinted. And then there was Red China's "substantial invisible income" (i.e., money extracted and extorted from Chinese living abroad).

Dining with British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden at the Hotel Beau-Rivage a few days later, Chou wore Western dress for the first time in Geneva: an impeccable navy-blue suit, navy-blue tie and white shirt. An interpreter hovered at his shoulder throughout the meal and a phalanx of guards was lined up in the hotel foyer. But Western diplomats accustomed to dealing with Communist leaders have come to ignore these emblems of fear. "Very impressive," said Eden afterward, adding, as though there might have been some misapprehension, "I told him what side we were on."

Chou En-lai's strategy in Geneva has gone far beyond Indochina and Korea. More important to him than the overpopulated paddies of the Red River is the need to obtain a place in the United Nations and to drive Nationalist China out. Already his men have been studying such U.N. outfits in Geneva as the International Labor Organization and the World Health Organization, and have made tentative contacts with Nationalist Chinese who occupy jobs in those offices. Geneva is a more convenient place for contacts than Peking or Shanghai, and people from all over the world have been coming to Chou's Geneva office seeking favors, business contacts, permits for travel and shipping arrangements. To cope with this traffic Chou is negotiating the purchase of several buildings in Geneva for the establishment of a large consulate and commercial center.

In playing for recognition of Red China as one of the world's four great powers, Chou is also playing for recognition of himself as a world leader. One sees this in the rigid protocol observed by the Communist delegations at the conferences. At the 5 p.m. break in the Korean plenary sessions Molotov went first to Chou's side, then to the side of Communist North Korea's foreign minister, Nam Il. The order of the speechmaking on Korea was 1) Nam Il, 2) Chou En-lai, 3) Molotov, giving the Russian the most prominent place as diplomatic clean-up man. But for the Indochina sessions the batting order was changed: 1) the Vietminh representative Pham Van Dong, 2) Molotov, 3) Chou En-lai. At the close of meeting Molotov has left first, then Chou, then Nam Il, Pham Van Dong.

Chou is still second to Molotov, but his stature among the Communists has grown during the Geneva talks. In the conference hall he has sat impassively, a bulky figure with graying hair. Though he read his pronouncements imperturbably, on occasion he has been an energetic speaker, his broad, coarse face full of animation, his heavy eyebrows raised in scorn or humor, his short thick arms gesticulating. Thirty-four years ago Chou En-lai was a coal miner in France, a worker in Paris' Renault auto plant. He is still young enough (55) to outlive both Mao and Molotov—perchance even Malenkov (the Russian casualty rate being what it is)—to become the world's No. 1 Communist.

The obstacle in Chou's path is the United States. He knows that his charm and good humor no longer count with Americans. Thus he reserves for the U.S. his most vituperative rhetoric. The policy of the U.S. delegation not to recognize or fraternize in any way with the Red Chinese delegation hurt Chou's vanity. He reeks reprisal. Through Humphrey Travelyan, Britain's chargé d'affaires in Peiping who is currently in Geneva, the U.S. made tentative overtures for the exchange of Chinese prisoners for U.S. civilians interned in Red China. Chou let the talks develop to a hopeful stage, then had his press spokesman snarl, "If the U.S. wants to go on with this they must come to us direct." U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, U. Alexis Johnson, a member of the Geneva delegation, is currently negotiating directly with the Chinese for the release of 54 U.S. civilians and 29 U.S. military personnel now held in China. Since General Marshall's disillusioning experience, most American diplomats know Chou En-lai for what he is—a ruthless intriguer, a conscienceless liar, a saber-toothed political assassin. But he is new to Europe. If Europe wants to be fascinated he will fascinate Europe.

Chou had been in town only a few days when Chinese messengers came bearing gifts to the leaders of the other delegations. The gifts were Chinese art portfolios, books covered in silk brocade, bound with ivory clasps and made up of the finest handmade paper. One such book I examined held some 150 exquisite Chinese prints. The principal subject: flowers.

One evening a few week ago, long after the delegations had left the conference hall, a newsreel photographer noticed a man standing in the inner courtyard. The newsreelman stepped up with his camera whirring. It was Chou, quietly walking in the garden. He posed.

To Montreux's famed spring festival, the Fete des Narcisses, a few weeks ago went 70 members of Chou's delegation. Debarking from their buses they walked among the fields of narcissuses like figures in a Chinese scroll. And two weeks ago a young Chinese woman stopped off at Le Breuil's Geneva shop and bought 300 potted plants, mostly geraniums, begonias and salva, to add to the philodendrons, cocos plants, maranta, kentia, ficus, dracaena and rubber plants already stuffing Grand Montfleuri. A Chinese proverb says, "In a lovely garden hides the tiger."

COLOR IS BEING ADDED TO THE CAPITOL

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, as I walked through the Capitol Building yesterday, I noted that the capitals on the tobacco columns in the smaller rotunda of the Capitol Building had been painted in bright colors, and I made inquiry with the Architect of the Capitol as to the reasons for this and as to what further was planned in this direction. I received the following interesting letter which I would like to share with my colleagues and with the public on this subject:

AUGUST 5, 1971.

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BENNETT: In response to your inquiry regarding the painting of the column capitals in the Little Rotunda (sometimes called the Senate rotunda), I offer the following historical and descriptive information.

The historical research that was done prior to our recent painting established that the dome and caps were originally painted between 1815–1819 when the area was constructed after fire of 1814.

In the necessary repairing and cleaning resulting from the March 1st bombing damage, paint studies were made of the small dome and its ornate coffers. It was definitely determined, by the removal of the outer paint layers, which colors were applied to specific areas, and the restoration work followed these findings.

In 1817, Benjamin Latrobe, Architect of the Capitol, wrote to Thomas Jefferson that the capitals composed of tobacco leaves and flowers ". . . be painted and that the leaves of the upper tier be colored in the lower part with a faint brown, as I shall do in the rotunda of 16 columns . . . otherwise they do not sufficiently distinguish themselves."

These 16 caps were carved by several different carvers, and therefore each one varies. Painting made them appear more uniform. There was also a lighting problem in the inner areas of the Capitol and painting relieved the dark shadows and accented highlights of the sculpturing as Latrobe mentioned. Too, Latrobe followed the Greek school of tinting coffered ceilings. At this time the Old Hall of the House (now Statuary Hall) had a ceiling painted ornately in many colors and with a generous use of gold leaf. This colorful room is depicted on page 32 in *We, the People*.

The tobacco caps were originally tinted and then painted out in later years. In fact, the walls of the great Rotunda, Statuary Hall, and the Little Rotunda were all painted to resemble marble until about 1907, when the paint was removed to show the original beauty of the stone. Surfaces which were comparatively flat and large did not offer the problems in paint removal that the intricately carved, delicate tobacco caps presented. The removal of the old paint from these capitals would have marred and damaged them, and it was thus permitted to remain.

Periodic repainting in a buff color over the years has caused the beauty of the carving to become obliterated as the built-up paint layers gradually covered the detail. The reapplication of color has again emphasized the delicate carving and made the details visible.

The Advisory Architects to the Architect of the Capitol expressed pleasure and satisfaction with the completed work in the Little Rotunda.

Over the years, much original decoration in corridors and ceilings in the Capitol has been obscured. Our efforts are gradually being directed toward restoring the Capitol as it once was, so that this and future generations of Americans can continue to enjoy this symbol of liberty that is the Capitol.

Cordially,

GEORGE M. WHITE,
FAIA, Architect of the Capitol.

NATURAL GAS SHORTAGE

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, I have often voiced my opinion that our current energy policy is inadequate to meet the growing needs of our energy-hungry economy. Our policy shortcomings are particularly evident in our treatment of natural gas. Although the United States is blessed with an abundance of natural gas reserves, governmental regulation has discouraged gas exploration and development to the extent that we are now faced with a seemingly paradoxical gas shortage.

Evidence of this shortage is all too common. For example, the East Ohio Gas Co. has recently announced to its industrial customers that they must be prepared to cut their present gas fuel requirements by 10 to 20 percent, beginning in the winter of 1972–73.

G. J. Tankersley, president of East Ohio Gas, wrote in a recent letter to the company's industrial customers:

> At this time it appears that we will undoubtedly be going into the winter of 1972–73 with an annual volume shortage, which could be as great as 20 to 30 billion cubic feet or from 10 to 20 percent of annual industrial requirements.

Furthermore, Mr. Tankersley warned that this estimate is based on the assumption that his company's pipeline suppliers will be able to deliver their contracted volume of gas. This assumption rests on a dubious foundation. He said that one major transmission company already has notified the Federal Power Commission that it cannot meet its existing requirements this year. Another has stated that it will not be able to provide its contracted volume if the coming winter is colder than normal. All other suppliers to East Ohio Gas have filed curtailment procedures.

Mr. Speaker, this is only one of the latest developments in an increasingly crucial situation.

In New York State, an examiner for the public service commission has recommended the establishment of a priority list of gas customers, stating that "the availability of gas, especially additional supplies of new gas, is generally in short supply."

In California, the public utilities commission has announced that it will be necessary to curtail delivery of gas to electric power generation plants.

In Chicago, the waiting list of natural gas service applicants contains thousands of names.

Nationwide, the Federal Power Commission has announced that it will require pipeline companies to reduce supplies to industrial customers so that storage fields can be filled with gas for home heating and other domestic purposes.

The cost and inconvenience of forced curtailment of industry's use of natural gas is bad enough. Even worse is the effect on the vitally necessary effort to reduce air pollution. Gas is the most clean burning of all fuels. To the extent that industry must turn to other fuels the environmental control program will be weakened. That is just one more damaging result of the natural gas supply shortage.

The shortage is a deeply serious problem. But it is not an insoluble problem.

Its solution lies in restoring the incentive for producers to step up on a massive scale the exploration for and development of new gas reserves in the United States. That incentive has been badly weakened by present law and regulatory policies of the Federal Government.

I urgently suggest the enactment of legislation to give producers some hope for the future by making their sales contracts with interstate pipelines valid and binding on all parties concerned. They are not valid now, not when the Federal Power Commission can step in and force changes in contracts it had previously approved. A sales contract between producer and pipeline is meaningless when the producer cannot know how much he will be paid for his gas, how long he will be paid a specific price, how much gas he must deliver, or how long he must continue delivery. All these uncertainties exist under present regulatory policies of the Federal Power Commission.

The uncertainties can be removed through passage by Congress of H.R. 7144, which I introduced in the House some weeks ago, or by passage of a similar bill introduced by other Members.

The proposed legislation would not take away Federal control of gas producers. But it would make contracts valid and binding once they were approved by the Federal Power Commission. That is no more than any legal contract does in other areas of business.

Mr. Speaker, this is the minimum action necessary to give the producers a strong economic reason for putting forth greater effort to bring the Nation's reserve supplies up to the point at which we can feel confident that we will not run out of gas.

The need for this important first step is urgent and compelling. It should be taken now.

THE IMMORALITY OF BUSING FOR RACIAL BALANCE

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of the House one of the great issues of crucial importance to our Nation. In my opinion, it is the gravest issue we face in this decade. The issue is the busing of schoolchildren merely to achieve racial balance.

Earlier this week, President Nixon stated:

> I am against busing as that term is commonly used in school desegration cases.

The President made this remark in connection with the Austin, Tex., busing controversy.

In that case, the Department of HEW submitted a desegregation plan which required massive busing of students so as to achieve a proportional balance in each individual school equal to the racial makeup of the entire city. In the continuing litigation surrounding that case, President Nixon announced that the Department of Justice will, "disavow the HEW plan, and will ask instead for some compromise."

I would like to call on the President to intervene in the same way for the children of Jackson, Miss. Some 9,000 Jackson schoolchildren will be forcibly bused to schools outside of their neighborhoods in the upcoming school year under an order promoted by HEW and the Department of Justice.

Mr. Speaker, I oppose the forced busing of schoolchildren merely to achieve racial balance. I lay my opposition to this travesty of justice squarely on the

ground that it is, plainly and simply, an immoral proposition.

Mr. Speaker, the busing of children is immoral for several reasons.

FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION

First, it violates the freedom of association guaranteed by our Constitution to every American citizen. That freedom, along with those protected by the Bill of Rights, gives legal substance to the moral proposition that human beings are free agents answerable only to God.

Who would have the audacity, Mr. Speaker, to propose a law requiring citizens to sell their houses and move to another part of town to create a racial balance? Even more far-fetched is the idea of Federal troops enforcing such a law, gathering up families onto trucks and buses to move them into racially balanced areas.

Yet, HEW is doing to America's children what it has not the temerity to do to their parents. Is it any more moral just because they are children? Is their freedom of association any less violated because of their age? I think not.

VIOLATION OF PROPERTY RIGHTS

Second, busing children for racial balance is a clear violation of a man's right to be secure in his property. It is surely no mystery that, in the desire to associate with whom one desires, people will pay a premium to move into a certain neighborhood.

When a court orders the busing of children for racial balance, that premium is lost, and property rights are clearly violated.

Parents select houses in areas where schools are good and convenient. Federal orders to send their children outside their neighborhood violate individual rights and property rights.

NO VALID EDUCATIONAL PURPOSE

Third, court-ordered busing for racial balance serves no valid educational purpose. Most Americans view education of their children as a process of providing them with basic skills. Even at the highest levels of senior high school, when the skills being taught are the sophisticated techniques of "new math," or the subtleties of ancient English literature, that training is really a basic skill.

Americans want their children to have these basic skills so they will have the tools to arrive freely at their own opinions and conclusions and thus aid them in reaping the rewards of America's bounty.

Busing for racial balance contributes nothing to this essential, fundamental purpose of education. In fact, it has a detrimental effect.

DAMAGE TO EDUCATION

Fourth, busing for racial balance is educationally damaging to the children involved.

The long, tiring rides to far distant schools in a strange part of the city diminish a child's ability to respond effectively to training when he finally gets to the school; particularly as the school day wears on.

Further, extracurricular activities are often destroyed because of the great distances children travel to and from school. In many schools, traditional activities of football teams, choral music groups, basketball teams, debate teams, baseball teams, theatrical productions, track teams, thespian societies, and a host of others have been forced out of the educational program. The loss of these activities destroys interest and participation in all aspects of school life.

Busing for racial balance can have no other effect but to weaken the educational opportunity for all children.

SUMMARY

In summary, Mr. Speaker, busing for racial balance denies basic freedom and damages educational opportunities without regard to race.

The long hours of riding, separation from friends, destruction of extracurricular activities, lost sense of civic duty and school pride, lost freedom of association, and all other lost benefits of the neighborhood school are felt on an individual basis by all the children without respect to their race, creed, color, sex, or national origin.

DOUBLE STANDARD

HEW imposes one desegregation standard for Southern schools and another for Northern schools. The false and misleading terms of de facto and de jure segregation are used to force Southern schools to bus for racial balance while Northern schools retain segregated schools.

Not only is this double standard setting one section of this great Nation against another, but it is imposing second-class citizenship on the South.

The action of this vicious double standard will cause immoral and illegal economic repression by disrupting, confusing, and severely damaging education in the South while allowing the educational systems and opportunities in the North and West to remain as they are. This state of affairs is clearly reminiscent of the economic servitude placed on the South after the Civil War and which lasted until World War II.

Busing of schoolchildren to achieve racial balance is contrary to our whole constitutional fabric.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I question why President Nixon opposes busing to achieve racial balance in Austin, but supports it in Jackson. If he means what he says, he should immediately order Attorney General Mitchell and Secretary Richardson to seek an amendment to the Federal court order which requires massive busing of schoolchildren in Jackson, Miss.

THE LEHIGH VALLEY VETERANS MEMORIAL GARDENS

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, this Federal Government maintains 98 military cemeteries in continental United States for the burial of those men and women who served or are serving with honor in our Armed Forces. The Congress has granted the serviceman and the veteran this right of burial in a national cemetery, but it is evident that many will not have that right tomorrow and in the many years that lie ahead.

Thirty-seven of our national cemeteries have no remaining space and others will soon be full. Arlington, which is known and revered by all Americans, now admits for burial only active duty service personnel, retirees, Medal of Honor winners, and high Government officials.

The acquisition of land and subsequent development of new national cemeteries would cost the people of this Nation literally billions of dollars in initial investment, plus untold sums for continued upkeep. And we would have to resolve the question of location of such burial places. Since veterans live in every community of our land, it is entirely possible that each Member of this honorable body, for example, would urge the location of a new national cemetery in his constituency.

Yet, one day, this body must face the question of provision of burial space for those serving and those who have served in this Nation's Armed Forces in war and peace. That day approaches more rapidly than we might believe, and we must not lose sight of the fact that 40-million Americans who are alive today could qualify for burial in military cemeteries.

As a Member of this august body and as a citizen of my district, I am giving this farsighted project my full encouragement. It will also be my privilege to take part in the dedicatory services at this new Veterans Memorial Park.

I would hope that all Members of this House of Representatives will consider that, if local groups in cooperation with private cemeteries solve the problem of burial space for service personnel and veterans, the question of expansion and development of national military cemeteries need never come before this body.

And I salute the farsighted officers and directors of Cedar Hill Memorial Park for their dedication to the great American principle of concern for our honored dead. They are performing a very valuable service for our community and our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that the veterans themselves through typical American free enterprise have begun to solve this problem right in Pennsylvania's Lehigh Valley, which I have the privilege of representing.

Now the Lehigh Valley Veterans Memorial Gardens has been created at the long established Cedar Hill Memorial Park, which is located in the very heart of our area. Every veteran and active serviceman and woman in the Lehigh Valley is being offered free burial space in this Veterans Memorial Gardens. This offer is made unequivocably to all who have served honorably in time of war or in peace. The veteran receives a certificate of eligibility which guarantees him this free burial space, with the proviso that his space cannot be sold or transferred by him to another party.

This program is doing the very thing

that this Congress long ago decreed: Guarantee of free burial space to service personnel and veterans. But, I submit, Mr. Speaker, that it is accomplishing and will accomplish even more. All of us want our loved ones to be buried near to us, so we can honor and perpetuate their memories by visiting and decorating their graves. Now, through Cedar Hill Memorial Park, every veteran of our area is offered free burial space right in his own community, in the very special and hallowed Lehigh Valley Veterans Memorial Gardens. Provision can also be made by the veteran for adjacent burial space for his wife and family.

CANCER RESEARCH

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the ravages of cancer are all too familiar to the people of this Nation. In this year alone, 650,000 new cases of cancer will be diagnosed. In this year alone, 340,000 Americans will die of cancer and untold thousands will suffer the agonies of this dreaded disease. Even more disheartening are the estimates that given the current rates of occurrence, one out of every four Americans who are living today will someday develop cancer in one form or another.

This tragic state of affairs can be remedied, Mr. Speaker, but can be remedied only if the American people, speaking through their publicly elected officials, commit the resources of this Nation in sufficient amount to conquer cancer.

The Nixon administration has made the fight against cancer a priority goal. In terms of expenditures, the administration has requested and Congress has appropriated over $335 million in fiscal year 1972 for cancer programs. This represents an increase of more than $100 million from fiscal year 1971.

In recognization of the fact that money alone will not solve the cancer problem, the administration has also proposed that considerable attention be given to reorganizing and retooling the National Institutes of Health to better enable it to fulfill its leadership role in cancer programs.

Mr. Speaker, in an effort to facilitate congressional consideration of the President's proposals, I am today introducing legislation patterned along the lines of the President's recommendations in this area. My bill would establish a cancer-cure program in the National Institutes of Health. The Director of the cancer-cure program would, as part of his job, make recommendations to the President designed to beef up and better coordinate cancer-cure programs within and without the Government. In addition to this broad policy area function, the Director would be given the authority to establish, operate, and maintain cancer centers, laboratories, and other facilities related to the study and cure of cancer. He also would be authorized to provide for the production or distribution of special biological drugs, materials, or other therapeutic substances for cancer research.

To assist the Director of the cancer-cure program, the Secretary of HEW, and the President in the war on cancer, I am proposing that a Cancer-Cure Advisory Committee be established to assist in policy formulation and action program implementation. The key difference between my proposal and those which have been offered by other concerned Members of Congress is that in my view, the Advisory Committee members should serve without compensation. The Federal Government abounds with advisory committees, and the money that is spent on them is staggering when you lump them all together. Advisory committees fulfill a needed policy function. Depending on their composition, they can add a broad spectrum of thinking on an issue and can provide a vehicle for some creative problem solving. Members of these committees should serve without compensation, however, for inasmuch as advisory committee members are normally comprised of prominent individuals, their committee duties should be based on a public service concept rather than on monetary gain.

Mr. Speaker, ridding the American people and the world of the scourges of cancer is a proper goal of Government activity. I hope my colleagues will respond to the critical needs in this area and will expedite action on this proposal. The well-being of millions hangs in the balance.

PAPER WEALTH POLICY FORCED ON AMERICANS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, additional evidence of the dollar crisis which results from the antiquated U.S. policy prohibiting private ownership of gold continues to appear in American newspapers. What does not appear is that Americans are forced to use paper money as evidence of their wealth.

People the world over are turning from paper money to gold so that they can see their tangible wealth and feel secure. If the United States does not act to repeal the depression-based Gold Act of the Dark Ages, the American people are going to be bankrupt along with their Government. The Federal Government continues to deny our people the opportunity to own gold while paying from our depleted gold reserves to foreigners on demand.

Under present U.S. policy, a foreigner is guaranteed the opportunity to obtain an ounce of gold for 35 U.S. dollars which can be sold on the world market at $43 an ounce for a profit of $8. It is little wonder that the United States is rushing into bankruptcy and that realistic foreigners do not want U.S. paper currency.

The American people are being discriminated against by their own Government. They should have the right to own gold and they are entitled to the right to protect themselves from the irresponsible fiscal policies of their own Government.

I include a related news article in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Aug. 5, 1971]

DOLLAR DROPS SHARPLY IN EUROPEAN MARKETS

LONDON.—The U.S. dollar plunged sharply in European money markets yesterday in what foreign-exchange specialists called a continuing international monetary crisis.

Precipitating the dollar's loss of value in relation to other currencies was a ruling by the French central bank that commercial banks could accept dollars for commercial transactions only, a move to cut the flow of speculative funds. On news of the French move the "big three" of Swiss banking temporarily suspended dealing in dollars. The dollar reached its "floor" in Brussels and Paris and dropped to a new low vis a vis the Deutschemark in the continuing "float" of that currency.

In Paris, the dollar quickly declined to 5.5125 francs per dollar, the mandatory intervention level for the Bank of France under rules of the International Monetary Fund.

The Bank of France mounted a brief support operation buying dollars. But in the late morning the central bank confirmed it would accept dollars only for commercial transactions. In addition, the central bank itself won't buy foreign currencies except for commercial transactions.

"The new measures are aimed only at discouraging speculators," a bank spokesman said. He denied rumors the bank was moving towards a two-tier market for the dollar. He pointed out that the central bank move applies to all foreign currencies. The dollar of course is the one under pressure.

The move to limit the use of the dollar to commercial transactions was described as temporary. The bank wouldn't say how long the restrictions might continue but hinted they might last until the Sept. 27 meeting of the IMF.

Banks accepting foreign currencies for speculation can be penalized with a fine double the amount of the speculative transaction. Banks have been directed to hold their foreign exchange positions to the level of Aug. 3.

The Swiss Bank Corp. in Basel, the Union Bank of Switzerland in Zurich and the Swiss Credit Bank in Zurich halted dollar dealings for more than an hour and a half when reports of the French action reached Switzerland.

When they resumed the dollar traded at an average of 4.0725 Swiss francs. The Swiss central bank later stepped in to support the dollar at 4.06 francs to the dollar. As a non-member of the IMF Switzerland has its own support level for the dollar—4.01 Swiss francs—but the central bank chose to step in at the higher level.

The Belgian central bank also supported the dollar, buying about $30 million according to one estimate. In Brussels the dollar dropped to its floor level of 49.625 Belgian francs in early trading and closed near 49.64 francs.

In Frankfurt the dollar closed at a record low of 3.45 deutschemarks to the dollar after dipping as low as 3.4495. The official dollar-mark ratio before Germany cut the mark loose from pegs to other currencies on May 10 was 3.66 marks per dollar.

The new trading ratio amounted to a 6 percent upward revaluation of the mark vis

a vis the dollar. The German activity too was spurred by the French central bank's action.

DOLLAR FLIGHT IS CONTINUING

ZURICH.—A flight from the dollar continued throughout Europe Swiss bankers reported at mid-day, with the central banks of England, France, Belgium and Switzerland supporting the dollar at floating rates for the deutsche mark and gilder moved to record highs against the dollar.

Dollar securities especially Euro-bonds were also under selling pressure as investors switched into non-dollar securities to avoid a possible loss if the dollar's value is changed in relation to most European currencies.

The open-market price of gold reached as high as $43 an ounce up from an average price late Wednesday of $42.70.

IMPORTS—A GRAVE DANGER TO THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY AND ALL OTHER AMERICAN BASED INDUSTRIES

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, it is summertime across the United States.

And, of course, summertime means different things to different people.

For many—perhaps most—people, summertime means a vacation.

In the mountains, maybe.

Or in the desert.

Or on the shores of the ocean, or a favorite lake.

For many people, vacation means staying home and relaxing—free for a time of the responsibilities of work, free of the discipline which the rest of the year requires.

Free for a while to be aware of what we want to be aware, and free to ignore what we choose to ignore.

But—as we all know—vacations end and we have to assume once again our working responsibilities.

The same responsibilities to feed and clothe our families.

To buy a home.

To purchase goods.

To enjoy vacations.

In other words, when we return to our workaday world, we have to shed the atmosphere of vacation-time, since—obviously—we would get little or nothing accomplished.

But something about all this bothers me.

Because there is an important subject relating to all of us—that we choose to ignore all year round.

A subject that we extend at vacation-time, almost cavalier attitude toward—as though it were something we could afford to retreat from, and afford to ignore.

I am referring to the problem of imports, to the increasingly serious problem of a constantly expanding glut of foreign-produced goods pouring freely across our shores.

And I am referring to the problem of an unconcerned army of American consumers who snatch up these foreign goods in ever-increasing numbers, blissfully unaware of the growth of another army across the land.

An army of unemployed Americans.

An army which—in many cases—owes its existence to the unrestricted flow of foreign imports into the United States.

We seem to ignore the fact that the economics of imports is the economics of people.

We seem to ignore the fact that—as of today—we have 5.5 million persons unemployed in America, a substantial number of whom lost their jobs because of the unchecked influx of imported products into this country.

That is the economics of people.

We seem to ignore the fact that over 2 million jobs had been lost to foreign imports by the end of 1969, and that current projections indicate that 5 million jobs will have been lost by 1980.

That is the economics of people.

So the question arises—why do we continue to ignore these figures?

Why do we place the problem of foreign imports at the bottom of our economic concerns?

The first reason, I think, is a very simple one.

And that is—with some notable exceptions—foreign imports seem to cost less than their American counterparts.

Never mind that the quality of imported goods is often markedly inferior to domestically produced goods.

Never mind the number of American jobs that are wiped out with every new import agreement.

Foreign goods seem to cost less.

The fallacy of that argument is simply explained also—and a lot more to the point.

The American jobs which go unfilled because of imports means a growing number of American consumers who are unable to consume.

And that applies to the consumption of foreign goods as well as American goods.

In other words, we are disminishing—or eliminating outright—the buying power of our citizens.

The power to buy anything.

And that economic fact of life has some pretty far-reaching implications.

Because the strength and very existence of the American economy rests squarely on buying power.

When you weaken that power, industries suffer—or go out of business.

Labor suffers, and jobs are lost.

Communities and States suffer, because you are steadily eroding their tax base.

And the Federal Government suffers, because its tax base is eroding, instead of providing moneys to stimulate the economy, it finds itself having to subsidize a sharply increased number of former taxpayers.

Former taxpayers who had no desire to become wards of society.

Former taxpayers who had no desire to become recipients of welfare.

Former taxpayers who had no desire to be forced to use up their unemployment benefits and unemployment insurance.

And former taxpayers who—in fact—had every reason to believe that their incomes and their standard of living would improve as the American gross national product and standard of living improved.

What a cruel awakening.

What a cruel awakening to find that neither they as individuals, nor their companies, nor their unions, have any power to turn things around to protect themselves and to protect the goods which they produce from being swallowed up in a sea of freely imported goods.

So those foreign goods—which seem to cost less—end up costing more. A lot more. Because the real cost is the destruction of our economy.

Which leads me to my second reason. The Federal Government continues to exercise its policy of "benign neglect" toward the whole problem of unrestricted foreign imports.

The United States, which almost singlehandedly, rebuilt the economies and production capacities of the war-ravaged nations of the world, refuses to extend similar assistance to American industries and American workers, suffering from unfair foreign competition.

Unfair competition, because the very nations which we rescued have turned around and set up a whole series of insurmountable hurdles to trade.

Quota restrictions.

Import levies.

So-called "equalization" taxes.

Unequal dollar exchange rates.

And we in turn provide virtually no protection for our own producers.

We erect practically no barriers to foreign importation.

And the result is just what you'd expect—an inundation of foreign goods that threatens the American economy at home, and the position of the United States on the world market.

The Government not only does nothing to stem the tide of imports, but encourages through its inaction the flight of giant American corporations abroad.

And so we have the phenomenon of the so-called multinational corporations.

The runaway American plants who close down production at home, lay off their workers, and open up operations overseas where they can pay subsistence wages in Europe and slave wages in Asia, turn around, and sell their products in America at no saving to the consumer, and maintain a huge profit margin for themselves.

And still the Government does nothing.

Imports still come flooding across our shores.

Americans still continue to lose their jobs.

And the Government still maintains its vacation-time attitude—all year around.

An attitude that is creating permanent vacations, for consumers, for employers, for employees, for working men and women who find themselves cut off from the mainstream of the American economy.

Because their full-time jobs have become full-time vacations.

Vacations with no benefits.

Vacations with no pay.

Vacations with no future.

SHOOTING OF EAGLES FROM HELICOPTERS IS ILLEGAL, UNSPORTSMANLIKE

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, I was shocked and dismayed to learn of the outrageous shooting of nearly 500 rare bald and golden eagles from aircraft over ranches in Wyoming and Colorado.

In hearings before the Senate Environmental Appropriations Subcommittee, chaired by the distinguished Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGEE), a helicopter pilot named James O. Vogan testified that he had personally piloted flights during which eagles, coyotes, foxes, bobcats, and other animals were killed.

Mr. President, on April 19, 1971, I introduced S. 1563, a bill to amend the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956, to provide a criminal penalty for shooting at certain birds, fish, and other animals, from an aircraft. An identical bill in the House, H.R. 5060, introduced by my Pennsylvania colleague, JOHN P. SAYLOR, passed the House on May 17. Although shooting eagles is prohibited under Federal law, other animals, fish, and birds are not so protected.

This cruel and unsportsmanlike activity must be stopped. I call upon the Interior Department and the appropriate State agencies to prosecute those guilty of these killings to the full extent possible under existing laws, and I urge the Senate to act quickly on my legislation.

I ask unanimous consent that this morning's article in the Washington Post, describing the hearings, be printed in the RECORD.

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

FIVE HUNDRED EAGLES SLAIN FROM COPTERS, HILL TOLD; UNITED STATES VOWS PROSECUTION

(By Elsie Carper)

A helicopter pilot told a Senate subcommittee yesterday that nearly 500 rare bald and golden eagles were gunned down in flights last winter over ranches in Wyoming and Colorado.

James O. Vogan testified that he ferried sharpshooters on the flights but never shot any of the eagles himself. Sheep ranchers paid $30 a day or from $10 to $25 an eagle but some of the hunters were not paid and shot the eagles just for the sport, according to the testimony.

The ranchers ostensibly paid to have the eagles killed to protect livestock.

The Interior Department said that federal officials are now in Wyoming with subpoenas to seize the records of the eagle kills and are searching for a mass grave where the carcasses were buried.

Expressing "complete dismay and personal outrage," Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton later issued a statement declaring that Interior will "take all possible steps to criminally prosecute those found responsible for the alleged slaughter of these regal birds."

Appearing before the subcommittee, Assistant Interior Secretary Nathaniel P. Reed called the killings a "callous, deliberate defiance of federal and state law."

The bald and golden eagles are protected by federal law. Both species are threatened with extinction.

Interior estimates that there may be two to three thousand bald eagles and up to 15,000 golden eagles in the lower 48 states, with more in Alaska.

Vogan, who appeared before the Senate Environmental Appropriations Subcommittee, refused to testify when the hearing opened, citing the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination. But he opened up after subcommittee chairman Gale McGee (D-Wyo.) read an order issued by a Federal court in Wyoming granting Vogan immunity.

McGee said that Vogan called him several days ago to say that the poisoning deaths of 23 eagles near Casper, Wyo., that the subcommittee investigated last June was minor compared with what he saw while operating a helicopter for the Buffalo Flying Service, Buffalo, Wyo.

"We had a regular haystack of these eagles when we first started bringing them in," the 48-year-old pilot said yesterday. At one time last November, he said, more than 65 dead eagles were piled up at the Bolton Ranch, owned by Herman Werner, at Rawlins, Wyo., and that Wyoming game and fish wardens saw them there but did nothing. After that, he said, he was instructed to stack the dead eagles in a sheep-shearing shed and later the carcasses were buried.

PREDATORS HUNTED

Vogan said that he piloted aircraft hunting eagles, coyotes, foxes, bobcats, and other predators on 13 ranches, with the bulk of the flights over ranches owned by Werner. In one flight last December, he testified, 33 eagles and 14 coyotes were killed one day and 34 eagles and 12 coyotes the next day all on Werner's Bolton Ranch.

Killing of any species of wildlife from aircraft is prohibited by law. Eagles can be shot only under a special permit issued by the Interior Department on the certification by a governor of a state that the birds are killing livestock. Interior has not issued any such permits since 1969.

Vogan said that Doyle Vaughn, manager of the Buffalo Flying Service, told the shooters he had a permit under the predator control program.

SHOTGUNS USED

The eagles were shot while roosting or in flight with 12-gauge shotguns. The helicopter would retrieve the carcasses.

Vogan said he worked for Buffalo from last September to mid-February of this year and then was hired by Werner.

In the Interior Department testimony, Reed said that following the investigation of the poisoning of the eagles the department learned that some ranchers in Wyoming and Colorado were employing pilots and gunners using both fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters to kill eagles and coyotes. He said that estimates of the number killed this way far exceeds those poisoned by thallium. "If these figures turn out to be approximately accurate," Reed said, "they are absolutely sickening statistics."

RESOLUTION TO DISCONTINUE AID TO OPIUM-PRODUCING COUNTRIES

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, the tragic scope and consequences of heroin addiction, particularly among our younger citizens, are well known to most Members of this body. Surely, the many senseless deaths that can be directly traced to heroin use are a cause for concern. Our efforts must be directed at the drug's elimination.

Recently, the Massachusetts House of Representatives suggested one approach. On July 2, it passed a resolution memorializing Congress to "discontinue aid to all opium-producing countries."

In order to inform my colleagues of the stand taken by the Massachusetts House, I include a copy of the resolution:

RESOLUTIONS MEMORIALIZING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO DISCONTINUE FOREIGN AID TO OPIUM-PRODUCING COUNTRIES

Whereas, Heroin is the greatest single cause of death of persons between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five in New York City; and

Whereas, Federal Law Enforcement Agencies estimate that the economic cost of heroin addiction in the United States approaches eight billion dollars annually; and

Whereas, It is estimated that eighty percent of the heroin in America comes from opium grown in Turkey which in turn receives two hundred million dollars in foreign aid; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives respectfully urges the Congress of the United States to discontinue foreign aid to opium-producing countries; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to the members thereof from the Commonwealth.

House of Representatives, adopted, July 21, 1971.

WALLACE C. MILLS,
Clerk.

Attest:

JOHN F. X. DAVOREN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

RESPECT—A YEAR-ROUND OBJECTIVE

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, the weeklong Brotherhood Youth Conference in human relations for senior high school students, sponsored by the western New York region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, is a true investment in the future of our children and our Nation.

The 1971 conference is the cornerstone of a year-round program for young people to help build new understanding, reason and respect for the rights of others, regardless of race, creed, or national origin. In the past 4 years, it has involved over 2,500 young people directly whose activities have reached, both directly and indirectly, perhaps millions.

The "Declaration of Inter-Dependence" entitled: "Respect—a Year-round Objective" was created by those young people to herald a renewed emphasis on this important ingredient in social behavior. It speaks of revelation—not revolution; living—not dying; respect—not demands. It clearly documents the ob-

jectives of this confernece and those of the NCCJ.

Mr. Speaker, no greater task confronts our Nation. The youth of today have the concern, the initiative and the will to accomplish it. At this point I include the "Declaration of Inter-Dependence":

DECLARATION OF INTER-DEPENDENCE: RESPECT—A YEAR-ROUND OBJECTIVE

Now is the time, in the course of human events, when mankind must face a new reality—that he no longer can live out his life in independence, but must now accept a new relationship—that on Inter-Dependence.

Whereas this great country was born in revolution against a tyranny of despotism, we now face a new tyranny of our creation—a slavery to material wealth, to self-interest and separatism and a technological explosion which has blinded a whole people to human needs.

At this time of crisis, we hear again the murmurings of revolution. It is declared that solutions to our common problems can only be found in anarchy, the overthrow of our government and its establishment.

Such is not the station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle us.

We need not revolution, but in it's stead a new and blazing Revelation—a profound and new awakening by all the people to the reality that mankind must and can live together in harmony both with his fellow man and with his environment, if for no other reason than his own self interest.

We have the means to achieve this golden age if we will but Respect them.

Men have died to make this country great. Now is the time to Live in the day-to-day, week-by-week, and year-by-year struggle to fulfill the great principles to which this country is dedicated and those profound and universal teachings of our religious heritage.

Rather than to demand justice, liberty and freedom for all, we the young people of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Western New York, NCCJ Youth Council petition all our friends, our neighbors and our fellow citizens to join with us in a Revelation of Respect for all that God and Man have given us. NCCJ Youth Council, Western New York Region, National Conference of Christians & Jews.

COMBINATION DRUGS

HON. JOHN Y. McCOLLISTER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. McCOLLISTER. Mr. Speaker, the majority of physicians in Nebraska's Second Congressional District prescribe combination drugs and say they want a voice in the matter if the drugs are to be removed from the market, according to a survey I recently conducted.

Combination drugs are those that combine two or more active ingredients in one dosage form.

I surveyed more than 500 physicians in the five counties in my district. More than two-thirds—350—responded. Of that amount, 85 percent said they prescribe combination drugs. Some 92 percent wanted to have a say in determining which medications were to be removed from the market.

The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, of which I am a member, has been conducting hearings on proposed guidelines on combination drugs. These guidelines issued by the Food and Drug Administration could have the effect of banning many widely prescribed products.

I conducted the survey because I have been concerned that the Federal bureaucracy would take wholesale action against a class of medicines without consulting the Nation's practicing physicians.

We want to do what is best for the majority. But I did not think we should consider any action without first consulting our experts in the field—the physicians actually dealing with the drugs. Their ideas and experience should be some of the basic things we consider.

The questionnaire and results follow:

1. Do you prescribe combination drugs?
Yes, 85 percent.
No, 15 percent.

2. Do you believe that combination drugs enable patients to follow therapeutic regimens more closely than individually prescribed drugs?
Yes, 63 percent.
No, 37 percent.

3. Do you believe that combination drugs must be more effective than the same drugs prescribed separately?
Yes, 32 percent.
No, 68 percent.

4. Do you believe that patient convenience should be considered by FDA in evaluation of combination drugs?
Yes, 93 percent.
No, 7 percent.

5. Do you believe that convenience to the prescribing physician should be considered by FDA in evaluations of combination drugs?
Yes, 76 percent.
No, 24 percent.

6. Do you believe that reduced expense to patients should be considered by FDA in evaluation of combination drugs?
Yes, 92 percent.
No, 8 percent.

7. Do you feel that you should have a voice in determining which combination drugs are removed from the market?
Yes, 92 percent.
No, 5 percent.
Don't care, 3 percent.

HOUSE RESOLUTION 319

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 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 insuring 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.

TV HAS TENSE MOMENTS BRINGING PARADE TO THE UNITED STATES

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I salute Otto Schlaak, station manager of channel 10 and the Milwaukee educational television station, which was the originating outlet for the nationwide coverage of the Schlitz Circus Parade. An article from the July 5 Milwaukee, Sentinel follows:

TV HAS TENSE MOMENTS BRINGING PARADE TO THE UNITED STATES

(By Jay Joslyn)

"The show must go on" is usually a cliche. But it had real meaning for Otto Schlaak Sunday. About 150 television stations across the nation were standing by for the show.

Schlaak is station manager of Channel 10 and the Milwaukee *educational television station* was the originating outlet for the nationwide coverage of the Schlitz Circus Parade.

"We had two or three sick cameras," Schlaak said as he paced the sidelines of the parade like a new father. "But, as usually happens, everything fell into place just about three minutes before air time."

SHOW LIVE, UNREHEARSED

It was a complicated production and since it was live, things had to be ready when the show started.

"This is the kind of thing we can't rehearse and can't miss on," Schlaak said. We only get one chance."

Hosting the circus parade for the national audience was Kenosha native Don Ameche, the film star who became a famed circus buff while announcing NBC's 1960 to 1964 "International Showtime" series.

Ameche and his co-host Tom Parkinson, a member of the Circus World Museum board of directors, worked from Channel 10's studios in the Milwaukee Area Technical College.

"We had a booth for the announcer last year right on the parade route," Schlaak said. "But it wasn't satisfactory. Wind got into the microphones. We're getting much better audio this year."

Channel 10 made a live telecast of the parade in 1970 for its local audience with station personnel doing the narration.

Special effects this year made Ameche appear to be watching the parade from a window. Actually his window was more than a mile away from him, on W. Wisconsin Ave., between N. Jackson and Jefferson Sts.

FIVE CAMERAS USED

There were five cameras involved. Two were posted on scaffolding in front of the Federal Building. One was raised above N. Jefferson St. and E. Wisconsin Ave. on a "cherry picker" crane. One was strapped to the back of a cameraman who dodged in and out of the line of march for spectacular closeups and the fifth was mounted on a motor cart.

In a huge van on Jefferson just south of Wisconsin were the gadgets that made all of the camera work come out.

Seated before a panel of about a dozen television screens were a director, a producer and an engineer. The engineer had a veritable table of pushbuttons in front of him.

EMERGENCY HANDLED

The setup was a monument to electronic technology.

However, when a link became loose, shank's mare was employed.

A towheaded youngster dashed breathlessly up to Schlaak.

"John Blake says he can't hear anything," he puffed.

Schlaak translated immediately and headed for a Telephone Co. truck in the cluster of auxiliary automotive gear that clogged Jefferson St.

PHONE GOES DEAD

A telephone man soon popped into the control van.

"What's wrong?" he asked as he picked up the dead phone.

The producer, juggling assignments to five cameramen and cueing the narrators at the studios, said, "We can't hear each other."

The largest screens on the director's panel contained the pictures going out over the air; one in color and the other, black and white. The pictures were sharp.

The monitoring screens for the cameras seldomly were of such uniformly good quality.

SICK CAMERA A PROBLEM

"Camera Five is sick," the director murmured.

"Three and Four aren't much better," the engineer snorted.

"We're working on them," the laconic producer reported.

"Three looks better. It's still soft but we can use it," the director said.

The work in the van was quiet and everyone seemed confident. The technicians were like puppeteers. A quiet remark would move the cherry picker up or down, send the mobile cart scooting and, even, snap the Hollywood star at the studio into line.

With all of the arrangements made, the assignments established and the show on the road (or avenue), there wasn't much left for Schlaak to do.

He paced the area in front of the Federal Building, scowling and nervous. It's quite likely that he got his first real look at the parade at 10 p.m. when Channel 10 repeated the 90 minute spectacular for the Milwaukee area.

AMERICA'S AVIATION INDUSTRY AT THE CROSSROADS

HON. GORDON ALLOTT

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, on July 22, in Dallas, a distinguished public servant gave an important speech to the meeting of the Airline Pilots Association.

The speaker was Mr. William M. Magruder, a man whose energy, competence, and integrity make him a model of all that is best in our Federal leadership.

I ask unanimous consent that his important analysis of the problems and prospects of the aviation industry be printed in the RECORD.

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

AMERICA'S AVIATION INDUSTRY AT THE CROSSROADS

(By William M. Magruder)

INTRODUCTION

Since the defeat of the SST appropriations last May, I'm often asked, "Where does the U.S. go from here?" In fact, that is just what your own president, Capt. J. J. O'Donnell asked me to address myself to when I accepted your kind invitation to speak before you today.

These queries remind me of a trip several years ago that took me to Rome. I was enjoying a cab ride down a very nostalgic little road called the Appian Way when my driver called my attention to a small church in the center of the road. He announced that this was the Church of Quo Vadis. Now my Roman history, and Catholic history, is just not that good so I asked "so?" He explained that it was on this spot that St. Paul had paused while fleeing from Rome almost 2000 years ago. It seemed that Paul was having his troubles with the Senate, the news media and the public in explaining Christianity and had decided to seek more receptive audience. According to the Roman legend, as Paul paused at this spot he heard a voice say Quo Vadis, Paul? Now roughly translated, according to my cab driver, this meant, "Whoa boy, where the h--- do you think you're going?" Paul, after hearing this voice of the Lord returned to Rome and enjoyed some measure of success until, as further told by the legend, he was beheaded by the Romans.

I, too, heard a voice after the Senate vote last May. It was that of the President, slightly lower in rank perhaps than the one that spoke to Paul, but no less impressive in making me stop and think about where we go from here. The vote in Congress was not *against* the SST. It was a vote about how we spend our federal money *at this time*. I believe the Congress, the Administration, industry and the public want the United States to continue to enjoy the economic fruits that have always derived from our leadership in civil aviation. I would then, like to discuss with you what I believe to be the lessons learned from the SST project and what lies ahead for U.S. civil aviation as a challenge, not as a defeat. As an opportunity and not as a loss; as a "chance to take a chance," the way this Nation became as great as it is.

THE ISSUE

There is no question in my mind, just as there was no doubt in the mind of Congress for nine years, that programs like the SST are potentially of great value to the Nation. For more than a decade it has been widely recognized, both in and out of the Government, that the jobs and social benefits that result from a healthy tax base, the cultural and business benefits that come to this nation from efficient and low cost, long range travel, and the balance of trade advantages that allow us to meet our international commitments are substantial.

The issue that we as a nation must face on the international market scene is whether or not it is in the interest of every U.S. citizen to protect, by some means, those industries that involve a large number of U.S. working citizens that also happen to be the target of foreign subsidized industrial combines dedicated to eroding our capability and leadership to the advantage of their own citizenry.

Throughout our history we have remained a fundamentally free trade nation and, as the free world's largest market place, would like to stay that way. Also, throughout our history, we have seen the results when other nations, whose trade policies differ from our own and who countenance such non-free trade practices as cartels, government subsidy, tax advantages for export and import and export strategies to the disadvantage of the United States. The result of these practices, combined with a failure of the U.S. to respond, can be the disappearance of those industrials from our industrial scene and with them the jobs for our working citizens and opportunities for our young people.

For example, I understand that today there is only one factory left in the U.S. making commercial radios. Our leadership in the automotive industry disappeared in 1969 and we now import almost $1.5 billion more yearly than we export in that industry with serious economic consequences for the former giants of Detroit, their employees, and the locals that support this vital business. Maritime shipping, once an industry employing hundreds of thousands of U.S. citizens, has disappeared to the Far East and elsewhere. The motion picture industry has degenerated into a severe state of depression but has reappeared in Europe in good health and with employment and tax benefits to those nations. Our electronics and computer industries, a direct technical spinoff from aerospace, are likewise moving towards Asia and by next year we expect to import more electronics equipment than we export for the first time in the history of this industry.

The point of all this is elementary. The reason the United States enjoys the highest standard of living in the free world rests upon our having the most advanced technical base so that we can support our high labor rates and still export our products to the rest of the world at an advantage to this Nation. That advantage shows up in a healthy industrial base with a large employment and healthy tax base that in return pays for all the social programs that an advanced society like our own nation so badly needs; and I include here low cost housing, health and medical care, welfare reform, law enforcement, pollution control, urban transportation, as well as national defense. All of these social programs absorb tax dollars but do not create national revenue in the same sense as do our basic industries.

THE CHALLENGE

Last month I spent several weeks in Europe with their industry and government aerospace leaders. I saw the Paris Air Show and delved at great length into the French transportation plans for their 6th Five Year Plan. What I found there was not encouraging for the future of our own civil aerospace industry—unless we change our own priorities, or better yet, re-order our re-ordering of priorities, and quickness of response. What I found was:

1. By 1973–1974 our U.S. Civil Transport industry will be challenged as never before in its fifty year history.

2. Eight European nations have joined their economic resources to build a product line of civil transport aircraft using subsidized dollars. These airplanes are:

a) The Concorde Supersonic Transport with trans-Atlantic range at nearly 1400 mph carrying 120 passengers, and due in service in 1974. With the U.S. now grounded in this field, Concorde I will capture the initial supersonic market. Further, the Concorde II is well along in preliminary design and will probably feature a longer range, larger capacity, slighty faster aluminum design. The Franco-British consortium will now have a full decade to develop and improve this type of transport before any serious U.S. competition could appear. The Germans could very likely become a third partner in Concorde II.

b) The A–300B Airbus, a 250–300 passenger, 1500 statute mile, low cost medium range airplane, has no competition yet from the U.S. or any other free world nation. It uses the DC–10 engine-pod-nacelle and will be in service in 1974–1975. France, Britain, Germany and the Netherlands have combined in the A–300 effort.

c) The Dassault Mercure, a 150-passenger, 700 statute mile short range replacement for the DC–9 and B–737 will be in service in 1974. Low noise, light weight technology all-weather operations and very low seat mile costs could make this an attractive transport. France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Italy and Switzerland are involved in the project.

d) The Dassault Falcon 20–T marketed by Pan American in the United States, carries 26 passengers 1000 statute miles and with low initial cost could be a very attractive local service transport.

When all of these transports appear on the civil aircraft scene in 1974–75, with prices based upon *subsidized development costs*, with payment provisions and interest based upon *national* objectives to penetrate the export market, our own civil transport manufacturing industry is going to be very hard pressed. It seems more than apparent that the 40% of the civil market represented by Europe alone will certainly be to a large extent penetrated by sales of these aircraft. This is a market today dominated by our excellent Boeing and McDonnell-Douglas jets. In Asia, the Japanese have indicated their strong desire to re-establish their own civil transport by building a YX design. This effort could take the form of an airbus competition or a very short haul Mercure competition. It could even be V/STOL. Although not likely, it could be an SST. If the United States domination of the civil aircraft manufacturing industry is diminished in accordance with these subsidized plans of foreign nations then our 85% leadership could fall to as little as 35% of the world market. This factor alone could result in a loss of 500,000 direct jobs in aerospace manufacturing and 1.5 million direct and indirect jobs would be eliminated, or as George Meany says, "exported abroad."

Japanese officials have indicated some desire to have an international partner involved. Naturally this airplane could impact upon the 10% Asian sales now dominated by the Boeing and McDonnell-Douglas designs.

Competing with those 1974–75 civil transports, the United States now offers:

a) The Boeing 747 subsonic jumbo long-range jet carrying 350–400 passengers over 5000 statute miles, in service in 1969.

b) The McDonnell-Douglas subsonic DC–10 wide body tri-jet carrying 250–350 passengers from 3000 to 5000 statute miles in three versions, in service in 1971.

c) The Lockheed L–1011 subsonic wide body tri-jet carrying 250–350 passengers 3000 statute miles and in service in 1972.

Even a casual review of the U.S. vs. foreign models shows that the U.S. manufacturers have engaged in a severe competition for the long range market leaving for the moment the SST and short range market to the foreign manufacturers.

Boeing recently announced an arrangement to build a STOL 150-passenger civil transport with Aeritalia. A feature of this arrangement will be simultaneous production lines; one in Italy and one in Seattle.

From even these early trends it is not hard to deduce that the U.S. civil aviation manufacturing domination of the market, whereby we have built approximately 85% of the free world's civil transports, is under serious attack. To lose this leadership in such a high technology discipline, will mean its loss for a decade or more for it is not easily regained. In the absence of incentive and with diminished demand, technical teams disband, the facilities rapidly fall behind in state-of-the-art growth and only a national organized effort such as we have seen in Europe can bring a resurgence to leadership, at great cost and after considerable elapsed time.

THE PROBLEMS

The loss of the SST program in the Congress, to me, was due primarily to a failure in communications. This breakdown shows up in two areas most visible to the public, the news media, nationwide and in Congress itself.

With respect to the news media profession, I believe that it was Winston Churchill who, after World War II said something to the effect that "the mantle of free world leadership has passed to the United States, the question is, will she have the stamina to see it through?" Tom Vail, publisher-editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, observed last May that: "today we have something new in journalism. We have an advocacy press. They advocate their own views instead of giving all the facts."

I believe that the same can be said of television. In the case of the SST, I believe that all-time records were set for misinforming the public. As a result of this rampant misinformation, members of Congress and some Senators became party to, and even endorsed, various theories and presumptions SST opponents put forth in the guise of fact. Among these, for example, were the allegations that:

SST's would cause cancer.

SST's would start new ice ages.

SST's would melt ice caps.

Sonic booms would crush buildings, knock down trees and scare sheep.

The Concorde will never fly, will never go supersonic, will never be bought, and finally if bought will not be economical—all in chronological order as each prior prediction proved false.

Balance of trade benefits are a myth.

SST's would hurt jobs in California.

SST's were 50 to 100 times noisier than subsonic jets.

We could save $290 million by stopping the SST.

The airlines do not want SST's.

All of these opinions received nationwide coverage. What did not receive nationwide—or even local—coverage, was that in most cases the authors of these ideas were not, and did not claim to be, experts in any of the areas about which they offered SST opinions.

This same inexpert testimony showed up in the Senate and House Committee testimony when college professors specializing in economics testified about technical design aspects, political economists testified about environmental aspects, environmentalists testified about airline operating costs, a nuclear physicist testified on just about anything and everything, and an ex-entertainer and former pilot testified about ecology.

To the everlasting credit of the Senate and House Committee members, they refused to believe this comedy of misinformation. Perhaps their own experience in this area has made them immune. Senator James Buckley (R-NY) told the National Press Club this month, the following story about his own experience with one of his constituents after his brother's appearance on the T.V. Laugh-In series.

His constituent wrote:

"Now that my nausea has subsided after accidentally observing your appearance on Laugh-In last evening I, as one of your constituents and former admirers, am constrained to comment.

"Your silly grin as the inane and vulgar questions were asked and your equally inane replies were less than worthy of a Senator of the United States.

"The fact that you appeared on that program at all was an insult to the decent people whom you represent.

"The disgusting episode in which you freely participated and apparently enjoyed—as an accomplice in lending your position to a disgraceful program—is an affront to the dignity of the Senate, to your family, to your church and to your constituency. I trust that your acting the clown insured the support of the addicts of the program who undoubtedly enjoy its indecencies. I trust, too, that they are in the minority. I am."

His reply was:

"I have forwarded your letter to my Brother the Columnist—William F. Buckley, Jr.

"It was he, not I, who appeared on 'Laugh-In.'

"I can't help but be curious as to why you consented to watch a program of which you so strongly disapprove."

He sent a copy to brother William F. Buckley, Jr., who decided to also write to the constituent as follows:

"It is typical of my brother to attempt to deceive his constituents. It was, of course, he, not I, who appeared on 'Laugh-In,' just as you suspected. On the other hand, you need not worry about it. His greatest deception is as yet undiscovered. It was *I* not *he*, who was elected to the Senate. So you see, you have nothing to worry about. You are represented in the Senate by a responsible, truthful man."

In ten years of SST hearings, these House and Senate committees, regularly voted in favor of the qualified expert opinions of the proponents by a two and three to one majority. These qualified experts included all the major airline presidents, your own ALPA president, the free world's top acoustic and environmental experts, the Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Transportation and responsible people from the major U.S. banking institutions.

Why then did the SST get defeated? One wag said "If God had intended man to fly, He never would have invented Senator Proxmire." Referring again to Winston Churchill's remarks about U.S. stamina, let me read three typical examples of journalism from a major Washington, D.C. newspaper.

First date line—Monday June 10, 1963:

"Even though his hand was forced by overseas pressures, President Kennedy's announcement putting us in the SST race came as welcome and exciting news. This country has no chance but to build faster and better planes than are being planned anywhere else *despite initial cost*. To do less would surrender supremacy of the airways—if we should have in the future to buy airliners from Europe instead of selling them to Europe our balance of payments problem would, of course be further strained."

Second date line—May 18, 1970 (from the same paper):

"The billion dollar SST program, on the other hand, was conceived not because of a pressing need for jet passengers to roar along at Mach 2, but because of a belief that America will lose face—and part of aircraft market—if we stay too long out of the supersonic race. The Russians and the British-French combine have us beaten, of course. But just the knowledge that Uncle Sam is in the race, we are told, will preserve a part of our prestige. And the fact that when we do arrive we will be the fastest, the roomiest and noisiest of all will presumably restore our image and our international balance of payments. Lots of luck.

"It might have been pleasant, just for once, to let someone else make the costly mistakes so that the United States might profit by them instead of paying for them. But that, it seems is too much to hope for. All that's left now is to watch the cost overruns like a one-way tide, and to hope for the best."

Third date line—April 1971 (same paper, but *after* SST termination):

"Secretary John A. Volpe and his SST salesman, William Magruder, have confirmed

that at least three offers have been received from foreign parties interested in picking up the pieces for something like ten cents on the dollar—There is no need for the government to ponder the question. The answer should be prompt and negative. The SST technology developed over seven years at a cost of nearly $1 billion is a national asset—It has possible military application—It is conceivable, too, that the Concorde will demonstrate that the plane can be made economically and environmentally sound. The SST shop should be closed. The merchandise should be stored. There should be no going-out-of-business sale."

Any subscriber of the Washington Evening Star will recognize this journalistic jingoism repeated by the media and other newspapers, especially the New York Times. This same journalistic on again-off again advocacy was repeated in many opposing news media. It does not by itself mean such papers are "bad guys." It only points up the fact that the courage of a newspaper's convictions may lie with the convictions of the publisher, and that publications—like other institutions—are prone from time to time to champion causes, policies and points of view that serve a particular political purpose. Some people, like Will Rogers, profess that "all they know is what they read in the newspapers." This seems incredibly naive today. Yet it also seems to be all too true that many people do accept as gospel whatever they read in the newspapers—or see on television. So, what have we learned?

First, we have failed to learn to contend with the advocacy news media. All the news media are not that way, and those that are have a perfect right to do as they please as long as good taste and the rules of libel are not violated. But let's understand and not entertain any delusions about the press. The news media are owned by people who are in the business of making a profit. We must learn to cope with this. We can never again assume that what is, by expert opinion, good for an industry or even the nation, will automatically be espoused by the news media. We must learn, as the SST opponents did so effectively, to work with the media to communicate with the public and with the Congress.

This will require constant attention and organization to assure that the proper aerospace arguments are *at least heard.* (And don't ask me how you get something printed, or even noted, if it conflicts with a newspaper's policy.) Here are some examples of what I mean:

a) When one scientist contended that SST's could cause skin cancer, it made front page material. It was never noted that this scientist was not versed in medicine but was a meteorologist. Nor, was it printed that the U.S. Surgeon General and numerous other medical and atmospheric physics experts denied the charge.

b) When Senator Percy said airline executives that he knew, but never named, did not want the SST, it was front page material. However, when every U.S. major airline president met last December at the Wings Club in New York, at an emergency press conference to urge the SST approval, not one East Coast paper or T.V. outlet mentioned it even though all East Coast major media were present.

c) When the AOCI adopted a position in October of 1970 against the SST due to airport sideline noise, it was printed on the front page of both major Washington papers and in the New York Times. When the AOCI revised its position in December after hearing experts testify that the SST would be less noisy than current jets, no papers carried that story even though the AOCI held a national press conference in Washington, D.C.

d) When the Democratic Party economic advisors, J. K. Galbraith, Arthur Okun, Walter Heller and Paul Samuelson said the SST made no economic sense, after each introduced his testimony with the statement they had not studied the SST nor were they experts on aviation or SST's, it made news for days. When 80 deans and top university economics professors issued a press release to support the SST, not one newspaper or news media carried the story. No U.S. paper printed the incredible antics of Mr. Galbraith as he spent two weeks in England on nationwide T.V. declaring that the Concorde did not "Have the chance of an icicle in Hell of being allowed to land in the U.S.A."

c) When seven cabinet officers, and subofficers reviewed the SST in 1969, this report was hailed as an indictment against the SST even though not one recommended cancellation of the project. When in 1970 eleven cabinet and agency heads supported the program from their specific departmental responsibilities, opponents hailed the results as merely "bossism" and it was so printed.

These examples, but a few of many, document our poor record in dealing effectively and responsibly with an advocacy news media.

In regard to the Congress, it is abundantly clear that we must never again assume that the traditional committee hearings system will lead to a fair, impartial and dispassionate decision on merit alone. The SST always enjoyed a 2 to 1 or 3 to 1 favorable subcommittee and full committee endorsement. The purpose of hearings is to allow a careful detailed testimony, with cross-examination; and above all, an examination of witnesses' expertise. The hearings provide a forum for full disclosure of all facts, discussion of all facts, discussions of issues, and the cross-examination of witnesses—a dialogue by those equipped to know the subject best. The SST never had trouble with this trying but effective system of challenge and debate. However, the force of the advocacy news media and the awesome resources of the environmental lobby successfully thwarted the extensive investigations and endorsements of the Congressional committees in both Houses.

We must learn to make it easy for the elected politician to vote for worthwhile projects. He should not have to "swim upstream" in political jeopardy of his public service career. In March 1971 with the full fury of the environmental lobby and the advocacy journalism and news media focused on the program, the SST failed in the House. Six weeks later, with no publicity and without any lobby of any kind, the House reversed itself. Naturally, the advocacy news media reported it as a "sneak" tactic. No more clear cut example need be sought to clear ly show the need for the industry to revise its methods of communication.

The ultimate in political opportunism was performed in June, 1971 by Senator Proxmire. The good Senator led all SST opposition for almost 10 years during which time he professed to believe that:

1. There was no technology advantage in the SST project, in spite of testimony from authentic experts in the aerospace community to the contrary;

2. That there was no need to have a U.S. SST at this time, for the Concorde would never be bought by the airlines and would be abandoned by the French and British in spite of airline and French-British statements to the contrary, at Presidential level;

3. That top economists had advised him that there would be no balance of payments advantage; in fact it could hurt the balance of payments if we built an SST. This in spite of the endorsement by three administrations and recent testimony by the Secretary of Treasury, Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of Transportation, CAB Chairman, the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors and the endorsement of 80 University Economics Professors and Deans of University Economic Departments; all of which testified to the beneficial effects of SST production upon U.S. economics and our balance of trade;

4. That the large investments already made in to the SST were not a valid reason to continue to pour "good money after bad" in spite of a Commerce Report study that showed in April 1971 that termination would cost the taxpayers almost $200 million more than the cost to complete the project.

Yet on Friday, 18 June, during the Senate Banking Committee hearing concerned with the Emergency Loan Act, Senator Proxmire belatedly came to the defense of the SST pointing out that there were several differences between the SST and the Lockheed loan of sufficient importance that Senators who voted for the SST should not necessarily feel that they should vote for the Lockheed loan. Senator Proxmire actually said—now hear this—that:

1. The SST represented a quantum jump in speed and technology which the Lockheed L–1011 did not represent;

2. The U.S. SST was the only entry into the supersonic competition whereas the Lockheed L–1011 was not our only national "airbus" representative;

3. The SST offered a clear balance of payments advantage (he qualified this by saying according to proponents—he did not necessarily agree);

4. The SST already had large investments in research and development.

Following these remarks, Senator Sparkman turned to Senator Proxmire and said, "This is the first time that I've heard you say anything *for* the SST"; to which Senator Proxmire replied that he had to wait until it was dead before he could do that! Roscoe Drummond reported this interesting exchange in his nationally syndicated column.

This type of "end justifies the means" pure politics needs to be exposed to the public and to the Congress as a whole. The Senate-House Committee hearing technique is not working. It is up to the concerned individual, industry, labor and business to pick up the slack.

A third problem element in the program was the "missing link" of a National Research and Development Plan, a National Aerospace Plan or a National Transportation Plan. Without such a Congressionally approved overall index to our national commitments, each area of support became open to question by every form of self-proclaimed expert for whatever motivation appealed at the time. The SST in isolation, and not as one part of an overall plan, thus became a ripe target for the national issues of the moment; in other words, it stuck out like a sore thumb—it afforded a target of convenience and opportunity for the forces of protest.

POTENTIAL SOLUTION

Is the U.S. SST dead? Not necessarily. Even some of the opponents proclaimed they did not wish it so. We can then dedicate ourselves to a plan for a better advanced high speed civil transport at an achievable time. I would expect we would have to consider the following in order to realize this nationally worthy goal:

1. The SST demise is but a portion of the larger overall neglect of our transportation aerospace and national research and development planning.

2. In service date not before 1982–1985.

3. To be attractive in the airline market, it would have to be substantially better than a Concorde II in range, payload and operating economics. This will require research and development by NASA and the industry and some significant advances in the state of the art in propulsion systems, aerodynamics and material development.

4. Unless the Congress shows some change

in attitude, it will require a financing arrangement other than appropriations or even a government loan. Candidate solutions include:

An international partner;

Cost sharing by all parties that benefit such as oil industries, titanium industry, airlines and manufacturers;

Industry joint participation with possible anti-trust relief; and

Possible tax incentives.

5. A far more desirable solution would be a national recognition of the need to "revise our priorities to assure the health of those few high technology industries where we still excel."

These are enormous obstacles to envision; however, as the impact of international competition becomes evident between now and 1974, I feel confident that even the opponents of 1970 and 1971 will come to realize that the people of the United States recognize and want the economic, employment, tax, cultural, business and communication benefits of a healthy civil air transport industry. Once that realization comes, we should be ready.

I was interested to note that Vice President Agnew's eleven nation trip in June and July caused him to remark that the leaders of other nations viewed this decision of the 92nd Congress to stop SST funding as "a retreat from responsibility," spurred by "unproven accusations about potential environmental changes." On 16 July Secretary Connally told the National Alliance of Newsmen "The Country must in the future give economic considerations" paramount "priority in world affairs, ahead of both military and foreign policy needs."

In the meantime we should all, just like St. Paul, "return to Rome." But how do we do it? Every time we see an article such as Mr. Roscoe Drummond's editorial on Senator Proxmire's opportunism, every time we see a result such as Vice President Agnew's comments that a major subject in international capitals is the surprising cancellation of the U.S. SST—write your Congressman, write your Senators and write your local editors about what is happening to this great nation and our great industry. We are exporting, as George Meany, President of AFL/CIO says, "labor and capital out of this country at the expense of our own people's welfare."

President Nixon on 6 July at his Kansas City Midwestern News Conference pointed out that 25 years ago the United States was so far ahead that there was not even a second place in world economic affairs. We manufactured about one-half of all the world's machine goods. Now, if England joins the EEC, it will represent about 300 million skilled and able people in competition for world markets.

The Japanese, with half our population, are producing more technicians than we are and will pass our steel production in two years. While our anti-trust laws would jail any executives of competing industrial firms for collusion, Japan industrialists and government agencies go about their business of attacking markets as a complete team affair.

The sun has set upon the day when we can afford to dismantle our great industries for such frivolous reasons as "fear". It was the advocacy preachers of fear and doom that destroyed the SST program. If we do not correct this course of events, we can kiss goodbye the dreams of 30-hour work week, social reform, medical care, pollution control and low cost housing. Unless, as Jenkins Lloyd Jones says, "we want to build an economic Chinese Wall around the United States, and get rich taking in each other's laundry."

I do not believe that if we fight against the neo-isolationism that we shall be martyred like St. Paul, necessarily, but, we shall all feel the wrath of the so-called new left, the advocacy news media and the neo-isolationist's lobby. In the long run, for ourselves and for our children, it will be well worth the price! Remember what Maeterlinck said:

"At every crossway on the road that leads to the future, each progressive spirit is opposed by a thousand men appointed to guard the pass."

ALPA represents an organized "progressive spirit"; what you have done you have done exceedingly well. What we must now do will tax even the best of you. Nothing would please me more than to serve with you again when the U.S. SST reappears, as it surely will, in the not too distant future.

TRUE AID TO GREECE

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, my close and distinguished friend, DONALD M. FRASER, who is also a colleague on the Foreign Affairs Committee, has led the fight for many years to restore sanity and decency to our policies toward Greece. While victory has many fathers, DON FRASER'S was a noble role in this week's events which culminated with the House passage of a foreign aid bill denying aid to the Greek dictatorship.

He worked toward this goal before others saw, with his clear vision, where our inept policies were leading. He gathered support, he spoke against resignation and cynicism, and he counseled most wisely. He deserves great credit both personally and as a leader of those forces from both parties and from many viewpoints who recognized this year that our military assistance to Greece isolated us increasingly from both our European allies and from our true friends in Greece.

From this victory, we can confidently face a better future both for our country's relations with Europe and for the Greeks themselves who are now armed with the belated recognition that America has not abandoned them to the military dictatorship which seized power over 4 years ago. This is true aid to Greece.

DON FRASER said all of these things more eloquently and concisely in a letter published in this week's New York Times which follows:

AID TO GREECE

TO THE EDITOR:

Robert Crisp asserts (letter July 27) that he "can state without fear of contradiction, certainly not in Greece, that at least 80 per cent of the population . . . approves of the present regime." He is indeed not likely to be contradicted in the Greek press; any editor who dared to print such a rebuttal would be running the risk of several years in prison—though even the junta's own leaders have, in their less-guarded moments, admitted their lack of popular support. That is why they talk about the necessity of "remaking the Greek people" before holding elections.

It is hardly worth rebutting his comparison between aid to Greece and the President's planned visit to Peking. Neither Mr. Nixon nor, so far as I am aware, anyone else has suggested that we should mount a massive program of military aid to Mao. That, and not the President's visit, would constitute a true parallel to our present relation to the colonels.

On one point, however, Mr. Crisp is certainly correct: American military aid to Greece is given in the interest of NATO and the United States. It is precisely because aid to the Greek dictatorship does not serve that interest but undermines it that the House Foreign Affairs Committee, of which I am a member, has voted to end it.

The purpose of NATO is the defense of the democratic institutions of its members. That purpose is not served by aid to the destroyers of those institutions. Nor is the interest of the United States served by a support that is inconsistent with the basic principles on which our foreign policy should be based, and tends to alienate not only the people of Greece but those of the democratic countries of Europe.

DONALD M. FRASER, *Member of Congress.*

(NOTE—The writer is vice chairman, U.S. Committee for Democracy in Greece.)

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES H. SILVER AT ALFRED E. SMITH MEMORIAL FOUNDATION DINNER

HON. JAMES L. BUCKLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD remarks which were made at the annual Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation dinner in New York City last fall by a very wise and good man, the Honorable Charles H. Silver. For years Mr. Silver has dedicated his exceptional talents and his energies to public and private works of service to his fellow man. He reminds us that however insurmountable the problems we face may appear they can be overcome by men and women who truly care.

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

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES H. SILVER

His Eminence again grants me the cherished privilege of welcoming you in reverent tribute to the high principles of this Foundation, whose cause is the cause of humanity.

Our beloved host fulfills his dedicated mission to mankind as faithfully as he serves his Creator, a prince among the guardians of peace, Terence Cardinal Cooke.

While conversing with His Eminence, we recalled that when our "happy warrior" was just a boy, gas lamps glowed feebly against the darkness in our cities. Indeed, a few generations earlier, the only light was the swinging lantern of the town-crier.

The streets were safe. The nation was young. The future was rich in hope and promise.

The streets are far more brightly lighted now—yet they are very dark.

And if the biblical query were echoed again, "Watchmen, what of the night?"—we could not truly respond:

"It is ten o'clock on a fair October evening and all is well."

No—for it is later than we think—and all is not well—not in our streets—not in our cities. All is not well with the world.

We live in an age of guided missiles—and misguided men.

A kind of vacuum with the smog of violence at the very core is destroying our belief in America as the haven of peace and plenty. Yes, there is prosperity, luxury

to the point of indolence, sensuality to the brink of degradation.

There is too much of everything—yet too little for too many.

When young people listen to the news or read headlines that reveal overwhelming greed and corruption in the most respected high office, in institutions and industries which have long seemed above reproach, they must feel impelled to echo the popular anti-litter slogan:

"It's enough to make you sick."

And I am tempted to add:

"Isn't it enough to make us take a stand and put a stop to it?"

In our uneasy age, beset by question and conflict, our greatest danger is complacency. This is no time for letting things go on as they are. We need movers and dreamers, doers and changers.

And, as I look about this room—and regard the men and women on our dais—I am confident that we have the leadership we need.

By your very presence here tonight, you give more than lip service to the ideals of compassion and justice.

You are the watchers in the night who light the way by inspiration and example, by courage and commitment.

While diplomats seek to untangle the political relations of the Middle East and Southeast Asia, you and I must survey the urgent area of human relations—and human wants in the streets, in the homes, in the city that Al Smith loved so dearly.

While men of science bridge the narrowing gap of space and time, you and I must explore the vast, uncharted regions of men's souls.

We must hold, as our Holy Grail, the vision and understanding to appreciate one another and the mingled traditions which join to make America . . . the wisdom to awaken people, in these times of peril, from indifference to poverty, prejudice and the pitiful distress of so many of our neighbors.

The good life we seek, equality of opportunity, the blessings of liberty, an end to hunger, ignorance and fear . . . these must not wait forever—and they will not be won by war in our streets.

The need for a new spirit of high resolve, yes, for a religious fervor in our national fiber, was never greater than now. I feel it in this room—and I fervently pray that the world will catch the fever of your conscience.

It isn't just time that *somebody* cared . . . It's time that *everybody* cared.

Later, the message of our guest of honor will reveal another precious virtue of our way of life—a sense of humor—exemplified in the wit, the philosophy and humanity of Bob Hope.

We must know our responsibility as individuals. We must respect basic human decency. We must be responsible, human and decent.

Somehow, through all of history's long, incredible nightmare of cruelty, immorality and inhumanity—some men have always managed to redeem the rest—to show the way—to turn the face of mankind up from the gutter to the stars.

The struggle is more fierce, today—but we will survive. Our nation will triumph over all present uncertainty and despair. We will see to it.

We will see to it, with our hands and our hearts—and our sacred honor . . .

We will bring new glory to "Old Glory."

As watchmen in this desperate night, we will each light our own solitary candle of faith and endless effort—and when the question comes again: "Watchman, what of the night?"—we shall answer:

"It is a fair October evening—and because we care—because there will always be men and women who care—all will be well with the world of tomorrow."

VIETNAM ERA VETERANS CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK PRODUCES PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, Vietnam era veterans have for years slipped quietly back into society without brass bands and parades to welcome them home. But the transition from military to civilan life is not smooth and easy, simply because it receives little notice.

For many months I have been hearing a growing number of complaints in my district office in the Bronx from veterans and their parents about the serious and historically unique readjustment problems these young men face. These complaints surely represent only a tiny fraction of those veterans with problems, since newly released veterans have a passion for anonymity, combined with feelings of confusion, frustration, and alienation that keeps many of them from seeking any outside support or counsel.

As I became increasingly disturbed by the plight of these young men, I began searching for ways to help them reestablish stable, fulfilling lives. Drawing heavily on the interest and experience of the veterans program of the New York City Urban League and the long standing concern of Fordham University for returned veterans, I began planning a conference on the problems of the Vietnam war veteran.

Staten Island Community College, the New York Urban Coalition and the Veteran's Action Group and the New York City regional office of the Veterans' Administration provided invaluable assistance in making all the necessary arrangements, and the conference was held on June 19 in New York City.

All participants understood that this was to be a veterans conference, with maximum veteran participation, rather than a seminar where supposed experts on veterans problems lectured the audience. We wanted to hear from veterans themselves. We also wanted this to be an action conference, with an emphasis on concrete proposals for change and improvement rather than merely on describing the difficulties of reestablishing a civilian life. Congressmen BADILLO, BIAGGI, and KOCH, and Councilwoman Muriel Stromberg joined me at the conference. Senator JAMES BUCKLEY, Congressmen BINGHAM, RYAN, and HALPERN each sent a representative.

Hundreds of veterans, representatives from major Federal, State, and local agencies with responsibility for veterans problems, and representatives of a variety of veterans organizations met in eight different workshop panels. These panels developed proposals and recommendations in each of the following areas: jobs, education, housing, medical care, drug addiction, veterans benefits, psychological readjustment, and less than dishonorable discharges.

When these panels had finished their discussion, all the participants joined in a final meeting to discuss the panel proposals. Each panel spokesman mentioned serious problems in each of the eight areas discussed, emphasizing that all of these problems were more severe for minority group veterans.

I include a transcript, edited only for clarity, for this final session of the conference in the RECORD to give Members of Congress an opportunity to study the proposals made, and to sense the anger and bitterness these veterans feel. This anger focuses on an insensitive and impossibly bureaucratic Veterans' Administration, since it is immediately responsible for facilitating a smooth transition to civilian life. However, few of us at any level of private or public life can expect to be singled out for praise for the concern we have shown and the action we have taken. Much remains to be done, and I plan to help.

The conference transcript follows:

FINAL SESSION, NEW YORK CITY VIETNAM VETERANS CONFERENCE

Mr. DEAN PETERSON. May I have your attention, please. It is already after 3 o'clock, so I imagine we should go ahead and convene this session. Okay, to begin with, I would like to introduce the members of the legislative panel.

From my right we have our chairman, Congressman James Scheuer, Councilwoman Muriel Stromberg, Congressman Herman Badillo, and Congressman Mario Biaggi. My name is Dean Peterson. I am a Vietnam veteran and a student at Staten Island Community College, and I will be moderating this panel.

Our procedure will be to call for a report from each of the panels that met throughout the course of the day. Let me note that each of the panel reporters is a Vietnam-Era veteran.

First of all, I am going to call for a report from the Employment and Training Panel, Charles Bruce, moderator.

Mr. BRUCE. My name is Charles Bruce and I am with the Veterans Affairs Department of the New York Urban League, and I moderated the Employment and Training Panel. It has been made very clear to this panel by the veterans themselves, that in the area of employment and training, the Vietnam-Era veteran is suffering curious and unusual punishment for having served his country in this very trying time. Returned and returning veterans have found and are finding that after their honorable and valiant service to America; her institutions, her corporations, her industries and her government; is denying them the very chance of making a livelihood.

In brief, ladies and gentlemen, the consequence of being a veteran of the Vietnam-Era, is that, once returned to civilian society, one becomes another statistic on the unemployment rolls of the U.S. Labor Department. For the veteran of this era, unemployment, massive unemployment, catastrophic unemployment, total unemployment is the rule.

The Panel on Employment and Training, a panel composed of experts, concerned individuals and unemployed veterans, have today formulated the following proposals, which, hopefully, will begin to genuinely alleviate this unholy situation as it now exists. I now recommend these proposals to this Legislative Panel.

They are, Number One (1). Full employment must be provided for all veterans of the Vietnam-Era. What this means is that the Federal Government must provide and/or insure full employment for all veterans. This is the clear and direct responsibility of no one else, but the Federal Government.

Number Two (2). All trade unions must

be made to grant membership and hire veterans who have acquired trade skills during military service, without the formal, sanctioned delaying tactics of additional testing. The Federal Government must cease subsidizing unions who do not hire and retain veterans with these acquired skills.

Number Three (3). The Federal Government must implement a job corps for veterans, similar to the Job Corps now in existence for youth across the country. Such a corps would afford the critical skills needed by the many veterans who leave the military with only one skill—lugging the "idiot stick." Such a job corps for veterans would make these men, once trained, prepared to give input to the national productivity. It is also recommended that this job corps for veterans be implemented with a built-in living wage, in adidtion to the regular veterans benefits.

Number Four (4). The Federal Government must demand that state and city governments encourage private industry to implement meaningful training programs for veterans by providing incentive money to local areas who successfully provide such opportunities. The Federal Government must also demand that all veterans be hired regardless of type of discharge.

Number Five (5). The Federal Government must provide and insure that all veterans who are already on waiting lists, be called to full employment after discharge.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Legislative Panel, these are the proposals, the recommendations from the Panel on Employment and Training. I will say that these recommendations were formulated through much energy and grappling with all the variables. I finally recommended that they not be allowed to gather dust, for they carry the lifeblood of some very impatient and combat tested young Americans.

Mr. PETERSON. The next committee to report will be the Psychological Readjustment Committee. The moderator to that committee was Arthur Egendorf.

Mr. EGENDORF. My name is Arthur Egendorf, and I am here representing the Veterans Action Group. The first thing that we pinpointed in committee was the realization that what often goes under the name of psychological trauma with Viet Nam veterans is directly related to a most appalling structural problem that veterans face when they come home.

The psychological problems we dealt with or discussed fall really in close relation with lots of other things that will be mentioned here today. Lack of jobs, lack of training, and insufficient benefits to go back to school in order to do something about the lack of training. Under a special category, we also pinpointed the people who refused to commit war crimes in Viet Nam, or who were incited to some kind of emotional reaction by racist provocation, and some of the other things that go on in the military, and who were dismissed from the military and given dishonorable or less than honorable discharges, and they carry that with them for the rest of their lives. They cannot get jobs. They cannot get benefits, and they cannot get benefits from the Veterans Administration. That alone causes many of the psychological problems that we pinpointed.

The first thing to do is to do something about the structural facilities. We should set up civilian review boards for the less than honorable discharges that are piling up now.

The second thing we pinpointed is that many of the non-veterans in the civilian population are concerned with how to deal with this war. It is an unnecessary war in many people's minds. It is, at least an unjustifiable war in people's minds. Other people call it immoral or what have you. The inability outside of the military to deal with that issue is one of the things that we feel is responsible for the non-recognition of the veteran problems.

So, as the second proposal, we would like to encourage the people in Congress to conduct an educational campaign on exactly what the issue of the war and the post-war structure of society means for individuals, whether they are in the military or not.

Now, our third proposal gets down to a lower level. Many of the people who are delivering services to veterans, and this includes psychiatrists or bureaucrats in the Veterans Administration or trainers or whatever, are not sensitive to the issues that veterans face as they come home, and have to deal with day-to-day in terms of their memories and their experiences. One way that we propose to deal with this is to hire Viet Nam veterans on all levels, and that means within the Veterans Administration, and outside the Veterans Administration, in areas that deal with the veterans.

Now, beyond all of that, we recognize that the Veterans Administration as it is presently constituted, is going to be incapable of dealing with the psychological problems of veterans beyond the structural difficulty they face, unless veterans have services available to them within their own communities. Unless they have those services removed from the Government structure, that many of us learned to despise during our military service, we are not going to get the help we need.

We need a community orientation, and one way we propose to go about this is to have the Government recognize and give encouragement to veteran councils located within the communities that will link up existing services, edify the veterans and get them together and propose changes as new situations arise.

As a final proposal, one way to have some kind of Government response to this new community orientation that has to go forward is to restructure the Veterans Administration, to reinstitute contract services that existed at the end of the Second World War and have since been disbanded, so that veterans can, themselves, choose where they will go for help, whether it is social counselling, psychiatric work, help from mental health agencies or what have you. Have the Veterans Administration reimburse those organizations who are licensed and recognized as legitimate practitioners so they can help veterans who want to be helped by them. Thank you. (applause)

Mr. PETERSON. We will move on to the report from the Education Committee with Robert Penn, moderator.

Mr. PENN. My name is Bob Penn, and I have no specific affiliation other than that I served 366 days in the Republic of Viet Nam. (applause)

Number One. For the educational panel's recommendations, is to extend the G.I. Bill benefits to include full tuition at the school—at whatever school the individual selects. The way that this should be set up is a relationship between the Federal Government and the institution for the full cost of tuition at a public or private institution. At the same time, continue benefit payments to the individual veterans through a relationship between the Federal Government and the individual veteran.

Number Two. An open-admission policy as a regular student. Emphasis on regular as opposed to special. We do not want to get into that bag of having a whole lot of special programs because in many cases, they prove to be trick bags, but instead, want veterans to be regular students just like everybody else.

The third recommendation: incentive bonuses for colleges with a certain percentage of veterans enrolled, maintained and graduated. Enrolled, maintained and graduated. The reason we put in the maintained and graduated is because it would be very easy to enroll these people, and one year later they rip off the rough, and the veteran is ripped off. So we want enrolled and maintained and graduated.

Fourth: we also recommend that you continue pressuring the Congress for payment of G.I. Bill benefits in advance.

Fifth: we recommend that the counselling service presently in existence in the Armed Services be improved, and that these counselling sessions take place at intervals of 180 days, 90 days and 30 days. We discussed the fact that some people—

Congressman SCHEUER. You mean before discharge?

Mr. PENN. Before discharge. In some cases, some people receive a briefing on the way home, and we feel that that is too late. We recommend that the Veterans Administration system be revamped, revolutionized and streamlined. (Applause)

Mr. PENN. Sixth: there is an apportioned $50-a-month benefit, which is available. Many people do not know about this. But it was recommended that this money be set aside for tutors, via relationship between the Veterans Administration and the individual institution, between the Veterans Administration and the individual institution, I repeat. This is in addition to the regular benefits that the veteran is entitled to.

Seventh. We would also like to increase the benefits to a $225 base for cost of living, with an index attached.

Another recommendation is to set up an overseas counselling system or center which would be made up of experienced, sensitive and knowledgeable counsellors who are not a part of the military. It was suggested that this could be an inter-agency relationship between the Office of Education, the Department of Defense, the Veterans Administration and the Department of Labor. This was left open for discussion.

Mr. PETERSON. The next committee to report will be the one on veterans benefits, moderated by Carl Horton.

Mr. HORTON. My name is Carl Horton from Veterans Education and Training Committee. I moderated the panel of veterans benefits.

Generally, comments by the veterans were that the benefits were inadequate, and that the Veterans Administration was unresponsive, and that through it, all the veteran grievances are getting short shrift.

The recommendations that came out of our panel were that, one, veterans should be allowed to choose their own doctors to evaluate them for disability benefits. This is presently done by Veterans Administration doctors. The veterans on our panel had reason to question their motives.

The second recommendation was that there be a 12-year statute of limitations commencing with termination of service, establishing presumptive liability against the Government for failure to identify and disqualify any congenitally disabling medical conditions at the time of entry to service, with compensatory rewards to be equal to those disability benefits which would be received with a zero disability rating at initial entry to service.

In essence, what this says is that the Government should be required to pay for defects which are overlooked at the initial physical examination prior to going into military service. Conditions which may have existed at the time of going into the service would have been aggravated during the period of service. He should be compensated for these things.

The next recommendation was the Veterans Administration's administrators be given authority to sit with members of Congress and discuss their inadequacies in their programs and the inadequacies in the benefits provided by their agencies. As I understand it, they are now unable to do this under the Hatch Act.

The next recommendation is the Federal Government be required to pay $1,500 mustering out pay to all Viet Nam veterans. This was done for World War II veterans. Why no Viet Nam veterans?

All veterans who become addicted while in the service, should be treated and paid during the period of treatment as if wounded.

The next recommendation is that the Federal Government pay full tuition to educational institutions, the institution of the veteran's choice, and a subsistence allowance. Again, this was done for the World War II veteran. Why not the Viet Nam veteran?

The next recommendation is that the Veterans Administration administrators and personnel be required to attend meetings, such as this, and then report the results of these meetings in the field to the people they meet, to their superiors, and so on.

The next recommendation is that the Veterans Administration provide assistance in housing, jobs, and placements in schools prior to leaving the service, as opposed to leaving the service.

This, in essence, was what the committee on benefits talked about and recommended. Thank you. (Applause).

Mr. PETERSON. Okay. I believe that Mr. Grady and several of the other people that represent the regional office of the Veterans Administration are here. They were here earlier, and I am sure that some of these specific questions that were just raised will be answered as soon as we finish the introduction of the committees.

The next report will be on the addiction. The moderator for that committee, Bill Graham.

Mr. GRAHAM. My name is Bill Graham and I am a Viet Nam veteran ex-addict, and currently I am a resident in Phoenix House program in the re-entry phase.

On the panel on addiction, some of the proposals that were made were, firstly, that a realistic rehabilitation counselling program be set up, consisting of para-professionals, trained ex-addicts, trained ex-Viet Nam addicts like myself, who can deal with the problem effectively.

Also, that the number of trained ex-addicts who should deal with the problem be proportionate to the number of addicts in need. It was said that there was a staff of 1,000, I believe, at the Veterans Administration, of that the Federal Government has hooked up with, to deal with the problem, and it is not adequate at all.

The second point was the cost of rehabilitation for addicts returning from Viet Nam. These people should be paid at a per diem rate for the treatment of these addicts. The Veterans Administration should be bound by contracts with rehabilitation programs to insure the necessary benefits for treatment and rehabilitation.

The third proposal was the orientation and drug abuse prevention information that should be provided to active enlistees or draftees or veterans. You know, since there is no such information available now, people that are going over to Viet Nam and some such areas, not only Viet Nam, but even Korea and even here in the States, where the problem does exist, have no formal information of the drug problem that exists in the military. It has just recently been recognized, as a matter of fact.

The fourth proposal was that service-connected addicts be related to and treated disabled and not subjected to less than honorable discharges or even treated criminally, as it has been in the past. There are a lot of former addicts who were discharged dishonorably or given any of the other less than honorable types of discharges as a result of their addiction, which was service connected.

This should also extend to veterans retroactively who are now addicts or in jail or stigmatized by our society with these bad discharges, and who are also in some instances still active addicts. They should be granted full amnesty from police records. They should also be encouraged to be treated in treatment facilities for drug addiction.

The fifth proposal was that the full range of treatment should be made available to the veterans. There are a lot of different facilities and treatments now in existence, and a veteran should have the right to choose, rather than be forced into any particular type of treatment. I don't think a veteran should have to take methodone if he chooses not to. If he chooses not to change one addiction for another, he should have that right. (Applause)

The sixth proposal was that the Federal Government appoint a staff to handle addiction of veterans, because there is a lack of professional input of someone trained in the therapeutic community approach, which is a drug-free approach. There is also an absence of any community or ex-addict veteran representation at all. This should be rectified immediately.

The seventh proposal was that a promise of an honorable discharge be made available to active addicts, veteran addicts, with less than honorable discharges, due to a drug-related reason, upon completion of rehabilitation programs, because although there might be something being done now or in the near future about veteran addiction, the fact remains that there are a lot who were victims of addiction, in Viet Nam who were currently discharged or who were in jails who are out on the street right now, and who have this stigma, and who have this bad discharge, and who need help.

That is all. (Applause)

Mr. PETERSON. The next panel moderator is Mr. Otilio Mighty and he will present the proposals from the panel on less than honorable discharges.

Mr. MIGHTY. I would like to say that I am very tired, overworked, underpaid and underloved. (Applause)

Mr. MIGHTY. Sometimes it is good that we can laugh at some of the things that are really tragic comedy, and this is one of the things that I think has saved many of us Viet Nam veterans, not only in Viet Nam, but here in America, as well. In Watertown, New York; in Fall River, Massachusetts; Jackson, Mississippi; and San Francisco, California; right across America. And more importantly, any place that this American plague seems to have followed. This plague of ungratefulness and ingratitude.

I would like to call the audience's attention to those congressional leaders who are here, and to those who are absent and to those who sent their representatives. This is America.

I knew that Herman Badillo would be here. I knew that because— (Applause)

Mr. MIGHTY.— because he understands his accountability. He is not the boss. The people are the boss, and he recognizes this.

I knew that Congressman Scheuer would be here. I think he has recognized his accountability. For those people who have not— those who are absent— I knew they would be absent.

You see, the veteran has one thing going for him. He has been to war. War overseas. War in America. It is not important that you go to Viet Nam. You can be in Germany and experience the worst death, great psychological death that follows you across the country, across the world.

In my country, we say that voodoo can cross the country, but American white supremacy and racism evidently crosses the ocean.

My committee, with myself, a veteran, a World War II veteran and a Korean veteran and a Viet Nam veteran, and Mr. Williams, a veteran, a World War I veteran— sorry, I want to take that back, a World War II veteran, and we, as black men, have one common experience—not of racism, but one of racialism.

I think racialism is more accurate. Of course, the black brothers are mad, and the white brothers are mad because they too were getting discharged with discharges other than honorable. As Poe wrote in the story, the Mask of the Red Death, "The plague has entered the castle," and consequently, white veterans are finding themselves victims of getting dishonorable discharges.

We know of many legislators' sons who are addicted and, consequently, under the present system, they too would have undesirable discharges, and what have you. So the plague is in the castle.

You see, I was never permitted to be in the castle, but I was told this afternoon by the white veterans who are in the castle, that the plague is in the castle. (Applause)

We could go on talking about discharges and blah, blah, blah. But let's put it very easily. Our recommendation—the Urban League's recommendation, the people's recommendation, is simply this: I will read it, and I wrote it before I came here: "All discharges other than honorable issued as the result of administrative board proceedings should be changed to honorable discharges across the board." (Applause)

It has nothing to do with whether you are addicted or not. I do not believe that it is in the Constitution of America, my adopted country, that the military is permitted to give an individual a type of paper that will condemn him to a life of eternal death, and that is what administrative and dishonorable discharges do. That is what a general discharge does. That is what a bad conduct discharge does, and in most instances, they are given to the individual who went A.W.O.L. from a racist white army, or a racist white colonel, general, sergeant, or corporal.

I know, for a fact, after having talked with over 10,000 returning Vietnam veterans, that a discharge other than honorable is a lifetime condemnation. The Federal Government does not hire an individual with a dishonorable discharge. The Federal Government does not hire an individual with an undesirable discharge. The Federal Government does not hire an individual with a bad conduct discharge. This is the man or men who went to defend America, whatever the motives of America might have been. These were the guys who did not say, "Hell no, we won't go." (Applause).

Mr. MIGHTY. These are the men who went. They come back to the eternally ungrateful society. Of course, for us black men it has been 250 years.

Another recommendation—of course, the first one overshadows the one I mentioned, and the one I am going to mention now. This is a now thing. I would just like to tell the audience additionally, the recommendation just previously made, was made by a white, southern congressman, Senator Ervin from North Carolina, who was the first man to take such a proposal to the Congress. Our northern senators were not involved.

Consequently, I would like to ask the Congressional delegation if they find such a bill in the Legislature, to support it, and we, as veterans across America, if not the world, will be looking at the names who will vote for this sort of thing.

The second thing that was mentioned, the now thing, because of the fact that in the military, if an individual is accused of a particular infraction—I did not say a crime, an infraction—the military is required to give him a person, not to defend him, but to protect his rights. I spent seven years in the Judge Advocate's office of the Strategic Air Command, and I can assure you that most military people who are chosen to defend cannot defend in most cases. They usually can only stand by to make sure that

you are advised in many instances to plead guilty, and throw yourself upon the mercy of the Court, a court without mercy.

(Applause)

Thank you.

Mr. MIGHTY. Consequently, one of the young men suggested that the Government provide special counsel for the defense of Vietnam veterans, and that the Federal Government pay the fee. An overall and sweeping suggestion, more devastating than any mentioned yet, was mentioned and proposed by Mr. Williams, Special Affairs Director at the N.A.A.C.P., and substantially says that the administrative structure of the military system—of the present military system, should be taken out of the Defense Department and placed under the Justice Department.

At this particular time, I would like to call Mr. Williams to give yon an in-depth understanding of this proposal. I think before I leave, that when we talk about the military system, we should not keep it in isolation or compartmentalize it. What we are talking about is America. We are essentially talking about the entire social structure in America and its effect on veterans. You see, the veterans, if we don't watch it, we might become the new niggers. Thank you. Mr. Williams. (Applause)

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am a veteran of World War II, not One. My father was a veteran of World War I and grandfather before that a veteran of the Spanish-American War. So we have had a long line of veterans within this family.

What the N.A.A.C.P. believes and has seen, as far as the Veterans Department is concerned, is that military justice is no justice at all. The military judiciary system itself, of course, belongs to the administration. We do hope that the incumbents that have the power to do so would remove the entire military justice system out of the military and put it where is really belongs, in the Federal Court system. We hope that it could be done. We know definitely, as far as black veterans are concerned, that we do not receive any justice in the military. We had 11.5 percent of the whole military represented by blacks. We could point to the fact that there are over 40 percent of blacks in military prisons throughout this country. The kind of thing that is running down, as far as the blacks are concerned, is that the racism in the country in relation to justice is being perpetrated in the military just as it is everywhere else.

Military trials ought to be in the Justice Department, and in the Federal Courts. We believe that we can get justice in the Federal Courts, or we hope so.

We further believe that even if this does not happen, that the administrative discharge, the way it is now constructed, should not exist at all. That a man is entitled to either an honorable discharge or a dishonorable discharge, and no other in between, and that the dishonorable discharge must be done by the Judiciary and not any other administrator at all. Let the judges be of both north and south because it may not necessarily be a racist from Mississippi, but it could very well be someone from Vermont, for there are more of them than there are in Mississippi.

There are three shift wheels in the military structure as it is. The judiciary system, the inspector general and the chaplain. All of them don't belong in the military at all. They are all running for rank. They all want to be a colonel in that or general in that, and none of them are effective in their particular positions as is. They don't belong in military, and they should never be there.

I say the inspector general in the military, as far as he is concerned, is just a thing of the past. As far as the enlisted personnel is concerned, he is very ineffective in relationship to being there, and we always hear of this business about command, we hear this often, authority in relation to the military justice procedure, and we know what happened in the Calley case. We can see it. It is very, very much open at this time. It comes right down to command influence. When it comes to the military justice system, that is all that is involved.

So the enlisted personnel in the system have no respect for that. They don't have any respect for the judiciary that is there.

I want to point out the fact that while they say that there are 70,000 or 80,00 draft dodgers that are in Canada or other places, I know that right now there are the lobbyists, you know, from upper Westchester County in Scarsdale and out on the Island, whose sons are up there in Canada and are able to afford to be up there. They are talking about amnesty for these individuals. They did not think about amnesty for the Harlem individual that was inducted into the service, and he had bad feet and everything else, you just go. You went. And he did go. He put up with a whole lot of stuff in Viet-Nam and the rice paddies and everything else, and he socked some colonel in the mouth because he called him boy, and he got a dishonorable discharge, and—there is no amnesty for him.

Now, if Congress comes out with an amnesty bill for these individuals who dodged this war that we are not happy about to begin with, none of us at all, we want to know about it. We want an amnesty for every single individual that has one of these dishonorable discharges, and we want a congressional committee to review every single one of them. Every single one of them. This is from the point of whether it was a justifiable sort of situation that had administrative—where they could confine a man for the rest of his life to a penal institution in this country, being black and being unable or undesirable and unfit for work. Thank you. (Applause)

Mr. PETERSON. The next committee to report will be the Housing Committee, and that was moderated by Luis Callender.

Mr. CALLENDER. Good afternon. As I sit here and I think about what I heard in the Housing Committee this afternoon, from the many veterans, and about some things of the very things I have gone through and am going through myself in the area of housing, I would like to say to the congressional members, and those of you have homes that you will go back to tonight, a roof over your head, it is a God damn shame when a man, who has fought for this most powerful country in the world, cannot put a roof over his head. I would like you to take that thought with you.

My brother veterans have indicated to the housing panel that they no longer want letters from Lindsay or Rockefeller or the President of the United States. Welcome home letters, when you will not give them a house to live in. It is as simple as that.

My brother veterans have indicated to me that they don't feel too well about leaving home, leaving America, where they are sent to countries like Viet Nam, Germany or Mississippi or Alabama, to return and not be able to have at least a roof over their heads.

My brother veterans have also indicated that they know or are aware of the fact that as a veteran, if they got a job or when they get a job, they pay taxes to the Federal Government, and all of these individual taxes go into a pot and later a sizeable portion is parcelled out for housing construction, from which the veterans themselves who have paid these taxes, are excluded, are denied space; in the same housing development that his taxes helped build. This is inconsistency.

I would like to move along very swiftly with proposals that, if carried out, will begin to make a move in the interests of all veterans. It has been proposed, number one, that all veterans should have accommodation preference in any federally supported housing. All veterans, it has been further proposed, not just Viet Nam veterans, because when you just say Viet Nam veterans, what with the veterans who have served in Germany or anywhere else, carrying out the American policy, we believe this thing of Viet Nam veterans is not only discriminatory, exclusionary, but also a divisive tactic to splinter and dilute the potential power of all veterans. All veterans should have preference in any municipal or state-supported housing in New York State.

Number Three. And this I speak as a black veteran, for I know what happens to black and Puerto Rican veterans and Mexican-American veterans, and all of the veterans who don't look like Rock Hudson. Any veteran who is able to pay rent at any private development must be granted that apartment. There ought to be a law, and if he feels that he is being discriminated against because of color, race or what have you, because his tie has dots on it, that the owner of this development be brought up on charges of criminal harassment.

Number Four. Veterans have indicated that because of certain difficulties when they leave the service, a special agency, a specific agency, should be set up to secure housing for all veterans, and not a referral agency, not an agency that says we are going to refer you to a guy on the street, and that agency refers you to the guy down the street, so that after 16 agencies, you wind up at the first agency you began with. Get an agency to get a veteran an apartment. This proposal was made specifically for the benefit of married veterans.

Number Five. Veterans should not be made to pay prohibitive security as is asked for by private owners for any kind of housing.

Number Six. The Federal Government should provide monies, should a veteran have to pay such prohibitive security.

Number Seven. It is the responsibility of the Federal Government to provide and insure housing for dependents of servicemen. How does it look in America when a man is across the ocean, where many have indicated he does not belong, and his wife or his mother or his child does not have a roof over his head. Again, I will repeat number seven. It is the responsibility of the Federal Government to provide and insure housing for dependents of servicemen.

Number Eight. A proposal was made that perhaps at this time a veteran ought to be able to transfer funds from one type of benefit to another; from education to housing, let's say if that is his most immediate need. If he has not decided to go to school at a certain time, then perhaps that money can be used to secure a place to lay down.

Number Nine. A veteran's service time should be credited to any waiting list for any Federal, State or municipally supported housing, and that means if a man spends two, three, four or twenty years in the service, then he should not have to be on a waiting list to secure a house in a society that he has spent this time protecting. If the man at the top of the waiting list is not a veteran, and he has three years, and a veteran has four, then the veteran should have priority.

Number 10. The Federal Government should provide special transitional housing for single veterans. We believe these type of dwellings should be built to give the individual single veteran a chance in which to decide how he wants to participate in this society. A man comes out of the service and he does not have a place to live, he does not have a job, and he can't go to school. I think for the single veteran, dwellings should be built to provide this man the time to think with a roof over his head.

Number 11. Home loans for purchase of private homes should be made directly to the Viet Nam veteran without the use of a middle man, and should be made directly to the veteran, and the present allocation of

$12,500 be increased to reflect and conform with the present and future cost of housing across this country. As it stands now, and I had expert advice during my panel sessions from a member—a highly placed member of the Veterans Administration who said something to the effect that the way it is handled now, a veteran comes in and gets a certificate of eligibility, then he goes to a bank, who must then be willing to lend him money to buy a house. I have been to many banks here recently for several reasons, and I notice they are not too willing to lend black people or Puerto Rican people money, and at this particular time, anybody any money. The present allocation by the Federal Government is $12,500. The veterans have indicated to me that somebody is kidding somebody, that the only housing you can buy today with $12,500 is an out house.

I realize that there are other people who would like to get up here and that is the end of the statement I have. I would just like to say, in closing, that it is not just black veterans who, of course, have been hurt, but, of course, we have been catching hell for a long time. Now, the Indians have joined us. I look around and I see Spanish brothers who are catching hell because sometimes they don't speak English, but, of course, they have served, too. Again, I point back to my opening remark, as you ladies and gentlemen go home tonight and sleep under a roof, I want you to think that it is a damn shame that those people who protected you can't get a home.

And another thing, when you go to Congress with these proposals, or you go to the State or you go to the City with these proposals, and so on and so on and so on stands up and says that this sounds like welfare, I want you to remind him that this great United States gives welfare to everybody. It pays the airline industry. It pays the defense industry. It pays the steel industry. It supports City College. God damn it, it is about time it started doing something for the veteran of Vietnam. And even if it is welfare, if we can pay billions of dollars, as I know we do, for a 747 that at times, or even right now, is only carrying 12 people, then let's start giving it to human beings, because the veteran, given a chance to move, any veteran, as has been pointed out this morning, becomes a productive individual. He will pay it back.

You gentlemen who came here today, thank you for that. If you see your friends that did not show, tell them maybe I will see them next time around. Thank you, very much. (Applause)

Mr. PETERSON. The next moderator will be Bob Brewin, the medical care panel.

Mr. BREWIN. Back in about 1968, the United States Military Assistance Command in Vietnam started drawing up a list of how they were going to dispose of all the products that the military had brought to Vietnam once it was over. I think the study runs to about 1,200 pages on what they are going to do with the left-over equipment. It goes down and includes phasing out such things as peanut butter and bandaids, et cetera. I haven't seen such a study prepared on what to do with the veteran who returns home wounded without his legs and without his arms. I think it is indicative of our national hangup of property over people. The panel on medical care focuses on two things that are analogous to this hangup of property over people. This concerns money and it concerns treating people as people.

Last year when Mr. Nixon told us on innumerable occasions that we were brave boys, and that we had fought for our country, and that we deserved the love and thanks of a grateful nation, he turned around, with the help of his friends in the American Legion and his Veterans administrator, who was a past president of the American Legion, which makes him a bigger patriot than John Wayne, said those boys in the hospital don't need that other $105 million to treat them. We don't have to give it to them. I am going to veto it. That is how he loves us.

The problem of the Veterans Administration right now in the Veterans Administration hospital, is there are a lot of people there, I think, who work hard. But if you are a nurse, and you are paid $12,000 a year, or $10,000 a year to start, to work in a Veterans Administration hospital with no overtime, no night differential, or if you are a doctor that is paid $12,000 to $15,000 a year, how long, if you have quality, are you going to stay there? I am afraid that in this country money does buy quality. You can buy a VW for a little money and you can buy a Cadillac for a lot. Right now, veterans are getting imported care instead of top-of-the-line care.

I think a lot of money should be infused into the V.A. hospital system to hire the people, no matter what the price, that will provide not just good care, but the best care possible for the VietNam veteran.

If you pay them enough, instead of treating them like slaves, if they are getting $35,000 a year to empty your bedpan, they will say yes, sir, what can I do for you next, and I think that is a very important point.

Second, often the patient in a Veterans Administration hospital is having his gall bladder treated, he is having his spine treated or he is having a new leg put on. The rest of the man they don't care about. They are just repairing certain sections of the body. I think it is very important that the concept of veterans medical care be taken from this piecemeal care of the body to care of the total individual. This includes doing things for people's heads in the current parlance.

For example, I think that it is very important that an educational system be instituted in the Veterans Administration hospitals. Last year, both Dean Mulholland from Fordham, and Murray Pulner from the City, went to the Veterans Administration. I don't know what Mr. Pulner said, but Mr. Mulholland said, "I want to start classes yesterday in your Veterans Administration hospitals," and the VA came back and said there isn't anybody here who wants to go to college. That was at two different hospitals, and if you want the names, I have the names of the individuals who I contacted.

I don't believe there is no one in the V.A. hospital who doesn't want to go to school. Veterans who are wounded not only need their wounds taken care of, they need to be treated like human beings. Along with this, Miss Polansky on the committee suggested that families be allowed into the hospital any time of day and night to care for a member of their family who is ill in the hospital. They're not going to perform appendectomies, I hope, but they are capable of emptying a bedpan. They are capable of getting a drink of water. They are capable of providing the services that cannot be provided by one nurse who covers a four-block long ward. I think this is another thing to look into.

As far as adequate medical care, and this hooks up with jobs, literally those of us who have been and who are well trained, competent medics, and corpsmen, who have been discharged from the military since this war has started, they come home, and they want to work in a hospital in New York State. They are told that you have to be practicing your skills for eight years. You may have saved 50 lives, but I'm sorry, we don't think you know anything. You have to go back to school.

I think these trained men should be put into the Veterans Administration hospital system, if they want to be put in there, and allowed to perform important para-professional medical duties that need to be done. That is one way of remedying the personnel problems in the hospital. This is not only a matter for Congress, but a matter for State legislatures, because the legislatures are the ones that control letting people do certain medical duties. This is something that has to be modified.

Congressman SCHEUER. They should be licensed so they can practice in any hospital, and not only V.A. hospitals.

Mr. BREWIN. Definitely. We are throwing away thousands of dollars worth of skill by not putting these men into the professions they have practiced for three or four years.

One other important point. I don't know about the experiences of other veterans, but if you are in the infantry battalion in Vietnam, the dental care is not too good because no one has figured out how to man pack a dental chair yet. Therefore, you don't see too many dentists running around Vietnam. So one of the real problems in the war, although it might not seem too big, is that we have thousands of rotten teeth running around, which may not seem too big right now until you go out to spend $1,500 or $2,000 to have them taken care of. Under V.A. regulations, a year after discharge you lose your right to go and have your teeth treated in a V.A. hospital. Well, sometimes it takes a year to get an appointment in the Dental Clinic, and then when you get your appointment, your year is up, so you cannot use it.

I suggest that dental care be provided for all Vietnam veterans until their mouth is back in the same shape as it was in, and that includes giving them a whole new set of false teeth, if necessary. This is very important. That is it on medical care.

I would just like to add just one thing before I leave. I think the real tragedy of this conference is that we have all had a good rap, and the real tragedy is that many of the people who could make the decisions that directly affect us, chose not to be here. As Mr. Callender said, they all have summer houses.

I called last week and I invited the Chamber of Commerce to send a businessman. The National Alliance of Businessmen were notified, and a whole bunch of other guys, and I asked if they would please send people to listen to us. They chose not to be here. So we know what they think of us. And the other members of the congressional delegation also chose not to be here. So we know what they think of us. So my suggestion is that we find out who these people are, and we let them know what we think of them in very firm ways.

(Applause.)

CONGRESSMAN SCHEUER: Thank you.

(The hour is late now. The coffee is ready.) On behalf of Councilwoman Stromberg, Congressman Biaggi and Congressman Badillo and myself, we want to thank you for coming. We have been listening. We ourselves, all four of us, are where we are now, on this side of the table because of our personal commitment to political action.

If we weren't political activists, we would not be sitting here. We understand why we are here, and we understand the reasons for our being here. We understand that we are accountable to you. But if you don't organize, if you don't get together and make yourselves felt, if you don't produce programs and let us know what they are, and let the other members of Congress know what they are, then you cannot hold us accountable, because you have not given us the message.

We think you ought to hold our feet to the fire. We think you ought to be telling it to a lot of other members of the Congress and telling it to us again and again and again, the way you told it to us today. I think that the four of us learned a lot, and that is why we were here. We were not here

to lecture you, but to listen to you. But organize and make yourselves politically effective to get what you want, what you deserve, what other veterans from Korea and World War II and the wars before that have gotten from this country. It is very simple. You help your friends and you punish your enemies.

Thanks a lot. Let's have some coffee.

(Whereupon, at 5:05 p.m., this meeting of the Congressional Committee was adjourned.)

PHILADELPHIA IMPLEMENTS LOW-COST SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, a new, low-cost method of supplying school lunches has been developed in Philadelphia by the Academy of Food Marketing of St. Joseph's College and the Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

This program will meet the needs of about 28,000 children in 55 inner-city schools of the archdiocese starting in December. The program results from a pilot project developed at St. Anthony of Padua School in South Philadelphia, and I am pleased to say that this program has been approved by the U.S. Department of Agriculture for use nationwide. These lunches consist of an individual 8-ounce can of combination food such as stews, beans and franks, and spaghetti and meatballs. These cans are heated in inexpensive ovens, and the heated food is eaten by the children directly from the cans with nutritional supplements added to meet the requirements of a type A lunch.

As a member of the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, I am pleased that this new program has been developed in the Philadelphia area. I am optimistic that the program can be used nationally by many schools which do not have kitchen facilities.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article from the Catholic Standard and Times, describing this new program, be printed in the RECORD.

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

LUNCH PROGRAM BECOMES NATIONAL SCHOOL MODEL

(By Frank Smith)

A pilot program developed at St. Anthony of Padua School in South Philadelphia, to feed poor children hot lunches in schools without kitchen facilities, has been approved by the U.S. Department of Agriculture for use throughout the country.

Richard Lying, assistant secretary of agriculture, announced that the program would be adopted for nation wide use at ceremonies at St. Anthony's School on June 17.

At the same time John Cardinal Krol announced that the program would be available in 55 inner-city schools of the Archdiocese starting in September.

"This means that 28,000 children in our schools will now have a hot lunch—every day—which meets the highest nutritional requirements of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Cardinal commented."

Auxiliary Bishop Gerald V. McDevitt, representing the Cardinal, went on to say, that the program demonstrated the collaboration between school and total community that can and should be developed further.

The luncheon project was developed in Philadelphia by the Archdiocese, St. Joseph's College Academy of Food Marketing, the food industry and the U.S.D.A. It was designed to find an adequate but inexpensive and feasible hot-lunch program for inner-city elementary schools without kitchen facilities.

The menu provides considerable variety and is centered around a heated eight ounce can of prepared food such as chicken or beef stew, beans and franks or spagheti and meat balls heated in portable electric ovens. Basics, in addition to the hot main dish are, milk, a piece of fruit and a cookie. Cost is 15 cents to the student who can afford to pay, but those who cannot are served free.

The pilot program at St. Anthony's served more than 3,200 meals over an eight week period. Total cost was $2,000, including the purchase of the oven dispensers.

The program was under the direction of Father Donald V. Helm and Patrick Templewest of the Academy of Food Marketing.

COST OVERRUNS

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, we are hearing a lot these days about cost overruns. Unfortunately, the loudest voices about cost overruns are the quietest voices on their own expenditures and of their own particular division of the Government.

Example 1: The Kennedy Stadium we were told was going to cost the taxpayers $4 million. The fact is the Kennedy Stadium has cost the Nation's taxpayers $20 million. The revenue from the stadium cannot even pay the interest, and not one dime of the $20 million has been paid back. As a matter of fact, the Kennedy Stadium has a tenant that is now almost $200,000 in arrears for his rent. Instead of paying for itself besides costing the taxpayers $20 million, instead of $4 million, the upkeep of the stadium is costing the taxpayers of our Nation $1 million a year.

Example 2: The Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts was supposed to be built from contributions of students all over the Nation. The fact is the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts has cost the taxpayers $67 million, which is a 67-million-percent cost overrun of what we were told it would be.

Example 3: We were told that the subway system in Washington, D.C., would cost $900 million. The figures to complete the subway system now are in excess of $3½ billion, and it appears that it will cost over $5 billion before it is finished. My prediction is that it will never be finished even after the expenditure of $3 or $4 billion.

Example 4: The loudest voices in the other body against cost overruns are strangely quiet about the $900,000 cost overrun for their own restaurant. This amounts to a loss of $9,000 per Member, and the taxpayers of our Nation have to pick up the tab to pay these losses. This is a 900,000-percent cost overrun just for the restaurant to accommodate 100 Members of that body. Suppose some industry transferred almost $400,000 of their expenses to the Architect of the Capitol. There would be the loudest howl from the cost overrun experts of everything except their own affairs.

These are just a few examples of the projects that have been voted for by the severest critics of cost overruns in private industry. If private industry had the cost overruns of the severest critics in the other body, we would be living in a strange land, and there would be a furor that would raise the ceiling of the Capitol dome.

Mr. Speaker, as an added item, I would like to have reprinted in this statement an article that appeared in the Buffalo Courier Express on July 19, 1971, by the noted columnist, Anne McIlhenny Matthews:

SHANGRI-LA IS NIGHTMARE

(By Anne McIlhenney Matthews)

They have fun and games in Congress as well as debating issues, according to a recent communication from my favorite Congressman, Thaddeus J. Dulski. He sent me two pages from the June 30 issue of the Congressional Record, which reported on whether House conferences could (or should) be held in the old Supreme Court Chamber and the old Senate Chamber. This, it seems, was mixed in with some comments on a deficit of $497,000 for the Senate restaurant and allegations that an additional deficit for the Senate restaurant was being buried by being charged to the Architect's office.

Several Representatives went "tsk, tsk," pointing out that it wasn't gentlemanly to investigate "the housekeeping functions of the other body."

Then a Representative from Alabama yielded to Rep. Alvin E. O'Konski of Wisconsin, who commented on the situation in a corker of a speech. As he said, everyone is doing it, so I hope he throws his hat in the ring and runs for president. We need his kind of wit in the White House!

Mr. O'Konski, Mr. Speaker, I am well aware of the rules of comity between the two Houses. What conclusions are drawn from my remarks referring to the member of the other body are strictly coincidental.

"I would like to tell you about a dream I had the other night. It turned into a horror and later a nightmare.

"I dreamed I went to a country called Shangri-la. When I arrived in that country I became interested in their form of government. They had a body called Etanes. I wondered what Etanes stood for. I wondered how they arrived at the name of that great body. Then I thought of Serutan, and I remembered that Serutan is Natures spelled backwards. Etanes is Senate spelled backwards. This is strictly coincidental. It has nothing to do with the other body. I do not want to disrupt the comity between our two chambers. That is why I emphasize this point.

Etanes, which is the Senate spelled backwards, in Shangri-la is made up of 100 members plus one called the devil's advocate—a little different from our system. Each time a member of Etanes—that is the Senate backwards—got up and made a speech or made a proposal or a condemnation, the devil's advocate always responded and asked questions of the reformist, egotist or member of Etanes.

"There happened to be one member of this body of Etanes who thought he was quite an authority on cost overruns.

"He was complaining about the cost overruns of planes, war materials, baby books

and just about everything. When he finished the devil's advocate got up and said, "Why wouldn't this great great authority on cost overruns tell us about the $900,000 cost overrun for the restaurant of this great body called Etanes, which is the Senate spelled backwards. The great authority on cost overruns, embarrassed, took his seat.

"Then another member of this body of Etanes addressed Etanes, telling automobile manufacturers how to build cars. He told how to build planes and he even told Carter how to make pills. Then the devil's advocate got up and said, 'I would not tell everybody how to run every thing when we cannot even run our own restaurant without losing $900,000 a year to feed 100 Etanes at a cost to the taxpayers of $9,000 per member.'

"Then the dream turned into a nightmare. Almost half of the members of Etanes—that is Senate spelled backwards—announced that they wanted to run for president of their country. Then even the devil's advocate gave up in despair and took off his horns, got up and said, "If you cannot even run a restaurant without losing $900,000 of the taxpayers' money a year, that is a $9,000 a year cost to each taxpayer to feed each one of us, how can you become the president of your country? Shame on you. You cannot run a restaurant, yet you want to be president."

"At that point I awoke. I miss Shangri-la now that I am awakened. But my first thought after I awakened was, "Thank God I live in the United States of America and not Shangri-la." Such things could not happen here in this country. And now I am confused. Was it really a dream and a nightmare or was it a reality we are faced with right here in our nation right now?"

TRIBUTE TO MRS. NORA LAWRENCE SMITH

HON. DAWSON MATHIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. MATHIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the State of Georgia recently lost a great and dearly beloved citizen. Mrs. Nora Lawrence Smith, affectionately known as "Miss Nora," died at the age of 85. She was a legend in both newspaper and political circles. Her tremendous influence was used wisely to promote those causes she believed in and loved.

Miss Nora dedicated 70 years of her life to newspaper work, 30 of those years as editor and publisher of the Wiregrass Farmer in Ashburn. This newspaper, founded by her father in 1899, is still one of the most respected newspapers in the Second Congressional District which I proudly represent.

Miss Nora was one of the most active and outspoken boosters of a section of the State identified as the wiregrass area. This was Miss Nora's home since the age of 4.

She was an influential Georgian, an outstanding journalist and a loyal Democrat. She will be missed by her many friends in the State, the profession and the party.

Most Georgia newspapers have paid tribute to Miss Nora. I am including in the RECORD a sampling of those editorials and letters appearing in the July 29 edition of the Wiregrass Farmer:

TIFTON GAZETTE: MISS NORA

Georgia lost a friend and South Georgia a dedicated champion with the death Saturday of Mrs. Nora Lawrence Smith at the age of 85.

"Miss Nora" as most in Tiftarea knew her, was a legend in both newspapering and political circles.

She was involved in newspaper work for 70 years, 30 of them as editor and publisher of the Wiregrass Farmer in Ashburn, a paper which her pioneer father, Joe Lawrence, founded in 1899.

She was a friend of such notable political leaders as the late Sen. Richard B. Russell, Sen. Herman Talmadge and former Govs. Carl Sanders and Ernest Vandiver. She supported the Democratic Party wholeheartedly through the years and attended four national conventions, predicting in 1928 that the Democrats wouldn't win a national election until they nominated "that man on crutches" Franklin D. Roosevelt.

But most of all, "Miss Nora" was an advocate for the wiregrass area of South Georgia, promoting its agriculture and economic and industrial growth.

When she retired and sold her newspaper in 1969, she brought to a close a chapter of Georiga journalism filled with achievements.

She was honored many times during her distinguished career, the latest in 1968 when the National Newspaper Association named her its "Outstanding Woman Journalist" and then Gov. Lester Maddox declared June 8 as "Nora Lawrence Smith Day in Georgia."

Her honors all were well-deserved and her endeavors brought much good to the state and area she loved. She will sadly be missed, but not forgotten by those who knew her.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION: NORA L. SMITH

Back somewhere around 1899, a 13-year old girl, as she later wrote about it, "crawled up on a stool and learned to set type by hand and have been working ever since . . ."

Her father, Joe Lawrence, founded the newspaper, The Wiregrass Farmer, in Ashburn, Georgia. That 13 year old girl never got over learning to set type. Mrs. Nora Lawrence Smith was publisher of the paper from 1939 until 1969. She died last week-end, following a stroke.

"I came to Ashburn when I was four years old, nothing was here, only a wilderness. So I have watched the town grow and love it," she wrote once. She loved Georgia too, and she was a voice and an influence in her state. We will miss her.

TRIBUTE FROM A FRIEND

To the Editor:

Please let me express to you our sympathy in the loss of Nora Lawrence. A great soul has gone to its reward.

It has been our pleasure and privilege to know Nora for a long number of years. Her sense of humor and appreciation of her friends always made it pleasant and enjoyable to be with her. She was every inch a newspaper woman. Her paper was an instrument for good and the improvement and betterment of mankind. She used her talents wisely and with courage and devotion.

I regretted that we could not be present to pay a final tribute. Her life has been a benediction and her good works will live long after her.

Please convey to her co-workers on the paper and her friends our sympathy.

Very truly yours,
JERE MOORE.

TO A "GREAT LADY"

Mrs. Nora Lawrence Smith was, we think, one of the finest persons that every graced this earth. The major portion of her entire life was spent in the interest of others. She was devoted to her church, her county, her State, and the entire nation.

Her every thinking moment was to do good for somebody else or to do good and help the place in which she lived. There was never a thought of herself. She was without a doubt the most unselfish person it's ever been our privilege to know.

No matter who you were or from where you came, if Miss Nora knew you, she tried to help you. Newspaper circles, both State and national, will miss her and know that another of the really great "ole timers" has gone on to her great reward.

Politics, both State and national, will feel her loss. She loved and served it all.

People who knew her, people who knew of her, and the world in general will miss a person like Miss Nora. We certainly will, but we are thankful we knew her.

ALINE AND JOHN HEARD ARNOLD.

LETTER FROM PASTOR ON McNAMARA PAPERS

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a letter from an old and valued friend, Gen. Louis H. Renfrow, retired. General Renfrow has served his Nation well, as exemplified by his appointment to the White House staff by President Harry S. Truman.

General Renfrow has brought to my attention a letter, written by his pastor, George R. Davis, D.D., which is one of the best I have ever read. The letter motivated by the recent publications of the so-called McNamara Papers, and the decision by the Supreme Court which followed, gives much food for thought and is brilliantly written.

I commend the reading of this letter to all the Members of the Congress:

THE NATIONAL CITY CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
Washington, D.C., July 7, 1971.

To Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Warren E. Burger; Justice Hugo L. Black; Justice William O. Douglas; Justice John M. Holland; Justice William J. Brennan, Jr.; Justice Potter Stewart; Justice Byron R. White; Justice Thurgood Marshall; Justice Harry A. Blackmun; Senator Mike Gravel; Mr. Benjamin Bradlee, editor-in-chief, the *Washington Post;* Mrs. Katherine Graham, publisher, the *Washington Post;* Mr. A. M. Rosenthal, editor, the *New York Times;* and Mr. Arthur Oakes Sulzberger, publisher, the *New York Times.*

GENTLEMEN: This letter is being mimeographed due to lack of time, and it is being written motivated by the same purpose which led me to write a recent letter to certain Congressmen regarding matters related to our involvement in Viet-nam, etc., that purpose being that I know those involved will receive many communications applauding the Supreme Court decision and the action of the newspapers mentioned above. I wish, therefore, to state a contrary opinion.

Let me preface the basic material of this letter with the following:

(1) I am one of the minority in America today who believe we were justified in being in Viet-nam and in the world.

(2) I have no sense of guilt, which evidently is eating the heart out of a good many Americans today.

(3) As much as I hate war, I hate the alternatives we have even more. One is

sickened when he thinks of all the excellent young men who have been lost, and who are so badly needed in today's world, when so many of us still living are really unworthy to clutter up the earth. I happen to be also among the minority who believe their sacrifice was not in vain.

(4) Anybody knows that alternate plans must be made, whether in military, business, by the press, and even in the Church.

(5) The reason that we are now able to begin to get out of Viet-nam with some possibility, even though it is a "long shot" now, of leaving some stability there, is because we have been there all along. By this I mean eventually the domino theory will prove to have been a correct interpretation of the potential situation. Our moving into that area of the world gave it at least a partial stability. I have had contact with dozens of missionaries both through correspondence and in conventions, of several denominations, and I have known only one who opposed the American presence in Asia. Do not misunderstand me. I do not think the United States Government should be obligated to protect the missionary enterprise of the Christian Church around the world. I mention this only to point out that these people doing the work of the Church, and in the vast majority of cases they are very able people, felt that for the United States to abandon our present posture in Asia would have been disastrous.

And so what I am about to write in reference to so much cheap talk going on about "freedom of the press' and the attitudes of self-righteousness being expressed in so many quarters, leaving the impression that the publication of the Pentagon documents was highly motivated rather than a kind of cheap scandal sheet affair, grows out of a personal and deep conviction. I am well aware that the Supreme Court can not make "moral decisions", but rather, "legal decisions". It is frightening to know that the majority opinion of the Supreme Court was based in the final analysis:

(1) Upon an act of theft;

(2) And the papers taken from that act of theft were released by certain newspapers at a time based upon their own whim;

(3) That they were released on the eve of an important decision about to be made in the Congress of the United States;

(4) That Mr. Ellsburg released those papers (whoever took them), to a carefully selected number of newspapers, which in itself contradicts any idea of freedom of the press. Here is a man, first, who should know better, with his suggestion of his estimate of his own character, and secondly, a man with an evident guilt complex over his own involvement, and in an apparent attempt to white-wash himself, he suggests the guilt of others. The man evidently most aimed at in the interpretations of the Pentagon papers will probably come out in the best light eventually, having inherited so much from other Administrations. As for one, if I have to cast my lot, it will be with the five Presidents.

(5) That this action by the Supreme Court suggests that any employee working in any office in any place of business, the Government, military, education, or any other facet of American life, is justified "stealing" what he comes to the conclusion, according to "his good conscience", is his to take, because he believes he is serving a noble end. The far-reaching implication of this is that the president of the student body in a university is free, if he felt "his conscience justified him", to steal documents from a President's office; that any employee in any industry, if he believed himself to be "justified by his conscience", has the right to take from the office of his employer any documents. In fact, this decision literally destroys the ethical foundation of the right to possession.

I was literally amazed that the publishers and legal representatives of the major newspapers involved declared that they received all news and then published what they saw fit to publish, or believed should be published, but in the same breath denied to the Government the right to decide what it would or would not release, and that these newspapers retained stolen documents to be used according to their concept of "freedom of the press" without revealing this to the authorities, and did not believe they were morally obligated to share this news with other newspapers. I suppose they might say that "any reporter has the right to beat some other reporter to the punch" in ferreting out news, but this incident is slightly different in that it was based upon theft. For the life of me I cannot see why we should trust a decision of a press any more than we should trust the decision of a Government, or that freedom of the press means that the press "is a law unto itself".

It is my own personal hope that the Government of the United States will indict and prosecute to the fullest extent not only the thieves or thief, but also the representatives of the newspapers and anyone else involved. I would like to see this applied to representatives of Congress involved also, but I know they are protected and cannot be so indicted. I am well aware that the permissive attitudes in the courts of the United States, which show more interest in criminals than in the public, in draft-dodgers than in men who assume their responsibilities, in the protection of the rights of dissident radicals, give very little chance that anyone so indicted will ever have to pay any penalty. Indeed, he would be freed somewhere along the line by one of the courts, but I think the indictment, as suggested by Attorney General Mitchell, should, nevertheless, be carried out.

Perhaps the most disgraceful spectacle of all was the Senator from Alaska, Mr. Mike Gravel, reading from documents related to the Pentagon papers late one night before a small group of people, with tears streaming down his face in sorrow for the dead in Viet-nam. Very easily, tears could be streaming down my face, but not for the men in Viet-nam, but for the spectacle of a Senator showing such irresponsibility and callousness, and this has nothing to do with my feeling of "wanting to protect a club known as the Senate of the United States," but because he also knows he was reading material which was based upon theft.

Another sad spectacle was a noted clergyman in Washington several Sundays ago, who denounced the last several Presidents as being totally irresponsible and saying quite frankly that "these Presidents believed they were gods", as that clergyman denounced what was revealed in the Pentagon papers. Acting like God is a tendency all of us, including the writer of this letter, constantly fight. But I well remember when the clergyman mentioned above himself said, three years ago, "I have great power and I know how to use that power". I wonder who thinks he is God? Did this clergyman mean to include his grandfather, Woodrow Wilson, in his judgment? President Wilson was called "a liar, a deceiver of the American people", and he was accused of having a God complex. Did this clergyman intend to apply his judgment to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who was accused by some of the press and others of having deliberately created a situation which led to Pearl Harbor? Did he means to include Abraham Lincoln, who was called "a baboon" and who was denounced by a clergyman who at time was perhaps the greatest pulpiteer in the United States, but who, in a repentant mood after the death of Lincoln, preached what was probably the most beautiful memorial sermon ever given related to a President? Abraham Lincoln was denounced by both North and South. So when a man dares to call recent Presidents liars and as having "God complexes", how far back does his judgment go? Was he trying to find, like many others who supported our present world involvement in Asia originally, "an escape hatch" for himself by making others appear to be "guilty of high crimes"? Mr. Rusk was right on NBC the other night, July 2, when he stated, "Of course we made mistakes. But the real question of morality is whether this Nation has character enough to keep promises made to other nations and the price we were willing to pay in Viet-nam to prevent paying a higher price later", and Mr. Rusk was right when, in answer to Mr. Newman's question on NBC about the killing of civilians, he replied, "More effort has been made in the present war to avoid killing civilians than in any other war in which we have ever been engaged. Many bombings which would have had extremely effective military results were not carried out because the civilian loss would have been devastating". Please do not misunderstand my logic. Many civilians have been killed in Viet-nam, and no one in his right mind would argue in support of the brutality of war, but one is out of his mind if he thinks that staying out of Viet-nam would have guaranteed that we would have avoided even a far worse situation, including what we have avoided this time so far, and that is nuclear war, and as Mr. Rusk also pointed out, at the end of World War II we were given another chance. If a total third world war comes, there will be no other chance. Monday morning quarterbacks are always wise, and the conscientious objectors here at home, beyond any question, made The North know they could afford to outwait us. The release of the Pentagon papers, even though most of the information released had already been available in one form or another to any reader in depth, has simply given Hanoi one more reason to know she can afford to wait. Hanoi's recent cynical proposal, which really only restates what she has said before, with one slight difference, is another evidence that she is gambling on the possibility that she can out-wait us. I think it was Mr. Khrushchev who said words to this effect, "that communism will bury us". He knew something about the business of out-waiting the people who may lose the will to remain steady.

I would not wish any conclusion drawn that I do not believe in our American institutions. I thoroughly believe in them. My doubt grows out of some of those who occupy positions in those institutions, and I think we have gravely damaged not only our image, but something much more important than our world image in this whole fiasco, which has nothing whatsoever to do with the real meaning of freedom of the press. But I have the feeling that this nation will recover even from this latest in a series of damaging activities conducted by so-called responsible individuals. We have recovered from many grave dangers in the past.

I was taught in journalism in high school in Topeka, Kansas, by my teacher, Miss Ruth Hunt, a good many years ago, that the three greatest newspapers in the United States at that time were the *New York Times*, the *Kansas City Star*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*. There are, of course, still many great newspapers in the United States, many excellent and conscientious journalists, but much to my sorrow, I have discovered that some newspapers thought of as great newspapers are far more opinionated, one-sided, and dogmatic than the reactionary press these liberal papers accuse of being close-minded. One of these papers has carried for years in its pages the motto "All the news that's fit to print." I think that several of the newspapers involved should now begin to carry the question on their pages, "Are we fit to print the news?"

May I refer back to several points raised in this letter. The evidence in thus far will probably show that Mr. Ellsburg seriously missed his predictions about Viet-nam at least on six or more occasions while he was connected with matters relating to our foreign policy. They were serious errors in judgment, and strangely enough were always slanted against the possibility of American success in Viet-nam. It is not impossible to believe that these very serious errors in judgment could have contributed to his desire to get out from under responsibility, and passing along the Pentagon papers did take attention away from him, that is, from his bad behavior. Most of the experts who are writing now declare that 85 to 90 percent of the material contained in the Pentagon papers had already been released, and would have been known to a reader in depth, but the main dangers from the stealing of the papers and their release by the newspapers would be the following: (a) the practice of theft itself; (b) it would raise serious questions in the minds of other nations with whom we have relationships, questioning our Government's dependability in future discussions where confidential material might be shared; (c) the possibility that some of the material could be used by "enemy countries," using the material to crack the secret codes used by the Pentagon and State Department; (d) the encouragement it would give to the ordinary individual to follow such irresponsible practices. If the reaction of Mr. Ellsburg's fellow-workers at the Rand Corporation is correctly reported in the July 12, 1971 issue of Newsweek I concur in their negative judgment of him. This is a case of a man whose high conception of himself is incorrect, the case of a man who took the wrong road, and no attempt should be made to paint that picture with a halo over it.

And referring back to Senator Gravel, his record has been spotty in shifting back and forth, to give commendation to him for his behavior as reported in that earlier paragraph of this document. His name may be added to the list of those, and they are many, who gave ever-increasing encouragement to North Viet-nam to "hang in there" until the American will collapsed.

The implication that what was really only the thinking into the future concerning possible alternatives in facing major crises as being specific plans is very regrettable. Mr. Ball, who was certainly chief among those who opposed military intervention in Vietnam and who became known as the "devil's advocate" himself, along with Mr. Rusk, denied that planning had been made many months in advance for bombings while such a policy was being denied publicly. The papers seem to imply that definite plans had been made for the use of nuclear bombs whereas in reality the discussions which went on in secret in our Government revolved around how to conduct limited war in Vietnam to avoid an eventual confrontation between the great powers, which would have meant all-out nuclear war and the end of civilization as we know it. One cannot guarantee that eventually nuclear war will not come about, but at least thus far it may be said about our Viet-nam involvement: (1) to date, South Viet-nam remains free, relatively speaking, at least; (2) we are in the process of gradually getting out of Viet-nam, although one would hope that with our vast Pacific Coast, we would certainly not only remain interested in Asia, but would remain in Asia; (3) at least to the moment this is written, all-out nuclear war has been avoided between the great powers, and thus the entire world. It would be impossible to predict what the future holds, and any course our nation takes will be fraught with the danger of that. One may quite honestly say, we have no good choices. We have only a decision to make from a collection of poor choices, the lesser of the evils, or a decision concerning which of those choices is the best risk to take to help guarantee the possibility of world security, as well as our own survival and the best risk offering the most hope in that direction.

I wanted to be one of a handful of Americans who would be writing their objections, over against the thousands who, no doubt, will be commending these recent actions by the press and courts as being noble and high-minded.

Yours truly,

GEORGE R. DAVIS,
Minister.

NOTE: This letter has been added to and corrected from an original written on July 2, 1971.

STEIGER SEEKS STUDY OF RELIEF FOR THE AGING FROM PROPERTY TAXES

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call your attention to a resolution which I have introduced to authorize a study of Federal income tax credits to offset the property taxes paid by our low-income aging.

We are all aware that the Federal income tax is the most progressive tax in this country. Conversely, the local resident property tax is probably the most regressive tax in America. While the average taxpayer pays about 4 percent of total income for property tax, the low-income homeowner pays up to 10 percent of total income for property taxes. The one group who pays the most, percentagewise, while receiving the least benefits are the low-income aging.

Most aging citizens, upon retirement, continue to reside in their homes, which to them represents both security and a source of justified pride. Seventy percent of people 65 years and older live in their own homes, many of which are mortgage free.

Unfortunately, the aging are soon confronted with the harsh realities of retirement. Living on fixed incomes, they are forced to pay continually rising property taxes. Though they no longer have school-age children, the aging must support public schools which claim a major portion of property taxes. The aging do benefit from other local services supported by property taxes, but the benefits received are disproportionate to what the aging must pay in taxes.

The rapidly rising cost of services for local government has caused property taxes to skyrocket. Local government spending has expanded rapidly in recent years, increasing by 177 percent between 1955 and 1968. In this same period of time, Federal Government spending increased 141 percent, and the gross national product rose by only 117 percent.

In 1968, property taxes provided 87 percent of all locally generated revenues. Thus, as local government spending has risen, property taxes have leaped upward. Between 1955 and 1968, they increased at an average annual rate of 7.3 percent, faster than the rate of growth of personal income.

The administration's general revenue-sharing proposal would provide relief toward moderating future property tax increases. However, the aging are most seriously affected by this tax, and they deserve some further form of relief.

In my own State of Wisconsin, recent experience shows that without the benefit of property tax relief, 8,000 aging homeowners with total annual income under $1,000 would pay 30 percent of that income in property taxes; 1,300 aging homeowners with income under $300 annually would pay 58 percent of that meager income for property taxes. Fortunately, Wisconsin has pioneered a homestead tax relief program which eliminates this tax burden for its aging citizens.

But only four other States have followed Wisconsin's lead. Moreover, present Federal income tax benefits are of little or no relief to low-income aging. What relief exists benefits persons of moderate means, but not those who have too little income to pay Federal taxes. While the more affluent aging are receiving $2.5 billion in income tax relief, the low-income aging are paying $1.5 billion yearly in local property taxes.

Today, the United States has 20 million citizens 65 years and over, 10 percent of the population. The median income of this group is half that of the younger population, and one-fourth of the aging live below the poverty level. A tax concession policy could be a powerful instrument in removing or reducing the regressiveness of property taxes for low-income aging.

I have introduced a joint resolution to provide for a joint study by the Departments of HUD, HEW, and Treasury of the feasibility of providing Federal income tax credits or rebates on actual and hidden real property taxes paid by the aging who own or rent their residences. The intent is to devise a means whereby the older taxpayers pay a fair share, and not an excessive burden, of property taxes.

VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW IS GOODWILL AMBASSADOR AT HOME AND ABROAD

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, the Vice President is most certainly a good-will ambassador both at home and abroad. Since the first of the year, the Vice President has visited over 15 States and has made over 25 speeches in support of revenue sharing before State legislatures, county, and local officials. Mr. AGNEW has consistently pointed out in his local travels that we face nothing less than a collapse of vital services, particularly on the local level, if we do not start putting more of this Nation's resources back where the problems are.

Mr. Speaker, the Vice President has made an outstanding contribution to the better understanding of the revenue-sharing philosophy, which, according to the most recent polls, is now supported

by 75 percent of the American public. More Members of Congress feel revenue sharing will be passed and the Vice President's efforts are key in the growing support.

The Vice President made a 10-nation trip at the request of President Nixon. Although the trip has been subjected to distortion and inaccurate reporting, it was extremely successful in every way. I feel it is fitting and proper to let the public see the other side of the controversy. I, therefore, include at this point two articles from the August 14, 1971, issue of Human Events:

RHINOS AND SCAVENGERS: PRESS LOOKS ABSURD IN COVERING AGNEW TRIP

(By Andrew Seamans)

Nothing better demonstrates the validity of Vice President Agnew's charge of media bias than press coverage of his recent 10-nation round-the-world trip.

When you cover anything concerning Agnew, the drill is always to search out and highlight the gaffe. But gaffes were so scarce that *Time* magazine was forced to observe cryptically, its correspondent touchingly desperate, "In private talks and ceremonial functions, Agnew, from all available evidence, has performed flawlessly. Perhaps too flawlessly."

Now, how's that for criticism? If you were unkind you might even call it asinine. The asininity bug, in fact, seems to have bitten several of *Time-Life's* stable of poetasters.

Hugh Sidey, for instance, sputtering around in *Life* for some new way to knock the Vice President, finally comes up with a couple of startling comparisons. The Vice President, he tells us, failed to live up to the standards of diplomatic deportment set by "Lyndon Johnson riding a bullock cart in India and giving the rebel yell in the Taj Mahal; and Hubert Humphrey calling hogs at a Viet Nam livestock research farm and wearing his baseball hat on a ride down a river in Thailand."

Breathtaking. Agnew could have donned his Washington Senators baseball cap, ridden a bullock cart through the streets of Saudi Arabia, called hogs in the Congo, and ripped loose with a rebel yell in a mosque in Morocco. What a masterstroke it would have been for American diplomacy. Kings and Emperors and Amirs really love that sort of thing. And Mr. Sidey and his colleagues, we can be sure, would have written glowingly of such a performance.

But you can't really be too hard on poor silly Sidey. His predicament is that of most of the newsmen covering the trip: How do you make Agnew look bad when he performs almost flawlessly?

The answer, of course, is that you can't unless you're willing to eschew facts and concentrate instead on distortion and ridicule. If he won't flub things up, you invent a fantasy in which he does so. And this is precisely what many media men set out to do, none more diligently than a scavenger called Andrew Jaffe, African correspondent for *Newsweek*.

The *Newsweek* account of the Vice President's trip, and especially his visit to the Treetops restaurant in Kenya, has become famous. Scores of columnists have used it as the definitive writeup, and it has been read into the *Congressional Record*, during which reading Jaffe's description of copulating rhinos, the best-known section of the piece, provoked an oddly salacious comment from a snickering U.S. Representative (and perhaps we should worry just a bit about the mental health of any man who seems to be turned on by the image of rhinos copulating).

It seems fitting that it was *Newsweek*. Among the organs of the national media, *Newsweek* has consistently shown the strongest symptoms of acute Agnew-phobia. Presently they are lobbying mightily to get John Connally the No. 2 spot on the Republican ticket (only because, of course, like the Democratic National Committee, they love Richard Nixon and want him to have the strongest possible running mate in '72) and their previous hatchet jobs on Agnew have been among the most virulent. One such attack, similiarly an ax job by a scavenger correspondent, actually prompted a letter of apology from the editor of *Newsweek* to the Vice President. The copulating rhino piece, however, is nonpareil in *Newsweek's* anti-Agnew history.

There are seven paragraphs in the *Newsweek* article. Five of these contain errors of fact, conscious distortions and dishonest omissions. The tone of the article is malicious, its method ridicule, its object to evoke contempt.

We are introduced to the Vice President "swinging his driver like a machete," "currently flailing his way around the world . . ." His cargo plane carries two Cadillacs "for Agnew's dash from airport to hotel to golf course." We see him, when not "hacking up the local golf course," making ludicrous statements and giving and receiving ludicrous gifts and, despite all evidence to the contrary, generally making an ass of himself in the diplomatic world.

"Agnew has not made any serious *faux pas* so far," writes correspondent Jaffe, who openly hopes for better things (note the *so far*), "but he worked in many little ones." What are these little ones? Jaffe names four: "He called Arabia's King Faisal 'Prince Faisal,' referred to Jomo Kenyatta as Yomo Kenyatta, pronounced the name of Kenya itself the colonial way (*Keenya* insteads of *Kenya*) and insisted that he is not going to any NATO countries on this round of diplomacy."

These are Jaffe's *only* substantive charges of blundering. And the substance is suspect indeed. The reference to "Prince" Faisal occurred on board Air Force Two, was quickly corrected by the Vice President himself, and would never have seen print had not a quick transcript been released to newsmen to facilitate their reports.

Thus, the charge that Agnew committed a *faux pas*, even a minor one, is false. It could only have been a *faux pas* had the reference been made before Saudi Arabian diplomats. (And this is why Jaffe can be called a scavenger. He joined the trip only briefly in Nairobi, relying completely on such news sources as unedited transcripts and casual comments from other reporters to flesh out his piece. He literally "scavenged" news.)

The Yomo pronunciation, the result of some erroneous spur-of-the-moment staff advice, was also quickly corrected. (Had the same pronunciation been used by, say, an Ed Muskie or a Ted Kennedy, you can be sure that *Newsweek's* editors would have ignored the whole business—or picked up that pronunciation.) And as for *Keenya* versus *Kenya*, as many Kenyans themselves use the former as the latter.

The last charge, that Agnew "insisted" he wasn't going to visit NATO countries when he was, in fact, going to visit Portugal, is again an example of distorted scavenger reporting. The scene was a hectic plane-side news conference, at which scores of questions about Asia were being shouted. The last question, "What about NATO?" seemed, especially in the confusion, out of place. The response was automatic we're not visiting NATO countries.

Again, there was a correct quick correction—we're talking about the Far East, we are going to Portugal. But once more, there was that unedited transcript for the scavenger to pick over.

And it's all irrelevant anyhow, for Jaffe hastens to inform us that Portugal, the only NATO country the Vice President chooses to visit, is also the only NATO country left that "still has large colonial holdings in Africa." And you know what that means.

Those are the substantive charges. Now on to some distortions. "Agnew spent under an hour with Haile Selassie. . . ." Fact: Agnew met Haile Selassie three times for over three hours. Agnew spent "all of 15 minutes with Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta and his cabinet. . . ." Fact: Agnew spent more than two hours and 45 minutes with Kenyatta.

He talked to the prime minister, met the vice president of Kenya, and played golf with the foreign minister, an outing characterized by Jaffe as "hacking up the local golf course." Jaffe forgets to mention that, in addition to the foreign minister, "hacking" along with Agnew were the vice chancellor of the University of Nairobi and the U.S. ambassador.

Much in the same vein is Jaffe's account of the Korean visit: The Koreans "shunted him off to the links." "Shunted" is a rather odd word to chose to describe an invitation by President Chung Kee Park to play 18 holes, an invitation extended on the *first* day after his inauguration.

Jaffe's choice of words is selective throughout. He tells us, for instance, that among what we are obviously to regard as rather absurd gifts, Agnew received from the Kenyans "a monkey skin robe." Nowhere is it mentioned that that "monkey skin robe" signifies the position of elder in the Kikuyu tribe and is one of the highest honors that can be accorded a foreign visitor.

We could go on like this for pages. *Newsweek* says there were four Boeing 707's flying the party. There were two. *Newsweek* says there were 141 people in the party. The Vice President's staff consisted of 15 people—5 from his personal staff, 10 from the State Department. The Vice President has no control over the size of the Secret Service contingent and the numbers are never released.

There are numerous other instances of error. (The challenge, in fact, is to find an accurate statement or figure.) But the most objectionable section of the article is the one dealing with those rhinos. In Kenya, Agnew's "main outing was to a nearby hunting lodge, where in company with his private physician and his pretty, red-haired secretary, he watched two rhinos copulating."

Now the "hunting lodge" is actually Treetops restaurant, an obligatory stop for visiting dignitaries. Treetops is built over a watering hole and a salt lick, a gathering place for Africa's great wild herds. On the afternoon and evening of the Vice President's visit, it is estimated that his party saw 101 Cape buffalo, 49 elephants, 16 rhinos, three mongoose, as well as waterbucks, baboons and numerous other animals.

So why single out those two rhinos? Why not say, for instance, that the Vice President and his party watched three elephants defecate? And why single out a personal physician and a pretty red-head to watch the rhinos with Agnew when, in fact, there were 35 people in the party, including, as Agnew's press secretary puts it, "one free-loading, free-riding scavenger correspondent from *Newsweek* who got a free ride up and a free ride back from Nairobi." (The 11 members of the press traveling with the party paid their own way from the United States. Jaffe is the only reporter whose way was paid.)

All 35 in the party, including the Kenyan ambassador to the U.S., the Kenyan minister of national parks, high Kenyan officials and U.S. diplomats, saw the rhinos copulate. Why not mention them too? Why, you'd ruin the innuendo. What innuendo? Ask that snickering congressman.

Newsweek bills itself as the magazine that separates fact from opinion and in their hatred for the Vice President—a hatred shared by many of the national media men since he held up that mirror in Des Moines and made them take a hard look at themselves—they've

managed to make the separation complete. All opinion, no fact. But perhaps that depends on your definition. The organ of the Democratic National Committee, after all, is called *FACT*.

WOULD YOU RATHER LIVE IN SPAIN OR RED CHINA?

(By Jeffrey Hart)

When you read the New York Times these days, you have to hold on to the arms of your chair in order to avoid the moral and intellectual equivalent of motion sickness. Thus, after a week spent celebrating President Nixon's prospective visit to Mao, and with the huzzahs still ringing in your ears, the Times blasted Vice President Agnew editorially for visiting—Franco.

Would you believe it?

"Was it really advisable," asked the Times in its inimitable way, "for Mr. Agnew to participate in Francisco Franco's celebration of the 35th anniversary of the revolt that, with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini, crushed the Spanish Republic?"

Now, that is a choice formulation. No mention of the fact that the large number of Spaniards who turned against the so-called Republic in 1936 did so because they saw it collapsing into anarchy and violence; no mention of the fact that, during the war, the Soviets, the International Brigades, and so on played a much larger role on the Times' favored side, both in numbers of men and in terms of materiel, than the Germans and the Italians did on Franco's.

But read on. "Mr. Agnew is certainly not a Fascist [Whew! Close call there!] and he doubtless comprehends the debits that accrue for the United States if its Vice President helps Generalissimo Franco, a relic of the fascist floodtide, observe a day that still stings the consciences of every democratic country in Europe."

On the Times' own showing, however, as in the recent series of articles by Seymour Topping, China is a tyranny that makes Franco's Spain seem a libertarian paradise by comparison: Masses of people under relentless indoctrination, thinking alike and chanting the identical slogans, any deviation being instantly and severely punished, no information available to them about the outside world, all of the arts entirely propagandistic and stereotyped, individual freedom nonexistent.

Franco's rule, to be sure, is authoritarian, but, having said that, it also must be said that in Spain today it is eminently possible to live a civilized existence. Books and newspapers are freely available, travel is unrestricted, discussion is uninhibited, all the arts are flourishing, and so on.

If you drop into a restaurant in Madrid, or stroll along the beach in Majorca, you are very likely to run into journalists or executives from the *Times* thoroughly enjoying themselves, no stung consciences discernible.

Turn next to the most recent *Times Sunday Magazine*, and open to two long articles, check by jowl. One, by a European businessman named Emile Van Heavel, tells us what a fine place China is "Dolls are back again in the gay traditional costumes of China's many nationalities," etc.

Turn the page, however, and read the article on Greece published under the pseudonym "Angelos Sotiris." Greece, you read, is an unspeakable tyranny. "Authoritarianism is woven into the social fabric on all levels. . . . It is difficult to convey the helplessness and apathy that settles over people who finally realize that there is no hope, no final appeal against the arbitrariness of state power. . . . But in this summer of resignation, one hears the colonels despairingly compared with Franco and Salazar. They are that entrenched."

Now it is not necessary to celebrate the regimes in Athens, Madrid, and Lisbon. All you need to do is ask a simple question: Would you rather live in Greece, Spain or Portugal, or would you take China? The question answers itself.

Certainly, the amount of freedom that can prudently exist in a given country under given social conditions is an intricate question. Even France evidently required a decade of benevolent dictatorship under de Gaulle, and it is probably nonsensical or worse to ask Spain to manifest the parliamentary liberties of, say, Switzerland.

For all I know, it may be quite necessary for China to be ruled tyrannically, after all, it usually has been ruled that way. But is it also necessary for the *Times* to feed its readers ideological cartoons?

OPERATION RE-ENTRY

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the grave problem of drug abuse in this country, evidenced by the widespread use of narcotics in our schools and in our Armed Forces, long ago reached the critical stage. We must continue to give the highest priority to our efforts to find an effective and realistic solution to the problem.

Many approaches have been suggested. One program is Operation Re-Entry, a drug prevention center located in Miami Beach, Fla., which places its greatest emphasis on drug education.

Operation Re-Entry has attempted to integrate formal drug education, organized through the school system, with small informal discussion groups directed by the young people themselves. The program director, Warren Klein, emphasizes that the object of Operation Re-Entry is dual purposed: educate the student with vital knowledge of dangerous drugs and narcotics, their side effects and destructive usage and, more importantly, to bring about the needed change in his general attitude toward drugs, drug abuse, and the drug user in the schools.

Operation Re-Entry is a realistic approach to the drug abuse problem. Without calling for more stringent laws and law enforcement, it aims to curb the use of drugs through extended education and through the development of an anti-drug attitude.

I call to the attention of our colleagues a letter from Operation Re-Entry's director and a fact sheet which further outlines the program's objectives:

OPERATION RE-ENTRY,
Miami Beach, Fla. July 22, 1971.

Representative DANTE B. FASCELL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE FASCELL: I would like to take this time out to introduce myself. I am Warren Klein, Program Director of Operation Re-Entry, a drug abuse center located on Miami Beach. Through this letter and the enclosed literature, I would like to make you aware of Operation Re-Entry; what it is and how it operates. We are a drug abuse program which concerns itself with young people who have started experimenting with drugs—be it pot, LSD, pills or whatever. We are not designed for the hard core addict, but rather, concern ourselves with preventing these youngsters from becoming such. In conjunction with this, we attempt to have them face their problems and work them out—rather than trying to escape them. We give our young people a new set values with which to live their lives.

Operation Re-Entry has a few programs already in progress designed to make the adult as well as the teenager aware of this major problem of drug abuse in our country today. We have a school program which involves a staff member entering various elementary, junior high, and high schools in the area and holding discussions and lectures on the drug abuse problem. An 8 week course is offered for the faculty and a 12 week course for the student body. We have another organization called R.A.P. (Re-Entry Auxiliary Program) which consists of parents of children in the program and concerned citizens. These meetings are held every Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M. at St. John's Church on the Lake, 47th Street and Pine Tree Drive. Here, too, a staff member is present to discuss what adults can do to help with the drug problem. In addition to these activities, Operation Re-Entry holds an Open House party each Saturday night at 8:00 P.M. This is open to the public and to those who are concerned and interested in our program. During the course of the evening, a talk is given by a staff member, a symposium is presented by members, discussing themselves and the Re-Entry program, and coffee and cake is served along with entertainment. We feel our Open House parties provide people with enjoyment as well as valuable information.

I sincerely hope that this letter and the enclosed literature gives you an idea of what Operation Re-Entry is, how it works, and what it is trying to attain. I'd like to personally extend to you a cordial invitation to stop in and see us if you are ever in the area. I'm sure you'll find your visit enjoyable as well as enlightening.

Sincerely yours,

WARREN KLEIN,
Program Director.

WHAT OPERATION RE-ENTRY IS ALL ABOUT

We are here because there is no refuge; finally from ourselves. Until a person confronts himself in the eyes and hearts of others he is running. Until he suffers them to share his secret, he has no safety from it. Afraid to be known he can know neither himself nor any other, he will be alone.

Where else but in our common ground can we find such a mirror? Here, together a person can at last appear clearly to himself, not as the giant of his dreams nor the dwarf of his fears, but as a man, part of a whole with his share in its purpose. In this ground we can each take root and grow, not alone anymore, as in death, but alive . . . to ourselves and to others.

INTRODUCTION

A growing tide of evidence mounted into an overwhelming reality. It became apparent that the youth in this area were becoming more and more involved with drugs. Experts testified before the Miami Beach City Council that the use of drugs and marijuana in the area was extensive. It was obvious that a program had to be devised to stem the growing tide of drug abuse using the most successful and workable techniques thus far available in dealing with the problem. It was felt that the self-help concept would be the means by which this problem could be approached. The foremost therapist in the self-help concept would be the person himself who is using drugs, thus, he becomes his own ally. Furthermore, it was concluded that those persons who had been victims of drug abuse or drug addiction in their past life would be the most meaningful and challenging instruments to change others who were

hopelessly involved in the never, never land of drug abuse.

Operation Re-entry is a community based center part of a comprehensive network of drug preventive, educational, and treatment services.

TREATMENT

The center functions for the pre-addict.

By definition, the pre-addict is usually young (still in his teens) and not yet so thoroughly or destructively involved with drugs. He may be using marijuana, L.S.D., barbiturates, or even heroin, but the degree of his indulgence still allows him to maintain some semblance of normality through a home or job or school. He usually does not have to resort to committing crimes in order to obtain drugs and probably sees his involvement as "controllable." The pre-addict's explanation for using drugs may often be "for kicks" and he vehemently opposes any effort made to show him that his life or future may be in danger. Pre-addicts, as a rule, refuse to hear themselves described (even loosely) as drug addicts or "dope-fiends."

Operation Re-Entry Program places extreme emphasis upon this group known as pre-addicts and the program is designed to give them carefully planned treatment. The nucleus of the pre-addict's activity in the Operation Re-Entry program is the twice or thrice weekly (depending on the individual's needs) group sessions which are fashioned after the Group Encounter used by a number of self-help therapeutic organizations.

In the group the pre-addict is challenged and confronted constantly. He is shown by a group of his peers that his behavior is both stupid and infantile, and that he must change whatever there is about himself that is self-destructive and irresponsible. The group, through the guidance of at least one staff member, encourages the individual to be honest and open about his feelings and works consistently to develop the trust and confidence which is a pre-requisite to such self-exposure. The motive of the group is to help the pre-addict to reconstruct his value scale, to urge him toward returning to responsible behavior at home, job, or school, and to work toward positive goals.

In addition to the group sessions, the pre-addict is welcomed into a family-type situation where he experiences responsible love for and from other people. He is invited to participate in seminars, and frequent informal get-togethers in the community centers. With the involvement of parents and other relatives, the individual is afforded the opportunity of building new and better relationships with the people who are close to him and, with the proper emotional investments made, the pre-addict can eventually begin to feel that there is a better life for him than the one he was living and the other that he was probably headed for.

PREVENTION

It is extremely clear to the designers of Operation Re-Entry that the most critical point in a person's life, in terms of possible involvement with drugs, begins with adolescense and continues through late teens. This reality, coupled with the knowledge that the best possible way to initially "reach" young people with anti-drug argument and preventive dialogue is through some type of structured setting, has resulted in the plan to implement a variety of programs within the schools of Miami Beach.

These programs will vary only slightly from school to school, depending on the existing curriculum of each, the number of pupils in attendance, available time, etc., and the overall evaluation of the needs of each institution. The basic plans, however, include two separate designs: (A) The Two-Phase introductory Program, which enables students to meet and talk to former drug addicts who have successfully undergone recovery and who are currently engaged in responsible, respected, and worthwhile community involvement through both an assembly structure setting (phase one) and informal small group, classroom type setting (phase two). (B) The Sustained Curriculum Program, which will be offered as a long-range effort being spread out strategically over one entire semester. It will include the basic concepts of the introductory Program—with these elements being intensified—and will be further supplemented by regularly scheduled seminars. Behavioral Attack Encounters, parent-teacher participation, individual progress evaluation, and personal consultation.

Both are to be employed on the Junior High School levels.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The designers of Operation Re-Entry believe that in order for any project to prove effective in the area of drug abuse, education and community involvement is an absolute necessity. With this in mind, the Operation Re-Entry program has established a two-pronged approach to serve that need.

(A) Community Awareness Groups—For these groups, people have been recruited from the ranks of civic and religious organizations, service clubs, business associations and local P.T.A.'s. Individuals may also be gathered through the efforts of neighborhood organizers on door-to-door campaigns, word-of-mouth exposure within the community, and, finally through radio, television, and press coverage.

These groups will operate with elected officers and meet on a regularly scheduled basis at the local Community Education Centers. The members will be trained to recognize the behavior which is symptomatic of drug abuse and addiction, and will be educated in the ways and means of dealing with situations which may indicate a drug problem.

Community Awareness Groups may also act as "pressure groups" within their respective areas by urging the physicians of their communities not to overprescribe any type of potentially dangerous drugs, by encouraging the local pharmacists to be extremely cautious in dealings with youth and to expose any situation in which narcotic or drug involvement is suspect. These groups will represent the voice and body of concern in each community and will receive due recognition from their participation in the fight against drug abuse and addiction.

(B) Professional Advisory Board—This group is composed almost entirely of professional people whose work is either directly or indirectly related to narcotics abuse or addiction. This, of course, encompasses a great many of the disciplines, and the Operation Re-Entry Project proceeds with vigorous effort toward the establishment of such a group. The concept here is one which places high regard on new and enlightening areas of involvement for the concerned professional within the Self-Help organization. It is believed that the separation between many professionals and the highly sensitized and proficient group (trained former addict) is a bridgeable gap and that these two elements, each with great contributions, can pool the required talents which would insure the success of any such effort. Operation Re-Entry endeavors to achieve the marriage of these two forces and the continued strengthening of their coordinated activities should ultimately prove to be one of the most valuable assets ever produced in the field.

As was previously stated, nowhere else is there an area serviced by a fully comprehensive indepth prevention program from this vast social dilemma. It is expected that Dade County will become a model community in this respect through the initiation and implementation of the Operation Re-Entry Project.

AN IN DEPTH SURVEY OF THE CRIME PROBLEM IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

HON. WILLIAM J. KEATING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I wish to share with my colleagues a recent in depth survey of the crime problem in the District of Columbia.

This study was undertaken by my office, mainly because I was concerned about queries from my constituents in Cincinnati on whether it was safe in the Nation's Capital during the summer months.

President Nixon made it clear when he took office that the crime rate in the District of Columbia was one of his main targets. So far his efforts have been successful.

I want to commend Mayor Walter Washington and Police Chief Jerry Wilson for an outstanding job in making the Nation's Capital a safer place to live and visit.

Attached is a study which speaks for itself.

There has been a definite improvement in the Washington crime rate since early 1970. The Washington, D.C., statistics for 1969 and 1970, broken down into various crimes, follow. The figures are from the FBI.

	1969	1970
Murder, nonnegligent manslaughter	287	221
Forcible rape	336	313
Robbery	12,366	11,816
Aggravated assault	3,609	4,089
Burglary, breaking and entering	22,933	22,348
Larceny, $50 and over	11,508	9,414
Auto theft	11,190	11,110
Total	62,229	59,311

This drop in the crime rate represents the first time since 1958 that the total of the above listed crimes had declined from the previous years. The drop was also counter to the national trend. The nationwide totals increased 11 percent while for cities in Washington's size range the increase was 3 percent. The totals for Washington represent about a 4½ percent decrease.

There are several factors contributing to the decrease in the crime rate. Among the most important are: First, increase in police manpower, second, treatment for narcotics addiction, third, Federal building lighting and high crime area street lighting, and fourth, more effective prosecution by the U.S. attorneys office.

POLICE MANPOWER

As of June 1969, police manpower in the District of Columbia was 3,643. By the fall of 1970, manpower had reached 5,100, an increase of about 40 percent. Before the 5,100 figure was reached in the fall, a special program of police overtime was implemented with the help of a 1.2 million LEAA grant. The evaluation of the overtime program showed an almost perfect statistical correlation between the

number of hours of overtime and the drop in the crime rate.

NARCOTICS ADDICTION TREATMENT

Robert Du Pont, M.D., Director of the Narcotics Treatment Administration of the District, said in an article in December 1970 that the crime rate is very closely tied to the heroin addiction problem. Thus the drop in crime can be at least partially attributed to the onset of narcotics treatment, particularly methadone maintenance.

As of December 1969 there were 10 patients in Washington's addiction treatment program. As of December 1970, there were over 2,300 in the program with more than 70 percent on methadone. The following statistics are indicative of the effectiveness of addiction treatment, particularly methadone, as a crime deterrent.

In May 1970, there were 150 patients in the Narcotics Addiction Rehabilitation Center—NORC. The re-arrest rate for the following 4 months for these 150 people was 14.7 percent. A study by the District of Columbia Department of Correction found that the re-arrest rate at 4 months for a similar population was as follows: 22.8 percent for narcotic involved parolees not in special narcotics treatment programs, 27.8 percent of parolees in DATRC, a drug-free treatment program, 32.6 percent of narcotic involved offenders released from Lorton prisons who were neither supervised by parole nor in special narcotic treatment programs.

Ninety-nine of the 150 patients were on methadone. Eighty-nine of these patients stayed in the program and these 89 had a re-arrest rate of 4.5 percent. Eighty-seven of the patients who remained in the program were receiving methadone treatment. These figures and figures from New York City's methadone program demonstrate the effectiveness of methadone treatment in reducing crime.

STREET AND BUILDING LIGHTING

The installation of high-intensity sodium vapor lamps has been shown in tests to have a beneficial effect on the crime rate. A test was conducted on Seventh St. Northwest with this type of lighting from March 1970 to April 1970. The number of robberies, larcenies, aggravated assaults, auto thefts, fraud, and weapons violations decreased 35 percent after the installation of the lights. The first stage of a lighting project started in June 1970 and resulted in the installation of approximately 900 of the high intensity lights in four high crime Carney Blocks—a Carney Block is an area of about 15 city blocks. In the current stage of the program, approximately 1,800 more of the high-intensity lamps are scheduled for installation. There are preliminary plans for high-intensity lighting of the central district and this will probably come about eventually. The Federal Government has also been carrying out a separate program for high-intensity lighting in the environs of Federal buildings.

PROSECUTION OF OFFENDERS

The first phase of the Court Reorganization Act for the District of Columbia took effect on February 1, 1971. This bill was generally aimed at improving the criminal justice system. This bill created a new Superior Court for the District and transferred many areas of authority from U.S. district court to the new superior court. The bill also created 10 new judgeships for district court and three new judgeships for the district court of appeals. New power was given to the police in several areas including "no-knock" and preventive detention.

One of the aims of court reorganization was to increase the deterrent effect of criminal law by increasing the number of felonies prosecuted as such instead of as "reduced" misdemeanors, and reducing the time between arrest and trial. Great progress has been made in both categories.

In 20 years prior to the Court Reform Act of 1970 the number of felony indictments in the District of Columbia never exceeded 2,118. In the 5 months since court reorganization became effective, the grand jury of the U.S. district court has returned 980 indictments and the superior court grand jury 839 indictments for a total of 1,819 indictments. On an annual basis this will mean that 4,368 indictments for felonies will be returned instead of the approximately 2,000 indictments which had been the pattern since 1950. And this is along with the lower incidence of serious crimes already mentioned.

Prior to court reorganization the delay between arraignment and trial for felony cases ran between 8 and 12 months with some cases taking up to 1½ years. Since reorganization, time between arraignment and trial has been reduced to an average of 5 weeks in superior court.

PRAYER AMENDMENT

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the following statements are further indications of the strong opposition of religious leaders to the proposed constitutional amendment regarding prayer in the schools:

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION,
Charlotte, N. C., July 23, 1971.

The proposed prayer amendment to the United States Constitution could lead to excessive involvement of the state in religious matters. The Southern Baptist Convention in St. Louis on June 2, 1971 reaffirmed its belief in the adequacy of the First Amendment to protect religious liberty. A new amendment to the Constitution on the subject of religious liberty could seriously alter church-state relations. As a Baptist I must be opposed to threats to religious liberty and, therefore, to a prayer amendment to the Constitution.

CARL E. BATES,
President.

BAPTIST GENERAL CONFERENCE,
Evanston, Ill., July 22, 1971.

Through the years the First Amendment to the United States Constitution has proved to be a sufficient protection for the religious liberties of the American people. The decisions of the United States Supreme Court in its interpretation of the "establishment" and "free exercise" clauses generally have been sound.

As Americans we now enjoy full privileges and opportunities for the expression of our religious convictions. No additional amendments pertaining to religious liberty are needed now or for the foreseeable future.

WARREN R. MAGNUSON,
General Secretary.

NORTH AMERICAN BAPTIST GENERAL CONFERENCE,
Forest Park, Ill., July 21, 1971.

The decision by the Supreme Court that prayer "composed by government officials as a part of a government program to further religious beliefs" is unconstitutional is in keeping with the position held by our Baptist forefathers who sought religious freedom when they came to America. We continue to concur with the Supreme Court that the Regents' prayer in New York State was an "official" prayer and thus violated the rights of citizens under the First and Fourteenth Amendments. It does not hinder individuals from praying or giving other expression of their faith. Furthermore, we do not believe that the Court eliminated God from our public life. It simply stated that the establishment of religion has a tendency to destroy government and to degrade religion. Also, we believe that governmentally established religion and religious persecution go hand in hand. It is our hope and prayer that the decisions by the Supreme Court remain intact since this is in the best interests of our religious freedom.

G. K. ZIMMERMAN,
Executive Secretary.

PEKING GANGSTERS' EXTORTION PRICE FOR "DE-ISOLATON" MUST NOT BE PAID

HON. JOHN ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, neither the President nor the American people can claim ignorance of the price Mr. Nixon is being asked to pay by the criminal dictatorship in Peking for the so-called normalization of relations with the 800 million Chinese people. Our press has had a field day publishing reams of material—mostly sugar coated—about the present Communist regime in that enslaved country. While too large a portion of our communications media has currently failed to lay bare the truth of the monstrous, inhuman existence this regime has ruthlessly imposed on almost a billion people, the media cannot be faulted for failing to set forth Peking's insistence on our betrayal of the Free Chinese Republic as her extortion demand for some vague new relationship hypocritically called friendship and peace.

We certainly can extend no hand of friendship to the Chinese people on the mainland without making it clear that this country apparently now recognized the tiny Red clique and the Communist Party apparatus as the legitimate government of a nation that holds in bondage millions upon millions of human beings.

For over 20 years, we have officially recognized the Republic of China, which is situated on Taiwan. We must not betray those who are endeavoring to build that part of China into a showplace of constitutional freedom, and industrial and agricultural development.

Were this country to gain anything at all by heart-to-heart talks with Red China, the price is too great for the risks we would be taking. The fact is, there is nothing to gain from a so-called journey for peace when a ruthless Genghis Kahn type awaits with a cunning smile.

Mr. Speaker, there follows for the attention of my colleagues an article from U.S. News & World Report of August 9, 1971, which makes clear Peking's insistence on a United States betrayal as the Communist extortion price. What price are we asking in return? Are we going to make any demands for freedom?

The article follows:

PEKING'S TERMS FOR CLOSER TIES WITH U.S.

HONG KONG.—Communist China has now set the price it expects the U.S. to pay before full diplomatic relations are established with America.

The price, as outlined in Peking on July 19 by Chinese Premier Chou En-lai to a group of American students, and made public July 28 here in Hong Kong:

Recognition by the U.S. that Peking is the "sole legitimate government representing the Chinese people."

Mr. Chou thereby seemed to rule out speculation in Washington that a "two China" or even a "one China, one Taiwan" formula could be devised—and accepted by Peking—that would keep Nationalist China in the United Nations and a U.S. military arm around Chiang Kai-shek's stronghold on Taiwan.

Significantly, the Chinese Premier spoke to the American visitors a week after White House emissary Henry Kissinger had visited Peking between July 9 and 11 to arrange President Nixon's visit to the mainland before next May.

OTHER PROBLEMS

Mr. Chou made it clear in his remarks to the students—members of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars—that Mr. Nixon faces other major stumbling blocks as he prepares for his visit. The trip will be one step in the President's long-range plans to establish a "new relationship with the People's Republic of China."

Mr. Chou requested the Americans to point out when they reached Hong Kong that what he told them did not constitute a formal policy statement because "there are bound to be wrong statements in this recording" and "the interpreter might interpret wrong."

But in view of Mr. Chou's stature in Peking, what he had to say represents public airing of Red China's basic approach to the question of its future relations with the U.S.

THE PREMIER'S STATEMENT

Following are excerpts from the text of Premier Chou's recorded remarks:

"What are the obstructions in the improvement of the relations between China and the United States;

"The first point, that is, if state relations are to be established with China, then it must be recognized that the Governemnt of the People's Republic of China is the sole legitimate government representing the Chinese people.

"Second, Taiwan is a Province of China and it is an inalienable part of China's territory. And after the second World War, Taiwan had already been restored to China. And the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people is an internal affair of China which brooks no foreign intervention.

"Third, the so-called theory that the status of Taiwan is yet unsettled, which is the theory that is going about—some people in the world are spreading it—is absurd. That is, toward the end of the nineteenth century, that is, in 1894, China was at war with Japan, and China was defeated in that war and after China's defeat, Taiwan was taken away by Japan, but during the second World War, in the Cairo Declaration and later in the Potsdam Proclamation, it was reaffirmed that Taiwan should be returned to China. And then in 1945, when Japan surrendered, the Chinese Government at the time had already accepted the return of Taiwan to China in taking Taiwan back.

"Fourth point. We oppose any advocation of a two-China policy, a one-China, one-Taiwan policy, or any similar policy. And if such a situation continues in the United Nations, we will not go there.

"Fifth point. We are resolutely opposed to the so-called Taiwan Independence Movement because the people in Taiwan are Chinese. Taiwan was originally a Province of China. And a thousand years ago it had already become a part of China. The dialect spoken in Taiwan is the same dialect spoken in the area around Amoy in Fukien Province Of course, there are minority nationalities like the Kaoshan nationality in Taiwan, the minority that lives on the high hills.

"There is the same case on the mainland and we pursue a policy of national equality. Besides, the Taiwan Independence Movement is not a native movement in itself. It is a special movement which has behind it the special manipulation from foreign forces. One of their leaders is Peng Ming-min who was originally a student at Harvard, who then went back to Taiwan to become a professor, and now is also back in the United States.

"There are also some elements of them in Japan. They are supported by the Japanese Government.

"The sixth point. The United States should withdraw all of their present military strength and military installations from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. And the defense treaty which was concluded between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek in 1954 about the so-called Defense of Taiwan and Penghu is illegal, and null and void, and the Chinese people do not recognize that treaty.

"This is our stand. And we stick to our stand. And our stand has not changed from the beginning of the ambassadorial talks between China and the United States that began on the first of August, 1955, first in Geneva, and later on in Warsaw. They began after the Bandung Conference. And our stand has not changed from that time up to the present time.

"And it shall not change."

PRATT & WHITNEY PROTEST ON SPACE SHUTTLE ENGINE CONTRACT

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 5, 1971

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, Pratt & Whitnew Aircraft today filed a protest with the General Accounting Office over the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's selection last month of Rocketdyne as its negotiating contractor for the space shuttle engine.

Bruce N. Torell, President of Pratt & Whitney Aircraft, a division of United Aircraft Corp., said the protest, the first in the company's 45 years as a Government contractor, was being made after careful deliberation and assessment of the procedures used by NASA in selecting Rocketdyne, a division of North American Rockwell Corp.

In a telegram to Elmer B. Staats, Comptroller General of the United States, Torell said his company's protest is based on the failure of NASA to observe pertinent statutes and regulations governing procurement conduct.

In addition, he said, Pratt & Whitney Aircraft is convinced that it submitted a superior technical proposal which, if accepted, would cost the Government less.

Pratt & Whitney Aircraft has been working on high pressure rocket engines, the type selected for the space shuttle, for more than 10 years at its Florida research and development center. More than $31 million in company funds have been invested in component development programs.

In his telegram, Torell asked the GAO to request that NASA withhold any final contract award until the GAO reaches a decision.

Pratt & Whitney Aircraft has retained the Washington law firm of Reavis, Pogue, Neal & Rose to represent the company in the protest action.

Following is a copy of the telegram sent to the Comptroller General of the United States:

AUGUST 3, 1971.

ELMER B. STAATS,
Comptroller General,
General Accounting Office,
Washington, D.C.:

Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Division of United Aircraft Corporation hereby protests the selection of the Rocketdyne Division of North American Rockwell for negotiations leading to a prime contract for the final design and manufacture of a reusable space shuttle main engine pursuant to RFP SSME–70–1 issued by the National Aeronautics & Space Administration on March 1, 1971. The bases among others for this protest are briefly stated below. They will be elaborated on in a forthcoming statement to your office.

First, Pratt & Whitney believes that the source selection was based upon a disregard of the objective of the RFP which is as follows: "The objective of the space shuttle engine program is to provide a high performance, safe, reliable, cost-effective main engine for the reusable space shuttle vehicle."

Second, in view of the confirmed, very narrow margin between Pratt & Whitney and Rocketdyne engine proposals, NASA failed to conduct proper "written or oral discussions" within the meaning of 10 U.S.C. § 2304(g).

Third, Pratt & Whitney believes that its technical proposal was clearly entitled to a superior technical evaluation to the technical proposal of Rocketdyne.

Fourth, and in addition to what it believes to be a superior technical proposal, Pratt & Whitney has been informed that the source evaluation board found Pratt & Whitney's proposed costs to be the lowest.

Fifth, NASA failed to give proper consideration to Pratt & Whitney's test-proven flight weight design and greater experience, thus substantially increasing technical and cost risks.

Pratt & Whitney requests that your office notify NASA immediately of this protest and that your office request NASA to withhold award of any contract pursuant to RFP SSME–70–1 until a decision on this protest has been rendered by your office. Copies of this telegram have been sent to the contracting officer and the administrator, National Aeronautics & Space Administration.

Pratt & Whitney has retained Eldon H. Crowell and W. Stanfield Johnson of the Washington law firm of Reavis, Pogue, Neal & Rose to represent it in connection with this protest. Pratt & Whitney will file a detailed brief in support of this protest as soon as possible.

BRUCE N. TORELL,
President, Pratt & Whitney Aircraft Division, United Aircraft Corp.,
EAST HARTFORD, CONN.

OPINIONS FROM QUEENS

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the people of the Eighth Congressional District of New York, strongly support:

A firm date for U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia, 72.1 percent.

An all-volunteer Army, 55.9 percent;

A U.N. Mideast peacekeeping operation with U.S. participation, 59.9 percent; and

A federalized welfare system, 79 percent.

These opinions were expressed in response to my annual constituent questionnaire.

On questions dealing with the quality of medical care, only about one in three expressed satisfaction with the care currently available to them. The biggest criticism for most was cost, 24.4 percent, followed closely by the lack of house calls, 17.4 percent, delays waiting for appointments or service, 16.2 percent, and hurried treatment, 10.7 percent.

Nearly four out of every five persons favored the Federal Government paying all costs of welfare programs.

Aircraft noise is a problem for more than 85 percent, but half the persons responding called it a minor annoyance, 50.3 percent. The others, however, term it serious, 21 percent, or very serious, 13.7 percent.

If Federal aid to New York City were increased greatly under revenue sharing, the residents of Queens feel highest priority should be given to combating crime, including drugs. Other matters deserving attention, in descending order, are: housing, air pollution, schools, mass transit, water pollution, welfare and highways.

Following are the questions and responses:

1. If federal aid to the city were increased greatly under revenue sharing, the following areas should be given highest priority:

	[In percent]
A. Crime (including drugs)	17.2
B. Housing	15.1
C. Air Pollution	14.2
D. Schools	14.1
E. Mass transit	13.9
F. Water pollution	12.1
G. Welfare	7.7
H. Highways	5.3

2. How serious is the aircraft noise problem in your neighborhood?

	[In percent]
Very serious	13.7
Serious	21.0
Minor Annoyance	50.3
No Problem	14.7

3. Should the federal government pay all costs of welfare programs?

Yes	79.1%
No	20.9%

4. On the draft questions, should Congress (choose one)—

A. Raise military pay to attract enough volunteers for a small peacetime army (2 million men or less) and use the draft only in declared emergencies and war?	55.9%
B. Require all young men and women to spend six months in uniformed training at age 18 and thereafter perform limited reserve duties until age 35?	17.4%
C. Keep the present draft but eliminate all deferments and exemptions (except for those unable to perform any useful military service, i.e., those totally handicapped mentally or physically)?	15.4%
D. Other	11.1%

5. Which of these factors, if any, limit your access to quality medical care? (You may check more than one answer.)

	[In percent]
A. Location of doctor	2.6
B. Location of hospital	1.8
C. Quality of doctor	6.9
D. Quality of hospital	7.4
E. Cost	24.4
F. Delays	16.2
G. Hurried Treatment	10.7
H. No house calls	17.4
I. Unsympathetic treatment	6.4
J. Other	5.7

6. Are you generally satisfied (35.1%), dissatisfied (37.5%) don't know or mixed feelings (27.2%) with the medical care available?

7. If you have a complaint with a product or service you buy and fail to get satisfactory adjustments from the manufacturer and dealer, where would you next turn for help? (Assume at least $25 was involved.)

	[In percent]
A. Attorney	6.9
B. Better Business Bureau	38.1
C. City Consumer Office	27.8
D. State Consumer Office	6.4
E. Federal Consumer Office	2.9
F. Forget it	8.4
G. Other	9.1

8. Would you favor a United Nations peacekeeping operation, with U.S. participation, to help keep peace in the Middle East?

	[In percent]
Yes	59.9
No	40.0

9. Should the United States set a definite date for complete withdrawal of all forces and the end of all U.S. military activity in Southeast Asia regardless of what North or South Vietnam does?

	[In percent]
A. Yes	56.1
B. Yes, but	16.0
C. No	18.9
D. No, but	8.7

(Due to rounding off, totals may be slightly short of 100%.)

A. STEPHEN JOHNSON ASSESSES CHANNELIZATION FOR SIERRA CLUB

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, A. Stephen Johnson, a graduate student at the University of Georgia, discusses stream channelization projects in an article in the June issue of the Sierra Club Bulletin:

STREAM CHANNELIZATION

(By A. Stephen Johnson)

The Soil Conservation Service (U.S. Department of Agriculture) has conducted extensive stream alterations during the past decade, particularly in the Southeast, under the dubious heading of "channel improvement." Although given this title, and carried out in accordance with public law, it is becoming apparent that such "improvements" may be of doubtful public value.

"Channel improvement" as used by the SCS refers to a wide variety of operations, ranging from simple removal of snags and debris from a stream bed to drastic excavation and straightening of miles of stream channel, with complete removal of vegetation from banks. Quite often, however, the latter extreme is the dominant one. For example, in Georgia, the seventy-three SCS projects authorized as of December 1970 include 318 miles of excavation, plus 264 miles of clearing and snagging.

Similar activities by other government agencies, notably the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Tennessee Valley Authority, are much in evidence in the Southeast. TVA's plan for development of the French Broad River Watershed in North Carolina includes 74 miles of "Channel improvement," of which 58 miles is excavation. Channelization activities of the Corps of Engineers during the past forty years have affected every major stream in the delta region of Louisiana; hardwood forests in this area are being cleared at the rate of 110,000 acres per year, and at this rate will be depleted by 1991. Proposed development of the Atchafalaya Basin in Louisiana by the Corps is expected to detrimentally affect 1,300 square miles of outstanding wildlife habitat.

The practice of channelization, involving excavation and straightening of stream channels, is ecologically unsound, and contrary to the best interests of the American public, for many reasons.

(1) *Channelization results in extensive ecosystem disturbance, with severe losses of valuable natural resources.*

Losses in fish and wildlife populations occur following channelization, primarily as a result of destruction of habitat. Documented studies are few, but those in existence show significant changes. One study published in 1964 reported a 90 per cent reduction both in weight of game fish per acre, and in the number of game fish over six inches in length, in twenty-three channelized North Carolina streams. An unpublished study of the Tippah River in Mississippi shows an increase of 170 per cent in the number of fish per acre, but a decrease in pounds of fish per acre from 240.7 to 4.8. Most of the increase in numbers was composed of small minnows.

Numerous reports from sportsmen suggest that wildlife population losses are significant. A 1970 study by the Tennessee Game and Fish Commission estimated a net annual loss of $2,837,309 in Fish, Wildlife, and recreational values of the Obion and Forked Deer River Basins that is expected to result from a Corps of Engineers project involving channelization.

The streams proposed by the SCS for watershed projects include many which are of outstanding aesthetic, educational, or scientific value. In Georgia, of the 166 projects completed, approved, or proposed, thirteen include streams proposed by the Georgia Natural Areas Council for designation as State Scenic Rivers.

(2) *SCS Watershed projects are completed using public funds for the private benefit of relatively few, with little economic justification.*

The SCS continually emphasizes that their watershed projects are locally initiated and sponsored, with the SCS playing only a coordinate role. However, evidence suggests that considerable pressure and influence has been used by SCS officials in organizing projects.

In computing benefits of its projects, the

SCS emphasizes increased land values and additional acreage made available for agricultural uses. However, a 1969 study of Coon Creek Watershed in Wisconsin showed that actual land use changes were far less than predicted by the SCS (fifty-five acres as opposed to 374 predicted), and raised questions concerning the adequacy of project evaluation techniques.

While the SCS is spending public funds to make more land available for agricultural production, its parent agency, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, is spending public funds to *prevent* excess agricultural production by paying farmers to leave croplands idle. A survey by U.S. Representative Ben Blackburn of Georgia showed that of the 176 landowners involved in the proposed SCS Alcovy Watershed project, 103 were receiving annual payments from the Department of Agriculture as high as $5700. Furthermore, a statement released by the Georgia Game and Fish Commission states that drainage of Alcovy swamplands would cost $807 per acre, while the resulting agriculture land would be worth only $300 per acre. This paradoxical situation is clearly a flagrant waste of taxpayers' money and should not be condoned.

Channelization as a means of flood control appears to have little justification. While channelization may protect an immediate area from flood damage, increased damages may result downstream. At least two SCS Watershed projects (Swift Creek, Craven and Pitt Counties, North Carolina; North Concovida and Central Conxoesia Watersheds, Concordia Parish, Louisiana) have created or aggravated flood problems in downstream reaches, thus requiring or justifying additional projects either by the SCS or Corps of Engineers.

Preliminary investigations indicate that agricultural lands protected from flooding may actually be made less valuable because of depletion of soil nutrients without replacement by annual flooding.

As of 1954, an estimated $5.7 billion had been spent on government flood control projects, yet flood damages increased by over 300 per cent between 1936 and 1959. Part of this increase is undoubtedly due to the sense of false security which results from flood control projects, thus encouraging commercial activity on the floodplain. A number of alternatives to channelization are available, such as floodplain zoning, acquisition, easements, flood insurance and gradual phasing out or rebuilding of existing structures. These methods provide much more ecologically sound means of eliminating flood damages.

(3) *The SCS has misled the public and has shown little recognition of the environmental damages they have created, and little or no understanding of ecological principles.*

It is true that the SCS has recently indicated a willingness to review its future watershed projects with the possibility of reducing or eliminating channelization. Such a policy is to be commended and encouraged, but must be weighed against their past agreements.

A follow-up study by the Bureau of Sports Fisheries and Wildlife on seven completed watershed projects in North Carolina revealed that recommendations of the Bureau were accepted in only two instances, and these only minimally. Mitigation features agreed upon between the North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission and the SCS were not installed during project construction.

Although environmental impact statements are now required on all SCS small watershed projects, under the Environmental Protection Act of 1969, such statments appear to be little more than a formality are poorly researched and documented, and show a gross ignorance of ecological principles on the part of the SCS. For example, the statement on the Headwaters of the Chattooga River in Georgia (Coosa Drainage), Section II, headed "Adverse Environmental Effects," contain only the one blunt statement: "No adverse effects on man's environment are anticipated." (The project contains seven flood-water retarding structures and about twenty-six miles of "channel improvement.") The statement on the North Oconee River project in Georgia states: "The twenty-four miles of channel improvement are not expected to result in losses to the presently low-value fish and wild-life resources." No biological data or other evidence of intelligent investigation into the subject is apparent in the statement.

There is every indication that channelization projects of government organizations, such as the Soil Conservation Service, are grossly irresponsible, economically unjustified, and highly devastating ecologically. To allow the operation of the past decade to continue unchallenged is unthinkable.

RECKLESS HEADLINES DESIGNED TO STIR EMOTION

HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, following my remarks I insert in the RECORD the newspaper article appearing in the Palo Alto Times, Palo Alto, Calif., Monday, July 12, 1971, which is headlined "Public Health Enemy No. 1—Tobacco."

Mr. Speaker, we become very accustomed to reckless headlines, to the overstatement, to the harsh invective, to warped analogies designed to stir emotion. For this reason I suppose that to the average reader the headline is like so many but what is shocking to me is to read further into the article and find that the Surgeon General of the United States, Dr. Jess Steinfeld, has maintained that neither heroin, marihuana, alcoholism or automobile accidents, none of them are the worst public health problem, but that tobacco is. This is a most shocking and irresponsible statement. It cannot be substantiated. It casts serious doubt on the judgment of the man who made it and his fitness to serve as Surgeon General.

The article follows:

PUBLIC HEALTH ENEMY NO. 1—TOBACCO

LOS ANGELES.—Heroin, marijuana, alcoholism, auto accidents—none of them are the worst public health problem in the United States, according to Surgeon General Dr. Jess Steinfeld.

What is:

Tobacco.

Steinfeld told a news conference that smoking has caused an epidemic of lung cancer and increased the incidence of heart disease, emphysema and bronchitis.

The government has a schizophrenic attitude toward tobacco, he said—on the one hand forcing manufacturers to print health warnings on cigarette packs, and on the other subsidizing tobacco growers.

What tobacco has in common with the other top health problems—drugs, alcoholism and auto accidents—is the factor of motivation, he said.

Nobody really knows why people deliberately do things they know may harm their health, he said, and what is needed is more "motivational research" such as the advertising industry uses to find out why people buy certain cars, soaps—or cigarettes.

ROSE FITZGERALD KENNEDY

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under the unanimous consent of the House heretofore granted me, I am pleased to include the following article concerning Mrs. Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy by Rev. Daniel Lyons, S.J., published in the Sunday, August 8, 1971 edition of the National Catholic Register. I am sure all the Members will agree that this article is written in good taste about a magnificent lady. It follows:

ROSE FITZGERALD KENNEDY

(By Father Daniel Lyons, S.J.)

"Rose" is the title of the newest and best biography of Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy, written by Gail Cameron. She comes out, said one reviewer, as "half pluperfect politician, half solitary saint". She emerges as a magnificent wife and mother, an outstanding Catholic in every way, a dedicated citizen. Few mothers have been asked to bear heavier crosses, few have borne them with deeper faith.

Rose Kennedy has attended Mass nearly every day of her life. She has dropped in for visits to the Blessed Sacrament on countless thousands of occasions. When the children were small she tried to take them to church every day so they would "form a habit of making God and religion a part of their daily lives, not something to be reserved for Sundays". After Mass on Sunday she would discuss the sermon and liturgy with the children.

No sound theologian could quarrel with Rose's faith and the way she put it into practice all her life. She habitually remains after Mass to pray. In times of crisis she sometimes attends two Masses in a row.

Money was never discussed in the home, and it was not emphasized. What counted was success. Be first, work hardest, keep trying. Religion, politics, foreign affairs, world events—these were the important things. The children had to read the week's review of the news in The New York Times and discuss it at table.

Her husband gets most of the credit for forming the children, but Rose seems to have been the predominating influence. "She is the glue that held the Kennedys together," said Jack. The Kennedys are known for courage, but her husband candidly remarked: "I don't think I know anyone who has more courage than my wife. In all the years that we have been married, I have never heard her complain. Not even once." Quite a wife!

When Bobby had his tenth child, Rose commended: "If I had known this was going to be a contest. I would not have stopped with the ninth." She looked so young and trim when she showed up in London with her 9 children as the Ambassador's wife that the British put credence in the stork.

"If you lose your figure at 35," she often said, "you will never gain it back." The whole family used to go visiting together in those days. "Did you bring all 9 children when you went to someone's home overnight?" she was asked. "No one seemed to mind," she said, taking the idea for granted. "And we did not care where we slept."

Rose worked hard at everything she did. It was not easy to go to bed last every night, after seeing that everyone was settled, only to rise every morning at six and be off to Mass, then home in time to see that breakfast was ready. "You have to work hard at everything in this life," she later said, "whether it is your marriage, your cooking, or your face".

It was not easy to be rated the best-dressed woman in American public life, or to be listed among the best-dressed women in America every year for the last 50 years. She excelled in that, as in so many things. "It was monotonous for me to tell bedtime stories to the children for twenty years," she remarked, "But I did so".

Her religion is so much a part of her she takes it very much for granted. Her daughter Eunice described it as "the burning faith similar to that of the great martyrs." A friend in recent years has said: "This woman's family has arrived at its present point of distinction on Rose Kennedy's spiritual coattails".

This was ambitious, not just for her family, but for others. With her third child mentally retarded, she has urged others to understand and help such unfortunates. Her own family has given large sums of money for this cause.

She lectures constantly to women's groups, advising them on their children. "Please, please tell them that to be sophisticated, to show that you've been places, you don't have to drink. The girl that does will lose her figure, her face, and her looks." When one of her own daughters, at 18 or 19, said to her: "It is so cold in these English houses. I wish daddy would let me drink a little sherry at receptions." Rose replied: "Your father says you will have to drink lemonade, and freeze."

There has been a lot of terror as well as triumph in Rose Kennedy's life, a lot of ecstacy and a lot of agony. But the agony was always borne with deep faith. When her son was shot in Dallas, she said simply: "God wanted Jack, or He would not have taken him." She had entrusted her life and those of her children to God long ago. She assured her family when Jack was killed: "We'll be all right." She trusts in God to straighten everything out in the end. How can He refuse?

SALUTE TO ARGONNE NATIONAL LABORATORY

HON. ORVAL HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, in the year 1971 we note with satisfaction and pride the continued growth and development of our Nation's nuclear energy industry. We also see on the horizon new challenges as we seek to meet the requirements of our Nation for electrical energy as well as other benefits that nuclear science can bring while striving at the same time to improve the quality of our living environment.

As we have noted in recent days the year 1971 marks the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 which created the Atomic Energy Commission and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on which I have the privilege to serve.

This year also marks the birthday of one of America's major atomic energy research and development establishments, Argonne National Laboratory. The highly talented staff of Argonne under its present Director, Dr. Robert B. Duffield, and his predecessors has played a key role in the developing atomic energy industry.

The principal location of the Argonne National Laboratory is in Du Page County, Ill. At the present time Argonne employs approximately 4,700 people including 1,950 staff scientists and engineers.

Almost from the beginning Idaho has played an important part in the Argonne story of success and accomplishment. About 500 Argonne employees are located in Idaho and work at the facilities at the National Reactor Testing Station. The Idaho staff includes some of the most distinguished and talented scientists and engineers in the nation. Operations are now under the direction of Mr. R. G. Staker, site manager. Among the key members of the Idaho staff are D. F. Wood, contracting officer, J. D. Bassett, manager of administrative services, R. J. Teunis, technical support and engineering, J. F. Boland, TREAT operations, E. R. Ebersole, analytical laboratories, F. W. Thalgott, deputy director, applied physics division, Harry Lawroski, superintendent, EBR–II reactor operations, G. E. Deegan, manager, EBR–II operations, K. J. Moriarty, manager, instrumentation and control, B. C. Cerutti, manager, systems engineering II, R. N. Curran, manager, engineering section II, R. E. Rice, manager section I, N. J. Swanson, manager, HFEF project, M. J. Feldman, manager, fuel examination facility, C. M. Walter, manager, fuels and materials, D. W. Cissel, manager, coolant technology, R. R. Smith, manager, analysis and testing.

Mr. Speaker, following is a brief description of some of the highlights and principal achievements of the Argonne National Laboratory at the Idaho site:

HIGHLIGHTS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

I. BOILING WATER REACTORS

Boiling Reactor Experiments (BORAX I through V) operated 1953–64

Pioneering safety tests of BORAX I under extreme overpower conditions demonstrated the inherent mechanisms for self-shutdown of power excursions in water-cooled reactors.

Subsequent tests of BORAX II through V demonstrated the safe and reliable operation of power reactors where water boils in the reactor core.

BORAX III was the first power reactor to light a city, when electricity was furnished for Arco, Idaho, in July 1955.

BORAX V demonstrated the feasibility of operating a boiling water reactor with a superheat zone in the core for producing superheated steam.

II. LIQUID METAL COOLED FAST BREEDER REACTORS

Experimental Breeder Reactor I (EBR–I) operated 1951–63

EBR–I provided the first actual demonstration of a favorable breeding ratio, i.e., more fissionable material could be produced than was consumed during operation.

The first electric power from a nuclear reactor was produced at EBR–I in December 1951.

The first electricity from a reactor fueled entirely with plutonium was produced at EBR–I in May 1963, as part of a test series that demonstrated that liquid metal fast breeder reactors could be operated safely and reliably with plutonium fuel.

Experimental Breeder Reactor II (EBR–II) operated 1964 to date

Building on the experience with EBR–I, EBR–II was a demonstration on a larger scale that a breeder reactor could be operated reliably for a central power station. The cumulated thermal power output of EBR–II is about 45,000 megawatt-days—far more than that of any other breeder reactor in the United States—and the cumulated electrical output is over 290 million kilowatt-hours.

The EBR–II Fuel Cycle Facility during the period 1964–1968 demonstrated a completely remotely operated line for melt refining and refabrication of used reactor fuel. More than 35,000 individual fuel elements were produced for use in EBR–II.

EBR–II has been designed as the AEC's primary facility for irradiation tests for the liquid metal fast breeder reactor program. To date, more than 100 experimental subassemblies have been irradiated containing more than 1500 experimental fuel elements or capsules and more than 400 materials capsules. The advanced fuels under tests include oxides, carbides, and nitrides of uranium and plutonium. Specimens of mixed-oxide fuel have been irradiated to as high as 13.8 atom percent burnup.

EBR II has made an outstanding contribution to our experience with liquid-metal-cooled reactors; a recent highlight was the removal and inspection of one of the primary sodium pumps after more than six years of operation in 700 degree F. sodium.

III. ZERO-POWER REACTORS

Zero power reactor 3 (ZPR–3) operated 1955–1970

ZPR–3 was used for fast-reactor physics studies for many specific reactor projects, including EBR–II, RAPSODIE, FARET, SEFOR, and FFTF.

ZPR–3 was also used extensively for basic studies of plutonium-fueled cores.

During 15 years of operation, 63 different critical assemblies with core volumes ranging from 6 to 664 liters were studied in ZPR–3.

Zero power plutonium reactor (ZPPR) operated 1969 to date

ZPPR is the only zero-power reactor in the world that is big enough and has sufficient plutonium inventory to permit plutonium-fuel mockups (full scale) of the large breeder reactors that are envisioned as central station power plants in the 1980's. Reactor cores in ZPPR may contain as much as three tons of plutonium and may have volumes as great as 6000 liters.

The work to date includes studies for FFTF and studies for the "demonstration plant" breeder reactor in a size that would produce about 300 megawatts of electricity.

IV. REACTOR SAFETY TESTS

Transient reactor test facility (TREAT) operated 1959 to date

TREAT is a power-burst facility where fuel specimens can be subjected to destructive overpower conditions without damage to the core of TREAT itself. The fuel specimens can be tested in environments of water, gas, or flowing sodium, and can be filmed or monitored in other ways during the tests. TREAT has contributed much information on metal-water reactions at high temperatures, for evaluating the safety of water-cooled reactors. It has also contributed much information on the behavior during failure of fast-reactor fuels, including those used in EBR–II and those being considered for FFTF.

Mr. Speaker, during a recent observance of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of Argonne National Laboratory which I was privileged to attend the distinguished Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, delivered an excellent address in which he summarized the major milestones and accomplishments of the Laboratory during its first quarter century. I include as a part of my remarks Dr. Seaborg's address on that occasion:

ARGONNE: A TRADITION OF ACCOMPLISHMENT

(Remarks by Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, at the 25th Anniversary of Argonne National Laboratory, Argonne, Ill., June 19, 1971)

As atomic energy has come of age, there have been several opportunities to celebrate twenty-fifth anniversaries, and I have already taken part in some memorable ones. It is a special pleasure, however, to be with you here at Argonne today. In the first place, I count myself as something of a charter member of the Argonne team. As I shall mention in a moment, I joined the Met Lab long before the idea of the Argonne laboratory was even thought of. I was still with the Met Lab staff during those months after World War II when the new laboratory was being organized, and I left Chicago only a few days before Argonne came into existence.

Secondly, over the past thirty years I have established many personal friendships and professional contacts with the people of Argonne. It has been you and many others, rather than the buildings and equipment, who have made Argonne one of the truly great scientific research centers in the world. So in speaking of those who made Argonne what it is today, I am referring not just to a group of talented scientists and technicians, but in many cases to personal friends and long-time associates.

There is a third sense in which this anniversary has a special meaning for me—and I am speaking here in the broad historic dimension rather than in personal terms. The creation of Argonne marked the first attempt in the United States to establish a new type of scientific laboratory, one which would unite in one institution the strong tradition of academic research, which had long been a part of our universities, and the extraordinary advantages of a Government-sponsored laboratory which our experience during World War II has demonstrated. This new institution, called a national laboratory, has emerged in large part from the Argonne experience and the magnificent accomplishments over the past twenty-five years have proved the vitality and creativity of this new type of research organization. In this sense, the anniversary we are commemorating today has a meaning that goes far beyond the lives of those present and even Argonne itself.

On an occasion such as this, perhaps I may be pardoned for succumbing to the temptation to reminisce. But in thinking over the history of Argonne, I could not help but recall those exciting days only in World War II when Argonne had its origins in the Metallurgical Laboratory at the University of Chicago. Thanks to the foresight and energy of such men as Vannevar Bush, James Conant, Arthur Compton, and Ernest Lawrence, the United States was ready to launch its effort to build a nuclear weapon when the nation entered the war in December, 1941. Within a few days after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Bush and Conant gave Compton responsibility for the research needed to produce a chain reaction and the bomb.

A few weeks later Compton decided he would have to centralize on the Chicago campus much of the research then going on at several universities. Because my group at Berkeley had discovered the element plutonium, which would be the fissionable material produced in the chain reaction, I was invited to Chicago in early February 1942, to discuss our work with Compton, Norman Hilberry, John Wheeler, Enrico Fermi, and others. The Chicago leaders wanted to discuss the production of plutonium and the possibility of devising a chemical method of separating it from uranium and the various fission products of the chain reaction. At this meeting I first fully realized the magnitude of the bomb project and the central importance of our newly discovered element in that enormous effort. I must have appeared confident when I assured Compton that we could develop a separation process for plutonium, but I do recall that I had some private misgivings.

Because it would take some time to organize the new laboratory in Chicago and prepare research facilities, most of the research teams at other universities were scheduled to arrive later in the spring. In the meantime, Fermi and Leo Szilard, with the assistance of Wally Zinn and Herb Anderson, would continue their studies of exponential piles at Columbia. I concluded that my own group would probably stay at Berkeley, where we would be close to the 60-inch cyclotron, which was still our only source of the ultramicroscopic quantities of plutonium we were using in our research. I changed my mind, however, during a luncheon meeting with Norm Hilberry in Berkeley on March 23. I realized that, despite my preference for remaining in Berkeley, I would have to take some of my group to Chicago to develop the separation process.

I will never forget that Sunday afternoon of April 19, 1942, when Isadore Perlman and I stepped off the "City of San Francisco" in Chicago to begin our new adventure. It was my thirtieth birthday, which we celebrated by going to a movie and dinner in the Loop. The next morning we returned to our study of the separation process. Within a few days we were assigned several rooms on the fourth floor of the Jones Chemical Laboratory which we used as our offices and laboratory. With the arrival of Spofford G. English, one of my graduate students, we had what constituted the entire plutonium chemistry group for more than a month. During these weeks I arrived at the rather novel idea that we might be able to produce enough plutonium-239 through the bombardment of uranium with cyclotron neutrons and the use of ultramicrochemical techniques so that we could study the chemistry of the new element in its pure form. That effort was to demand most of our energies during the spring and summer of 1942.

As the result of two recruiting trips during May and June I had increased the size of our chemistry group. Michael Cefola from New York University and Louis B. Werner and the late Burris B. Cunningham from Berekeley had agreed to join us in Chicago. I also managed to recruit a wife on that Berkeley trip, and Helen returned to Chicago with me to begin married life in a small apartment near the Chicago campus. By that time many other scientists and their families were arriving from universities in all parts of the country. One of the pleasures of being a part of the Met Lab was the opportunity to know and to work with so many people whom we had scarcely seen before. I recall, for example, a picnic which Helen and I attended on the Fourth of July weekend in 1942 with the Harrison Browns, and Milton Burtons, and the Perlmans. We went out to the Argonne Forest Preserve to look over the site proposed for the world's first nuclear reactor. Although we had a fine picnic, we never did succeed in finding the reactor site.

During July and the first part of August, 1942, the new members of our plutonium chemistry group assembled the specialized equipment for working with extremely small volumes (10^{-5} to 10^{-1} milliliter) and weights (0.1 to 100 micrograms) and developed their techniques with trace quantities of plutonium in microgram amounts of carriers. "Carrier" was the term we used to describe the material which when precipitated has the power to sweep out of a solution trace amounts of a desired substance too dilute to be precipitated by itself.

By August, 1942, these techniques had been developed to the point where we could attempt an isolation of pure compounds of plutonium. After a week of work, Cunningham, Werner, and Cefola finally obtained a solution of pure plutonium compound in a volume of 0.015 milliliters. On August 20, they carefully evaporated this solution until the plutonium concentration became high enough to precipitate as a compound plutonium fluoride. This was man's first sight of plutonium and in fact of any synthetic element.

As the summer of 1942 waned, the activities of the Met Lab took on a more serious tone. The results of Fermi's research on the critical mass of uranium and our own success in isolating a pure plutonium compound made the idea of developing a nuclear weapon something more than a theoretical possibility. By this time the Army had taken over the project, and we had begun the transition from purely scientific research to engineering development. For our chemistry group that meant planning much larger facilities in the New Chemistry Building on Ingleside Avenue and in a portion of the West Stands. I must admit that for a group of young chemists the idea of the Government spending $200,000 for a building and equipment for our use was an exciting one indeed.

The transition to engineering development caused a similar expansion of thinking in all parts of the laboratory. Some of you may remember that at that time there were tentative plans to build not only the first reactor but also the entire plutonium pilot plant in the Argonne Forest Preserve, where we had our July picnic. On September 11, 1942, I again visited this site with Compton, Conant, and other members of the S-1 Executive Committee. I vividly remember Conant's conviction that the site was too close to Chicago for a pilot plant. What we needed, Conant said, was an entirely new perspective. We were, in his opinion, trying to kill elephants with pea-shooters. As most of you know, the committee then decided that the pilot plant would be built at Oak Ridge.

As it turned out, of course, construction difficulties at the Palos Park site made it impossible to build even the first experimental pile there, and Arthur Compton, with General Grove's support, made the daring decision to initiate the world's first nuclear chain reaction in the heart of Chicago. I well remember the grimy appearance of the workers (some of them are probably here today) who fabricated and assembled the greasy blocks of graphite under the West Stands. In the afternoon of December 2, 1942, that now historic day, I happened to meet Crawford Greenewalt, the young Du Pont executive, in Eckhart Hall, just after he had left the West Stands. Greenewalt did not have to say a word to me; I could tell from the glow on his face that Fermi's experiment had succeeded beyond our hopes.

The year 1943 brought a new intensity to our effort to design the plutonium pilot to be built at Oak Ridge and ultimately the huge production plants at Hanford. While Eugene Wigner and others concentrated on the design of the X-10 reactor, we in the plutonium chemistry group were more than preoccupied with the separation process. When we moved into the New Chemistry Building in December, 1942, we at last had space to test the various separation processes which had been proposed. Although our knowledge of plutonium chemistry grew at an impressive rate, our research did not indicate that any one process had a clear-cut advantage.

Early in 1943 we decided that we would use an oxidation-reduction process in aqueous solution, but it was not at all clear whether lanthanum fluoride or bismuth phosphate would be the best carrier of plutonium. Until we made that decision, Du Pont could not fix the design of the Oak Ridge pilot plant. I remember we discussed

the alternatives at a meeting in Chicago on June 1, the deadline which Du Pont had established for the decision. Because the engineering data did not indicate a clear choice, Greenewalt turned to me for an opinion. With the fate of the whole wartime project hanging on my judgment, I said I was willing to guarantee at least a 50-percent recovery of plutonium from the bismuth phosphate process, developed by Stanley G. Thompson of our group. With that assurance, Greenewalt focused most of the engineering talent of his organization on bismuth phosphate. It would be eighteen months before I could be certain that my decision had been the right one.

Before the end of 1943 the Oak Ridge pilot plant was in operation and Du Pont engineers had taken over most of the responsibility for the production plants at Hanford. Supporting work for Hanford and Los Alamos continued but those of us who remained at the Met Lab also began turning our attention to the many intriguing possibilities for scientific research which the fission process and the discovery of transuranium elements had opened up. The Palos Park site, which was not used for the first chain reaction, did eventually become the home for the laboratory's experimental reactors—not only the reconstructed version of the original West Stands CP–1 (then called CP–2), but also of CP–3, the world's first heavy-water moderated reactor, designed by Wigner and built by Zinn. At this site Zinn also did further studies on fast-neutron reactors and completed the first designs of what was to be the historic Experimental Breeder Reactor No. 1. As the original Met Lab expanded to sites off the Chicago campus, the research facilities at Palos Park took the name of Argonne after the forest preserve, and in 1944 Fermi, with Zinn as his assistant, became director of the Argonne Laboratory, which was part of the larger Metallurgical Project under Compton. Thus the now familiar name Argonne Laboratory was born.

Those of us still in the chemistry group in 1944 continued our research in "New Chem" with a program that included a search for transplutonium elements. These efforts did not bring any success until we formulated a new theory postulating the existence of a group of "actinide" elements in the heavy element region with properties similar to the lanthanide rare-earth series in the traditional periodic table. Experiments during the summer and fall of 1944 and extending into the beginning of 1945, using both cyclotron- and reactor-irradiated plutonium led to the detection of element 96, which we later called "curium" and of element 95, which we named "americium." During the remainder of the war, in addition to supporting activities at Hanford and Los Alamos, we investigated the processes which made possible the isolation of these new elements in pure form, americium in the fall of 1945 and curium in 1947. As I look back on these events, I realize that some of the most exciting moments of my scientific career occurred in the flimsy laboratories of the Met Lab.

The laboratory's rapidly declining responsibilities in 1944 not only made possible some basic research of the type I have just described but also forced us to focus some thought on the role we as nuclear scientists might have in the postwar world. In the face of distressing rumors that 90 percent of the Met Lab staff would be fired by June 1, 1944, Arthur Compton asserted a steadying influence. He won some concessions from Army authorities in Washington and encouraged us to begin some constructive planning and thinking. He also arranged to have Henry D. Smyth begin some long-range plans. At a meeting of the Project Council on February 16, 1944, there was even some discussion of the various types of laboratories which might be engaged in nuclear research after the war. One of these, described as a "cooperative laboratory," should, according to the Council, be established where the scale of research would be "too large to be financed by Universities." The buildings and equipment would be furnished by the Government and research administered "by cooperation of educational institutions." This was clearly an early conception of the national laboratory.

These discussions soon led to consideration of the wider social and political implications of nuclear energy. Under the leadership of Zay Jeffries, a laboratory committee set about preparing what Jeffries called a "Prospectus on Nucleonics." Completed in November, 1944, the Jeffries report reviewed the possible applications of nuclear science in the near future and the outlook for nuclear power (which seemed good at that time). The committee also recommended that the Government support the kind of "cooperative laboratories" mentioned the previous winter in laboratory meetings. Going beyond the technical aspects of nuclear technology, Jeffries and his committee urged the creation of a world organization to prevent widespread destruction from nuclear war. They also stressed the importance of postwar research in maintaining the United States lead in nuclear science and technology.

The Jeffries report had no immediate impact on national policy, but it did help to sensitize many of us at the Met Lab to the difficult policy questions we would be facing as the war ended. This experience made it all the easier for us to take up the discussion of whether and how to use the first nuclear weapon when that issue came before the Interim Committee in the spring of 1945. Historians may never agree on whether the recommendations of the Franck committee at the Met Lab (to provide a demonstration rather than direct use) ever reached those who made the final decision to use the bomb, but as a member of that committee, I can assure you that we made a conscientious effort to fulfill our responsibilities as citizens as well as scientists. It was no accident that the Atomic Scientists of Chicago became the leaders in the national debate over postwar atomic energy policy during the summer and fall of 1945.

The Met Lab, then, provided a strong and valuable heritage for the new Argonne National Laboratory, which would come into existence in July 1946. First of all, Compton's idea of bringing to Chicago the best available scientists from all parts of the nation created a laboratory on a truly national scale. The Met Lab experience engendered a sense of mission and a standard of excellence which every great laboratory must have. Exceptional scientists like Fermi, Wigner, Szilard, and Compton set a pattern of skill, accomplishment, and imagination which we younger scientists tried hard to emulate. That experience trained others like Zinn and Hilberry to carry on the Met Lab tradition and in turn enabled them to impart it to succeeding generations of scientists at Argonne. Furthermore, the concern over postwar policy created a tradition that has inspired Argonne to take a broad perspective in approaching scientific and technical problems. Thus from its very origins Argonne has operated from a principle that others are only now beginning to understand—namely, that the scientists' responsibilities extend far beyond the technical data of the laboratory. These are worthy traditions, and it is to your credit that they are still so much a part of Argonne today.

I do not mean to suggest by these sweeping statements that these traditions or even the laboratory itself have enjoyed an unthreatened or automatic existence. In fact, I recall that we were anything but certain in the early months of 1946 that the laboratory would continue to exist. Although, as we have seen, the idea of a national laboratory circulated in rather nebulous form early in 1944, it was not the kind of idea that could gain ready acceptance at that time. Before World War II, universities and private foundations were virtually the only sources of support for scientific research. The few Government-supported laboratories, such as those operated by the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics and the Navy, were largely restricted to applied studies. Only the enormous pressures of the war had forced American scientists to abandon the traditional forms of support, and many expected science to revert to the pre-war pattern.

The idea of a "cooperative" or national laboratory, however, had taken firm root at the Met Lab since the first months of 1944. Although the precipitous decline in the laboratory's personnel strength from about 2,000 in July 1944 to scarcely more than 1,500 in January 1945, caused Compton to recommend that the remnants of the Met Lab be transferred to the University of Chicago, others, including Zinn, Szilard, Hilberry, and Farrington Daniels proposed that the laboratory be managed by a board comprised of some twenty universities in the Mid-West. The new laboratory would be but one of several "regional cooperative laboratories" which would undertake projects too large for single institutions. They would be financed by the Government but would not necessarily be Government laboratories.

It is much to the credit of General Groves and his assistant, General Kenneth D. Nichols, that this hope came to fruition in July 1946, in something like its original form. Although many of us at the Met Lab at the time considered the Army somewhat unresponsive to our aspirations for continuing basic research, the fact was that the Army had little authority and even less practical motivation for keeping the laboratory alive. In the chaotic period following the end of the war in 1945, the Army more than had its hands full in coping with the strong reaction against military institutions and particularly against its legislative proposals for the postwar control of atomic energy. Despite these difficulties, General Nichols did seek out representatives of the Mid-West universities and asked them to prepare a plan "for continued operation of the Argonne facilities on a cooperative basis between the government and various universities." Nichols then asked the University of Chicago to consider taking over operation of the laboratory on July 1, 1946 "for cooperative research in nucleonics." Argonne National Laboratory came into existence on that date with Walter Zinn as the first director.

Thanks to the Army's cautious but effective support, the laboratory had survived the dangerous transformation from a temporary wartime organization to an essentially permanent research institution. That did not mean, however, that Argonne's troubles were over. Because Argonne was already in existence before the Atomic Energy Commission was established, Zinn and the new Board of Governors had no way of knowing what would be the laboratory's relationship to the Government. The delay in appointing the new Commissioners after the Atomic Energy Act became effective in August 1946, and then the prolonged struggle over the confirmation of the new Commissioners by the Senate beclouded that relationship for another year.

This uncertain status was a serious handicap for the new laboratory, especially because Argonne as yet had no permanent home. Still housed in a dozen buildings on the Chicago campus, the laboratory could not much longer presume on the university's hospitality. Originally there had been some hopes of acquiring more land in the Argonne Forest Preserve, where the laboratory's two reactors were already operating, but the Cook County Board of Supervisors opposed that idea. Zinn favored condemning land at the existing reactor site; the Board of Governors

favored acquiring 3,700 acres of farmland about five miles west in Du Page County. When the new Commissioners took over late in 1946, they were reluctant to give up on the Argonne site, with the result that the decision to come to Du Page County was delayed until late in January, 1947.

Equally important was the still unresolved matter of the laboratory's function as a part of the Commission's research and development program and as a regional research center. For the moment that question was settled more by pressing demands than by deliberations over policy. Until the new laboratory could be constructed, there was not much opportunity for the broad, multidiscipline research in which the participating universities would be interested. At the same time the Commission had several urgent assignments for Argonne, primarily in the area of reactor development.

The hard fact was that in 1947 the Commission had to rely almost entirely on Zinn and Argonne for its reactor development program. The Commission had only one member of its Washington staff with any reactor experience. The Clinton Laboratories at Oak Ridge had some of the best reactor talent in the nation, but by the spring of 1947 many responsible figures in the atomic energy program doubted that Clinton could survive as a national laboratory. At that time I was a member of the General Advisory Committee, and I remember we seriously debated whether, in the face of all the difficulties confronting the Clinton Laboratories, it might not be better to close it down and move the scientific talent elsewhere. We in the GAC were particularly concerned at that time about the shortage of scientists and engineers with any practical knowledge of nuclear technology. To some members of the General Advisory Committee, it seemed dangerous to spread the available talent too thin over several laboratories. In the end, of course, the Oak Ridge laboratory was saved, but not until the Commission had decided in the closing days of 1947 that it would center all reactor development work at Argonne.

The enormous responsibility placed upon Zinn and Argonne by this action left little time for the kind of cooperative research in the nuclear sciences which the Board of Governors had contemplated. The Commission had already called upon Zinn to draft a reactor development program for the nation, and Argonne was now faced with the task of participating in the design and construction of all but one of the experimental reactors in Zinn's proposal. These included not only the fast-neutron breeder reactor which Zinn had been developing at the Argonne Forest site, but also two reactors being designed at Oak Ridge. The high-flux testing reactor, the creation of the Clinton Laboratories, would be continued as a joint effort with Argonne. The Clinton scientists and engineers who had been working on a pressurized-water reactor for submarine propulsion moved to Chicago during the summer of 1948, and from that time on, Argonne had a major role in developing the propulsion plant for the world's first nuclear powered submarine.

All these plans for experimental reactors operating at significant power levels raised in a new and serious way the question of finding an adequate site far enough from populated areas to avoid hazards in case of an accident. Zinn and others at Argonne had a key part in discussions which led to the selection of the National Reactor Testing Station (NRTS) in Idaho early in 1949, and the first three reactors built at the Idaho site were in a major sense Argonne products. The Materials Testing Reactor, first operated in 1952, was for more than a decade an indispensable tool for reactor engineers in designing new types of plants and testing components. The Submarine Thermal Reactor, Mark I, was in operation less than a year later and provided much of the basic technology for pressurized-water reactors.

The Experimental Breeder Reactor No. 1 was uniquely an Argonne creation and achieved so many "firsts" in the history of reactor technology that I do not have time here today to list them all. It was the world's first reactor to produce a useful amount of electric power from atomic energy (December 20–21, 1951), the first to demonstrate the possibility of breeding (in 1953), the first to achieve a chain reaction with plutonium instead of uranium as fuel (November 27, 1962), and the first to demonstrate the feasibility of using liquid metals at high temperatures as a reactor coolant. EBR–1 also provided the occasion for the first visit to the National Reactor Testing Station by a President of the United States. I recall with great pleasure my trip to Idaho with President Johnson on August 26, 1966, to dedicate EBR–1 as a National Historic Landmark.

In addition to this work on experimental power units, Argonne was deeply involved during the early 1950s in developing heavy-water-moderated reactors. This activity grew out of the Argonne experience during the war with the CP–3. When the Commission decided in 1950 to undertake a major expansion of its production reactor facilities, Zinn proposed a design using heavy water. This proposal was accepted, and Argonne began a major development effort on an improved heavy-water reactor. This work produced CP–5 at Argonne and the production reactors which were built at the Commission's new plant on the Savannah River in South Carolina.

Taking these assignments in stride, Argonne continued to expand its reactor development activities in the middle and late 1950s. Perhaps of greatest short-run significance was the Experimental Boiling Water Reactor, which again was largely a product of Argonne. First operated in 1956, EBWR proved that a direct-cycle boiling water reactor system can be operated without serious radioactive contamination of the steam turbine. Operating experience over more than a decade showed the system to be surprisingly stable even at power levels five times its rated heat output. As the forerunner of numerous full-scale nuclear plants now producing electric power on a commercial basis, the EBWR has a permanent place in the history of reactor development in the United States.

Through most of the 1950s Argonne under Zinn's direction was primarily a center for reactor development, but by the middle of the decade new forces were beginning to have an impact on the laboratory. Thanks in large part to the pioneering efforts of Argonne in reactor development, American industry had begun to show a real interest in nuclear power. The Eisenhower Administration, looking for ways to give private industry a place in nuclear power development, took the lead in efforts to revise the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, which made atomic energy virtually a Government monopoly. Under the liberalized provisions of the 1954 Act, nuclear science and technology became a part of American life. The national laboratories were no longer small islands of technical information sealed off from the rest of society. Perhaps more than any other one event, the first Geneva conference in 1955 demonstrated that atomic energy was beginning to move beyond Government offices and laboratories into the universities and private industry. As a national laboratory, Argonne could play a new and broader role than in the past.

A major force in the changing tides of the 1950s was the growth of Argonne, both in terms of staff and facilities. The scattered buildings of the Met Lab on the Chicago campus and the small warehouse-like structures in the Argonne Forest Preserve were now only memories. Argonne had even moved beyond the temporary Quonset huts which the Commission had hastily erected in 1947 to the three separate areas we know today. With an annual operating budget in 1958 of nearly $34 million and a staff of more than 3,000, Argonne was attaining physical dimensions and a stature scarcely foreseen a decade earlier. Even more important, the laboratory was no longer heavily concentrated in the reactor sciences, but had grown dramatically in physics, chemistry, and the life sciences. Argonne was now becoming a multidisciplinary laboratory more closely tied to basic research than ever before in its history. Zinn's departure as director in the spring of 1956 was, I think, more a symptom than a cause of the profound changes that were occurring in Argonne. In 1958 the laboratory, under the direction on Zinn's successor, Dr. Norman Hilberry, was far more than what it had been a decade earlier—the Commission's reactor development center.

With Hilberry at the helm, this new image of Argonne stimulated within the laboratory long-cherished hopes for new facilities and among the participating universities new demands for a more effective relationship. These two interests merged in the long and complicated efforts between 1952 and 1958 to build a new high-energy accelerator, either as a part of Argonne or as the central facility of a new regional laboratory in the Midwest. But the end of that period, the new accelerator was still a dream, but the formation of the Associated Midwest Universities, Inc., made possible closer ties between the laboratory and the neighboring universities.

The decade of the Sixties saw a gradual, but major reorientation of Argonne's reactor program from water reactors to Liquid Metal-Cooled Fast Breeder reactors. Since the assignment of major responsibility in the civilian power reactor development program to Argonne in 1948, the Laboratory's role had been to establish basic concepts, test the concepts in zero power reactor experiments, and to establish the fundamental character and design of the reactor itself. As I mentioned before, this procedure had been followed in the development of the pressurized water submarine thermal reactor to the point where Westinghouse was able to complete the detailed engineering design resulting in the Nautilus submarine reactor. And the boiling water concept had originated and developed at Argonne in the BORAX series of experiments, culminating in the construction and successful operation of the EBWR in the middle Fifties. Further studies led in 1966 to the operation of EBWR with a largely plutonium core which provided the first valuable information on the question of plutonium recycle operation of water reactors. The last of the BORAX series, BORAX-V, was completed in 1964. This highly successful experiment was designed to permit the evaluation and study of nuclear superheat concepts and to demonstrate actual nuclear superheat operation.

Shortly after the successful development and operation of EBR-I, as noted earlier, design was begun on EBR-II, an experimental fast breeder reactor power station of 20 MWe capacity whose purpose was to demonstrate the potential technical and economic feasibility of using fast reactors for central station power plants. This was to be done by both producing electricity and demonstrating the feasibility of the closed fuel cycle.

The EBR-II concept of arranging the reactor and primary system components—pumps, heat exchanger, instrumentation, fuel handling system, etc.—in a large tank where they operate submerged in sodium was a bold departure from traditional reactor system design. This pool or pot concept as it is now called has gained wide acceptance, and plants of this design are now under construction in the U.K., France, and the U.S.S.R. in sizes ranging from 250 to 600 MWe.

The closed fuel cycle was a very unique feature of the EBR–II. Basically this amounted to a system whereby fuel was removed from the sodium-cooled reactor, taken apart into its component parts, the fuel sections treated metallurgically to separate out the plutonium and most of the fission products from the molten uranium, new fuel fabricated from the recovered uranium, the new fuel reassembled into fuel elements which were reinserted into the reactor—all this done by remote control mostly behind 5-foot thick concrete walls. This necessitated the development of new chemical treatment methods devised in the Chemical Engineering Division under Steve Lawroski, Milt Levenson and their colleagues; the development of tools and techniques for making the fuel pins and putting them together into fuel assemblies, done in the Metallurgy Division under Frank Foote, Bob Macherey, and their colleagues; and the development of remote viewing and handling devices done by the Remote Control Division under the late Ray Goertz and his colleagues.

Under the direction of Len Koch as project manager for EBR–II, Milt Levenson, Harry Monson, Wally Simmons, and their colleagues, the entire complex was built at the National Reactor Testing Station in Idaho. Building such a complicated facility 1,800 miles from home base posed problems quite aside from the technical ones as those who were associated with the project well remember. However, the decision to retain the management of the EBR–II project at the Argonne site was a sound one and, even today with the changed mission of EBR–II, retaining the management here in Illinois leads to intimate coordination between the rest of the reactor program and the experience being obtained in EBR–II.

The reactor began operation in 1964 and the turbine generator was synchronized and first delivered power to the NRTS power loop on August 7. By the end of 1970 more than 250 million kilowatt hours of electricity had been produced by EBR–II. The EBR–II pool concept has been shown to be entirely feasible and the fuel cycle was demonstrated to be entirely reliable and practicable. All of the fuel for EBR–II was processed and fabricated in the Fuel Cycle Facility (FCF) until July 1969 when it began exclusive use in support of the experimental irradiation program. During the approximately five years that the FCF provided the fuel for EBR–II, 38,000 fuel elements were processed and fabricated and 366 subassemblies and 66 control and safety rods were assembled. The fuel completed 5 cycles through the reactor and fuel cycle.

With the focusing of the AEC's and the nation's civilian power reactor program on the Liquid Metal-Cooled Fast Breeder (LMFBR) and with the decision to build the Fast Flux Test Facility, or FFTF, at Hanford, the role of EBR–II was changed to that of a fast neutron irradiation facility. It is rare indeed that a facility built for one mission can accomplish it very well and then can be converted to fulfill another which was not visualized in the original design, but that is what was done with EBR–II, and most successfully. Some indication of the extent of this success can be obtained from a look at last year's performance. In 1970 at least 17 reactor manufacturers and research organizations had designed experiments on which tests were started in the EBR–II. During the year about one-third of the EBR–II core had been filled with experimental subassemblies. The fuels being tested included plutonium and uranium oxides, carbides and nitrides. One of the goals was to observe the performance of these fuels after long exposure and high burnups in the reactor. The highest burnup attained to date in this experimental program is 13.8 atom percent in an oxide-type fuel. This is significantly higher than the commonly accepted goal of 10 percent for commercial breeder reactor fuels.

In large measure the success of the LMFBR will rest heavily on the information obtained over the years from EBR-II.

Just as the mission of the EBR-II was changed with the concentration of civilian power development on the LMFBR concept, so has the orientation of the rest of Argone's reactor program changed. The Chemical Engineering Division has in the past developed many methods for the processing of spent fuel from reactors—aqueous processes, the pyrometallurgical process, and the fluoride volatility process. Now under the able direction of Dick Vogel, their attention is turned to the many chemical problems involved in using high temperature sodium as a coolant in fast reactors. The Metallurgy Division in the past decade concentrated on development, and especially fabrication, of fuels for Argonne's reactors. Now, however, under the leadership of Paul Shewmon and Brian Frost and under a new name, Materials Science Division, they are concentrating on acquiring a very detailed knowledge of the behavior of fast reactor fuels and structural materials under the twin conditions of long-term irradiation and high temperatures. The Reactor Engineering Division responsible for designing, engineering, and constructing so many of Argonne's reactors, has now been restructured into the Reactor Analysis and Safety Division and the Engineering and Technology Division. This reflects the concern with safety and the engineering development of components which is such an important part of the LMFBR program.

To assist in the refocusing and restructuring of Argonne's reactor program to reflect the nation's major reactor development effort, Bob Laney was recently brought in as Associate Laboratory Director for Engineering research and development. His responsibilities will also involve the coordination of Argonne's increasing interaction with industry. I can assure you that in the decade ahead Argonne will continue to play an extremely important role in the AEC's Reactor Development program.

In addition to its responsibilities in the reactor development program. Argonne has from the beginning carried on a very fine and strong program of basic research.

Late in the 1950s the stage was finally set for a major effort which would widely expand opportunities for basic research in high energy physics, not only for Argonne staff members but for high energy physicists from Midwestern universities and from many parts of Europe. After four years of planning, ground was broken for Argonne's Zero Gradient Synchrotron, a 12.5 GeV particle accelerator. On Dec. 4, 1963, it was my pleasure to participate in dedication ceremonies for this new tool which was destined to contribute so much to the scientific life of the Midwest.

The ZGS was constructed in response to a longstanding need. Although large particle accelerations were available on the East and West coasts, none was in existence in mid-America, and the high energy physics departments of the Midwestern universities were losing both faculty members and graduate students to institutions on the coasts.

The ZGS was designed to supplement, not compete with, the machines already in existence here and abroad. Although its energy would not be as great as that of other acceleration, its intensity would be much greater. Among other advantages, this higher intensity would permit more experiments to be completed in a given period of time, an attractive situation in view of the fact that investigations must queue up to obtain time on major machines like ZGS.

One design feature of ZGS is responsible for its name. The strength of the magnetic field in the 200-foot ring is uniform—it does not have a gradient—across the poles. In other synchrotrons a magnetic field gradient is built in to keep the circulating beams of particles focused. As a result of this design, the ZGS ring can guide the high-energy protons in a smaller circle and this in turn resulted in a significant reduction of construction costs.

Another feature contributes to the high intensity capability of the facility. The ZGS incorporates a comparatively large aperture through which particles can pass. This "window frame" design combines with the high magnetic field to make possible the acceleration of large numbers of particles, providing a shotgun rather than a rifle approach to the creation of interactions which are of interest to the high energy physcist.

The years following the dedication of the ZGS saw a steady increase in intensity, ever-greater reliability, and a flow of alterations which improved both performance and reliability.

Two important achievements resulted from the need for experimental apparatus which matched the capabilities of the ZGS. One was the design, construction, and successful operation of the 12-foot bubble chamber, largest of its kind in the world, and another was the use of a superconducting magnet to power this huge chamber, Gale Pewitt presided over the birth of the 12-foot chamber and John Purcell brought the big magnet into existence.

A very large step forward in the size of superconducting magnets had been accomplished here by Charles Laverick, but the magnet needed to operate the 12-foot chamber was so large it represented a high-risk venture into engineering areas with which no one had had experience.

But the foresight of Argonne staff members paid off and the magnet has worked as it was hoped it would, resulting in monetary savings in the operation of the chamber—at a time when such savings are indeed welcome.

The value of the 12-foot chamber was demonstrated in November 1970, when for the first time in history, a neutrino was observed in a hydrogen chamber.

In the six years ending Dec. 31, 1970, 125 experiments were carried out at the ZGS. Physicists from 50 universities had used the machine and they had joined with Argonne staff members in the publication of 164 papers in professional journals.

The list of those who made important contributions to the development of the ZGS and the Argonne High Energy Physics Complex is a long one, and all cannot be noted. My early co-worker and long-time friend Jack Livingood did the initial planning. Albert V. Crewe came aboard in 1958 to direct completion of the design and much of the construction. When Al became Laboratory Director in 1961, Lee Teng took over and under his aegis the machine was completed. Ron Martin and the late John Fitzpatrick directed scientific and engineering activities; Martin Foss designed the magnet ring.

Through the decade of the Sixties, the buck stopped at the desks of three Associate Laboratory Directors for High Energy Physics: Roger Hildebrand, Bob Sachs, and Bruce Cork.

During the Sixties, under the leadership of Crewe and later Robert Duffield, the results obtained in the areas of chemistry, physics and materials research continued Argonne's reputation for high quality research and added significantly to our fund of basic knowledge.

The Chemistry Division is an outgrowth of the Chemistry Section for which I had responsibility back in Met Lab days. Many of its present members were my wartime colleagues during my four years' stay in Chicago. Under the directorship of, first, Winston Manning who was named Associate Laboratory Director for Basic Research in 1966, and under Max Matheson, and currently under Paul Fields, this Division has been responsible for several important advances, among them:

The discovery of the noble gas compounds. In 1962 John Malm, Henry Selig, and Howard Classen succeeded in combatting xenon with fluorine to create xenon tetrafluoride, a relatively simple compound. The importance of this discovery derives from the fact that the noble gases had been thought to be inert and nonreactive.

In 1963 Edwin Hart and his British colleague Jack Boag reported the discovery of the hydrated electron. The discovery and analyses of the roles of the hydrated electron and other short-lived fragments are leading to a better understanding of radiation chemistry.

Joseph Katz and his group pioneered research in "Isotopic substitution" in organic compounds, including the first complete substitutions of deuterium (heavy hydrogen) for ordinary hydrogen in living organisms, both plant and animal cells.

Argonne chemists, notably Paul Fields and Martin Studier, participated in the discovery of some of the heavy transplutonium chemical elements. They also made unique contributions to the production, separation, and characterization of these elements and their isotopes.

Although in the past decade low energy physics research has been carried out under three different Division Directors, Lou Turner, Mort Hamermesh, and currently Lowell Bollinger, it has had the common thread of searching for a greater understanding of atomic structure. Among the first to initiate fundamental studies using the Mossbauer effect was Gil Perlow who has built the technique into a powerful experimental tool in such diverse fields as nuclear structure, solid state properties and general relativity theory. There have also been the angular momentum distribution discoveries of Schiffer and Lee which have been of great importance in developing the field of nuclear spectroscopy; the discoveries of Erskine and others leading to a better understanding of the nuclear properties of the actinides; and recent heavy ion elastic scattering studies which are contributing significantly to nuclear structure theory.

An understanding of the properties of materials has obviously been a strong interest of the atomic energy program dating back to the Met Lab days and it has become of increasing importance with the passage of time. Argonne has been, and continues to be, a leader in this field, having one of the largest combined basic and applied materials programs in the Western world. It started with the need to know the physical and chemical properties of fuels and structural materials under conditions encountered in reactors. Such work was initiated by personnel within the Metallurgy Division and the Chemistry Division. More recently the increased importance of a fundamental understanding of materials has been emphasized by Mike Nevit, Paul Shewmon and Norman Peterson, and is also reflected in the recent renaming of the Metallurgy Division as the Materials Science Division. During the Sixties the pure research phase of this work finally came of age with the formation of the Solid State Science Division, and it now occupies the newest of the major buildings constructed at Argonne. Under the direction of my Met Lab colleague Oliver Simpson this work has taken on new importance.

Advances in the understanding of materials cover the extremes of low and high temperatures and range from the highly theoretical studies of structure to the very important studies of radiation damage and crystalline defects. Out of this work has come information of the greatest importance in thermal and mechanical behavior. Studies of the properties of alloys and compounds of uranium and transuranium elements have led to a far better understanding of materials in this unique part of the periodic table. Also, our understanding of radiation damage is now far enough advanced that we can in many cases predict in advance the behavior to be expected. Much of Argonne's current materials research is directed toward obtaining this information.

One further word should be said about a new program to be initiated this year in controlled thermonuclear work. Argonne's interest in this program is in the engineering development which would ultimately lead to a workable fusion reactor and grows directly out of the solid accomplishments and experience in basic research and engineering development. While many years of hard work separate us from the abundant energy available from the controlled fusion process, the early signs of ultimate success are increasingly promising. Argonne's participation is welcomed.

Along with the major accomplishments in the Physical Research program, there was one major disappointment which the AEC shares with Argonne. That was the cancellation of the Argonne Advanced Research Reactor, the A^2R^2 project, which would have provided one of the most advanced research reactors in the world. The entire AEC's Physical Research program keenly feels the loss of what would have been a most useful research tool.

The biological research program at Argonne is a natural extension of the biological work of the Met Lab. The potential danger of radiation was early recognized and research into the biological effects of radiation on living organisms was among the earliest work started in the atomic energy program. The biological and medical research program at Argonne still has the same basic objective for which it was started.

But the decade of the Sixties has seen some changes. When in 1962 the Biological and Medical Research Division's director, Austin Brues, sometime artist, humorist, world traveler, but all-time biologist, expressed a desire to return to full-time research, his wishes were respected. He had carried these administrative responsibilities since 1946. Hs successor was Max R. Zelle, a distinguished academician who, after seven years as director, found a return to the university atmosphere irresistible. In early 1969 John F. Thomson, an 18-year veteran with the division, agreed to wear two hats until a candidate could be found. And a little over a year ago, Warren Sinclair, a biophysicist, began a new era in the division's leadership

Among the most important achievements of the past ten years in the biological sciences have been comprehensive studies of the long- and short-term effects of a variety of types of radiation, on microbial, plant, and animal organisms. Attempts to modify radiation effects led to the development of the first successful protective agent against X rays, to the systematic exploration of chelating agents for removing radioactive metals from the body, and to basic studies in tissue transplantation and immunity mechanisms. Fundamental contributions have also been made in the study of aging and its relation to the late effects of radiation. These studies established the importance of the brain-to-body weight ratio as a determinant of species longevity. Current emphasis is on neutron effects studies with the Janus reactor, a facility capable of exposing large numbers of animals to neutrons without significant gamma-ray contamination.

The decade also saw a significant refocusing of the work of the Radiological Physics Division. John E. Rose was this division's director until 1963, Leo Marinelli until 1967, and the present director is Robert Rowland. One of the earliest achievements of this division was the development of the first faculty for pinpointing radiation in the human body with speed and accuracy. Argonne's "iron room" allows determination of the amounts, locations, and identities of extremely small quantities of radioactive materials in the body—as little as one billionth gram of radium. Similar facilities are now used throughout the world. Also of particular note has been its research on bone, both in the areas of bone physiology and the effects of the radiation dose delivered by radioisotopes fixed in bone.

Early in Dr. Rowland's directorship the division embarked on a study of the sulfur dioxide content of the atmosphere over the City of Chicago. This was the first formula step in what has become a growing commitment to the solution of environmental problems at Argonne.

In August 1969 this division received another very important assignment. A Center for Human Radiobiology was established as the nation's center for the long-term study of all persons known to have radium and other long-lived isotopes within their bodies. During a period around the early 1920s uninformed or careless use of radium, both industrially and for external and internal therapy, was widespread. Through study programs carried out in several U.S. institutions, some 2,000 of such potentially contaminated individuals were found. Of these, 800 with measurable body burdens of radium have been measured, almost 600 of whom are still alive today. These people, merged into the program at Argonne, provide a research resource of which there is no prospect of duplication for the setting of absolute toxicity levels and devising radiation protection guides for man.

In 1967, Congress broadened the Commission's charter to enable the AEC and its contractors to work with other agencies in the protection of public health and safety, and enable Argonne to undertake a broadened role as a major Midwest research center.

This has resulted in an accelerated interest in accepting new challenges, and in late 1969 the Argonne Center for Environmental Studies was established here. The Center is designed to use an interdisciplinary approach to the achievement of three goals: first to help gain a better understanding of the extent to which the environment is being changed; second, to define particular effects more quantitatively; and third, to help with the formulation and presentation of various alternative courses of action.

This approach already has resulted in a model for predicting, analyzing, and controlling air pollution. Utilizing studies of pollution emission from stationary sources as well as pollution dispersion patterns, Len Link and his colleagues developed a computerized model applicable to both the management of air pollution emergencies and the long-range development of air resource management. Their program presents guidelines for the creation of legislation, zoning ordinances, and tax incentives which would foster urban and regional growth in a manner compatible with acceptable air quality.

In 1968, Argonne began a study of heated discharges from power plants into large lakes. This program is establishing a mathematical model of circulation patterns in Lake Michigan, developing models to express the behavior of thermal plumes, and analyzing the mass-energy balance of the lake. The study also outlines the research needed for the understanding of thermal effects on the ecosystem so methodologies can be provided. This work is expected to have a strong bearing on reactor siting criteria.

Two other Argonne programs are of special interest.

One is the development, by the Laboratory's Chemical Engineering Division, of final bed techniques in the combustion of coal. Use of these techniques could reduce emission of sulphur dioxide into the atmosphere.

The second is work on lithium anode secondary cells—also being carried out by the Chemical Engineering Division. Such cells

promise to be useful as a primary source of power for automobiles and have dramatic possibilities as an implantable energy source for individuals with heart defects.

The change in the AEC's charter also made possible "spin-off" activities which give great promise of providing benefits for mankind. These include:

. . . A hemodialyzer (artificial kidney), developed by Finley Markley of the High Energy Facilities Division and Dr. A. R. Lavender of Hines Hospital, which may revolutionize the care of patients suffering from kidney disease. Victims of kidney failure now must depend upon very complex and expensive hemodialyzers which can be used only at hospitals. The new kidney machine is so inexpensive small and simple, that it may be possible for the patient to use it himself, at home. The device was made possible through the use of adhesives Mr. Markley developed for application in the construction of the ZGS.

A Braille machine, developed by Arnold Grunwald of the Engineering and Technology Division. Smaller than a portable typewriter, it will take symbols recorded on ordinary magnetic tape and play them back on an endless plastic belt in raised dots forming letters in the Braille alphabet. It will reduce by a factor of 250 to 500 the bulk of Braille materials to be produced, handled and stored, permitting much wider use of Braille literature by the sightless. This development is being supported under a grant by the U.S. Office of Education.

When Argonne first was established as a national laboratory, the Commission and the Argonne administration agreed that interaction with the academic community would be a primary responsibility of the Laboratory.

Unfortunately, efforts to carry out this mission were severely hampered in the early years because so much of Argonne's work remained classified. Lack of housing for visiting university faculty members also impeded the program. The principal thing Argonne had to offer, use of unique facilities, could not be exploited by university personnel unless they could be here for extended periods of time.

In 1950, Joe Boyce attacked the problem, and the foundation he established in the following five years made possible a program which flourished in the decade of the Sixties.

The initial organization through which the Laboratory sought to interact with universities and colleges was the Participating Institutions Committee, organized very early in Argonne's history. Thirty-two Midwestern universities were members. Through several intermediate steps, this organization evolved into Associated Midwestern Universities, Inc., (AMU), incorporating in its membership 30 universities.

At this time Frank Myers gave up his post as Dean of the Graduate School at Lehigh University to become Argonne's Associate Director for Education. Shortly afterward, John Roberson took over as Executive Director of AMU.

These events resulted in new impetus to educational activities which brought into closer association Argonne and the academic community.

Still another change occurred in 1966—one which would give universities an even stronger role in the activities at Argonne. In that year Argonne Universities Association (AUA) came into existence, and a new five-year contract for the management of Argonne stipulated that AUA, The University of Chicago, and the Commission would share in management responsibilities.

Under the terms of the contract, AUA formulates, approves, and reviews Laboratory programs and policies. The University of Chicago, which has operated Argonne from the time it was founded in 1946, continues to be responsible for its management and operation in accordance with the policies established by AUA. The Commission, of course, has provided a major share of the Laboratory's financial support and participates in major decisions affecting Argonne's welfare.

Thirty universities now hold membership in AUA.

The most recent change in the mechanism for fostering Argonne-university interaction occurred in 1968. In that year, all of Argonne's educational activities were placed under the direction of a Center for Educational Affairs, and Shelby Miller came to Argonne from the University of Rochester to become Associate Laboratory Director for Educational Affairs and Director of the Center.

Progress in this area has been so rapid that the Center was able to report that last year 2,600 university and college representatives—college juniors up through faculty members—participated in activities at Argonne.

College juniors and seniors participate in summer or inter-term programs which permits them to work for university or college credit with Argonne staff members or in honors programs sponsored by Associated Colleges of the Midwest and Central States Universities, Inc.

Graduate students perform their research for Master's or Doctorate degrees. Postgraduates are attracted to the Laboratory by the opportunity to enrich their backgrounds before they accept professional appointments and launch their careers.

All of these representatives contribute significantly to the life of Argonne. They carry out research programs in areas of special interest and they bring to the Laboratory new ideas, new enthusiasm, and their own special knowledge and skills.

The record would not be complete without my recalling one of the most dramatic ventures in education this nation has ever undertaken. In 1953, President Eisenhower used the vehicle of his famous "Atoms for Peace" talk to suggest that this country establish means for sharing with many nations of the world our rapidly-growing understanding of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Argonne considered this a mandate and launched a crash program to bring into existence the International School of Nuclear Science and Engineering. Norm Hilberry, Elmer Rylander, and Rollin Taecker did yeoman work and before the year was out the school was in operation.

Its objective was to attract young men from abroad and to provide them with sufficient training to enable them to return home and establish nuclear energy programs appropriate to the level of technology existing there.

In 1961 the International School became the International Institute. In the institute, the emphasis was on programs tailored for each participant, to make maximum use of the background and the skills he already had acquired. And it was the continued success of the IINSE which caused its demise in 1965. So many of its graduates, scattered about the globe, had developed strong nuclear energy programs in their home countries that the kind of training offered at Argonne no longer was needed.

As most of you here today will recall, Al Crewe decided to step down from his position of Laboratory Director in December of 1966. And early in 1967 Dr. Robert Duffield, whom I have known since his association with me during his student days at the University of California at Berkeley, succeeded him as Director. Bob Duffield has continued the fine tradition of leadership here at Argonne. He has guided ANL through a significant and productive era of its history.

My remarks to this point have concerned the history of Argonne National Laboratory—the Argonne of the past. I will close with several thoughts about the years ahead—the Argonne of the future.

First let me emphasize that the projections which the Commission has developed indicate an undiminished need for use of Argonne National Laboratory for Atomic Energy Commission programs for as far ahead as we can make projections. I foresee no lessening in the national importance of the sort of work Argonne has been carrying out for the AEC. I understand that, in addition to the support we provide, the support for work at Argonne funded by other agencies will total about $2,500,000 this fiscal year. The Commission will continue to encourage its laboratories to provide assistance to others in areas in which they have special competence and facilities up to the limits set by statute and the priority we need to give our own work.

Argonne will continue to play a central role in what I see as perhaps the most fruitful and, in many ways, the most exciting technological challenge facing the nation today—the development of the breeder reactor. Further, I believe that pioneering research at Argonne in both the physical and biological sciences will gain continued recognition as a major source of long-term national strength.

I realize that these are trying days for Argonne, as they are for all of our National Laboratories. And any clear assessment of the future must take present difficulties into full account. But the response of our laboratories to these difficulties has been encouraging and impressive; they have remained steadily productive under painful stress. I believe the long-term prospects at Argonne, as at other laboratories, will depend strongly on the ability of the entire staff to maintain innovative, creative science in the face of budgetary fluctuations.

The drive for excellence in any laboratory is fueled most simply by rapidly expanding requirements and budgets. For now, we must find how to keep our momentum with different fuel. This is a time of testing for many scientific institutions. Some will be seized by the mincing caution which chokes inventiveness. Some will wander and wither, seeking the favors of fashionability instead of capitalizing on their own virtues. Certainly the future of Argonne will be affected by decisions made elsewhere and by the priorities others attach next year and the year after to specific efforts. For the long run, however, I viewed decisions by individuals here about their own work as of even greater importance. The best assurances for the future will come from present rededication to the drive for excellence which Argonne National Laboratory has displayed throughout its first 25 years.

AWARDS TO THE CUMBERLAND SCHOOL OF LAW

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of personal satisfaction that I call to your attention the recent recognition of one of Alabama's leading educational institutions, the Cumberland School of Law in Birmingham. The student body of this excellent law school has been chosen as the most outstanding student bar association in the Nation and has also received the award for the best student project. These two awards, chosen by a national committee, were presented at the recent annual convention of the American Bar Association. The Cumberland School of Law competed for these distinctions with all other law schools with less than 500 students. The

school is part of Samford University, of which I am proud to be an alumnus.

The receipt of these coveted awards is a fitting culmination of a year of imaginative and energetic activity. During the past year, the Cumberland student bar association has lobbied for passage of the Student Practice Act which would permit qualified senior students to handle cases under a lawyer's supervision. Additionally, the student association has pushed enthusiastically for the creation of an honor code and the initiation of a school newspaper. The project award was made for the fine guest speaker program.

The Cumberland School of Law had established a formidable academic reputation long before the presentation of these two awards. It was established in 1847 in Lebanon, Tenn., and has been in continuous operation since then—except for 3 years during the War Between the States—making it one of the oldest law schools in the Nation. In 1961 the school was relocated in Birmingham when it became an integral part of Samford University. Cumberland is one of the few truly national law schools in the South with over 4,000 living alumni scattered throughout the 50 States, District of Columbia and several foreign countries. The list of distinguished graduates throughout the school's history has included 10 Governors, one Secretary of State, 10 U.S. Senators, 75 U.S. Representatives, two Associate Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court, and numerous members of the circuit, district, and State supreme courts. It is obvious that the incumbent student body is maintaining the tradition of excellence in legal training which has historically been the basis of this eminent institution.

WORD FROM THE GRASSROOTS

HON. JOHN ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, a substantial organization very active in public affairs in my District has, on July 30, 1971, sent me a copy of their correspondence to President Nixon with an attachment of a resolution passed by their Government Affairs and Efficiency Committee. Because this statement represents grassroots thinking from the congressional district which I represent, and it is also within the framework of the congressional district formerly represented by the President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, I ask that it be made available to the Congress for consideration as a worthy point of view:

GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS AND EFFICIENCY,
July 29, 1971.

Subject: Opposition to the President's trip to Peking and Admittance of Communist China to the U.N.

Whereas: The communist Government in China came to power by means of brutality and terror and in over two decades has liquidated over 35 million Chinese people who opposed this government, and

Whereas: The Communist Government of Red China has deprived its citizens of freedom of speech, movement and assembly, and

Whereas: The government of Red China is openly anti-American and is dedicated to war and conquest shown by its invasion of Korea, India and Tibet, fomenting and supporting guerilla rebellions in seven countries of Southeast Asia and Africa, and

Whereas: Red China has stated that a nuclear first strike is acceptable in waging a "peoples" war, and

Whereas: Red China has and does consistently villify the United States and engage in illegal narcotics traffic to the United States, and

Whereas: Red China's admission to the United Nations would give them a veto power in the Security Council and increase their ability to acquire United Nations aid paid for by United States taxpayers, and

Whereas: United States approval for admittance to the U.N. would be a violation of our agreement with the Republic of China and the President's visit to Peking would be an insult to our longtime Taiwan allies, and

Whereas: United States recognition and the President's trip to Peking to consult with Communist leaders would give respectability and enormous prestige for the Communist regime and appear in the eyes of the world that the United States is abandoning moral principle; further crushing the hopes for freedom of those living under the Communist yoke throughout the world.

Therefore be it resolved: That the membership of the South Pasadena Unit of United Republicans of California urges and demands that the President cancel the Impending trip to Peking to consult with Communist leaders, and

Be it further resolved: That this Unit is unalterably opposed to the admittance of Red China to the United Nations.

A MESSAGE FROM THE MINISTER

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, our Nation's foundations are based in a glorious past, no small part of which is our orientation to church. The 100th anniversary of the Bethany Baptist Church of Newark, N.J., stands as a visible testament to the strength of those foundations.

I wish to extend my warmest regards and congratulations to the pastor, Rev. James A. Scott and to the entire congregation as they celebrate their centennial year.

And, I would like to commend to my collcagues "A Message From the Minister" which is self-explanatory and which I am sure, is the reason for its enduring contribution to our community:

A MESSAGE FROM THE MINISTER

The celebration of a centennial is an occasion for joy and remembrance. Joy because only things of value and significance last for a century. Remembrance because institutions, even churches, live in the spirit and mind of those who were dedicated and committed enough to dream and sacrifice for its full flowering.

Some years ago I read a quote that has stuck with me: "Dream no little dreams, because they have no power to inspire". Bethany began in a parlor. It was established by men and women who were domestics, who a few years before had been slaves or the children of slaves. From the moment of its inception, it was conceived as something grand. It was a center for community activity. It grew to become a large church with outreach and influence into every sector of the community. It now serves and is known as a leader throughout this large metropolitan area.

But we not only look over our shoulders at the past, we also look forward. We are still dreaming big dreams. We are on the threshold of a new era. At this centennial we have purchased almost three acres of land in the heart of the city and are preparing to build a new sanctuary. We do this, we are enabled to do it, because of the fine leadership of other generations.

The church that flowers today is the seed of yesterday. I have no illusions about this fact. What we are and what we do is the culmination of faith from other times.

Yet it has been my privilege to serve this parish eight years, to share with them their sorrows, their hopes, their fears, and their faith. I am certain that Bethany Church will last at least another century.

NEW YORK HOUSING

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the dual problem of inflation and recession is one that is causing profound concern in the business community. The high cost of living, too, affects business, and this is particularly evident in New York City, where the cost of living is the highest in the Nation—16 percent higher than in any other city.

Compounding the problem in New York City is the acute shortage of housing—a dilemma that demands that innovative approaches be brought to bear if solutions are to be achieved.

Recently, the State-chartered New York Council for Civic Affairs took note of the efforts of Manhattan East, a New York apartment-hotel organization, which provides housing for corporate executive, government officials, and United Nations personnel.

The citation presented to Manhattan East lauds the organization for performing a vital service by providing the finest in apartment-hotel accommodations, and thereby is meeting a distinct housing need, and is helping to foster an improved economic climate. The council pointed out that because New York is the Nation's corporate capital, business organizations across the Nation find it essential to send their executives to New York on extended business trips; but in this difficult time these trips must be economically feasible.

The council hailed Arthur N. Bresciani, managing director of Manhattan East for recognizing that many business organizations find it economically prohibitive to have their executives stay in expensive New York hotels.

In the boom years, companies used the hotels and luxury suites for visits in New York City, without regard to the high costs involved. However, inflation, the recession, increases in hotel charges and decreases in services, as well as the need for more convenient locations, persuaded many to seek other accommodations for their traveling personnel.

Manhattan East's service has already proven to be an economic lifesaver for many business organizations whose people must stay away from their home base for some time.

Over the past 5 years, Manhattan East has acquired 12 buildings with 1,550 units in midtown New York, transforming them from high paying hotel suites into comfortable, family-type apartment homes. I believe that Manhattan East has, indeed, merited the award conferred by the Council for Civic Affairs.

PREDATORS NEED PROTECTION

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, 1971, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 5060, a bill to amend the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956 to provide a criminal penalty for shooting at certain birds, fish and other animals from aircraft.

In light of the recent developments concerning the slaying of over 700 eagles from helicopters or other aircraft since last September to early April of this year, the necessity of prompt Senate action on this measure is apparent.

Also, on July 8, 1971, I introduced legislation, H.R. 9668, which would establish a national policy and program with respect to wild predatory mammals, and for other purposes. Considering the fact that, not only are the bald and golden eagles being hunted, but also other wildlife, including coyotes and foxes, action should be taken to control these senseless killings. A program to define and to regulate future matters similar to the eagle and coyote incidents should be undertaken.

Therefore, I would like to submit for your information three recent news articles which give additional information regarding the past incidents:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 3, 1971]

500 EAGLES SLAIN FROM COPTERS, HILL TOLD; U.S. VOWS PROSECUTION

(By Elsie Carper)

A helicopter pilot told a Senate subcommittee yesterday that nearly 500 rare bald and golden eagles were gunned down in flights last winter over ranches in Wyoming and Colorado.

James O. Vogan testified that he ferried sharpshooters on the flights but never shot any of the eagles himself. Sheep ranchers paid $80 a day or from $10 to $25 an eagle but some of the hunters were not paid and shot the eagles just for the sport, according to the testimony.

The ranchers ostensibly paid to have the eagles killed to protect livestock.

The Interior Department said that federal officials are now in Wyoming with subpoenas to seize the records of the eagle kills and are searching for a mass grave where the carcasses were buried.

Expressing "complete dismay and personal outrage," Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton later issued a statement declaring that Interior will "take all possible steps to criminally prosecute those found responsible for the alleged slaughter of these regal birds."

Appearing before the subcommittee, Assistant Interior Secretary Nathaniel P. Reed called the killings a "callous, deliberate defiance of federal and state law."

The bald and golden eagles are protected by federal law. Both species are threatened with extinction.

Interior estimates that there may be two to three thousand bald eagles and up to 15,000 golden eagles in the lower 48 states, with more in Alaska.

Vogan, who appeared before the Senate Environmental Appropriations Subcommittee, refused to testify when the hearing opened, citing the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination. But he opened up after subcommittee chairman Gale McGee (D-Wyo.) read an order issued by a Federal court in Wyoming granting Vogan immunity.

McGee said that Vogan called him several days ago to say that the poisoning deaths of 23 eagles near Casper, Wyo., that the subcommittee investigated last June was minor compared with what he saw while operating a helicopter for the Buffalo Flying Service, Buffalo, Wyo.

"We had a regular haystack of these eagles when we first started bringing them in," the 48-year-old pilot said yesterday. At one time last November, he said, more than 65 dead eagles were piled up at the Bolton Ranch, owned by Herman Werner, at Rawlins, Wyo., and that Wyoming game and fish wardens saw them there but did nothing. After that, he said, he was instructed to stack the dead eagles in a sheep-shearing shed and later the carcasses were buried.

PREDATORS HUNTED

Vogan said that he piloted aircraft hunting eagles, coyotes, foxes, bobcats, and other predators on 13 ranches, with the bulk of the flights over ranches owned by Werner. In one flight last December, he testified, 33 eagles and 14 coyotes were killed one day and 34 eagles and 12 coyotes the next day all on Werner's Bolton Ranch.

Killing of any species of wildlife from aircraft is prohibited by law. Eagles can be shot only under a special permit issued by the Interior Department on the certification by a governor of a state that the birds are killing livestock. Interior has not issued any such permits since 1969.

Vogan said that Doyle Vaughn, Manager of the Buffalo Flying Service, told the shooters he had a permit under the predator control program

SHOTGUNS USED

The eagles were shot while roosting or in flight with 12-gauge shotguns. The helicopter would retrieve the carcasses.

Vogan said he worked for Buffalo from last September to mid-February of this year and then was hired by Werner.

In the Interior Department testimony, Reed said that following the investigation of the poisoning of the eagles the department learned that some ranchers in Wyoming and Colorado were employing pilots and gunners using both fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters to kill eagles and coyotes. He said that estimates of the number killed this way far exceeds those poisoned by thallium. "If these figures turn out to be approximately accurate," Reed said, "they are absolutely sickening statistics."

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 4, 1971]

U.S. PROBERS FIND MASS GRAVE OF EAGLES IN WYOMING

(By Elsie Carper)

Federal agents investigating the shooting of rare bald and golden eagles from helicopters discovered a mass grave of the birds in Wyoming yesterday.

The eagles were found buried under dead animals on federal grazing land 14 miles west of Saratoga, Wyo.

Interior Department officials here said the agents traced the burial site after searching around the headquarters of the nearby Bolton Ranch, owned by Herman Werner.

Identified as the state's largest sheep rancher, Werner is the present employer of James O. Vogan, a helicopter pilot who in two days of testimony before a Senate subcommittee here graphically described how the eagles were gunned down from the air by sharpshooters.

Vogan went to work for Werner last spring after quitting his job with the Buffalo (Wyo.) Flying Service. While flying for Buffalo, Vogan kept a record of kills of eagles and coyotes in a little blue notebook so that he could figure up how much the ranchers owed. They paid from $10 to $25 for each eagle killed and $50 for a coyote, or $80 an hour. The ranchers claim that the eagles kill lambs.

Many wildlife experts say that this happens infrequently and that eagles for the most part eat carrion. Lambs die from many causes and those on which eagles feed are already dead, the conservationists say.

Searching through the book during yesterday's hearing Vogan raised to 770 the number of eagles killed from last September to April. Earlier, Vogan had set the figure at close to 600.

He said that 570 eagles were killed over Werner's Bolton Ranch and that Werner paid $10,000 and later an additional $5,000 to Doyle Vaughan, operator of the Buffalo Flying Service, for the kills. Part of the money was for killing coyotes.

Vaughan furnished the guns and the ammunition and paid expenses for the hunters who went along for the sport, Vogan said.

In the period that he worked for Buffalo, the 48-year-old pilot said that he ferried hunters over 13 ranches in Wyoming and Colorado.

Vogan testified that not more than five of the nearly 800 eagles killed were bald eagles. The rarer of the two species, the bald eagle—an American National symbol—is much more difficult to hunt down and kill because of its ability to maneuver and evade gunfire, Vogan said.

The eagles put up a fight, he said. Sometimes it took as much as a box of shells to down one bird. After shooting the eagle, the helicopter would dip to the ground to pick up the carcass. Vogan said that the birds looked dead but that the safe thing to do was to kick them before trying to load them in the helicopter Often they would come back to life and "you had better have a gun to protect yourself."

Vogan, who was given immunity to testify, said that he did none of the killing himself but that he continued to pilot helicopters for the killing of eagles after Werner told him last spring that no more eagles were to be shot.

Vogan said that he had called Sen. Gale McGee (D-Wyo.) and agreed to testify before McGee's Senate Environmental Appropriations Subcommittee, which had been looking into eagle deaths, because "someone was going to get hung to the tree" and he did not want it to be him.

Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton has asked the Justice Department to prosecute persons responsible for the alleged killings. Both the bald and golden eagles are protected by federal law.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 5, 1971]

AN AMNESTY FOR EAGLES

"As free as the birds of the air" is a common saying among Americans. Who has marveled at the soarings and sweeps of even the city pigeon and not thought, what freedom? But it isn't always true, at least not for the mightiest of birds, the eagle. Earlier this week, testimony before the

Senate Environmental Appropriations Subcommittee revealed that some 770 golden and bald eagles were known to have been killed from last September to April in Colorado and Wyoming. A helicopter pilot from the area, testifying under immunity from prosecution, told how the defenseless eagles were gunned down from the air by rifle-packing sharpshooters employed by ranchers. The apparent reasons for pulling the trigger on these eagles is to prevent damage to lambs; the ranchers claim the eagles swoop in to destroy livestock, but many wildlife authorities say this happens infrequently. This question aside, no dispute exists about the federal law which forbids killing bald and golden eagles. A permit is needed to gun down the birds—and only from the ground. But since 1969 no permit has been issued.

Nathaniel P. Reed, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, rightly called the incidents in Wyoming and Colorado "absolutely sickening," adding that the shootings were a "cold, callous, deliberate defiance of federal and state law." Interior Secretary Morton has said that he will take all possible steps necessary to prosecute criminally those responsible for the slaughters. There should be no problem with evidence. Federal agents discovered on Tuesday mass graves of birds in Wyoming, buried on federal grazing lands. Sheep ranching, an industry that has great political power but is hardly vital to the nation's security, has a right to exist but not at the expense of annihilating eagles.

The swiftness of the Interior Department in calling for a halt to eagle-shooting is welcome, especially so in contrast to the department's seeming indifference to protecting many other rare and endangered species. Saving the eagle is not merely a movement to protect one particular bird; it is also saving the eagle that is the national symbol of America. When so many citizens are seeing more and more signs that our country's values are dying a slow death, it is not a happy thought to reflect on the way the national symbol may be dying out as well.

ROGERS PURSUES SPACE SHUTTLE MAIN ENGINE INQUIRY

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, following the award by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to the Rocketdyne Division of North American Rockwell for the final design and manufacture of the space shuttle main engine, I asked for a briefing and explanation of the basis for the award from NASA officials.

I am pursuing this inquiry in light of the criticism surrounding the selection of Rocketdyne for this contract, and I insert at this point in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues a copy of a recent letter I sent to the Comptroller General of the United States:

AUGUST 3, 1971.

Mr. ELMER B. STAATS,
Comptroller General of the United States, General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STAATS: This will confirm my conversation earlier today with Mr. Robert Keller of your office concerning the protest being filed by the Pratt and Whitney Aircraft Division of United Aircraft Corporation following the award by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to the Rocketdyne Division of North American Rockwell for the final design and manufacture of the Space Shuttle Main Engine.

In light of the criticism surrounding the selection of Rocketdyne for this contract, and since the proposal submitted by Pratt and Whitney reportedly was found to contain the lowest proposed costs by the Source Evaluation Board of NASA, I believe that a thorough investigation of this contract award by the General Accounting Office is desirable.

Moreover, I request that your office notify the National Aeronautics and Space Administration of this investigation and that NASA be requested by the General Accounting Office to withhold the award of any contract for the Space Shuttle Main Engine until the GAO has completed its review.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL G. ROGERS, M.C.

RACO OF SOUTH BEND, IND., RECYCLES WASTE MATERIALS

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, we are in an era, none too soon, of environmental awareness.

Many individuals are finally realizing the delicacy of man's relationship with his environment and thus are making conscientious efforts to avoid ecological damage.

I am encouraged, Mr. Speaker, that increasing numbers of businesses are also recognizing the problems created by industrial wastes, as well as by the exploitation of our limited resources. And many firms are now taking steps to minimize their harmful impact on the environment.

Mr. Speaker, I am glad to report that several industries in the Third Congressional District of Indiana, which I am privileged to represent, have established environmental safeguards.

One such plant, the Roach-Appleton Manufacturing Co., of South Bend, Ind., has installed a recycling process to remove chemicals from its waste discharge.

I include in the RECORD an article from the July 4, 1971, edition of the South Bend Tribune, describing this process:

RECYCLING PROCESS COSTS FIRM $100,000

The Roach-Appleton Manufacturing Co. (RACO), 3902 W. Sample St., said Saturday that it has spent $100,000 to place in operation a recycling process that it believes to be an important contribution in the community's efforts to halt water pollution.

As the country's largest producer of steel switch and outlet boxes, the South Bend plant turns out these and other related electrical products by the millions, most of which must be zinc-plated, a process producing highly toxic sodium cyanide as a waste material.

But rather than letting the dangerous chemical go down the drain, RACO is using a method that catches it in a huge recovery system which reuses both the cyanide and the water, according to Eugene Glimek, manager of plant engineering.

"This is recycling in its purest form," asserted Klimek. "We collect our rinse water, run it through what amounts to a giant 'still,' separate the water from the chemicals, then reuse both."

He noted that the distilled water that reenters the rinsing system is free of impurities and is purer than the city's tap water. The cyanide that is trapped is pumped back into the plating solution as needed, he added.

The recovery system, which has been in use three years, was designed and built by the Pfiaudler Co., a division of Ritter Pfiaudler Corp., Rochester, N.Y.

The 600-gallon-per-hour system serves zinc-plating units that are from 95 to 145 feet long, forming one of the largest zinc-plating operations in Indiana. They operate on a 24-hour-a-day, five-day-a-week basis.

The automatic plating process uses sodium cyanide, caustic soda and zinc. As the plated items emerge from the solution, they must be rinsed. The rinse water is caught in a holding basin and pumped back into the Pfiaudler system.

USE TWO EVAPORATORS

After the rinse water passes through two evaporators, where it is heated by high-temperature hot water, the resulting water vapor is drawn into a condenser tank, where it is cooled to form distilled water. As the distilled water is needed, it is pumped from a holding tank back into the rinse cycle.

The liquid left from the separating process is a cyanide solution, which is "reworked" several times, becoming increasingly more concentrated. When the plating process calls for more of the cyanide solution, some of it automatically is pumped into the plating tanks.

RACO officials said that in the three years since the system was put into use, it has produced "very satisfactory" results.

WHO IS BEING SUBSIDIZED?

HON. NEAL SMITH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, there appears to be a generally widespread feeling today that farmers are heavily subsidized by taxpayers and consumers. The assumption is unfortunate, but nonetheless real, and nonetheless a source of concern and discouragement to farmers. It stems perhaps from a welter of arguments, many of which are based on fragmentary and inconclusive evidence, but have as a basic theme the thought that farm subsidies are wasteful, and have come to epitomize misguided public policy.

Subsidies are never popular. We all want to "make it on our own," so to speak. But there is considerable evidence to suggest that the American consumer does get a good deal from the farmer. In any instance where food is too high, it must be related to the spread between farmers' prices and retail prices.

Such evidence is presented in two excellent articles carried in the most recent issues of Farm Profit, a magazine published by the Massey-Ferguson Equipment Co.

These articles were written by Mr. Wes Ritchie, and I believe they place in remarkable perspective the extent to which farmers today are subsidizing others. I would urge my colleagues to evaluate the material, and ask again: "Who is being subsidized?" and should not the farmers be more appreciated.

[From Farm Profit, April 1971]

WHO'S SUBSIDIZING WHO?

(By Wes Ritchie)

There's a great deal more truth than humor in the cartoon at left. Government programs subsidizing various segments of our economy amount to billions of dollars. But it seems unfair that farmers are the ones always taking the rap.

Definition of a subsidy, like that of beauty, varies with the beholder. What one man calls a subsidy may be considered proper and due compensation by another.

Whether we want to believe it or not, virtually all segments of our American economy enjoy Federal subsidies—either directly or indirectly. For the majority, the benefits accrue indirectly while they are paid directly to the producer, in the case of the farmer.

LOTS OF NONFARM SUBSIDIES

Postal subsidies, for example, benefit everyone receiving mail as well as those who mail items at less than the actual delivery cost. Those using the airlines, railroads, and shipping lines benefit indirectly from the subsidies which have been paid out to make sure that these services are maintained.

On the basis of cost, the Post Office Department's greatest dollar loss has consistently been in second-class mail, which comprises primarily newspapers. A recent Post Office estimate, for example, showed that it costs 7½¢ to deliver every copy of a major business newspaper, while the newspaper itself pays only 2¢ postage. Take that 5½¢ difference times the nearly 213 million copies they mail each year and you come up with a subsidy of over $11 million to that company. And that's only one newspaper.

Direct subsidy payments to airlines amounted to over $40 million dollars in 1970. While at the same time they were benefiting tremendously from the $1 billion budget of the Federal Aviation Administration, which includes grants for airports and aviation research.

There are hundreds of subsidies that go to special interest groups in our society. Depletion allowances are a good example. They provide subsidy-like benefits to the petroleum and other industries. Accelerated tax amortization for defense plants subsidizes owners of these plants. Our tariff system could also be called a subsidy structure. It involves government action that enables protected industries to charge more for their goods in the American market.

Federal non-interest-bearing deposits of billions of dollars in private banks and certain services of the Federal Reserve System amount to subsidies for large private bankers. Sale of federal surplus property at a loss is a subsidy to the purchasers.

MANY HIDDEN SUBSIDIES

Public acceptance of a particular subsidy seems to be directly related to how well it is disguised. There is no way to accurately measure in dollars the benefits Mr. John Q. Public receives from all the laws aiding rim. Yet the principal cost of agriculture's programs are constantly subjected to strict public accounting.

There can be little question that the $3.5 billion which annually has been charged off as agricultural (farm) subsidies has meant less costly food and fiber to the American consumer who otherwise would have had to pay that sum, and more, at the retail end of the marketing chain.

The farmer's return on his time, labor, and dollar investment is barely enough now to keep him in business. And since he receives roughly only a third of the consumer dollar spent on groceries, it is likely that the national food bill would go up much more than $3.5 billion if full production costs were assessed at the retail level.

SOMEONE HAS TO PAY

Like the old adage says, "he who dances must pay the fiddler." Those who eat must pay the bill, either entirely at the supermarket or partly through taxes.

"Under our present domestic and international economic systems, this dual financing approach seems to provide a greater abundance of agricultural commodities," says W. R. Poage, chairman of the House Agricultural Committee.

"So long as the farmer must buy in a Government-protected market, and hire labor at pay scales enforced with Government laws and regulations, it would seem necessary that he, too, receive a degree of Government financial backing in his efforts to meet the nation's nutritional needs."

It should also be kept in mind that many nations of the world subsidize agricultural operations, even though their crops are produced with low standard of living labor. At the same time the American farmer successfully meets such competition only because of his advanced technology which has resulted in high yields per acre.

Sales abroad of U.S. farm commodities is a vital factor in maintaining a dollar balance of payments in international trade. These sales likely could not continue at their present level if our farm programs were withdrawn.

HOW MUCH DO FARMERS HELP?

Some people contend that the total transfer of money from consumers and taxpayers to the farm economy is much more than the 3.5 billion. They are figuring that support prices raise the cost of food and fiber to the consumer.

But at the same time they forget to figure just how much the American farmer is supporting the rest of the economy through his efficient production of food and fiber. Let's take a look at the figures:

At right you'll see that the U.S. consumer now spends 4% less of his income on food than he did just 10 years ago. And compared with the rest of the world he's spending 20 to 40% less of his income on food.

Disposable income per person in the U.S. in 1969 was $3,163. Take 4% of that and you find that each person in this country has over $120 more to spend on things other than food than he did 10 years ago.

Figuring the U.S. population at 190 million—that's minus farm population—and multiplying that times the extra $120 each person has to spend, you come up with a figure of over $22 billion. That could well be the amount of money farmers are saving consumers each year through their efficiencies.

Farmers should be the ones asking: "Who's subsidizing who?"

[From Farm Profit, July-Aug., 1971]

A QUESTION FOR OUR FOOD LOVIN' FRIENDS—WHO'S SUPPORTING WHO?

(By Wes Ritchie)

Whether we Americans realize it or not (and most of us don't), we owe a great deal of our luxurious living to the man producing our food.

The farmer and the abundant supply of food he produces is the basis on which we have been able to build the world's highest standard of living.

Stop and think of the progress this country has made in the past 25 years—or even the last 10 years. Fabulous!

Twenty-five years ago we had very few dishwashers or clothes dryer in our homes. Jet airplanes, antibiotics, atomic energy, Salk vaccine, electronic computers and electric can openers were hardly heard of. Two-car families and air conditioned homes (let alone air conditioned cars) were few and far between . . . and the list could go on.

WHO'S MADE IT POSSIBLE?

Ask that question of the average man on the street and you're sure to get a multitude of answers. Our scientists, inventors and industrialists would sure to be mentioned, as they rightly should. But the farmers, as an important force behind this country's progress, would most likely be overlooked.

And there's probably a reason for that, too. Farmers have become so efficient at producing great quantities of wholesome food at low cost that most of us take a full stomach for granted.

But even though farmers are taken for granted, their business is still the nation's most basic industry. And food is man's most basic material need.

Agriculture is this nation's biggest single industry, in fact employs more persons than transportation, public utilities, automobile manufacturing, and the steel industry combined. The current investment per farm worker of $50,000 is nearly double the average for nonfarm industries.

Even more significant is the rate of increase in output per farm worker since 1950—almost double that of nonfarm workers. *This is one of the basic reasons for the high and rising American standard of living.*

HOW HAVE FARMERS DONE IT?

Farmers have freed *manpower:* At the time of the American Revolution, this was a nation of farmers. Even 50 years ago, over ¼ of all Americans were farmers. If farmers were no more efficient now than in 1920, this country would need 20 million people in agriculture to meet her current needs. In 50 years, more than 15 million workers have been "freed" to produce other things.

Farmers have freed *income.* Fifty years ago, the average American had to spend about 80% of his income on the basic requirements of life—food, clothing and shelter. Today these essentials take less than 65%. So the average family can spend over 35% of its take home pay—instead of 20%—for travel, recreation, education, health, and the other luxuries that add to life's quality.

A major part of this gain in extra spendable income has come from a decline in the relative cost of food.

Americans last year had to spend only 16½% of their income on food. That compares with over 20% just 10 years ago and over 50% and more in eastern Europe and many developing countries.

Anyway you look at it, Americans are buying food at bargain prices.

Farmers have also freed *time.* The average work week was 51 hours in 1920, compared to 40 now. And paid vacations 50 years ago were few and far between.

Many things have helped, but you can be sure that if food, fiber and shelter were still costing 80% of consumer spending, workers could not have reduced their work week.

Farmers have freed *space.* When we were a nation of 107 million people, 350 million acres were needed to grow our food and fiber. In recent years we have harvested fewer than 300 million acres and our population has nearly doubled.

If farmers hadn't improved their efficiency, we would now need to harvest 500 to 550 million acres—even if we stopped exporting. The acres spared by farm efficiency add greatly to soil and water protection, wildlife, and recreation. And more land is available for towns and open space, too.

These benefits—income, time, space, and better use of manpower—have all been vital to improving the quality of life for every member of our society.

TREMENDOUS FARM PROGRESS

What has happened in the past few years overshadows the progress of many, many previous generations. In Christ's time, it's thought that one fulltime worker was producing enough food and fiber for himself and less than one other person.

By 1850, the food and fiber produced by one American farm worker was enough for 4 persons. Just 50 years later the figure had nearly doubled—it was up to 7.

Between 1900 and 1940, farmers made tre-

mendous progress and the output of food and fiber per farm worker had risen to enough for 11 other people.

By 1960, the production of one farm worker was enough to meet the food and fiber needs of himself, plus 26 other people. Last year, each farmer produced enough to feed nearly 46 people. In 1971, it could equal, or possibly exceed 50!

Farmers have made as much change in their productivity in the past 11 years as was made between Christ's time and 1960.

WHO BENEFITS MOST?

Generally, we in America feel that he who makes progress possible should be rewarded for it. But the farmer, the man who has really made our improved level of living possible, often does not share proportionately in the profits.

The real beneficiary of our great agricultural progress is the American consumer. The average American who feeds himself on only 16½% of his after-tax income could not do it without the farmer's basic support—an abundant supply of food.

MORE SUPPORT FOR VOICE OF AMERICA YIDDISH BROADCASTS TO SOVIET JEWS

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, as a sponsor of legislation urging the Voice of America to undertake broadcasts in the Yiddish language into the Soviet Union, I was delighted to note recently that the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has officially joined the ranks of those organizations urging Congress to pass such legislation.

I share this profound hope that the more than 3 million Jews living in the Soviet Union and suffering continuous oppression by the Soviet Government will be given the small act of recognition which would be provided through Yiddish broadcasts by the Voice of America.

At this time I would like to share with my colleagues in the House of Representatives the following press account of the support for the above legislation which has been expressed by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith:

[From the Washington Post, July 3, 1971]

YIDDISH, HEBREW PROGRAMS FOR VOICE OF AMERICA RADIO

NEW YORK.—The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has urged Congress to pass pending bills authorizing the Voice of America to include Hebrew and Yiddish in programs now beamed to the USSR.

The current Voice of America program "ignores the more than 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union who have been deprived of their cultural heritage, and who would welcome support from abroad in their struggles to retain their ethnic identity," ADL national chairman Seymour Graubard said here.

He called on the State Department, which has jurisdiction over the program, to institute a minimum of two weekly broadcasts, one in Yiddish and one in Hebrew "for the culture-hungry Jewish audiences in the USSR."

Mr. Graubard noted that the Voice of America has been beaming its foreign language broadcasts for decades to people under Soviet domination in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

"Yet, the Jewish ethnic group, singled out by the Soviet authorities for special harassment and denial of rights, has never been represented," he said.

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK DEALS

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I strongly object to the conference committee's acceptance of the Senate provision that would permit the Export-Import Bank to deal with a national or agency of a country that is engaged in armed conflict with the United States or supports such action.

This section was put in the existing law for a very good reason: It makes no sense to help an enemy of this country, especially when we are at war. What good will it do this Nation to supply goods and services to a country that will use them against U.S. troops?

Likewise any country aiding another country engaged in armed conflict with the United States should not enjoy the benefits provided through the Export-Import Bank.

This amendment was originally put into the law by my predecessor from the 24th District of New York (Mr. FINO) during the height of the Vietnam war. It cuts off any Eximbank aid to Eastern European countries who were all supplying goods to the North Vietnamese Communists.

When the present bill was considered in the House, this body wisely passed a floor amendment with my strong support that restored the Fino amendment despite efforts by the committee to include language similar to this conference version.

The Senate, however, came to the conference with the language we now have before us, and the conference committee chose to adopt the Senate version.

What astounds me most, Mr. Speaker, is who is behind this attempt to finance the enemy through offering assistance to nations friendly to our antagonists. it is none other than the President of the United States, the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, according to the minority leader. This is the man who used his diligence against communism as a piller of his campaign. Now he has decided to virtually encourage trading with the enemy while we are in the midst of a war.

Mr. Speaker, the conference report should be rejected and the House should insist on its version of the bill. The Fino amendment deserves to be restored. When we are winding down the war in Vietnam is no time to begin trading with the enemy.

When, and if, the Communists of Eastern Europe and the Far East show they intend to live in peace with the rest of the world and not support aggression against free nations, then—and only then—this Congress can consider relaxing the Export-Import Bank law.

The leadership of the party on the other side of the aisle are engaged in pure folly in trying to permit such financing of the enemy. I urge a strong vote against this conference report—and thus against trade with the enemy.

COMMUNICATION FROM NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I have received a communication from the National Wildlife Federation which I feel will be of interest to my colleagues. It concerns the recent decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia involving the proposed Calvert Cliffs' nuclear power facility.

I include the comment of the National Wildlife Federation at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

COMMUNICATION FROM NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION

With due respect for the inherent dangers of indulging in superlatives, the Opinion (Calvert Cliffs' Coordinating Committee, Sierra Club and National Wildlife Federation v. Atomic Energy Commission) is unquestionably an extremely significant environmental milestone.

The Opinion includes what is to date perhaps the most explicit judicial interpretation of the National Environmental Policy Act which mandates careful consideration of the environment by all agencies of the Federal Government.

With specific application to the AEC and atom-fired electrical generating plants the Opinion:

(1) Opens the AEC licensing hearings to full public consideration of the environmental impact of nuclear power plants;

(2) Eliminates major sources of delay in the hearing process by:

(a) dispensing with technical arguments over the public's right to raise environmental issues;

(b) strips away costly procedural arguments which impede immediate attention to the merits of issues raised;

(3) Explicitly affirms that the AEC must:

(a) investigate the environmental impact of all nuclear power plants even if the public does not raise the environmental issues;

(b) permit environmental investigation of all nuclear power plants licensed after January 1, 1970 (effective date of National Environmental Policy Act) even if the investigation requires re-opening or extended hearings;

(c) investigate *all* environmental issues, even if covered by existing regulations established by other state or federal agencies;

(d) consider modifying operating licenses of plants operating prior to January 1, 1970 to enhance environmental protection;

(e) consider halting work on plants under construction, but not operating prior to January 1, 1970 pending full review of all environmental considerations;

1. fully investigate the environmental impact of these plants as soon as possible and modify construction permits as required to enhance environmental protection.

It has been a long, sometimes furious battle. We are naturally gratified the Court ruled favorably on every point we raised. But it may not be over yet. The AEC has ninety days to appeal the decision to the Supreme

Court: the Commission could seek an "emergency" legislative loop-hole; or could engage in token compliance with the ruling.

We hope the AEC will not opt for either of these alternatives. Careful, honest consideration of the environmental impact of nuclear power plants is an extremely modest goal.

Positive compliance with the Court's ruling will speed up, not hinder, meeting the nation's energy requirements.

Eliminating the long, costly haggling over technicalities will accelerate decisions on the best method of power production for a given situation, and result in better nuclear power plants with minimum possible impact on the environment.

COMMEMORATION OF THE WARSAW UPRISING AND CAPTIVE NATION DAYS

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, for several days our attention has been called again to an historic act of heroism, while at the same time we have been reminded of equally significant acts of bestial oppression.

We can glory once again in the gallant but futile uprising staged 27 years ago by the citizens of Warsaw in which men, women and children fought their Nazi oppressors with every type of weapon upon which they could lay their hands. We can share the pride our fellow citizens of Polish birth or descent have in the heroic efforts made by those Polish patriots who for 63 long days tried to dislodge the alien overlords from their beloved capital.

The bloody 2-month struggle left more than 200,000 of these brave people lying dead upon the streets of Warsaw while Russian troops stood by and watched the Nazi military power put down the uprising.

History shows that what had seemed a glorious effort made in vain really resulted in giving new heart to the allied forces fighting in Poland's behalf. To some degree our vicarious pride in the splendid efforts made by the courageous Warsaw citizens helps to balance our sorrow and regret as we reflect upon the prolonged tragedy suffered by our friends who find themselves living in the so-called captive nations.

Thirteen years ago when this body took legislative steps to proclaim our deep and abiding affection for these enslaved peoples, as well as our determination to stand by them until they are again free, we all expressed sincere hopes that all enslaved peoples would soon throw off the fetters which kept them captive.

How tragic it is that our hopes could not be realized, but instead we have seen the Kremlin exert increasing acts of oppression. Their inhuman treatment of Jews within the Soviet Union itself as well as in its satellite countries has increased in frequency and in intensity. We have seen the efforts made by the people of Czechoslovakia and the people of Poland to pursue a more democratic life repulsed again and again by the Soviets both by direct and indirect means. We all recall the magnificent struggle made by the Hungarian people in 1956 to free themselves from Russian bondage. We have watched the people and the leaders of practically all the capitive nations make sporadic attempts to gain even minor improvements in their economic and social well-being. Unfortunately we have seen most of those attempts fail.

But what we have seen, Mr. Speaker, is a continuing manifestation by the people of these enslaved countries to gain their freedom and to attain full self-determination. Even under sustained oppression, the drab and limited opportunities open to them have not snuffed out the sparks of freedom or quenched the desire for the sovereignty.

It would be only right and just if all Americans would utilize these days dedicated to reminding us of the captive nations and the bravery of the Warsaw citizens to reinforce our adherence to the eloquence and sincerity of the legislative statements contained in Public Law 86–90 adopted by the U.S. Congress in July 1959, wherein we pledged to share with these captive people in their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and independence.

Let us not forget that the people of these countries are our tried friends. Most important, they are also the blood relatives of millions of loyal American citizens who are entitled to our most generous and energetic support in their behalf.

TEXTILE IMPORTS

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, ever since I came to the Congress I have observed the growing impact of foreign products on our economy—on our workers and on our consumers.

I am especially interested in the plight of the persons in this country who are engaged in the manufacturing of textiles and textile products. Many of my constituents earn a living in textile plants since this is one of the biggest industries in my congressional district.

Since 1934 we have had a policy of free trade leadership, and it has flooded our markets with shoes, textiles, cars, steel, electronic items, and even foods. As everyone knows, the price is lower on these imports, but frankly, the quality and workmanship are usually inferior. The American consumers are, therefore, victims of foreign manufacturers; they are getting no bargain for their money and replacement parts are often hard to find or expensive. Foreign appliances are not easily serviced either.

In 1959 a billion square yards of textiles and apparel of cotton, manmade fiber and wool came into this country. In just 6 years these imports more than doubled. In 5 more years, by 1970, they had redoubled to some 4.6 billion square yards which is more than 22 yards for every living American.

Foreign countries are now supplying 15 percent of the American textile market, and, in certain items, such as worsted fabric for men's suits, the import ratio is above 50 percent and growing, I am told.

By the end of 1969 studies showed that if imports of textiles continued at the previous year's rate there could be a loss of 100,000 jobs a year in that single industry. The bitter truth is that imports have increased, not decreased, and many textile workers have had to look elsewhere for jobs.

We need the textile plants that are located throughout our country. The jobs they provide are very important in holding unemployment down and providing wages that bolster our consumer purchasing power. When too many workers are displaced, there is nothing they can do but turn toward the Government—the taxpayers—for some form of relief or welfare. A limited number of jobs in other industries are usually available, but they go fast when an entire plant folds.

More than 60 textile manufacturing plants and 100 knitting mills have closed their doors in the past 2 years. Imports were not the sole reason for the shutdowns, but they have been a major factor. The present level of imports represents about a third of a million textile-apparel jobs.

Through prosperity and depressed times textile imports have gone up. They have reached a point where they threaten future success of our American textile industry unless suitable controls are set in force.

Ceilings and import quotas can prevent the erosion of production in this country. They are insurance against unemployment, a sagging local economy, and against the death of some communities. Our legislative work here should be to protect the jobs of our constituents, to encourage the growth of consumer buying power, to insure quality products for our consumers, and to maintain our economic and trade leadership.

THE DANGERS TO A SOUND ECONOMY

HON. JAMES W. SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. Speaker, in my July newsletter, I asked my constituents in the Second District of Missouri to rate the dangers to a sound economy. Those who responded ranked five factors in the following order:

U.S. overseas commitments.
Labor's wage demands.
Inflationary domestic spending.
Unfavorable trade arrangements.
Industry's profit margins.

Of course, no single cause operates in isolation. The drain of our resources and manpower abroad, coupled with the inflationary wage-price spiral, have contributed to a decline in America's competitive position in world markets.

We cannot afford to let unwise foreign involvements impoverish us, nor can we afford a timid approach to inflated wage and price increases.

THE LOSS OF AMERICAN CONFIDENCE

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in the August 5, 1971, issue of the Washington Post there appeared a very disturbing article entitled "Is America Losing Self-Confidence?"

In writing this article Mr. Kevin P. Phillips stresses the many prevalent signals which may be pointing to American decline. Our self-confidence has been lost since U.S. involvement in Vietnam. This article points out that U.S. citizens no longer have the will or the guts to mobilize. This lack can lead to the United States falling from great nation status.

In contrast to this, the Russians and Red Chinese do not have this lack of confidence in their destiny. They do not question what their leaders have done and are proud of their aggressive actions rather than engaging in any guilty introspection.

Mr. Phillips also points out that we are losing faith in hard work and the results of competition.

Mr. President, our Nation seems to be willing to go ahead with a guaranteed annual income without regard to its effect on the willingness of the people to work or of creating a permanent welfare class. Increasing welfare payments are directly in competition with lower income jobs. The results of this have been clearly outlined by critic Irving Kristol when he stated that the principal cause of the welfare explosion has been the "bleeding heart psychology that the poor deserve high welfare payments as a right."

We can use the examples of Sweden and Britain tc show that the present U.S. combination of welfarism, permissiveness, lack of self-confidence, and anti-imperialism are sure signs of U.S. decline. These distressing comments deserve the consideration of the Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article entitled "Is America Losing Self-Confidence?" which appeared in the August 5, 1971, issue of the Washington Post be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 5, 1971]

IS AMERICA LOSING SELF-CONFIDENCE?

(By Kevin P. Phillips)

Is America in danger of entering a period of decay like that which characterized the declining years of Greece and Rome?

President Nixon himself has referred to the *possibility*. But according to two recent analyses, the time may already be at hand.

"The Declining Self-Confidence of the Super-Powers" is the theory of Peter Wiles, who holds the Chair of Russian Studies at the University of London. Unfortunately, Wiles sees the United States, in greater trouble than the Soviet Union. His main theme, laid out in the spring 1971 issue of International Affairs (published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs), goes as follows:

"Self-confidence is the key. An imperialist government has to feel a great historic righteousness about what it does, and the citizens of its core nationality must share this feeling . . . The will to mobilize, and the willingness to be mobilized, are (most) important, and since men are moral beings, that will rests upon self-righteousness."

This makes sense, and Wiles is correct in saying that we have lost that will. Gone are the days when the United States sent gunboats up the Yangtze (1937) and Marines into Lebanon (1958), caring not a whit for the howls of the so-called Third World.

Our national will, our sense of invincibility and historic mission, foundered in Vietnam. And in the last few years, it has all but been snuffed out by the permissiveness, anarchismeum-radicalism and guilt that has suffused the land as a corollary and result of our Southeast Asian disaster.

Now we are going back and rewriting our history, blackening our policy-making, abandoning our military preparedness, and raking ourselves over the coals of guilt-complex liberalism. Publication of the Pentagon papers is the best example of remorseful historiography in action.

In contrast, the Russians are not questioning what their leaders did in Prague in 1968. Specialist Wiles says that the Soviet people are proud of their suppression of the Czechs, and also of their "aggressive racism" towards China.

Wiles sees the United States in deep trouble: "Historiography is so particularly important because it is the basis of imperialist remorse, which is the basis of imperialist decline." In plain language, the United States is slipping into the hands of the doubters and the denigrators, and we are losing historical self-confidence—and the guts—to maintain Great Power status.

Unfortunately, we are also losing confidence of another sort—faith in the work ethic and confidence in the fairness of the competitive economic opportunities offered by our society. Guilt about the affluence of the majority is a major foundation of the federal government's guaranteed annual income (welfare) proposal. Never mind that it will detract from lower-class willingness to work, and that it may well create a permanent welfare underclass.

Writing in the August issue of Atlantic, social critic Irving Kristol argues that the principal cause of the welfare explosion has been welfarism itself—the bleeding-heart psychology that the poor deserve high welfare payments as a right. This has been implemented, he says, by the active recruitment of "clients," whom poverty workers advise to have pride in welfare and to spurn low-paying "dead-end" jobs. Kristol notes—and congressional studies confirm—that many welfare recipients have abandoned low-income jobs.

Kristol sees welfare as robbing the low-income family head of his socio-economic function. "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." He concludes by speculating that welfare itself is a major cause of low-income family distintegration and social unrest.

If the experiences of Sweden and Britain, once great world powers, are any example, the present-day U.S. combination of welfarism, permissiveness and anti-imperialism is fatal to national greatness—or at least it is a sure sign of decline and fall. We already seem to be traveling on that crumbling Roman road.

MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON ON WATER POLLUTION

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, on July 28 our distinguished colleague from Massachusetts (Mr. HARRINGTON) appeared before the House Public Works Committee to testify on the subject of water pollution. Mr. HARRINGTON brings to this House an expertise in the field of water pollution. In his statement before the committee he has provided a thorough analysis of our Nation's water quality crisis and called for clear national water pollution standards, a master plan for the cleanup of our waters, and an acceleration of our loan and grant program to assist industries and municipalities in developing treatment facilities.

For the benefit of our colleagues and interested readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, our colleague's statement follows:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSMAN MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON (D., MASS.) BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS ON H.R. 4129, H.R. 8355 (H.R. 9680, H.R. 9684, H.R. 10046), H.R. 806 (H.R. 809, H.R. 1330), H.R. 8736 (H.R. 9576, H.R. 9803, H.R. 10048), H.R. 8835, H.R. 9681 (H.R. 9685, H.R. 10047), JULY 28, 1971

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman, the hearings being held by your Committee are vital. The objective of all the legislation before you is clean water. Clean water used to be taken for granted. That is no longer the case.

You have nearly 150 bills before you for consideration, of which 60 are original pieces of legislation. It is up to your Committee to attempt to solve the water pollution problem through good legislation, but your job is a difficult one. Sixty bills, approaching the problem in 60 different and fragmented ways, equals confusion, complexity, and incoherence. I do not envy you your job of attempting to make order from this chaos. But I am grateful to you for allowing me the opportunity to appear before you today to explain my concept of effective water pollution control legislation.

Let me begin by stating some givens:

1. Our time has run out. If we delay any longer we will face a national water quality crisis. Disease and death are the direct results of procrastination.

2. We therefore must:

(a) Strengthen present legislation;

(b) Give greater federal aid to cities and industries to build treatment facilities; and

(c) *Enforce* the laws.

3. In order to accomplish these goals we must develop a very clear idea of the kind of water pollution abatement program we need. We need a master-plan.

Our approach thus far has been rather haphazard. I do not mean to denigrate past efforts, but it is obvious that we have failed to give the guidance required in this field.

Our program is fragmented. It is not being enforced. We failed to recognize the magnitude of the problem until very late. The Congress did not respond to the water pollution crisis until 1965 when it passed the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. In its haste, the Congress legislated a complex and nearly unenforceable law. In 1968 this law was amended and in 1970 we passed the Water Quality Improvement Act. But these laws have not really solved the problems. We lack *clear* national water pollution standards—we lack the

ability to enforce these standards quickly. We have established the Environmental Protection Agency to coordinate federal activity in this area. But we have failed to make sure that EPA can or will use the tools it has to enforce water quality standards, and we have failed to supply EPA with enough tools.

The picture I am painting is a grim one. Frankly, unless we achieve an overview of the situation and legislate according to an overall plan, we will never have clean water.

My plea to this Committee is to concentrate less on the specific bills before you and more on the concepts which prompted these bills. Only by legislating master plans providing strong guidelines, strong oversight, and strong enforcement, will we save our water.

Mr. Chairman, I am here today to testify in behalf of six bills which I have introduced. In no way do I claim that enactment of any or all of these bills will solve the whole problem. But the concepts behind each are ones I hope the Committee will take into consideration in reporting out legislation.

Three of my bills, H.R. 4129, H.R. 8355, and H.R. 9681 would improve, update, and strengthen the 1899 Refuse Act. H.R. 4129 would include municipalities under the provisions of the Act; H.R. 8355 would specifically allow citizen *qui tam suits* and increase penalties under the Act; and H.R. 9681 would give direct permit granting authority for effluents to the Administrator of EPA.

The three other bills, H.R. 806 (identical to H.R. 809, H.R. 1330), H.R. 8736 (identical to H.R. 9576 and H.R. 9803), and H.R. 8835, present a packet of legislation designed to provide both industry and municipalities with more Federal funds to clean up water pollution. H.R. 800 would provide lost cost loans to marginal industries for the building of waste treatment facilities, H.R. 8736 provides 90 per cent Federal funding of the construction of municipal waste treatment facilities and H.R. 8835 provides 100 per cent Federal funding of planning grants for municipal waste treatment facilities.

PART I

I would like first to discuss the Refuse Act amendments.

It is ironic that the clearest and most forceful water pollution abatement law should be an Act passed 72 years ago. It is a sad commentary on the Executive Branch's unwillingness to commit itself to fighting pollution that the Refuse Act has been repeatedly gutted by the Nixon Administration since it was resurrected last year.

The Refuse Act as it is presently written and interpreted could be substantially strengthened by the enactment of the three bills I have introduced.

H.R. 4129 would include municipalities under the Act. As the Act is presently written, effluents from municipalities are specifically exempted, as are industrial effluents discharged or deposited into a municipal or other public sewage treatment system. Only direct dumping by persons and industry is covered under the provision stating that it is unlawful "to throw, discharge or deposit, or cause, suffer, or procure to be thrown, discharged, or deposited whether from or out of any ship, barge, or other floating craft of any kind, or from the shore, wharf, *manufacturing* establishment, or mill of any kind, *any refuse matter of any kind or description whatever other than that flowing from streets and sewers and passing* therefrom in a liquid state, into any navigable water of the United States or into any tributary of any navigable water from which the same shall float or be washed into such navigable water. . . ." (emphasis added).

At the time the Refuse Act was written, water pollution was an almost inconceivable idea. The original thrust of the Act was to prevent hazards to navigation, i.e. the dumping of materials which would block waterways, something that municipalities were unlikely to do. Water pollution is now our number one hazard and the worst source of water pollution is unabated sewage from municipalities. The refuse from municipal sewage is in the millions of tons and industries tying into municipal plants contribute greatly. To help make a coherent attack on water pollution, utilizing the full strength of the Refuse Act, municipalities must be included.

H.R. 9681, introduced by Congressman Koch, myself and 36 other colleagues would transfer the responsibility for issuing permits to dump under the Refuse Act from the Corps of Engineers to the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. It was logical in 1899 for the Corps to issue permits regarding the navigability of waters since that was the Corps' exclusive domain. However, President Nixon announced by Executive order on December 23, 1970 that permits for the dumping of effluents would be issued in cooperation with affected federal agencies, i.e. EPA. EPA has been established to oversee the government's environmental programs and to try to enforce the laws. Permit granting power for effluents logically belongs under the EPA.

The Environmental Protection Agency is in fact making decisions on whether or not to issue effluent permits under the Refuse Act. Regulations published in the Federal Register of April 7, 1971 clearly give the responsibility for determining who should receive a permit to EPA. A special division has been established in EPA, and The Corps of Engineers sends a duplicate copy of all permit applications it receives immediately to EPA. Sections 8 and 9 of the Rules and Regulations in the Federal Register of April 7, clearly state:

"(8) Recognizing the expertise of EPA in matters related to water quality, District Engineers shall, except as provided in subparagraph (10) of this paragraph accept such findings, determinations and interpretations as the Regional Representative of EPA may make respecting the applicability of water quality standards (including compliance with those standards in particular circumstances) and related water quality considerations, and shall deny a permit application in accordance with the recommendation of a Regional Representative if that recommendation is supported by a finding that the proposed discharge or deposit will not be consistent with applicable water quality standards or related water quality considerations.

"(9) If the Regional Representative of EPA finds that the proposed discharge or deposit will meet applicable water quality standards or that a permit can be conditioned so as to ensure compliance with applicable water quality standards, District Engineers shall accept the finding and shall include in any permit issued such conditions as the Regional Representative may have recommended respecting water quality standards and related water quality considerations. In any case the District Engineer may deny the requested permit if it appears that anchorage and navigation will be injured or that the proposed discharge or deposit will have a significant and unreasonable adverse impact on fish and wildlife resources."

The Corps of Engineers will in effect merely rubber-stamp EPA's recommendations. (The Secretary of the Army may, however, ask the Administrator of EPA to review any permit recommendation made). Since EPA is doing the work of examining the permit applications and making the recommendations, it seems only logical that the Administrator of EPA should be the one issuing the permits.

The third bill, H.R. 8355, introduced by Congressman Edward I. Koch, myself and 31 others, would specifically allow for civil suits under the Refuse Act.

The Refuse Act sets forth both civil and criminal penalties for violations of its provisions.

It also provides for a reward of up to half of any fine imposed for a violation of the Act to be given to the individual who informed the government of the violation. This could roughly be called a "bounty on polluters" and provides both an incentive for citizen action and a mechanism for efficient use of government resources. The courts have granted these rewards in several cases where the U.S. Attorney has sued a company and the company has been found guilty of pollution. Congressman Reuss and David Nixon, who is here with me today to testify on behalf of this bill, have both received half the fine as a reward in suits brought by the U.S. Attorney. A problem arises, however, when there is a clear violation of the act and the government fails to, or refuses to act. There is a time-honored legal principle by which a person entitled to receive his portion of a fine may, if the government is negligent in suing the violator, sue himself. This type of suit is known as a *qui tam* action because the individual brings it on behalf of both the government and himself. *Qui tam* actions have been allowed under a number of different situations and there are several United States Supreme Court decisions affirming its use.

Over the past year, however, U.S. District Courts have disallowed *qui tam* suits based on the Refuse Act in several jurisdictions. The courts have said that the language of the Act mixes up the civil and criminal penalties making it impossible to separate the two. Therefore, they have refused to allow the *qui tam* on the grounds that an individual citizen cannot prosecute a criminal case and since there is no clear distinction between the criminal and civil aspects of the Act, no *qui tam* can be allowed.

My bill, H.R. 8355, answers the specific objections of the district court judges clarifying the language of the Refuse Act. It would amend section 16 of the Act of March 3, 1899 — 30 Stat. 1121, 1153, Ch. 425; 33 U.S. Code 411 and 412. The amended Refuse Act puts into separate sections the following provisions: pecuniary penalties under civil action; inmprisonment under criminal actions if the violation is by a natural person; pecuniary penalty and imprisonment under criminal action.

In cases where the U.S. Attorney does not act on a complaint within 60 days after receiving information about a violation, the person giving the U.S. Attorney that information would have the right to receive one-half of any pecuniary penalty imposed upon a violator of the Refuse Act after successful completion of a civil action. Each day in which any violation occurs would be considered a separate violation. Imprisonment would be for not less than 30 days and not more than one year.

In April of 1970 I filed with the U.S. Attorney in Boston an affidavit citing 151 Massachusetts companies alleged in violation of the Refuse Act. I requested that the U.S. Attorney, the U.S. Corps of Engineers, and the other appropriate federal agencies give immediate attention to this affidavit in an effort to determine what pollution was occurring as a result of discharges by these companies and if necessary to initiate proceedings to abate that pollution. That request has met with very little success. Now over a year later there has been no official action taken against any of the companies. In fairness, I must point out that a special grand jury was convened in January of this year to investigate the problems of water pollution in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—in part I believe the result of my affidavit.

Congressman Edward I. Koch of New York filed an affidavit under the Refuse Act in the past year and he has met with no more success in New York than I have in Massachusetts.

Congressman Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin utilized the Refuse Act several months earlier than I did in Wisconsin. Mr. Reuss' affidavit likewise was not acted on. But he went one step further and he attempted to have action taken against polluters by filing a *qui tam* action. The *qui tam* action by Mr. Reuss was unsuccessful in the U.S. district courts in Wisconsin and has been appealed. That lack of success as well as with other similar cases throughout the country are in great part the motivation behind H.R. 8355.

The following is a summary of five cases recently decided upon by U.S. district courts which ruled unfavorably on *qui tam* suits.

A *qui tam* suit was disallowed in the case of *Durning* v. *I.T.T. Rayonier, Inc.*, in the U.S. district court in Washington State. In that case the judge ruled that the Refuse Act was intended to reward an informer for information leading to a conviction in a criminal prosecution, but that it does not allow him to sue the violator for the part of the penalty he might receive if the violator were convicted and fined in a criminal proceeding.

Bass Anglers Sportman Society v. *United States Steel Corporation*; *Bass Anglers Sportsman Society* v. *Avondale Mills*, and *Bass Anglers Sportsman Society* v. *Stauffer Chemical Company*, were all ruled on in the district court in Alabama on February 8, 1971. In these cases too, *qui tam* suits were disallowed. The ruling in these cases was that the Refuse Act creates criminal liability only and that the act does not authorize civil actions by informers against dischargers for part of the fine or to obtain injunctions.

Bass Anglers Sportsman Society v. *U.S. Plywood-Champion Paper* was ruled on in the district court in Texas on February 10, 1971. The ruling in this case said that the Refuse Act authorizes payment to the informer only after conviction of the violator in the criminal proceeding and, therefore, by implication precludes an informer's *qui tam* suit.

Reuss v. *Moss-American, Inc.*, was ruled upon in Wisconsin on February 23, 1971. In that case the ruling was that the Refuse Act can be enforced only by government prosecution, and further that it contains no implication of a right to maintain a *qui tam* action.

Reuss v. *E. I. du Pont de Nemours* was ruled on in Wisconsin on March 18, 1971. In this case the judge cited the foregoing opinions, agreed with them, and dismissed the suit.

It is reasonable to conclude after a study of the decisions of the district court judges just cited that objection was not raised to the principle of the *qui tam* action. Rather, the particular language of the 1899 Refuse Act has been interpreted so that only criminal suits brought by the Government—not individual civil suits—are allowable.

Individual action and individual commitment are essential to the effort to stop water pollution. It is for this reason that I introduced H.R. 8355 to amend the Refuse Act to make clear that *qui tam* suits may be used by citizens against those who pollute our waterways. Passage of this amendment would greatly strengthen the Refuse Act by changing the statutory language and clarifying the language on which the district court judges have relied in disallowing individual citizen suits.

Let me address myself to the two other important provisions of this bill.

The first would increase the monetary penalties for violation of the Refuse Act. The range of pecuniary penalties as the law is presently written is from a $500 minimum to $2,500 maximum; my proposal would raise this to a minimum of $10,000 and a maximum of $25,000. Increased penalties are urgently needed to strengthen the Refuse Act and should be approved.

Second, as I have stated, the Refuse Act provides that up to one-half of any fine collected may be awarded—at the discretion of the court—to the person who gives information about the polluter to the Department of Justice. My legislation would make this provision more explicit and would also direct the other half of any sum collected go to a fund in the Treasury for the use by the Environmental Protection Agency in its efforts to control and abate the water pollution.

Mr. Chairman, the 1899 Refuse Act is one of the most effective instruments presently available to citizens of this country who would take individual action against those who pollute their waterways. I am hopeful that the important changes which I am proposing today would be rapidly approved by the Congress. Such approval would be a demonstration of the Congress' responsiveness to the American people's desire to preserve their natural resources, and will give the American people an extremely effective tool in fighting water pollution.

I am, however, deeply disturbed by two actions taken within the past month which I believe will effectively destroy the Refuse Act unless rescinded.

I refer first to a directive by the Office of Management and Budget that all input-output information supplied by companies on their permit applications may be kept confidential if the company so requests. It is impossible for any citizen to determine whether a company is causing undue pollution without knowing this information. Water pollution discharge standards would be based in terms of an industry's output of raw materials or products. Knowing only the amount of effluent discharged would make it impossible to determine whether the company is complying with these standards.

I would like at this point to insert in the record of these hearings a copy of an article appearing in the Washington Star of July 8, 1971 discussing this problem, and a copy of a letter I have written to the President, the Honorable George P. Shultz, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Lt. Gen. F. J. Clarke, Chief, Army Corps of Engineers, and the Honorable William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator of EPA. I have received to date no more than an interim reply to my request for a full explanation of this policy decision. I urge the Committee to make a similar request, since there can be no public check on EPA or the Corps of Engineers if the information is kept secret. The rampant public distrust of government which we are presently experiencing can only be exacerbated by an action such as this.

Even more outrageous, if possible, Mr. Chairman, is a directive issued by Mr. Ruckelshaus to regional EPA administrators on July 15. This directive states that the EPA will not establish national industrial discharge standards, leaving it up to regional officials to use their own judgment in writing the thousands of federal permits (the number of permit applications has been estimated from a low of 40,000 to a high of 120,000). The Agency has admitted that without these guidelines the regional administrators can impose specific effluent discharge limits on only "a selected minority" of the permits.

This second blow to the Refuse Act weakens the ability of the public to judge pollution even if input-output information is made public since a lack of overall standards will give us nothing to go by.

EPA has admitted failure in attempting to write guidelines for 18 "critical industry groups" because of the "complexity of trying to set national base-level standards across an industry."

With this new policy, regional decisions will dictate policy which will effectively eliminate any hope of establishing federal standards of clean water. It is my feeling that this policy change indicates that Mr. Ruckelshaus is under the same pressure to ease federal guidelines which eventually led to the firing of former Interior Secretary Hickel.

Our stated national objective is clean water.

The objective cannot be attained without national standards.

EPA has admitted that it cannot set these standards.

We all know that if we want national standards we can have them. I therefore urge the Committee to petition the President and EPA to set these standards. If that approach does not work, I would further urge the Committee to mandate the establishment of national water quality standards by a date certain, no later than one year hence.

If the Administration takes regressive action, it is our responsibility to undo the damage.

PART II

There is, Mr. Chairman, no dispute over the fact that our country is facing a severe environmental crisis in the pollution of our waterways. The National Wildlife Federation tells us that at least 2,600 communities continue to discharge raw sewage into our waterways. A survey released in March of 1970 told of 85 cities in this country which had dangerously substandard drinking water systems. A *Washington Post* story in July of 1970 about the mercury pollution crisis told of the preliminary results of a survey which found at least 14 states with fish and water contaminated by mercury.

The Merrimack River in New England flows through my Congressional District. It has been rated as the eighth most polluted body of water in the country. Following is the amount and type of pollution from six companies on the Merrimack: Color-producing waste discharges; Plating wastes containing copper and cyanide; 2,380 pounds of grease per day; 3,120 pounds of grease per day; Periodic dumping of dye; 860 pounds of grease per day.

Beyond the physical damage done by pollution, there is also great financial loss. For instance, a *U.S. News and World Report* study estimated that $12 billion of property damage is caused by water pollution annually in this country. In 1964 approximately $40 million was lost to the communities along the Merrimack River as a result of that river's polluted state. It should be noted that these figures are not part of the astronomical costs facing us to abate the pollution.

Estimates made by Members of Congress, Governors, and water pollution experts state that anywhere from $10 to $80 billion is needed to clean our waters. Cities and towns throughout the country, already saddled with high costs of services and near-bankruptcy, must face even higher outlays to halt their pollution. Lowell, Massachusetts, has planned a $16.8 million sewage treatment plant. The Greater Lawrence, Massachusetts, area has planned a $27.5 million facility. A General Accounting Office commissioned study of the Merrimack River concluded that to clean the Merrimack River so that it would have water of a sufficient quality for fishing and swimming would require an expenditure of $350 million.

There is yet another aspect to the financial side of pollution abatement. Money has been authorized by the Congress for pollution abatement, but has never been fully appropriated. As a result, states and municipalities have expended large amounts of money with the understanding that portions of it would be reimbursed by the federal government. In many cases, that money has never

been remitted. Any legislation reported out of this Committee should, in all justice, include reimbursement to states for money expended as a result of Federal promises unfulfilled.

In 1966, a $3.5 million program of matching funds for construction of waste treatment facilities was appropriated. In fiscal year 1968, $400 million was authorized, but only $203 million appropriated. In fiscal year 1969, $700 million was authorized, but only $214 million appropriated. One billion dollars was authorized for fiscal year 1970, but again only $214 million was requested for an appropriation. Mr. Donald Alexander, who serves as the Legislative Counsel for the National League of Cities, addressed himself to this problem when he said:

". . . a Federal commitment to clean water was established. But recently the cities have been witnesses to a strange dichotomy of Federal policy. On the one hand FWPCA is pressuring localities to build treatment facilities to comply with standards, but on the other hand it refuses to support full appropriation of authorization funds.

"Many local governments have faced a similar predicament, having to scrape together extra funds to complete projects for which it was thought federal aid would be available. Also the low level of federal funds has discouraged many localities from taking action to build control facilities."

Thus, the Federal government, though perhaps well-intentioned, acts unjustly and unrealistically when it requires strict water quality standards to be met and adhered to, but does not come forth with sufficient financial backing to make those standards attainable.

The State of Georgia replied to a survey of pollution financing capacities by stating:

"City and county governments have been discouraged from developing abatement programs and applying for Federal construction grants because of the gap between Federal funds authorized and federal funds appropriated. It is estimated that an additional $25 million in grant applications would have been filed last fiscal year if authorized Federal funds had been appropriated."

If the Federal government is to realistically face up to the water pollution problem facing it, it must make a definite commitment both to authorize additional funds for the pollution fight and to appropriate those funds.

The attitude of Congress toward pollution abatement resembles a pendulum. One year we concentrate on industry's needs; the next on the requirements of municipalities. It is time that we recognize the fact that industrial and municipal water pollution are interrelated; that both industry and municipalities need help; and that to exclude either from a water pollution abatement program is self-defeating.

The second set of bills on which I wish to testify today attempts to achieve a degree of equilibrium by aiding both industries and municipalities.

The concept behind these three bills is a simple one.

Neither municipalities nor industries can afford to build waste treatment facilities without more federal aid.

H.R. 8835 authorizes the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency to make grants, not to exceed $2 billion per fiscal year, to municipalities wishing to plan the construction of waste treatment facilities. The bill mandates that the funds shall be released only for the planning of facilities which utilize the most modern pollution abatement methods; and further, that the facilities must treat the water pollution problem in compliance with the state water quality standards in which the municipalities are located.

The City of Lynn, Massachusetts, provides an excellent example of the need for legislation such as H.R. 8835. Lynn has a preliminary planning study underway at this time. The cost of that study, which will take approximately 10 months to one year, is $125,000. Lynn has one of the highest tax rates in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Without outside assistance Lynn could not even fund this planning study. However, the city is fortunate enough to have a Model Cities program which assumed the $125,000 cost of the study. Without legislation such as H.R. 8835, however, many cities in the country would not even be able to do a preliminary study, and would thus be unable to comply with Federal and State pollution laws.

The basic goal toward which we must work is to raise the basic federal percentage of contribution toward the building of municipal waste treatment facilities. At the present time the maximum federal share is 30 per cent.

The bills before you range from a minimum federal percentage of 30 per cent to a maximum of 55 per cent in H.R. 5962 by Mr. Harsha to a 30 per cent minimum; 90 per cent maximum in H.R. 4387 by Mr. Obey and 30 per cent minimum; 90 per cent maximum in H.R. 6722 by Mr. Dingell. H.R. 8736 which I introduced with 19 co-sponsors, provides 90 per cent federal funding but differs significantly from all the others in that no requirement for regional plans or river basin compacts are included. The minimum under my bill would be 50 per cent. In the Senate, Senator Muskie's bill which originally called for a 60 per cent maximum has been revised in the working staff draft to a 75 per cent maximum.

The concept of increased federal funding for municipal waste treatment facilities is what I wish to emphasize in discussing this legislation. The 30 per cent maximum which presently prevails is too small. Cities absolutely cannot afford to build treatment facilities when they are forced to contribute beyond their means. The cities and states of this nation face fiscal ruination unless we help them. What I am in essence suggesting in introducing H.R. 8736 is that we have a form of public works revenue sharing for municipal waste treatment. It is obvious that the Congress will spend a long time in working out the specifics of a palatable revenue sharing program. We have a chance here to make a beginning.

There is ample justification for the 90 per cent maximum figure. Our highways were built with 90 per cent federal funding. We can certainly do the same to clean up our waters. Senator Nelson introduced a bill identical to H.R. 8736. At the time of its introduction in the Senate, Senator Nelson pointed out that the 90 per cent funding approach was used in the Urban Mass Transportation Act amendments last year, and that it has been proposed for the water pollution control program by the National League of Cities.

The funding gaps between authorizations and appropriations for many existing pollution abatement programs have severely crippled our anti-pollution efforts. H.R. 8736 authorizes the Administration of the Environmental Protection Agency to incur obligations up to $25 billion during the next 5 years, with Congress liquidating the obligations at the rate of $5 billion per year. In other words, this bill guarantees that the full $25 billion will be available for the program by committing the Congress to appropriate those funds expended by the Administrator of EPA as he is authorized to do under the bill at the rate of no more than $5 billion per year for 5 years.

This bill provides that a municipality will receive only 50 per cent federal funding if "enforceable water quality standards have not been established for the waters into which the project discharges. The "enforceable water quality standards" are those which have been agreed upon by state and federal pollution control authorities. Standards which have been set by state pollution control agencies alone are not sufficient for the receipt of 90 per cent funding.

At the present time all 50 states have submitted water quality standards to EPA. In the few cases where there is still some dispute over minor points in the standards, these disputes will be resolved within the next fiscal year so as not to affect the operation of this program. Thus, by the end of the next fiscal year the 90 per cent funding would be available in all states.

You have several bills before you that would provide 90 per cent funding. My bill is not in competition with the other proposals, but it is a proposal designed to get the maximum amount of funds to the largest number of municipalities in the shortest amount of time. The other bills provide that river basin compacts or regional plans must be established before the city would be eligible for the full 90 per cent. I just don't think we have time to fool around with additional constraints on our cities and additional years of waiting for complex planning before adequate funding is available. The present state of comprehensive planning is abysmal.

The Susquehanna River Basin Commission took 10 years to set up and has only been in existence for one year. No comprehensive plan has yet been made.

The Potomac River Basin Commission has been under consideration and negotiation for between 20 and 30 years. At best it can presently be considered half way toward establishment. No plans have been made.

While there have been a number of river basin agreements in the western part of the country, these have all focused on water supply and have in no way adapted themselves toward dealing with questions of water quality.

The New England River Basin Commission coordinates water quality standards planning. The actual planning is done by the different state agencies. In Massachusetts itself, the Division of Water Pollution Control estimates that it would take four to five years to develop a staff of the size necessary to do comprehensive planning.

Our fundamental objective is to clean up our water. Are we really going to legislate toward this end or are we going to pass legislation that will put up roadblocks.

My bill is a simple act that will start us on the right road. River basin compacts and regional plans are an excellent idea. Philosophically I am in full agreement that such plans are necessary for a completely economical treatment plant building program. But, we don't have five or ten years to wait for the agreements to be reached. We need to drastically increase our federal grant percentage now.

I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, that my bill be amended to state that at the end of five years, no city would receive 90 per cent federal funding unless its construction is in accordance with overall area planning. I would suggest dropping the percentage of the federal contribution at the end of five years to 65 per cent unless the regional plan is complied with. By passing legislation of this nature, we would ensure that municipalities would start now to build waste treatment facilities and that they would start planning for a regional blueprint to combat water pollution.

Much of our water pollution comes from industrial sources. Many of the companies polluting are small ones which cannot on their own afford the great costs of constructing water pollution abatement facilities. H.R. 806 authorizes an annual appropriation of $800 million to be loaned by the Environmental Protection Agency to private businesses for the construction of waste treat-

ment facilities. Eligibility depends on two primary factors. The financial status of a company must be such that without the loan the company would be unable to construct treatment facilities and still continue to do business competitively. Secondly, the business must be unable to receive adequate financing or credit elsewhere.

The $800 million authorized by this legislation is probably insufficient to do the whole job. But it is, I believe a strong beginning toward giving meaningful assistance to the affected businesses.

This program would be administered by the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency through the Office of Water Quality. The Office of Water Quality must make a determination that the construction, operation, and maintenance of the facility under question has to be in line with a comprehensive plan approved by the Administrator of EPA for water pollution abatement in the locality in which the firm is located.

The maximum time for which the loan may be made is twenty (20) years from the date of completion of the facility's construction.

Mr. Chairman, we cannot give federal funding to municipalities and exclude industries in need from federal consideration. Surely marginal industries deserve the same consideration as our cities and large corporations. The Congress will shortly vote on a $2 billion fund to salvage Lockheed and other defense supported industries. Marginal industries certainly deserve federal loans as much as these large corporations.

There is one last point which I would like to make. The inter-relationship between industries and municipalities is very strong. Many industries hook up to municipal treatment systems and thereby avoid building their own plants. This kind of joint venture is often far more economical than building separate plants for each. However, there are no requirements that industries pay any fee to the municipality for use of the facility. Nor is there any requirement that industry pay its fair share of the cost for building a new treatment facility in conjunction with the municipality.

I would therefore amend H.R. 806 to require that loans may be made to marginal industries to pay their share of the cost of building a combined industrial-municipal treatment facility. If an industry is unable to pay the user fee, I would recommend that the legislation prohibit any loan to the industry for its initial fee, since it would be unable to sustain its obligations to the municipality.

To be fair to marginal industries, I would amend the bill to state that an industry would not be required to be part of a comprehensive plan for water pollution abatement in its locality during the first five years after enactment of the legislation. At the end of five years, however, no marginal industry would receive such a loan without being part of the comprehensive plan. This would equalize the requirements for federal aid to municipalities and industries because since municipalities under H.R. 8736 are not required to be part of any overall regional plan or River Basin Compact.

Mr. Chairman, in an address which you made, you wisely summarized the problem which we face.

"The issue, we have said is survival. When will we begin to act as though we believe it?"

Like yourself, I too have asked that question. I believe, however, that this Committee has the power to give an answer by approving legislation such as I have outlined here today.

H.R. 8736 does what you said must be done:

". . . We will have to keep past performance in mind, and offer equitable reimbursement and future support to those states and cities who have cooperated so well."

Mr. Chairman, the increasing number of citizens who are greatly concerned about water pollution look to the Federal government for leadership in the effort of abatement. You stated:

"Now we must again provide this same unity and leadership to achieve national progress against this newest challenge: the restoration of our environment and its preservation for generations to come."

I submit that the House Committee on Public Works under your strong guidance and the Congress as a whole now have an opportunity to provide that leadership by taking an initiative by approving the concepts of the legislation which I have presented to you today. I am hopeful and optimistic that you will give us that leadership.

Thank you.

ABORTION: A QUESTION OF RIGHT OR WRONG?

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, the abortion controversy continues to rage. In many instances the calming influence of reason is needed to shed light on this conflict.

Robert W. Fox, a Maryland attorney and editor of the publication, Options, has written a scholarly article on the legal ramifications of abortion. The basic thrust of his article, "Abortion: A Question of Right or Wrong?", is that lawyers are going to be needed more and more to solve the questions raised by abortion. In order to meet this need, attorneys should be equipped with the necessary information and legal precedents in order to wisely choose which side of the controversy to join.

Mr. Fox drew his own conclusions after much research. This particular article, which appeared in the July 1971 American Bar Association Journal, might help my colleagues to do the same. For that reason I ask that this article be inserted in the RECORD.

[From American Bar Association Journal, July 1971]

ABORTION: A QUESTION OF RIGHT OR WRONG?

(By Robert W. Fox)

(The abortion controversy represents a collision between two irreconcilable conceptions of human nature and ultimate reality. As the conflict grows, lawyers will be called on to take sides, and it will be best for them, the profession and the nation if they are accurately informed as to the depth and breadth of what is at stake.)

A woman "has the right to determine whether to carry or reject an embryo that has not quickened". That is the holding of *Babbitz* v. *McCann*, 310 F. Supp. 293, decided by a three-judge federal court of the Eastern District of Wisconsin on March 5, 1970. The court refused, moreover, to qualify the right it declared. While it mentioned certain "especially forceful reasons to support a woman's desire to reject an embryo", such as "a rubella or thalidomide pregnancy and one stemming from either rape or incest", it did not limit the right to have an abortion to cases in which those conditions are present. Rather, it said, "the state does not have a compelling interest even in the normal situation to require a woman to remain pregnant during the early months following her conception".

That decision struck down as unconstitutional the Wisconsin statute making abortion a crime, insofar as it provides penalties against "Any person, other than the mother, who intentionally destroys the life an an unborn child", an "unborn child" being defined as "a human being from the time of conception until it is born alive". It left intact sections of the statute which make it a crime when one "intentionally destroys the life of an unborn quick child". An "unborn quick child" is one with respect to which there are "recognizable movements of the fetus in utero, appearing normally from the sixteenth to the eighteenth week of pregnancy".

On October 12, 1970, the Supreme Court of the United States dismissed the appeal (400 U. S. 1) by the district attorney of Milwaukee County, apparently on the ground that it had no jurisdiction.

The *Babbitz* case carries to explicit definition principles cast up in tentative form a year earlier by *California* v. *Belous*, 458 P. 2d 194 (Cal. 1969), and *United States* v. *Vuitch*, 305 F. Supp. 1032 (1969), in the District of Columbia. *Belous* speaks of a "fundamental right of the woman to choose whether to bear children" and *Vuitch* of "an increasing indication in the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States that as a secular matter a woman's liberty and right of privacy extends to family, marriage and sex matters and may well include the right to remove an unwanted child at least in early stages of pregnancy".

Now, the *Babbitz* case holds that a woman may seek protection of "the basic right reserved to her under the Ninth Amendment to decide whether to carry or reject an embryo which has not yet quickened".

This right is new to American jurisprudence, and its novelty justifies us in asking where it comes from. Has it always lain inchoate in the English and American common law, and just now come to recognizable form? Was it created by the judges *ex nihilo?* Or is its origin to be found outside the law?

All three cases—*Babbitz, Belous* and *Vuitch*—cite *Griswold* v. *Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 (1965), in the course of their reasoning. The material language in *Griswold*, in which the United States Supreme Court held unconstitutional a Connecticut statute prohibiting the use of contraceptives, is as follows:

"We have had many controversies over these penumbral rights of 'privacy and repose.' [Citing cases.] These cases bear witness that the right of privacy which presses for recognition here is a legtimate one.

The present case, then, concerns a relationship lying within the zone of privacy created by several fundamental constitutional guarantees. And it concerns a law which, in forbidding the use of contraceptives rather than regulating their manufacture or sale, seeks to achieve its goals by means having a maximum destructive impact upon that relationship. Such a law cannot stand in light of the familiar principle, so often applied by this Court, that a 'governmental purpose to control or prevent activities constitutionally subject to state regulation may not be achieved by means which sweep unnecessarily broadly and thereby invade the area of protected freedoms.' NAACP v. Alabama, 377 U.S. 288, 307. Would we allow the police to search the sacred precincts of marital bedrooms for the telltale signs of the use of contraceptives? The very idea is repulsive to the notion of privacy surrounding the marital relationship."

Can one elicit from that language a "right to remove an unwanted child" or "to choose whether to bear children"? No such right is alluded to in *Griswold*. It does not say that a couple has a right to use contraceptives; it leaves the state empowered to forbid the sale of contraceptives, which is not consistent with a right to their use. It affirms a right to

privacy in the marital relationship; it forbids the state to inquire into or seek to control what transpires between husband and wife in the marital bed. That is all.

The conclusions in the abortion cases are not predicated upon anything directly involved in the marital relationship. The events and states of things they refer to are not those of the marital act, but those which happen and exist later and elsewhere. The persons whose actions are the subject of the case are not the same. *Griswold* speaks of a relationship between husband and wife; in the abortion cases the persons whose acts and relations are considered are a woman, her doctor and her unborn child. The locale of the "zone of privacy" protected by the *Griswold* case is the marital bed; the abortion cases are prompted by which takes place in a hospital bed.

No sound logic or reasoning can find in the *Griswold* decision a premise for the "woman's right to refuse to carry an embryo during the early months of pregnancy" declared by *Babbitz*.

But *Griswold* is not the only ground, relied on by the *Babbitz* case. The court, citing only *Belous* as authority, also said: "At common law, abortion was not a crime unless the mother was quick with child" and that "the result of this court's decision that a mother has the right to determine whether to carry or reject an embryo that has not quickened is a return to the common-law definition of abortion".

Here is an interesting mode of reasoning. Since under the common law, abortion was not a crime unless the mother was quick with child, the court holds that, today, a mother has a right to have an abortion performed if the embryo has not quickened. By exact parity of reasoning, then, since embezzlement was not a crime at common law, a court may hold that, today, an employee has a right to embezzle his employer's funds.

Moreover, the court's understanding of the common law is faulty. It would have been much more accurate to say that *in some jurisdictions* abortion was not a crime at common law unless the mother was quick with child. That was the common law rule in Massachusetts and New Jersey; in Pennsylvania and elsewhere it was not. In 1850, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania said:

"It is a flagrant crime at common law to attempt to procure the miscarriage or abortion of the woman. Because it interferes with and violates the mysteries of nature in that process by which the human race is propagated and continued. It is a crime against nature which obstructs the fountain of life, and therefore it is punished. The next error assigned is, that it ought to have been charged in the count that the woman had become *quick*. But, although it has been so held in Massachusetts and some other states it is not, I apprehend, the law in Pennsylvania and never ought to have been the law anywhere. It is not the murder of a living child which constitutes the offense, but the destruction of gestation by wicked means and against nature. The moment the womb is instinct with embryo life, and gestation has begun, the crime may be perpetrated." [1]

Going back farther in time, we discover something else in the common law, not alluded to or taken into account either by *Babbitz* or by *Belous*. In early common law, if the mother was quick with child, abortion was homicide.

The authorities are thus cited by the Supreme Court of Judicature of New Jersey:

"It was anciently holden that the causing of an abortion by giving a potion to, or striking a woman big with child, was murder; but at this day it is said to be a great misprision only, and not murder, unless the child be born alive, and die thereof. 1 *Hauk, B.* 1, *c.* 31, § 16. . . If a woman be quick with child, and by a potion or otherwise killeth it in her womb, or if anyone beat her whereby the child dieth in her body, and she is delivered of a dead child, this, though not murder, was by the ancient law homicide or manslaughter. But the modern law doth not look upon this offence in quite so atrocious a light, but merely as a heinous misdemeanor. 1. *Bl. Com.* 129."

Quite obviously, there could be proved no crime of homicide before the child was quick, because until quickening there could be no evidence that there was a living human being in the womb whose death was caused by the offender. Probably, also, it was difficult in many cases to prove quickening, since the only possible evidence would be the unsupported word of the mother.

Much later on, then, when the frequency of abortions became a cause of alarm to the Parliament, a statute [2] was passed making abortion when the child was quick a felony punishable by death without benefit of clergy, and before quickening, or if quickening could not be proved, a felony punishable by lesser, though nevertheless severe, penalties.

A "right to determine whether to carry or reject an embryo that has not quickened" cannot be founded upon the fact that at common law the crime of homicide could not be proved if the child had not quickened. Where, then, does that right come from, if such right there be?

The answer, as given in *Babbitz*, is in these two sentences: "When measured against the claimed 'rights' of an embryo of four months or less, we hold that the mother's right transcends that of such an embryo" and "For the purposes of this decision, we think it is sufficient to conclude that the mother's interests are superior to that of an unquickened embryo, whether the embryo is mere protoplasm, as the plaintiff contends, or a human being, as the Wisconsin statute declares."

There is only one logical ground upon which the right declared in *Babbitz* rests, and that is the negativing of the right to life of the unborn child. And that is conclusive that the source of the right is not within the law, but outside it; for it is manifest that the assertion of the right to abortion, and the denial of the right to life of an unborn child, have been discussed in journalism, in the academic world and in the scientific community long before they were brought before the courts.

In the *Babbitz* case the court refused to decide "whether the embryo is mere protoplasm . . . or a human being". But can that issue be so easily escaped? If the embryo is a human being, and yet does not have the right to life, it can no longer be said as a general proposition lying at the roots of American law that a human being has the right to life. If that is so, the possible consequences are broad and ominous. Both logically and historically, the denial of the right to life of an unborn child has resulted from the assertion that it is *not* a human being.

One of the means by which arguments in favor of abortion have been brought to the attention of our courts is a model brief prepared by New York lawyer Roy Lucas under a grant from a research organization called the Association for the Study of Abortion, Inc.[4] Mr. Lucas has elsewhere written: "If a woman believes that life began in the 'prehistoric slime' and is not created but only passed along by conception and that a fetus in early development need not be accorded a right to continue growing within her body, she is nevertheless [wrongly, according to Mr. Lucas] prohibited from acting freely on that belief." [5]

Cyril C. Means, Jr., a professor at the New York Law School and an attorney in litigation concerned with abortion now before the federal courts in New York, has said:

"When . . . people talk about a right to life they are ignoring the fact that the zygote is merely the reorganization of the elements of the spermatozoon and the ovum, both of which are certainly alive. Neither dies at fusion. The life of the constituent element continues on. It is no more and no less a life than it was before. . . .

"When does life begin? The answer is that it doesn't. Life *began*. There was one abiogenesis when something happened to turn inanimate matter into animate cells. And it happened only once. There are no abiogeneses today. Human life is continuous. Human persons are discontinuous and individual. It is not human life that is sacred. It is the human person, and the early fetus is not a human person." [6]

Marion K. Sanders, a journalist, uses, as perhaps is to be expected, more colorful and forthright language than the lawyers do to deny the right to life of the unborn child. "The fiction that there is no 'unwanted child', that every human life—actual or potential—is equally precious and cherished, dies hard," she says, and: "In view of our society's callous unconcern for existing children who are, in fact, unwanted, it is hard to listen to the hypocritical cant which defends the 'rights' of minute cells of human tissue which have had the mischance to be fertilized." [7]

By these examples, and especially the first two, it is revealed in the clarity of daylight that the source of the denial that an unborn child is a human being—and the consequent denial of its right to life and claim of a right to abortion—is the theory of evolution; more specifically, the evolutionary concept of man. What are the implementations of that?

A popular and representative work expounding the evolutionary theories of human nature is *Man: First Two Million Years*, by Ashley Montagu, published in 1969 by Columbia University Press. Montagu instructs his readers thus:

"Every human being is born with certain basic needs, inborn needs which must be satisfied if the organism is to survive. The basic needs are the needs for: oxygen, food, liquid, rest, activity, sleep, bowel and bladder elimination, escape from frightening situations, and the avoidance of pain.

"In connection with each of these basic needs, every human being is subjected to the teaching of his culture. We all breathe, eat, drink, rest, sleep, and eliminate in ways we have learned are the custom of our group, no matter what the custom may be in other groups. We are all to a certain extent custom-made, tailored according to the prevailing pattern of our society. . . .

"Because of man's great capacity for adaptability and his remarkable ingenuity, he can improve in a great variety of ways upon the manner in which other animals meet their needs. Man has the ability to create his own environment, instead of, as in the case of other animals, being forced to submit to the environments in which he finds himself. Within every society there are particular ways in which needs are met."

And further:

"Evolutionary change in all animals proceeds by mutation and the storage of the adaptively valuable mutations in the genes. In man evolutionary change has also proceeded in this way, but with the addition of a great many nongenetic changes which also represent social evolutionary changes. These nongenetic behavioral or cultural changes are stored not in genes, but in the man-made, the learned, part of the environment, in the culture, in the tools, customs, institutions, laws, ballads, and the like, and in the memories of men, as well as in the extragenetic

Footnotes at end of article.

devices for the storage and retrieval of information.

"Human nature is what one learns from the man-made environment; it is not something with which one is born. What one is born with are potentialities for learning which, by suitable teaching, are capable of being transformed into the uniquely human abilities. . . .

"Man is human by virtue of the fact that he possesses certain potentialities which are developed to a uniquely high degree."

The distinction between man and the lower animals is not, according to these theories, found in the child at birth, except in "potentialities" and capacity to learn. He becomes "human"—since human nature "is what one learns from the man-made environment . . . not something with which one is born"—only through a process of acculturation. It follows, then, that there are degrees of human nature. All men are human, but some are more human than others. Furthermore, since human nature is the product of culture and environment, human nature can change as the culture and the environment can change.

Everything said of human nature can be said also of human rights. It cannot be claimed of one who is not fully human that he is fully possessed of human rights. There are degrees in the possession of rights; and rights, too, can change as the culture and the environment change.

By a firm chain of logic, these principles underlie and give birth to the decision in the *Babbitz* case. Having decided that a mother has an unqualified right to dispose of an unborn child before quickening as she will, the court also decided that the child does not have the right to life. Holding that, it also holds that the unborn child is not a human person; or, at least, that it is not fully possessed of human nature, it is human to a lesser degree than the mother. By making that determination, it brings into the premises of its law the evolutionary concept of human nature.

Therefore, of course, "the mother's right transcends that of such an embryo" and, of course, "the mother's interests are superior to that of an unquickened embryo". She is human; her "potentialities" have been "transformed into uniquely human abilities". The child's have not; therefore it is less of a human person than she. She has rights; her child has none.

Note also, that in this point of view, rights are subordinate to "needs". The object of law, as of all social organization, is the fulfillment of the needs enumerated by Ashley Montagu. But no sophisticated society operates merely to meet basic animal needs. As the means of fulfilling needs become more complex, needs themselves change; those means themselves become needs. The more acculturated—the more "human" under the evolutionary concept of man a person becomes, the greater and more complex his needs become, hence the greater and more complex his rights.

This also is logically present in the *Babbitz* decision. The needs of the unborn child are relatively simple. The mother's needs are much more complex. She may, for example, need a career. Having a baby might interfere with that. Therefore the baby must die. This kind of reasoning, be it noted, can be applied beyond the area of abortion. It could be used to justify the destruction or incarceration of all kinds of unwanted or undesirable persons: malformed infants, the mentally retarded, the aged and the infirm, or any persons who as individuals or as groups come short of complete acculturation to the dominant social patterns.

But ought we to worry about that? Surely our courts would not permit euthanasia of malformed or mentally deficient infants, or of old people who have lost the capacity to contribute anything to society. If our courts fully accept the evolutionary concept of human nature, so that it becomes firmly a part of American jurisprudence, they could not prevent the measures on any principles that could not be changed in the future if that were deemed expedient. But we may confidently expect, may we not, that our courts would be so shocked by these proposals that they would find some means of rejecting them? Perhaps. But let us remember that not so long ago, most people also were shocked at the idea of abortion.

Two other arguments are used by the advocates of abortion. One, strangely, in view of the right of an unborn child to inherit property under common law, is that the common law never recognized the unborn child as a human person or as possessed of rights. The reasons given for this are the lack of civil remedies for injuries to a child before birth, and, as pointed out above, the fact that abortion before quickening was not a crime.

But any lawyer ought to know that while the existence of a remedy or a penalty presupposes a right, the lack of a penalty or remedy does not mean the right does not exist. It cannot be plausibly argued, for example, that since there was no penalty at common law for embezzlement, a person who entrusted his property to the possession of another surrendered his rights to that property.

The fact that in the early days of the common law abortion of a child who had quickened was deemed homicide is conclusive that the law regarded the child as a human person who had the right to life. The lack of a penalty for abortion prior to quickening and the lack of certain civil remedies for injury to the rights of an unborn child are explained by the difficulties, under common law rules and procedures, of finding proof of quickening. If a pregnant mother died, who then could give a court conclusive evidence that a living unborn child had died with her? The practice of obstetrics in medieval England was not what it is today.

The other argument is that the laws against abortion stem from particular doctrines of Christianity, and therefore, under the First Amendment to the Constitution, they are an abridgment of religious freedom.

In a written opinion concerning a point raised by a defendant indicted for abortion, Judge Ronald Hachey of the Ramsey County District Court in Minnesota answered that argument: "Where the statute involved deals with conduct which the State has valid grounds to prohibit, that is, the taking of the life of an unborn child, the fact that its policies coincide with the views of certain religious groups is without constitutional significance. It is almost inevitable that any position taken by the State through its legislature on the subject of abortion must correspond with the religious or moral views of some group or groups within the community." [8]

But the fact that both Christianity and the Minnesota statute count it a crime to destroy the life of an unborn child is something more than coincidence. Judge Hachey himself points out that under the Roman law an unborn child was deemed a part of its mother and that a parent had absolute dominion over his offspring. In so far as the Anglo-American law is otherwise, it is Christianity which has made the difference.

Contrasting the practices of the pagan Romans with those of the Christians, the early Latin theologian Tertullian wrote: "But, with us, murder is forbidden once for all. We are not permitted to destroy even the fetus in the womb, as long as blood is still being drawn to form a human being. To prevent the birth of a child is a quicker way to murder. It makes no difference whether one destroys a soul already born or interferes with one coming to birth. It is a human being and one who is to be a man, for the whole fruit is already present in the seed." [9]

Christianity, on the basis of the Scriptures, has always taught that when there is conception, God creates in the womb of the mother a new human person and endows him then and there with human nature. Thus Eve, when she bore Cain, said: "I have gotten a man from the Lord." [10] Job speaks these words: "If I did despite the cause of my manservant or of my maidservant, when they contended with me; What then shall I do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall I answer him? Did not he that made me in the womb make him? and did not one fashion us in the womb?" [11]

As an example of traditional theology, the Formula of Concord, one of the confessional documents of the Lutheran Church, speaking about Original Sin, states: "And even at the present day, in this corruption . . . God does not create and make sin in us, but with the nature which God at the present day still creates and makes in men original sin is propagated from sinful seed, through carnal conception and birth from father and mother." [12] The same document says of the Person of Jesus Christ: "Now as regards this majesty, to which Christ has been exalted according to His humanity, He did not first receive it when He arose from the dead and ascended into heaven, but when He was conceived in His mother's womb and became man, and the divine and human natures were personally united with one another."

Both statements rest on the premise that at conception a human person is created by God and endowed with human nature. They are not, of course, peculiarly Lutheran teachings; they represent universal, traditional, scriptural Christian doctrine.

In our empirical age, when we are brought up to regard as certain and real only that which is confirmed by the evidence of the senses, it is hard for us to understand how human nature can exist at conception. What comes into being at conception, empirically, is a zygote, a cell formed by the union of the spermatozoon and the ovum. How can that minute entity be said to possess human nature? Can it think, feel, will, act, or do anything which we normally expect to observe in a human person?

It would take a dissertation to elicit from Scripture and theology everything contained in the traditional Christian view of human nature. It may be summed up here by saying that every human person is subjected to certain laws of his being, and certain conditions of his existence, which are fixed and universal and will endure as long as the human race inhabits the earth. These laws and conditions are moral in nature and are of an order of reality, in which man partakes and to which he is bound, transcending the empirical order and controlling it.

Since the child at conception, although empirically and physically no more than a zygote, is fully possessed of human nature in the above sense, he has full human rights as well. It is at conception that men are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights". Job, in the passage quoted, acknowledges rights on the part of his servants which he is bound by divine command to honor because God so created them in the womb.

Christian doctrine of man was once an integral part of the foundation of Anglo-American law. Blackstone wrote:

"Man, considered as a creature must necessarily be subject to the laws of his creator, for he is entirely a dependent being. . . . And consequently as man depends absolutely upon his maker for everything, it is necessary that he should in all points conform to his maker's will.

"This will of his maker is called the law

Footnotes at end of article.

of nature. For as God, when he created matter, and ended it with a principle of mobility, established certain rules for the perpetual direction of that motion, so when he created man, and endued him with freewill to conduct himself in all parts of life, he laid down certain immutable laws of human nature, whereby that freewill is in some degree regulated and restrained, and gave him also the faculty of reason to discover the purport of those laws." [13]

The First Amendment forbids the intrusion into the law of Christian or sectarian doctrines not taken cognizance of by the law at the time the Constitution was adopted. Does it also command the expurgation from American law of all Christian elements that were of the essence of the law at that time in order to accommodate non-Christian or anti-Christian modes of thought and forms of opinion which have subsequently sprung up in the nation? Neither the authors of the Bill of Rights nor the American judiciary for some generations afterward thought that it did.

The abortion controversy represents a collision between two irreconcilable conceptions of human nature and of ultimate reality, which is at work not only in the law, but throughout our society. It is the kind of crisis in belief which can destroy a nation or even a civilization.

The conflict will grow in scope and intensity as time goes on. Lawyers will be called upon to take sides. It will be best, for themselves, for the profession, and for the nation, if in making their choice they are accurately informed as to the depth and breadth of what is at stake.

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Mills* v. *Pennsylvania*, 13 Pa. 631.
[2] *New Jersey* v. *Cooper*, 22 N.J.L. 52 (1849).
[3] 43 Geo. III c. 58, June 24, 1803.
[4] Greenhouse, "Constitutional Question: Is There a Right to Abortion?", *The New York Times Magazine*, January 25, 1970, p. 31.
[5] *Ibid.* at 88.
[6] *Ibid.* at 91.
[7] *The Right Not To Be Born*, Harper's Magazine, April 1970, at 99.
[8] Social Justice Review, November 1970, at 228, 230–231.
[9] Apology 9:8.
[10] Genesis 4:1.
[11] Job 31:13–15.
[12] *Book of Concord*, St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1952, at 236.
[13] 1 BLACKSTONE, Commentaries, 39–40.

UNIONTOWN ACADEMY BECOMES DYNAMIC HISTORIC MONUMENT

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, August 29, 1971, the Uniontown Academy in Uniontown, Md., will be dedicated as an historic monument with many useful functions.

The Uniontown Academy was established in the year 1810 and served as a private English school until 1865 when Carroll County, Md., established a free public school system. From 1865 through 1880, the academy was operated as a county-free public school. During the period 1880 through 1970, the academy building had a variety of uses such as a shop and storage building.

The academy was donated to Historic Uniontown, Inc., a nonprofit educational foundation, on July 1, 1971, by Mrs. Maud Stremmel Haines, a lifelong resident of Uniontown who is presently 88 years old. After being restored, the academy building will preserve the heritage of the 19th century educational system and will be available for visiting by future generations.

I think this is an excellent project and know that the academy building will be a valuable asset to Uniontown.

WILL ALASKA OIL BE EXPORTED TO JAPAN?

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, today I am inserting an excellent article by Richard Corrigan in the July 31 issue of the National Journal. The article is entitled "Resources Report: Japan May Get Some Alaskan Oil; Foreign-Flag Shipping of Exports Is Likely."

I urge those of my colleagues who are interested in the Alaska pipeline issue, the Nation's energy policies or our national security requirements to carefully read this very interesting article, which follows:

[From National Journal, July 31, 1971]

RESOURCES REPORT/JAPAN MAY GET SOME ALASKAN OIL; FOREIGN-FLAG SHIPPING OF EXPORTS IS LIKELY

(By Richard Corrigan)

A growing Japanese presence in Alaska is adding new dimensions to the controversial trans-Alaska oil pipeline project.

If and when the oil beneath the state's North Slope is pumped to market, it will travel across the state in 48-inch steel pipe made in Japan.

And, once the oil reaches the Gulf of Alaska port of Valdez, some of it is likely to be carried in Japanese tankers—to Japan.

"Japan is a natural market" for Alaskan oil, said Hideo Yoshizaki, commercial counselor at the Japanese Embassy in Washington. "We are so much reliant on the Middle East," he said. "We are very hungry for low-sulfur oil. We are expecting a lot from Alaskan oil. I think the majors (the major oil companies) can sell us a substantial amount."

In the past, advocates of the controversial pipeline project have emphasized the rationale that development of Alaska's oil reserves is necessary now to reduce this nation's dependence on foreign sources of petroleum, particularly in the Middle East and Africa.

A $4-million nationwide advertising campaign of the American Petroleum Institute expresses this theme: "A country that runs on oil can't afford to run short."

The Department of the Interior, in its January environmental impact statement on the pipeline, said there is a "compelling" and "unequivocal" need for speedy delivery of North Slope oil to United States markets.

"The prospect of importing increasing amounts of petroleum from Eastern Hemisphere nations," the report said, "contains important implications for United States foreign affairs and national security." The statement said that the United States could find itself in a "vulnerable diplomatic and economic position" if the North Slope were not exploited.

None of the arguments for the pipeline has mentioned possible exportation of the oil.

Yet, there are strong indications that a sizeable percentage of the oil would be consumed in Japan rather than the United States, and that the opportunity to reach the burgeoning Japanese market was a factor in the oil companies' decision to route the pipeline to the Pacific coast—where tankers could reach it—rather than across Canada to the U.S. Midwest.

Judging from *National Journal* interviews with Washington officials, there has not been much discussion at the policy level of the long-run implications of exporting North Slope oil to Japan.

Japan's interest: The Japanese have expressed interest in Alaskan oil to help meet their country's spiraling demand for energy.

The prospects are excellent for sales of Alaskan oil to Japan, said one specialist in Japanese affairs at the State Department.

"Japan wants all the oil it can get, and I certainly wouldn't rule this out," said Hollis M. Dole, assistant secretary (mineral resources) of the Interior Department, when asked about the prospects of marketing Alaskan oil in Japan.

Dole said, however, that "we're going to need all the oil we can get" by 1985, judging from current projections of U.S. demand.

ADMINISTRATION

The level of oil imports has been a high-priority issue, but the federal government has had little occasion in recent years to consider the question of U.S. oil imports.

Elmer F. Bennett, special assistant to the director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness and adviser to the White House Oil Policy Committee, said: "The policy committee has not had this matter before it. If there were any West Coast surplus, it would be a mighty-short-term proposition. We don't see it as any problem of any consequence whatsoever."

Later in the same interview—after a review of plans already under way regarding a fleet of supertankers capable of carrying North Slope oil to Japan—Bennett said that any sale of U.S. oil to Japan "would be an important policy question which would be resolved at the time it came up."

The transaction, he said, could not be made without "a lot of questioning" from the Administration and Congress.

"This is certainly an issue that will be raised and examined very closely," said Jack O. Horton, deputy under secretary of interior and coordinator of Alaska pipeline studies.

These questions have not been raised before publicly, Horton said, although department officials have considered them in private.

"We're going to have to wait and see what they (the oil companies) come up with" in formal submissions of projected foreign traffic, Horton said.

A Commerce Department official said that "there are certainly no export controls" governing possible sales of U.S. oil abroad.

"What you're dealing with here is a question of economics," the Commerce official said. The likelihood is that Alaskan oil would not be competitive with Middle East oil, he said, and that would take care of the national security aspect.

If shipping a small amount of oil to Japan helps U.S. oil firms develop capital to seek still more oil, he said he could see nothing wrong in that.

He also said that traditionally there are "absolutely no restrictions on any foreign investment in the United States" that would apply to Japanese investments in Alaskan resources.

A White House staff assistant said the Administration is aware of the possibility that Alaskan oil might go to the Far East.

"There is no formulated policy, positive or negative, that I know of," he said.

One proposal for selling oil to Japan would involve shipping North Slope oil to the Japanese and permitting an equal amount of oil to be imported from other parts of the world.

Asked about this arrangement, Edward Mitchell, staff assistant on energy policy for the Council of Economic Advisers, said: "There is some logic to that."

But, he said, the proposal does raise some serious questions of national security.

"I don't see that it's gotten much response," he said, "but I think it's interesting."

EXPORT POTENTIAL

Edward L. Patton, president of Alyeska Pipeline Service Co., the consortium seeking permission to build the trans-Alaska pipeline, discussed the prospects for foreign sales during a July 20 interview with *National Journal*.

Targets for 1980

Patton said that, according to confidential estimates recently submitted to the Interior Department by the companies participating in Alyeska, 25 per cent of North Slope oil is tarketed for sale beyond the U.S. West Coast by 1980, when North Slope production is expected to reach two million barrels a day.

Patton said the 500,000 barrels a day are lumped under the heading "Panama," a reference to possible movement of the oil by pipeline or tanker through Panama to the East Coast.

The "Panama" total is a catchall listing for oil to be marketed outside the West Coast, Patton explained; it could include direct sales to Japan.

Patton estimated that sales to Japan might amount to 100,000 barrels a day in 1980. By 1985, he said, the West Coast will be able to absorb a full two million barrels a day of North Slope oil, according to present forecasts: Import levels: A 100,000-barrel-a-day business with Japan would account for only 5 per cent of North Slope production, Patton noted.

And the Interior Department' s Office of Oil and Gas has estimated that if North Slope oil is not available to the West Coast, overseas imports to that area alone would rise to 2.3 million barrels a day by 1980.

Compared with statistics on current U.S. oil imports, however, the 100,000-barrel-a-day figures takes on some significance.

No single nation in the Middle East or Africa sold more than 50,000 barrels a day to the United States during 1970, according to compilations by the Interior Department's Oil Import Administration.

Total imports from 12 Middle Eastern and African nations averaged about 300,000 barrels a day. Imports from all nations totaled 3.3 million barrels a day—more than half of it from Venezuela and Canada, and four-fifths of the imports coming from the Western Hemisphere.

Imports represented about 23 per cent of the total U..S demand of nearly 15 million barrels a day.

(These figures contradict a statement in an Alyeska Pipeline Service Co. brochure: "Why do we need Alaskan oil? . . . We import crude oil from overseas sources—primarily the Middle East. We have the choice of increasing our dependency on other nations or developing our domestic reserves."

Projections

Thus, warnings of U.S. dependence on Middle Eastern and African oil derive from projections of future U.S. production and demand rather than from current import levels.

Patton's estimate of a possible temporary 100,000-barrel-a-day trade with Japan's likewise is based on individual oil company projections.

As a common carrier pipeline, Alyeska would have no voice in the ultimate destination of North Slope oil; the amount of oil that might be sold to Japan could be greater than or less than that figure, depending on the marketing policies of the companies.

JAPAN

Japanese interests already have entered the Alaska scene—to such an extent that one federal planning official in Anchorage privately voiced fears that the state could become a "second Manchuria."

Presence

The Japanese presence is widespread. The Japanese own a large timbermill in Sitka, buy salmon eggs from Cordova canners, market Toyotas and Datsuns in the state, and have surveyed Alaska's substantial reserves in coal, iron ore and minerals.

Several major Japanese businesses have established offices in Anchorage, where the Japanese government maintains a consulate and where Japan Air Lines jets are a significant part of the traffic at the Anchorage airport.

Energy interests

Asked about Japanese interest in Alaskan oil, Homer L. Burrell, director of the state's oil and gas division, produced a handful of calling cards from Japanese businessmen.

Natural gas

Under a 15-year, $375-million contract with Phillips Petroleum Co. and Marathon Oil Co., Japanese utilities are buying 50 billion cubic feet of natural gas a year from the Cook Inlet region of southern Alaska.

The gas is liquefied in Alaska and transported in two new Swedish-built, Panamanian-registered tankers.

Oil exploration

Japanese oil companies are joining with major oil firms in exploring for new petroleum reserves. They have drilled for oil (unsuccessfully, thus far) on their own, are negotiating for interests in other companies' leases and are awaiting future federal and state lease auctions. (The Interior Department plans to auction offshore leases in the Gulf of Alaska by 1976.)

These ventures are backed by Alaskan Petroleum Development Co. Ltd. of Tokyo, a consortium. North Oil Inc., the Anchorage subsidiary of North Slope Oil Co. Ltd. of Tokyo, operates north of Alaska's Brooks Range; its sister company, Alaskco U.S.A. Ltd., covers the remainder of the state.

Alaskco has teamed with Gulf Oil Corp. to gain rights on several leases; North Oil has been conducting Arctic explorations with three other companies (Cities Service Co., Getty Oil Co. and Skelly Oil Co.) and has been negotiating for North Slope leases, according to Takao Ogino, Anchorage representative of Alaskco.

Pipeline contract

Japanese steel mills furnished the pipe for the Alaska project after the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System (TAPS), predecessor to the Alyeska firm, rejected offers to bid for the project from U.S. Steel Corp. and Kaiser Industries Corp. in early 1969.

At that time, TAPS said it needed the pipe quickly because it expected the project to get speedy approval from the federal government; only the Japanese mills were able to meet the timetable and specifications for the pipe, TAPS said.

In the course of their worldwide trading operations, Japanese firms sometimes provide oil pipeline in exchange for a portion of future oil production, under a "product-sharing" arrangement.

Alyeska's Patton told *National Journal* that the trans-Alaska pipe was purchased under a straight-cash contract for $100 million.

The estimated cost of the construction project, originally placed at $900 million, now is in the $2-billion range.

Petroleum purchases

Japan already buys a limited amount of petroleum products in the United States, such as residual fuel oil and lubricants from refineries throughout the country.

According to the United States-Japan Trade Council, an association sponsored by the Japanese government, U.S. exports of petroleum products to Japan in 1970 were valued at $87 million.

The Interior Department's Bureau of Mines said that Japan bought one million barrels of residual fuel oil from the United States during the first three months of 1971.

Market: Takao Ogino said in Anchorage that Japan's demand for oil by 1985 is projected at 4.5 billion barrels a year—nearly five times the current consumption.

The Japanese government's Oil Industry Council has projected a two-billion-barrel demand by 1975, double the current figure. Japan now relies on the Middle East for about 90 per cent of its supply.

Strategy: "Until now, we didn't think that there was any possibility of bringing North Slope oil to Japan," said Katsuyuki Matsumura, a Washington representative for Japanese engineering firms who is returning to his country to deal with oil policy in the government's Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

The old policy was based on the traditionally high price differential between Middle Eastern and U.S. crude oil.

Two factors have changed that, according to Matsumura: recent price increases by the oil-exporting nations of the Middle East and ever-stiffening air-pollution-control programs in Japan that necessitate the use of low-sulfur oil.

The sulfur content of North Slope oil ranges from .9 per cent to 1.5 per cent by weight, according to one industry study submitted to the American Petroleum Institute. This is considered relatively "sweet" or clean, although some desulfurization treatment might be required to meet U.S. and Japanese pollution standards.

"Japanese companies don't like to pay high prices, but they might have to," Matsumura said.

The prime concern of the Japanese government, said Kazuo Nukazawa, research consultant at the United States-Japan Trade Council, is to diversify its source of supply. "That is the main strategy."

INDUSTRY PLANS

Oil companies operating in Alaska generally say that the West Coast will be the prime market for Alaskan oil and that any surplus production might be sent to the Midwest or to the East Coast via additional pipelines or by tanker.

Otto N. Miller, chairman of the board of Standard Oil Co. of California, said: "Obviously, a sizeable part will go to the West Coast."

But he said that it was "a little bit difficult to speculate at this time" about other markets because of questions involving the timing and rate of North Slope production.

But there have been scattered references to the possibility of sales to Japan in statements that cast doubt on the idea without rejecting it.

BRITISH PETROLEUM

British Petroleum Co. Ltd. of London (BP), through its subsidiaries and associated companies, controls the major share of known reserves on the North Slope's Prudhoe Bay field—some five billion barrels, or about half the estimated discoveries thus far.

BP has no refining or retail sales outlets on the West Coast, which means that the company would have to sell its crude to other companies until it could operate as a fully integrated firm in that region.

On Sept. 30, 1970, Eric Drake, chairman of BP, signed an agreement in Tokyo with a group of Japanese oil firms that included

North Slope Oil Co. and Alaskan Petroleum Development Co. The agreement provided for joint exploration projects in the Middle East and the marketing of BP crude oil in Japan.

Speaking of BP's sources of crude oil in connection with future marketing arrangements in Japan, Drake said:

"There was also Alaska where BP has sizeable potential production; but here I am afraid there does not appear to be much interest for Japan, since, on the basis of statistics I have seen, this oil will almost certainly be completely absorbed in the fast-growing markets of the U.S.A."

ATLANTIC RICHFIELD

Atlantic Richfield Co., which, along with Humble Oil and Refining Co., a subsidiary of Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), controls most of the remaining proved Prudhoe Bay reserves, likewise has mentioned the possibility of selling oil to Japan.

In a presentation to the Alaska Science Conference in August 1969, Rollin Eckis, vice chairman of the board of Atlantic Richfield, said:

"Assuming the continuation of import controls . . . there is little possibility that Alas a oil would move into foreign markets."

However, he said, Japan is a possibility. Japan would be in a "highly sensitive position" in the event of a crisis in the Middle East, he said, and "it is possible that she would be willing to pay a premium for a secure source for a portion of her needs."

PHILLIPS PETROLEUM

Phillips, which has a relatively small interest in North Slope reserves, has proposed an "import-for-export" program involving Japan.

Under this proposal, which has been submitted to Administration officials and to the House Interior Committee, North Slope oil could be sent to Japan. In exchange, the exporting company would be allowed to import an equal amount of oil from the Middle East or Venezuela to the U.S. East Coast under an exception to present limits on oil imports.

John M. Houchin, president of Phillips, said in a lengthy statement to the House committee in the spring of 1970 that one advantage of this arrangement would be great savings in transportation costs, because U.S.-flag vessels would not have to be used.

"It's just a question of trying to save investments," said one industry executive familiar with the proposal. The plan would allow oil to be brought to the big East Coast market without the necessity of building more pipelines or using U.S.-flag tankers, he said.

"One of the rationales behind this thing, quite frankly, was that we could use foreign-flag ships," he said. This would permit industry to "pull an end run" on the Jones Act, he said.

(The Jones Act or Merchant Marine Act of 1920 (41 Stat 988) requires the use of U.S.-built, U.S.-manned ships in coastwise trade. It would apply to tankers running from Alaska to the West Coast, but not to tankers operating between Alaska and Japan or between other nations and the East Coast.)

This source said the import-for-export idea has attracted little interest from the major companies thus far.

"We've had so much controversy over the trans-Alaska pipeline already," he said, "that this idea would just muddy the water more."

"I'm telling you, everybody's scared to death to even talk about methods to avert the Jones Act's provisions," he said. "Those sailors are going to be the best-paid sailors the world has even seen."

Alaskan views

An oil lobbyist in Anchorage, speaking privately of the prospects for oil trade with Japan, said Alaskan oil probably would bring a far higher price in the United States than the Japanese now pay elsewhere.

But, he said, "If the Japanese are willing to pay it, who knows what might happen 10 years from now?"

Thomas E. Kelly Jr., former state commissioner of natural resources and at present an Anchorage oil consultant, said in an interview that Japanese interests could make a profit by selling any oil they might develop in Alaska to U.S. markets, or could exchange their oil for oil from other regions.

Kelly expressed interest in the import-for-export plan: "I was hot as a pistol on it for a while." But he said it does not have much acceptance.

Gregg K. Erickson, an economist and aide to a joint legislative committee on oil policy, also speculated that the Japanese could develop oil in Alaska and sell it in U.S. markets in exchange for surplus Middle Eastern oil controlled by major companies.

U.S. DEMAND

The question of where Alaskan oil will be marketed revolves around various projections of how much oil the United States—particularly the West Coast—is going to need and how much oil Alaska can produce.

Rising estimates

Projections of U.S. oil demand have risen sharply in recent years.

In a 1968 report ("United States Petroleum Through 1980"), the Interior Department predicted that the United States would need 18.2 million barrels a day in 1980.

In February 1970, the Nixon Administration's Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Control adopted a figure of 18.6 million barrels a day for 1980. (*For a report on the task force recommendations, see Vol. 2, No. 10, p. 494.*)

The task force report included comparable estimates from three other sources: Mobil Oil Corp. (17.7 million barrels), Interior Department staff (18.8 million barrels), and Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey) (19.3 million barrels).

The Interior Department, in a January 1971 statement on the Alaska pipeline, forecast the 1980 demand at 22.3 million barrels a day and the 1985 demand at 27.1 million.

The department's 1980 estimate was 20 per cent higher than the Administration's task force estimate one year earlier.

The National Petroleum Council, an Interior Department advisory board composed of top oil industry executives, on July 15 released its interim forecast of future petroleum needs: 22.5 million barrels a day for 1980, 26 million for 1985.

This report said that the United States would become heavily dependent on Middle Eastern and African oil unless government policies became more conducive to domestic U.S. oil investments.

Council meetings

Transcripts of the National Petroleum Council's private committee meetings provide a glimpse into the preparation of these forecasts.

At a March 29 meeting in Houston of the council's coordinating subcommittee on the U.S. energy outlook, a research consultant from Battelle Memorial Institute said that, in confidential projections from various energy industries, the total energy demand was generally agreed upon, but the forecasts varied widely on future consumption of individual fuels.

"I don't find that either surprising or too disconcerting," said Warren B. Davis, director of economics for Gulf Oil Corp. and chairman of the panel.

Vincent M. Brown, executive director of the council, said during that session, "I would guess right now it's about 50–50 in Washington in government circles" between those who are seriously concerned about the nation's energy needs and those who believe the "energy crisis is being "whipped up" by the industry.

"All this is evolving so rapidly that the need for an interim report becomes acute, both from I think our point of view and from the Department of the Interior," Brown said.

At another point during the two-day meeting, on March 30, N. G. Dumbros, vice president (industry and public affairs) of Marathon Oil Co. and chairman of the council's government policies subcommittee, said of the Washington climate:

"Christ, they are talking about everything. I mean, you can get—if you just wander around and talk with the policy makers, you can come up with an encyclopedia."

W. T. Slick Jr., assistant manager of Humble Oil's corporate planning department, told the group that "one of the sticky problems to work in this thing is the Alaska problem." He said that, in trying to coordinate various companies' estimates on Alaska's oil reserves, "the people who want to go into the most detail are ones that have the least information."

At a May 26 committee meeting in New York, Harry Gevertz, special projects manager of El Paso Natural Gas Co., said, "It is very difficult, I think, to urge government to change major policy—if you don't see a sense of urgency—I think if you come out with a report that says, well, you know, we are going to find all we can get and if we can't find it, we can import it—that sounds more like some of my Harvard friends than a report out of the National Petroleum Council."

Slick said at that meeting that his panel was reviewing figures from two different subcommittees, one on demand and the other on supply, "and there was next to no chance at all that you could add them all up and get the same answer."

John M. Kelly, an independent Washington oil entrepreneur, said, "When you have the NPC come out and tell the public that by 1985, under present policies, they are going to have to depend on 55 per cent of their oil supplies by imports and 8 per cent of their gas supply by imports, don't you think this is going to have an impact on the Hill and in the executive branch?"

"I hope it does," said Slick.

Interior Department representatives attended these committee meetings, serving as "government cochairmen" of all council panels.

Morton speech

In a speech to the National Petroleum Council on July 15, Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton said, "Even with the North Slope producing two million barrels a day by 1980, the gap between domestic supply and demand would approach eight million barrels a day, equal to 35 per cent of total supply.

"Our central problem is national security. . . . All the experience of the past 20 years, plus what we can infer from the bargaining actions of the O.P.E.C. (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) nations during the past year and the actions of the Soviet Union in the Middle East and the Mediterranean, lead us to conclude that we had better not become overly dependent on our energy supplies from that part of the world."

To lessen that danger, Morton said, one of the things the Interior Department can do is "expedite the safe movement of North Slope oil and gas to market."

West coast outlook

In a recent submission to the Interior Department, Alyeska said that when the pipeline reaches a two-million-barrel-a-day capacity, 1.5 million barrels would be delivered to the West Coast and 500,000 to "Panama."

Alyeska said 190,000 barrels a day would be delivered to the Puget Sound (Seattle) area, 540,000 barrels to San Francisco and 770,000 to the Los Angeles area.

(Atlantic Richfield has built a 100,000-barrel-a-day refinery at Bellingham, Wash.,

to receive Alaskan crude. California had a total refining capacity of 1.8 million barrels a day as of Jan. 1, according to the Oil and Gas Journal, ranking that state second in refining capacity after Texas.)

"By 1985 the West Coast can take all of it," Patton said. "There's no point in hauling this oil any further than you have to. Common sense says you drop it at the first available market."

Interior projections

In Interior Department projections, District V includes the states of Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, Nevada, Hawaii and Alaska.

District V consumed some two million barrels a day in 1970, according to Interior figures. District V produced about two-thirds of that amount and got the remainder from Canada, other foreign sources and other parts of the United States.

In a June 2 speech to the Pacific Coast Electric Association at San Diego, Gene P. Morrell, deputy assistant interior secretary (mineral resources), said that District V demand is projected at 3.2 million barrels a day by 1980.

District V demand is expected to grow at a yearly rate of 4.5 per cent, Morrell said, in contrast with the department's nationwide growth figure of 4 per cent. District V production (excluding the North Slope potential) has been declining at a 10-per cent annual rate.

Other projections

Others have offered different projections.

Herbert S. Winokur Jr., a management consultant who served on the staff of the Cabinet task force, has projected District V demand at 2.7 million barrels a day by 1980.

"Every projection of North Slope production indicates that it will far exceed the petroleum demands of the West Coast," Winokur said in a statement to the Interior Department, in which he cited advantages of an alternate pipeline route across Canada.

"I estimate that in 1980, the North Slope will produce at least 600,000 barrels per day more than the West Coast can absorb even assuming the West Coast gives up all its non-Canadian imports," Winokur said.

John H. Lichtblau, director of the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation in New York, told *National Journal* there might be "a million barrels left over" once North Slope oil reaches substantial amounts.

"I don't think that they (the West Coast) can absorb a full two million barrels by 1980." The excess North Slope oil would be sent elsewhere, he said.

"They could export some of the oil to Japan," Lichtblau said. But in that case, he said, Japan might pay a far lower price for North Slope oil than the U.S. consumer would pay, since North Slope oil would be competing with low-priced Middle Eastern oil.

An import-for-export plan makes "some sense," he said, but would require "a fairly radical change in our import policy."

ALASKAN PRODUCTION

Lichtblau said some companies have estimated that North Slope production might reach three million barrels a day or more.

W. J. Levy Consultants Corp., a major New York oil consulting firm that advises the Alaska legislature on state oil policy, has forecast North Slope production at three million barrels a day by 1980.

In a December 1970 report to the legislature, the Levy firm said, "It is clear that the West Coast will be able to absorb substantial volumes of North Slope crude. However, indications are that when North Slope production builds up to a large volume, by 1975 or thereabouts, substantial movements beyond District V will be required to absorb the prospective production."

And, at a July 15 press conference at the Interior Department, National Petroleum Council officials said North Slope production—which they had listed at two million barrels in their energy report—might well amount to three million or even four million barrels a day.

TANKERS

In a June 22 tabulation of projected tanker traffic, Alyeska said 41 tankers would carry oil out of Valdez, Alaska, when the pipeline reaches a rate of two million barrels a day.

Of the 41 tankers, Alyeska said, eight would be in the 250,000-deadweight-ton supertanker class, and 16 would be in the 120,000-DWT class.

There are no U.S.-flag tankers of either of these sizes in operation now, although the Japanese and some international oil firms such as BP have them.

Alyeska said in the tabulation, which was submitted to the Interior Department among stacks of data, that all of the supertankers and some of the 120,000-DWT vessels would be involved in the "Panama" trade, handling an average cargo of 500,000 barrels a day.

None of the supertankers was destined for U.S. West Coast ports, which are not now able to receive vessels of that size.

The Panama Canal cannot handle tankers larger than 65,000 DWT, which suggests that the companies intend to take one of three alternative actions:

Transport oil by supertanker to the Central American Pacific coast and pipe the oil to the Atlantic coast, where other tankers would pick it up, or send it through the canal in smaller tankers.

Send the oil around Cape Horn and up to East coast markets.

Send the oil to Japan.

The Jones Act might not apply to any of these three alternatives, despite Commerce Department claims that the Alaskan oil trade will bring a boon to America's maritime industry.

Commerce campaign

Commerce Secretary Maurice H. Stans has been in the forefront of Nixon Administration officials in advocating approval of the trans-Alaska pipeline.

Stans spoke before a Washington convention of the Seafarers International Union of North America (AFL–CIO) on June 21 and said that the Alaska oil discovery would help revive U.S. maritime strength.

Advocating a trans-Alaska instead of a trans-Canada pipeline, Stans told the Seafarers the Canadian line would "eliminate all of the great maritime opportunities" that the Alaska line would provide.

The Seafarers, agreeing with Stans, adopted a resolution endorsing the pipeline and re-endorsing the Jones Act.

Andrew E. Gibson, assistant secretary of Commerce (maritime affairs), told the Portland, Ore., Propeller Club on May 21:

"We have estimated that with the completion of the Alaska pipeline a fleet of approximately 30 new U.S. tankers would be added to the American merchant marine to transport the oil from southern Alaska to the West Coast.

"The co struction of these vessels at an estimated cost of $1 billion would give an added stimulus to our shipbuilding industry and would provide approximately 48,000 man-years of work in U.S. shipyards and allied industries.

"Manning and maintaining these vessels would create many additional permanent maritime jobs, while the estimated annual operating and maintenance cost of $30 million would provide added employment in the related service industries.

"It should be obvious that much, if not most, of this increased maritime activity would be of direct benefit to the Pacific Northwest." (*For a report on the progress in the Administration's program to revive the nation's merchant marine, see No. 30, p. 1565.*)

Construction

In 1969, Atlantic Richfield ordered three 120,000-DWT tankers from Bethlehem Steel Corp. for the Alaska oil trade. The oil firm said these were the largest commercial vessels ever to be built in U.S. shipyards.

A spokesman for the Shipbuilders Council of America said that 17 tankers were under construction or on order in U.S. shipyards as of June 1.

In addition to the three Atlantic Richfield vessels, only three were in the 120,000-DWT range or above, and none was necessarily destined for Alaskan traffic. None was as large as 250,000 DWT, he said.

A spokesman for the Maritime Administration said tanker construction orders, probably are being delayed pending approval of the Alaska pipeline.

A spokesman for Alyeska, asked where the supertankers would be coming from, said the oil companies have been holding preliminary talks with U.S. shipbuilders about future supertanker contracts.

Levy Consultants Corp., in a report to the Alaska legislature, estimated that construction costs in foreign shipyards are about one-half those in U.S. yards. "The per-barrel cost of moving oil in a foreign-built and registered vessel is approximately one-third less" than in a U.S. tanker, he said.

Virgin Islands

Oil companies might be able to avert the Jones Act by taking oil from Alaska to the Virgin Islands for refining before moving it to the East Coast market.

The Virgin Islands has been regarded as outside the scope of the Jones Act; but it remains to be decided whether Alaskan oil would be exempt in this situation.

Amerada Hess Corp., an oil firm with lease interests on the North Slope, has expanded its Virgin Islands refinery complex to handle 450,000 barrels a day. Leon Hess, chairman of the company, reported to stockholders this spring that the company plans to obtain tankers in expectation of refining oil from the North Slope.

Tankers could dock at the Virgin Islands after picking up oil from a Central American pipeline or after rounding Cape Horn.

Tankers plying the Valdez-to-Japan route would be outside the Act.

OUTLOOK

A well-established oil consultant, speaking on a not-for-attribution basis, said of the Alaska pipeline system. "I say the — — line should go down through Canada anyway."

The spokesmen for environmental causes are "an emotional, dishonest bunch of —, in the main," he said, but "they're right in this instance" in opposing the trans-Alaska line.

The key to the situation, he said, is that the companies backing the project need to get a cash return for their North Slope investments as quickly as possible, and the trans-Alaska route offers the speediest opportunity.

"Japan will buy it," he said of the North Slope oil, and the amount will be determined in part by the sulfur content of the oil and perhaps by Japanese willingness to provide tankers.

An authoritative Canadian source offered this general appraisal:

Originally, the oil companies figured on supplying the West Coast with oil from the North Slope, building another pipeline from Puget Sound to the Midwest for transshipment of additional oil and selling any surplus to the Japanese.

The idea of a trans-Canada pipeline from the North Slope directly to the Chicago market has been a less-favored plan that the companies have kept alive for the sake of prudence.

Now, the drawing-board proposal for a trans-United States pipeline is losing its attractiveness, in part because "any major oil pipeline system through scenic territory is going to run into a hell of a lot of trouble."

Without a pipeline into the Midwest, "Japan would be the logical market."

The import-for-export proposal was mentioned by Washington economists Charles J. Cicchetti and John V. Krutilla in a critique of the trans-Alaska plan they gave to the Interior Department in March.

The Cicchetti-Krutilla report said: "The most attractive alternative for the oil producers would be the use of North Slope oil for export at world market prices to Japan, while importing a similar amount from Venezuela, selling same at the support price in the United States.

"Since the beneficiaries of the low-cost North Slope oil would be Japanese consumers, while the environmental costs would be borne by the United States, there is an issue of equity and propriety associated with this proposal. . . ."

TAKING INDUSTRY'S CASE TO THE PEOPLE

"(Heartbeat) *The United States of America.* (Heartbeat) *Sometimes it doesn't run the way we'd like it to.*

"(Heartbeat) *But it keeps on running. That's our job.* (Heartbeat)

"We're the oil companies of America. . . . working to keep this country working.

"Because a country that runs on oil. . . . Can't afford to run short."

This message and variations on the same theme are being delivered to the U.S. public in a $4-million (for 1971) advertising campaign sponsored by the American Petroleum Institute, chief trade association and lobbying arm of the oil industry.

The campaign got under way on April 26 and is scheduled for a long run, according to James C. Shelby, advertising manager of API.

"We are using nighttime network television . . . plus the Today Show on NBC. Also, about 180 newspapers and petroleum trade magazines. The newspaper offer of the 'Energy Gap' booklet has drawn excellent response from over 500 cities in 47 states," Shelby said.

Counterattack

The campaign clearly represents a counterattack by the industry against its critics in government, the news media and the public.

Taking its case to the people, the industry is not adopting a defensive posture of emphasizing it expenditures on pollution-control programs or explaining the intricacies of oil tax laws.

Instead, the industry campaign stresses this theme: "75 per cent of the power and energy this country needs comes from oil and natural gas."

The campaign literature includes statements stressing the need for development of Alaskan oil to lessen U.S. dependence on foreign suppliers.

API President Frank N. Ikard, a former Member of the House (D–Tex., 1951–61), said in a statement announcing the campaign:

Energy, in ample supply and reasonably priced, is essential to the public's comfort, economic progress, industrial expansion and national security. We believe this program will contribute to a greater understanding of the complexities involved in maintaining an uninterrupted flow of energy for the consumers of this nation."

Origin of campaign

Shelby said that a private survey of the U.S. public taken in 1970 for the oil industry led to the advertising campaign.

Without going into detail, Shelby indicated that the poll showed the general public had little understanding of the industry or sympathy for it.

"I guess when you take a survey you find out what people think about you," he said. The survey showed the need for an "educational" campaign.

TV spots

The television advertisements, which are scheduled for prime-time evening shows and weekend sports programs and news-interview broadcasts, were produced by Leo Burnett Co. Inc. of Chicago.

Shelby said he particularly likes the "heartbeat" commercial.

This advertisement was taped in Grinnell, Iowa (pop. 8,402), a farmland community 55 miles northeast of Des Moines.

The ad shows some of the uses of oil and gas: a housewife making a cup of coffee, a doctor with a hypodermic needle ("Doc Evans may never stop to think that some of his medicines begin with oil"), a grandmother at her sewing machine and lights glowing in comfortable frame houses along quiet, tree-lined streets.

Shelby was asked why no automobiles appear in this ad, since nearly half the petroleum consumed in this nation is used for gasoline.

"I think people are pretty used to the fact" that petroleum is used to power cars, he said. This spot was designed to show people in their homes rather than outside, he said, although consideration had been given to featuring a farmer riding his tractor.

(On June 30, in a unanimous opinion, the Federal Communications Commission ruled that an ad on NBC–TV, in which Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey) described its Arctic Alaska operations, violated the "fairness doctrine" because the ads, in effect, constituted an endorsement of the contested trans-Alaska pipeline system. *See No. 28, p. 1481.*)

FLATTENING THE ENERGY-CONSUMPTION CURVE

One of the few Nixon Administration officials to call for a slowdown in U.S. energy consumption is S. David Freeman, who is leaving government service.

Freeman, assistant director of the Office of Science and Technology, and director of the office's energy policy staff, said he worries about the way this nation eats up its natural resources. Privately and publicly, Freeman has suggested ways in which the government could seek to restrict energy consumption.

He also has been involved in devising government policies that seek to encourage development of new and cleaner sources of energy.

"I think there's a big question mark about what the demand (for oil) will be in 1980," he said in an interview. "If we really got serious about it, we could cut down . . . flatten out some of those growth curves."

But, he said, "it's not happening yet . . . We're hooked on the stuff."

(Projections of future U.S. demand for oil have been cited by proponents of the Alaska pipeline as a justification for developing North Slope oil.)

"It seems to me almost inevitable that one of these days congestion is going to call a halt to it. It makes a hell of a lot of sense to me to ban the internal combusion engine in downtowns of major cities."

Freeman said "there's no reason that I can see" why an urban automobile needs more than 100 horsepower.

Yet, he said, with a trace of irony in his Tennessee drawl, congressional adoption of emission-control standards for automobiles is leading to more consumption of gasoline, rather than less—because the control devices cause a 10- to 15-per cent increase in the engine's gasoline consumption.

On the subject of development of Alaskan oil, Freeman said, "The (natural) gas is a more pressing need for the national economy than the oil. It may be that the strongest justification for proceeding with the marketing of the oil is the need for the gas."

(North Slope natural gas is associated with the crude oil reserves, and the gas cannot be brought out until the oil is produced.)

"It's a cold hard fact that there's a shortage of natural gas," Freeman said, "It's much more acute than any supply problem with oil."

Asked about a proposal to market Alaskan oil in Japan in exchange for crude oil from other sources, Freeman said, "I have some question about whether that makes much sense from a national security point of view."

Freeman, 44, holds degrees in law (University of Tennessee) and civil engineering (Georgia Tech.) A former Tennessee Valley Authority engineer, he served from 1961 to 1965 as assistant to the chairman of the Federal Power Commission and has been at the Office of Science and Technology since 1967.

Freeman is a strong supporter of President Nixon's proposal to establish a Department of Natural Resources to coordinate federal energy policies.

"The energy problems have reached the point where you need an agency in charge," he said. Until the government establishes an agency to look after energy matters, he said, "I think we'll kind of limp along with paste-together solutions."

Freeman is leaving government to help the University of Pittsburgh establish a degree program in energy resources development and management. He expects to remain based in Washington.

SON OF SANSINENA

In a much-publicized attempt to gain an exemption to the Jones Act, Union Oil Co. of California sought approval from the Nixon Administration in 1970 to use the oil tanker *Sansinena* to transport Alaskan oil.

The *Sansinena*, a U.S.-built, Liberian-registered vessel, was owned by Barracuda Tanker Corp. of Bermuda, a firm that Peter M. Flanigan, assistant to the President, helped organize.

The Treasury Department granted a waiver in March 1970 that would have allowed the vessel to be used in U.S. coastal trade—an extraordinary exemption from a provision of the Jones Act (41 Stat 988) that requires shipping in U.S. coastal trade to be on vessels built and registered in the United States.

The waiver touched off a political controversy, and the Treasury Department quickly withdrew the exemption. (See Vol. 2, No. 11, p. 542).

Union Oil, which was using the 67,000-deadweight-ton vessel under long-term charter, recently took delivery of a new, similar-sized vessel built in the United States by Bethlehem Steel Corp. for use in the Alaska trade.

Union Oil President Fred L. Hartley christened the new tanker the *Sansinena II.*

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 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?

PROBLEMS OF THE ELDERLY NEED ATTENTION NOW—PART IV

HON. JOHN G. DOW
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, over the course of the past 4 days I have submitted for the RECORD the transcript of testimony from hearings that I held in the 27th Congressional District concerning the problems of the elderly. I am submitting today the last section of that testimony.

I would like to point out some very excellent testimony on the problems of nursing homes in today's section. The testimony by Mrs. Lois Schwall, a nurse at such a facility in my district, is very compelling and accurate.

At this point I would also like to urge my colleagues to read testimony and join with me to take some action to alleviate the problems of the elderly. I hope the testimony is of help to the Congress in demonstrating the poor conditions under which this country's senior citizens are forced to live.

TESTIMONY—HEARINGS ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE ELDERLY—PART IV

Mr. Dow. Our next witness is Mrs. Lois Schwall. She works in Rockland County on problems of the elderly. Lois is an old friend of mine, so I'm very glad to see you here, Lois.

MRS. LOIS SCHWALL, NURSE, ROCKLAND COUNTY INFIRMARY, ROSELAWN ROAD, HIGHLAND MILLS, N.Y.

Mrs. SCHWALL. As you know, I am a nurse. I work at the Rockland County Infirmary and the professional nursing staff of the County Infirmary has asked me to indicate that my remarks reflect their opinion as well. that I really speak for the nursing staff there. I might also say that my remarks are not specifically directed at the County Infirmary.

They are based on experience the nursing staff has had in other nursing homes, some not even in the State of New York, and not all the remarks apply to all nursing homes, but they do in one way or another affect each institution.

I speak for the aged ill who cannot speak for themselves, cannot go to the Senior Citizen meetings, cannot make telephone calls or cannot write letters and are sometimes unable to form the very words they want to say.

They are institutionalized in public and private nursing homes (Extended Care Facilities) because they are sick enough to need skilled nursing care and our society will not provide it outside of an institutional environment. We have no geriatric day care centers, we have very few health related facilities, and inadequate home care service.

Since the end of WW II, nursing homes have really become big business and with the advent of Medicare in 1965 they became an industry.

The Geriatric Nursing Home Industry is spread over our country—but there's a strange thing about it—the people who work in the industry generally have no training for their jobs. That is to say—the nurses and physicians who care for the aged ill usually do so with no formal instruction in geriatrics or gerontology. The health professions have so completely mirrored society's attitude toward aging that the field of gerontology has been ignored and those professionals who work in it have been disparaged.

The American Nursing Association has only recently recognized Geriatric Nursing as a major field of nursing endeavor. The State Health Department of New York State puts out a Physician Specialists list. Now that list is a thick book, but not one doctor in it is listed as a Geriatric specialist and the AMA provides no geriatric boards—although professional schools are now beginning to offer courses in Gerontology.

There is a very great variation in the quality of nursing homes across the country because we do not have Federal licensing. And I'm here today not to tell you about the good things done in nursing homes, but about nursing homes that do not meet their obligations to their patients. Thus, often making hospitalization today more stressful and threatening to the aged patient than the illness which caused his admission.

By the way, we at the Rockland infirmary know an aged man, whose wife was a patient at the infirmary, and who, in order to travel to the woods where our infirmary is located, by taxi and bus, had to go without supper two nights a week, on those two nights when he made this difficult journey to visit his wife because he could not afford transportation and food.

The greatest threat to the geriatric patient is loss of identity. He is stripped of personal belongings, even familiar clothing. He is removed from familiar surroundings. His life savings are taken to support him in the institution. Sometimes he is permitted to keep enough money to pay for his own funeral. Plans for the patient's death often begin at the time of admission when the family is asked what funeral home to send the body to.

This question has a strong effect on a family already guilt ridden at having to institutionalize a relative. It is this feeling of guilt that often keeps families from returning to visit the patient—so that he may seldom ever see anyone who knows him as an individual with a full life history. Other patients have no living relatives at all. There may be no one who remembers them as they were before becoming ill.

So the patient lives out the rest of his days—often years—as one of a great number, sort of a non-person, manipulated by hospital routine, having no control over his day's activities—if he is fortunate enough to have any activities in his day—and his loss of identity is complete.

But he loses more—institutional life makes small provision for privacy—he is forced to urinate, defecate, and be bathed in the presence of strangers. People he does not know move him about and habitually call him by his first name while requiring that he address them as Dr. or Mrs. And so he loses dignity too.

With no one to share his reminiscences, with no one he can relate to on a personal basis, often embarrassed by his need for care, bored by inactivity and frustrated by feelings of usefulness—the lonely patient stops communicating and retreats from his painful environment into his memory and into his imagination. And staff and family call him senile!

A few patients are strong enough to assert their personalities within the institution and to resist changing a lifetime's personal habits. They object to such practices as supper at 4:30, bedtime at 5:00. They become known as problem patients and are sometimes medicated into a convenient stupor by physicians and nurses who do not understand the subtleties and paradoxes of geriatric pharmacology.

The aged ill dissemble very well. They adopt whatever role is expected of them. When the staff teases and reprimands them as if they were children, they learn to react in a childlike manner. There is no second childhood . . . but there is a disease called arteriosclerosis and that disease diminishes the brain's supply of blood and causes behavior changes. And there are a host of other diseases which often go untreated while doctors and nurses attribute their symptoms to old age or senility.

Another aspect of the care of the aged ill is that the nursing home staff almost always duplicates society's denial of the human sexuality of the aged in many institutions any expression of the ageless sexual needs which we all share is regarded as a peculiarity by some and as immoral by others. In some nursing homes, husbands and wives have been forced to live on separate floors. And the all pervading lack of privacy means that desires are frustrated.

A second area of denial on the part of the staff concerns death. Because of their own unresolved feelings about death, nurses and physicians and aides feel threatened by the approaching death of a patient and they enter his room less frequently and thus spend less time with him than with others. This means that human beings who are undergoing the last of life's experiences often die frightened and alone—without the sort of support that could bring them comfort and dignity.

Once dead, it is often as if the patient had never lived. No one will discuss his death with other patients who may have been his friends and who might wish to mark his passing in some way if given the opportunity.

There are many more indignities wrought by doctors and nurses who are well meaning perhaps, but untrained in gerontology. Others are caused by administrators whose first concern is efficient management and whose first loyalty is to people outside the institution rather than the people inside the institution.

Patients are still strapped into bottomless commode chairs in the morning and not removed from them until evening.

Patients still wait 6–8 months for repairs of eyeglasses, hearing aids and dentures.

There is still the attitude that permits air-conditioning for administrative offices but not for patients.

There is still no adequate transportation to take those patients able outside the four walls of the building for social and recreational programs.

County infirmaries are still being built out in the countryside where patients are isolated from shopping, isolated from religious institutions, and isolated from looking at little children.

I understand that in Washington new voluntary health insurance proposals being submitted still contain no adequate provisions for chronically ill geriatric patients who have no family to turn to. These proposals limit payment to 90-100 days.

What should we do with these sick old people when their 90 days are up?

It seems to us that we have developed a disposable society that throws away people as well as plastic and it would seem we had better begin to reclaim their old age for them.

Mr. Dow. Well, thank you. That was a very impressive presentation. I'm sure, for many of us here, it's the first time we've heard this problem in detail the way you've presented it. You've done a very good job, even though it's pretty gloomy. You probably see some of these situations in the Rockland County Infirmary, or are you speaking of infirmaries generally?

Mrs. SCHWALL. I'm speaking not only of public institutions, but of private institutions, of nursing homes, extended care facilities, the general category. There are Medicare guidelines, but there are also many areas in which encouragement of basic humanity to patients is the province of the administration.

Mr. Dow. Well, I judge that if you're active in the Rockland County Infirmary, that you and some of your friends probably try to offset these problems, don't you?

Mrs. SCHWALL. We do indeed. The infirmary is an institution well on the path to what should be done, or I would not be here today, along with three other nurses from the infirmary.

The infirmary has asked me to invite you to come and see for yourself the conditions in our infirmary and perhaps to visit some other institutions. We would be delighted to take you through.

Mr. Dow. Thank you. Our next witness is Rev. Frank Jones of the A.M.E. Zion Church in Newburgh. He has also been the Director of the Community Action Program in the City of Newburgh and further he's an old friend of mine.

REV. FRANK JONES, A.M.E. ZION CHURCH, NEWBURGH; EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NEWBURGH, COMMUNITY ACTION COMMITTEE, NEWBURGH, N.Y.

Reverend JONES. We're here today representing the Newburgh Community Action Committee and it's many senior citizens in the city of Newburgh, the County of Orange and especially the Senior Citizens Club of our agency. As a representative of Newburgh Community Action Committee, Inc. I wish to thank Congressman Dow for initiating this hearing and giving us the opportunity of participating in the same.

For the past four (4) years our agency has been working with Senior Citizens in the Greater Newburgh Area to assist them in receiving needed services and providing wholesome recreational activities. As a result of our having become concerned and directly involved in the many problems of our Senior Citizens, we felt that it was necessary, based upon the request of the Senior Citizens themselves, to establish the Senior Citizens Club within the scope of Newburgh Community Action Committee's activities. As of this day, we have not been able to secure funding for our Senior Citizens. Our agency has not received an increase in local initiative funding. We have been advised by the New York Area OEO that there are no available funds at this time for us to carry out a Senior Opportunities and Services Program (SOS).

In the County of Orange our total population for 1970 was 220,558 of which 14,902 or 6.5% are 60 years of age and over. In the City of Newburgh our total population for 1970 was 26,219 of which 1,969 or 7.5% are 60 years of age and over. According to the data secured from the Office of Planning Coordination of the State of New York, there is going to be a significant increase in the total population of persons 60 years of age or over in the State of New York, Orange County and Newburgh. If we continue to maintain our present level of services and benefits to our Senior Citizens, which is at this time far below par, we will have a crisis situation among our Senior Citizens in the next ten (10) years.

We realize that Congress and the Executive Branch of our government have sufficient studies and data to recognize not only the needs and problems of Senior Citizens, but also to provide the solutions for the same. Since it is very doubtful that we (residents in the Mid-Hudson Area) have provided direct input to studies in the past, we feel that it is an opportunity for our Congressman to hear from the people themselves and the agencies that are trying to help. . . .

On May 15, 1970 a report of the Special Committee on Aging, U.S. Senate was published and entitled *Development in Aging 1969*. This report sets forth the following:

"At the turn of the century, there were 3 million older Americans—Those aged 65 and over—comprising 4 per cent of the total population. Today, 20 million older individuals make up 10 percent of the total population—every 10th American. The largest concentration of older persons—more than 11 percent of a State's total population—occurs in the agricultural midwest, in New England, and in Florida, California, New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois each have more than a million older people. By 1985, when the older population will have increased to 25 million, California and New York will each have more than 2 million persons aged 65 and over. Florida, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Texas will have over 1 million."

The problems of the elderly in our area which were outlined in our letter on May 12, 1971 to Miss Helen Jacobs, Field Representative New York Area OEO, are:

1. Physical and psychological immobility;
2. Loss of contact with the mainstream of community life;
3. Poor health;
4. Acute housing conditions; and
5. Lack of information and others.

These special problems of our older low income citizens are consistent with special problems as outlined in OEO instructions: "Guidelines for Senior Opportunities and Services Program". They are further consistent with the problems as outlined in *Mini-Cost Programs And Services For The Aging Poor*, by David Rachlis, Coordinator of Field Services, prepared for the Community Action Program Office of Economic Opportunity, March, 1969.

Section 222 (a) (7) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as amended, provides that:

"A program to be known as 'Senior Opportunities and Services' designed to identify and meet the needs of older, poor persons above the age of 60 in one or more of the following areas: Development and provision of new employment and volunteer services; effective referral to existing health, welfare, employment, housing, legal, consumer, transportation, education, and recreational and other services; stimulation and creation of additional services and programs to remedy gaps and deficiencies in presently existing services and programs; modification of existing procedures, eligibility requirements and program structures to facilitate the greater use of and participation in, public services by the older poor; development of all-season recreation and service centers controlled by older persons themselves, and such other activities and services as the Director may determine are necessary or specially appropriate to meet the needs of the older poor and to assure them greater self-sufficiency. In administering the program the Director shall utilize to the maximum extent feasible the services of the Administration of Aging in accordance with agreements with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare."

Although this is a "National Emphasis Program", it is under-funded and therefore can not meet the needs of the Senior Citizens.

Section 221 (a) provides that:

"The Director may provide financial assistance to community action agencies for the planning, conduct, administration and evaluation of community action programs and components. Those components may involve, without limitation, other activities and supporting facilities designed to assist participants including the elderly poor. . . ."

Because of the inadequacy of funds allocated to carry out this Section of the act, a significant concentration for establishing components for the elderly poor would be inadequate, meaningless and serve to deceive the very people components have been developed to help. Therefore, the establishment of permissible flexibility of funds for programs for the elderly under the above stated sections of the Economic Opportunity Act would not help to plan, develop, and operate meaningful programs for Senior Citizens but would decrease the financial capabilities of local initiative programs. What is needed is an increase in appropriation of funds for both sections of this act to insure the success of Senior Citizens Programs.

We feel that many of the Senior Citizens we have in our communities have retired from banking, industry, professions and other kinds of service orientated programs. These citizens know what their needs are, and these citizens, we feel, do have the expertise and capability to plan, develop and operate a Senior Citizen Program to meet their needs. If we are still talking about self-determination on the part of groups and classes of people, then our Senior Citizens should have the opportunity of "doing their thing".

Therefore, although in some cases there might be a slight need, in the main we do not see technical assistance and service on the part of Federal and especially State agencies as a priority for providing services to Senior Citizens and groups. These should not be a middle agency between the Federal Government and Senior Citizens group or their representative agencies. There should be an increase in the direct funding of Senior Citizens groups.

We would like to make the following recommendations for your consideration:

1. That there be an increase in the allocation of funds for Section 222 (a) (7) programs under EOA as Amended.

2. That there be a decrease in the allocation of funds to States for technical assistance to community agencies and groups as provided under the Older American Act of 1965 as Amended and any other Act which provides for technical assistance. There is an urgent and acute need to develop instruments whereby local Senior Citizens groups, which have the capability, to plan, develop and operate their own program. Any mechanism that is developed and executed to provide funds to local groups, other than by the direct route, helps to increase the inefficiency and the paper work and decreases services to our older citizens who really need services and help.

3. That our Senior Citizens, both now and in the future, be assured a share in the growth of the economy. (Report of the Special Committee on Aging, U.S. Senate).

4. That a program be developed to acquaint municipal governing bodies and private transportation managers (in population clusters of 100,000 or less) with facts about transit barriers, special needs of the elderly and the handicapped and new transportation concepts which would benefit, not only the elderly, but all persons who use public transportation. (Report of the Special Committee on Aging, U.S. Senate).

The main thrust behind this recommendation, especially in terms of the population of 100,000 or less, is that too often and in too many states and communities, only those areas where you have a population of 100,000 or more are actually in the ball game of getting Federal or state funds that will be for the benefit of their particular areas.

Mr. Dow. In the Newburgh program, the OEO Community Action program, do we have a special section for older people? Do you have a separate program going for them, or do they come in under the Neighborhood Services as a kind of afterthought?

Reverend JONES. That's exactly what it is. The group is under the Neighborhood Service Center, per the questionnaire that came out of Washington a few months ago. I read you what we said in that survey. "The senior citizens of Newburgh Community Action are one of the strongest components of the Newburgh antipoverty program. They are conscientious not only in their particular needs, but in the needs of others. At present there are 50 active members in the group with a monthly roll of about 25 to 30 persons."

Now, what this really means is that we have not—because of not receiving an increase in the allocation of funds since the very beginning of our program—we have not been able to accommodate in terms of funds any money at all to really move our senior citizens group. We feel that, in order for a

senior citizen in this community or in any community really, to help themselves, they must first of all, as brought out by a previous speaker, not have to go around and try to find a facility when there are facilities available.

Further, they should have the opportunity of determining. . . . You know, we hear voices from Washington saying every day "self-determination," and senior citizens have demonstrated that they want to have something to say about how they're going to live the remainder of their lives.

And to do that, you're going to need funds. And the only instrument by which we can get funds, because of the attached problem on our state level and the financial crisis on our city level, is through the Washington office.

Mr. Dow. Does your OEO have a meeting place, a regular place where elderly people can come? Do you have a place for them?

Reverend JONES. We have been using the facilities here at the First United Methodist Church monthly. I think we also had an offer to meet at the Fogarty House, I believe. Mrs. Ackerman, who is the President of our Senior Citizens group, can give you further information.

Mrs. ACKERMAN (from audience). Well, we can meet there, but it had to be their club, not our club and we couldn't run it under our name.

Mr. Dow. In other words, you're really existing in quarters that are provided through the good will of other people.

Mrs. ACKERMAN. Right. That's why we were applying for the center through Rev. Jones.

Reverend JONES. We have been working, Congressman Dow, for almost two years trying to loosen up the SOS money, which is a national emphasis program, for this particular area.

Mr. Dow. What does SOS mean?

Reverend JONES. That means Senior Opportunity Services program. We call it the SOS program.

Mr. Dow. Have you applied to OEO for this?

Reverend JONES. We have applied to OEO, but OEO says that there are no funds—that's the New York Area Office, Region 2—says that there are no funds in the SOS allocation which is a national emphasis program, which has a special line item itself. If you were to go into Section 221 of the Economic Opportunity Act to deal with the problem of the SOS type of program, you are decreasing the capability of your community action agencies for neighborhood service work to be provided throughout the various communities. So to rob Peter to pay Paul is nothing but bad financing, which means that you need an increase in allocation unless you're justifiably in the area of need at this time.

Mr. Dow. In other words the provision here for older people is too little and too late, isn't it?

Reverend JONES. That's correct.

Mr. Dow. Now our next witness will be Mr. Charles Rabinowitz of the Greenwood Lake Senior Citizens. Sit down, Mr. Rabinowitz.

CHARLES RABINOWITZ, GREENWOOD LAKE SENIOR CITIZENS, INDIAN PARK, GREENWOOD LAKE, N.Y.

Mr. RABINOWITZ. To start with, we are not coming hat in hand and begging for things that some may think we're entitled to and other may not think. We are continuously ignored! we're seldom consulted; and we're quite regularly insulted. Let me tell you what happened in Greenwood Lake.

First of all, I want to point out that, with 10 per cent of the population being senior citizens generally in Greenwood Lake, I've been told we approximate 20 per cent of the population. Of that 20 per cent, I venture to say, 19¾ percent are taxpayers, and I bring that in not with nonchalance or not as a way of speaking, but to point out that our demands are based upon our contributions to a very large extent, and so we don't have to come hat in hand, but we come saying that we are entitled to these things.

Now many things have been covered and quite well by previous speakers, so I won't go into them. I want to point out the insult part of it. The village fathers in Greenwood Lake have finally condescended to do these elderly people a tremendous favor. They have shown a desire to give us a rebate of 50 per cent in our school tax. However, there are certain qualifications that have to be met. For example, number one—which is a phony to start with—only those people who have an income of less than $5,000, and this includes Social Security if you will. It is exempt from taxation nationally and state wide, but they want to include that. How anybody can support a house on less than $5,000, I wish they would show me.

That's one thing. Then they have two other gimmicks. In other words they're not going to give us anything and of the people that will qualify, there will be so few that it's quite unimportant. For example, you have to live in the house that you occupied when you applied for this rebate in your school taxes for a period of five years.

In other words, if the house along side of mine I think is a little nicer and I feel that it's worth making a switch, the fact that I personally have been paying school taxes for 27 years in Greenwood Lake, if I buy the house along side of mine, were they to say that if you lived or paid taxes in the county or in the village even for five years, that would have some semblance of justice. But to say that you have to live in the same house, this is clearly innovation.

And then they have a third thing, a gimmick, and this is the insulting part of it. For example, we have several grandchildren, my wife and I, and if for one reason or another we choose to have one of those children live with us for a certain period of time, we are not entitled to that rebate because we are sending a school child; we are using some of those funds.

We have started making a survey of all the people of Orange County. I would like to know and I would like you to know and I would like the state and the national—and it would be a good idea to make this on a national basis—to put down in dollars and cents the millions that we pay in taxes right at this time without even mentioning the millions we have paid over the past 50 or 60 years—or the billions perhaps.

Now, for example, we have a village of less than 2,000 people who live there all year round. If I remember correctly, it's somewhere in the vicinity of 1,800. We have 20 school buses to transport children back and forth every day of the year with the exception of summer. We have not one bus, in all of Orange County, to transport senior citizens. Now these people have been paying the taxes. They are paying taxes now.

This is not to say that the school children are not entitled to bus service, but, for example, in a county like Orange where we pay million of dollars in taxes—the senior citizens—would it be too much to ask them to provide not part-time buses whenever the school is not using it, but to use it when we need to use it? There are any number of people who are homebound. These people see nothing but their four walls because they haven't the means to hire taxicabs.

Now, why cannot the country do the same thing for them that they do for the children? The need is just as great and, in some cases, greater. I just noticed this last year. We happened to be following a school bus—and two kids got off two blocks away from the school. Now who is better able to walk two blocks, an eight or a ten or a twelve year old child or a seventy year old woman? Who is better able to do it?

To this is one of the things we want to do. We want to—and I suggest to the other people here—that they make a census of the people in their immediate vicinities—we want to come to Mr. Dow; we want to come to Mr. Rockefeller; and we want to tell them "now look, buddy boy, we are contributing right now this much money. Aren't we entitled to something for that money?"

And, of course, this is an old saying, but it's just as true now as it was some 80 years ago when somebody thought about it—"It's the wheel that creaks that gets the grease." and I'd suggest to the senior citizen to depend upon Congressman Dow, to depend upon Gov. Rockefeller, but primarily to depend upon themselves and make themselves heard. Thank you.

Mr. Dow. Thank you, Mr. Rabinowitz. Our next witness is Mrs. Nancy Crisci representing the Club 60 of Newburgh. Glad to have you, Mrs. Crisci.

MRS. NANCY CRISCI, CLUB 60 OF NEWBURGH, WELLELLA PLACE, NEWBURGH, N.Y.

Mrs. CRISCI. Thank you for asking me. It's a pleasure to be here. Well, the only request that we have from Club 60 is that we can use transportation. As that gentleman just put it, we have members who cannot come to our meetings because they have no way of getting there. We also thought about the school buses and wondered why they couldn't be used for our meeting night, for example. And that would be a tremendous help to our people, because I know that although we have a very good attendance, we could have a lot more if they had a way of getting there and getting back home. Really, that is one of the major things that we need.

Also, we meet on Wisner Avenue in the West End Sportman's Club and it is getting entirely too small for us. Our club has grown and grown. We have attendance of almost a hundred every week and the place is entirely too small. It's a little dangerous for the old people too because they have to go downstairs for refreshments and go upstairs and some of them use canes and it's quite hard. So we were wondering if there wasn't some place, a center that could be built or that we could use, a school; that, is, a large one—so that we could hold our meetings there. We are not dissatisfied. We just would like some improvements. That's about all.

Mr. Dow. You've made points here that—you've reinforced some points that have been brought out before.

Mrs. CRISCI. Yes, I know they have been brought up before.

Mr. Dow. Well, that's all right. I mean if I hear something ten times here, I know that's more important than something I hear only once, see. So, it's good to say it early and often.

Mrs. CRISCI. We really would appreciate a new hall and transportation.

Mr. Dow. Well, I'll put out some feelers on that for you. We'll see if we can scare up another hall, but I can't promise I'll succeed. We can try.

Mr. RABINOWITZ (from audience). May I just say one thing that I'd forgotten to say?

Mr. Dow. Yes.

Mr. RABINOWITZ. This is extremely important. We just got a 10 per cent raise in Social Security and they are talking about a 5 per cent. But if you looked at the statistics, the cost of living has eaten that up long before we got it, and I was thinking whether a law couldn't be passed to peg the cost of living to increases in the Social Security. In that way, we won't go farther and farther behind.

Mr. Dow. They're doing that in this new bill that we passed last week in the House. Now whether that will get through the Senate or not I don't know. I hope it does.

Mr. RABINOWITZ. I see. Thank you.

Mr. Dow. Mrs. Elise Cussler, Mrs. Elise Cussler is the State Director of the AARP. Now

you'll have to tell me what the AARP is because I'm not sure.

MRS. ELISE CUSSLER, STATE DIRECTOR, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED PERSONS, FISHKILL, N.Y.

Mrs. CUSSLER. The American Association of Retired Persons is an organization of well over two million members that is dedicated to the independence, dignity and purpose of the older American. It is a self-help group to the extent that, in the few years that we've been in existence, we have an insurance plan of our own; we have a "drug by mail" service, a travel service, and driver education instruction, together with special insurance for the elderly that is noncancellable until age 80. I could dwell at length upon this.

Today here I also heard said that little was being done in the field of gerontology. We are participants in a four million dollar projects at the University of South California where we have pledged two million and the ground breaking ceremonies have taken place to create at this University as gerontology center, which is already in operation. This facility is studying all phases of aging—physical, mental, housing, anything you can think of relative to aging. And they are also training young people there to accept jobs in such places as other universities to become used to and know about the aging process. So we are doing a great deal for the entire field of aging. However, there are things which need to be done, not just by the self-help group, but by the government.

One is in the field of consumer protection. The older American is the victim of frauds, swindles, and quacks perhaps more than any other one age group. What I think we need is something in the nature of a service called an ombudsman—not a guardian who takes over, as can be done, for the mentally incapacitated—but to act as agent for the elderly in the unusual circumstances. I'll give you three illustrations.

Very often the elderly person who has not needed medical assistance for years finds that he now needs the attention of a doctor or some other medical services such as equipment. And when he approaches a doctor, he is told that the doctor is taking on no new patients. With an elderly person, this is very frustrating. I believe there should be some agency which would see that medical services and equipment are possible for the elderly.

As second instance might be in the case of getting rid of the house and/or its contents. We are encouraging the older citizens to remain in his home as being better for him psychologically but also more economical for the social agencies as far as maintaining homes. But there does come a time when the elderly person cannot maintain this home on his own. So I believe also there should be a service whereby, when it finally becomes necessary for him to leave the home, there is some agency that can come in and see that he gets a reasonable price for his home and/or dispose of the contents.

My third illustration of why we need an ombudsman is in the field of repairs. Very often the elderly are victimized by a television repairman, a plumber possibly . . . if he needs new siding on his home . . . I could go on at length about the many things that occur. I believe there should be an agent that would take over this kind of thing to see that it was done reasonably well, that the price was reasonable. It is a service I'm thinking of for which the older person might be perfectly capable of paying, but he should not be victimized by being swindled. That's my first recommendation.

My second recommendation concerns loans to the elderly. We have, at one end of the spectrum, loans to young people for attending college, which is a very worthwhile thing. By the same token, I think there should be low rate loans to the elderly, whereby he might borrow money to perhaps fix up his home. His home may represent a large capital amount, but he does not have the ready cash for services and I believe that there should be loans to the elderly at a very low interest rate to provide him with the opportunity to carry on this kind of thing.

My third concerns the fact that, though we have in the Senate a committee on aging, we do not have in the House of Representatives one that acts in this capacity. It has been suggested that there be such, but at the present time, there is none. I would suggest—and I hope, Congressman Dow, that you'll lend your complete and utter support—that this kind of committee be appointed in the House so that those needs of the elderly which need attention come before a particular committee. Thank you very much.

Mr. Dow. Thank you, Mrs. Cussler. I have joined as a co-sponsor of a resolution to create such a committee. What are the dues for your organization, Mrs. Cussler?

Mrs. CUSSLER. Our membership fees are three dollars a year per person or five dollars a year per couple. Now, as well as the national membership, we have well over 800 chapters and it's up to the chapters what dues they charge. It just so happens that yesterday I was in this very same church organizing a chapter of AARP for the greater Newburgh area. A very enthusiastic and excellent group came out. I feel that we are, as I said at the beginning, we are a group that believes that the elderly should do all they can to assist themselves and implement it and not expect it.

Mr. Dow. Well, you had so many good items in your program I thought maybe you'd have a very high dues to be a member.

Mrs. CUSSLER. No. Well, of course, we're not a money making institution at all. We're nonprofit, nonpolitical, nonsectarian. However, we do have an administrative fund that covers things like our drug service, which is minimal, and so forth. I shouldn't say offhand what our national budget is, but it's a considerable amount.

MRS. MARGARET FREESE, NEWBURGH, N.Y.

Mrs. FREESE (from audience). I came over especially to ask you something, Senator Dow. Well, I am one of the minority group.

Mr. Dow. Could we have your name please.

Mrs. FREESE. Mrs. Margaret E. Freese.

Mr. Dow. And where do you live, Mrs. Freese?

Mrs. FREESE. 19 Courtney Avenue, Washington Heights, in Newburgh.

Mr. Dow. Now do you represent some organization?

Mrs. FREESE. Well, really, this is personal. I mean it will affect others. I'm a member, to begin with, of Club 60, but that's beside the point. I am 62 years old and I'm on disability under Social Security and have been for the last five years. Now, it's getting to be that Blue Cross-Blue Shield is really getting to be a heavy cross to bear. I do get a form of Medicaid. I can't be too enthusiastic about it, I'm sorry. I just got a new card that said I had to pay 50 per cent of everything. Doctors don't accept it or anything. So I read in the paper where that new program for Medicare, for people in my age group, has been passed by the House Ways and Means Committee. But it died. What happened to it?

Mr. Dow. I don't know where you read that, because I don't remember it.

Mrs. FREESE. I read it in the Newburgh News quite a while ago.

Mr. Dow. We passed a bill last week that covered a good many areas, but I don't recall that it had to do with Medicaid or Medicare to any extent.

Mrs. FREESE. No, this was for Medicare for people in my age group.

Mr. Dow. Well, I'll tell you, it was a tremendous bill. You know, it had 600 pages in it. I think it was the biggest bill ever passed in the House and that feature may be in there. I'll check it out for you and let you know.

Mrs. FREESE. I'd appreciate it. Thank you very much.

Mr. Dow. Excuse me. Mr. Fitzmaurice tells me here. . . . Here it is. See, he knows the laws better than I do. I wrote them, but he understands them. Now let's see. It says health insurance protection would be extended to persons entitled to monthly cash benefits under the Social Security and Railroad Retirement programs because they are disabled after they have been entitled to disability for at least two years. The effective date is July 1, 1972. Is that what you're speaking about?

Mrs. FREESE. Yes, but is there any medical clause in that where they pay part of the medicine for a disabled widow?

Mr. FITZMAURICE (from audience). You'd get the full protection of Medicare.

Mrs. FREESE. And that's going to be effective July 1?

Mr. FITZMAURICE. If it's passed.

Mrs. FREESE. Oh, if it's passed.

Mr. Dow. July 1st, seventy two. That's a year off.

Mrs. FREESE. Well, I've lived this long. Maybe I'll last another year. And that still has to go before the House and the Senate?

Mr. Dow. It's got to go to the Senate and then the President will have to sign it.

Mrs. FREESE. Well, I have faith in him. Maybe he will.

Mr. Dow. Well, he could. He'll have a hard time if he doesn't.

Mrs. FREESE. Well, I know there's a lot more in the same boat I am and it's really no joke. And you're not the kind to sit back and expect people to hand you something for nothing. You kick just as hard as you can kick, but you just don't have long enough legs, I guess.

Mr. Dow. Well, I guess this brings our hearing to a close.

Mrs. FREESE. Well, thank you for hearing me.

Mr. Dow. Well, thank you.

CLOSING REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN DOW

Mr. Dow. I think we can say, as you said, that everything we've been hearing today is no joke. It's pretty serious. One thing I'd like to say is that the elderly people represent a big share of our voting population. They're contributed a great deal to the country. They're not the kind of people that go out and demonstrate and throw bricks into plate glass windows. They don't want to and they're not able to and I think that they should receive more and better attention because of the fact that they're not able to raise as much cain as other groups. So I guess that some of us legislators have got to do the cain raising for them and that's what I intend to do as best I can.

UNIDENTIFIED VOICE (from audience). Mr. Dow, may I say something. Now, for instance, our suggestion of buses. That would be no more expense than the city or whoever pays for the buses already has. All we ask is that we be allowed to use one a week, just once a week for our members. And it wouldn't cost anybody. I don't think it would anyway.

Mr. Dow. Well, I'll tell you. I don't know the ins and outs of it, but I've had enough experience with problems like this. The education law of the State of New York is a big volume, or several big volumes, about that thick. I'll write to the State Education Commissioner—I know him and I'll write him a letter and ask him about this. So this is the kind of problem we're up against, and I can assure you that that won't be enough for me. I'll go on and I'll try to get legislation. I'm not a State Legislator—I'll see what can be done at the federal level and at the state level if we have to change the law. This idea, I'm sure, of using the school buses would have been implemented long before this if it was so easy to do, but there's probably something in there that blocks it and we've got to find out what it is and get rid of it.

VOICE. Well, that's true. I agree with you. There is nothing that is impossible, that you cannot do if it's a good thing.

Mr. Dow. No, I agree with you. Nothing. Here's another lady, over there. You had a question, Ma'am?

MRS. DOROTHY MELLOR, ROMAN GARDENS, NEWBURGH, N.Y.

Mrs. MELLOR (from audience). Well, so much bad has been said today, I want to say something good about Dave on our buses. He takes the seven of us. He puts himself way out of the way to bring us up to our club Thursday nights. He gives an hour of his time and we should give extra thanks to the bus company.

Mr. Dow. Who is that man?

Mrs. MELLOR. Dave on the bus. I don't know his last name.

Mr. Dow. Dave on the bus.

Mrs. MELLOR. When we do get up to the club, people can come and park their cars right smack in front of that club. It's a narrow street, cars run both ways, and cars park on both sides, and yet we have to duck across the street, all of us, to get on the other side and get to our bus going to our club. There's two signs there—no parking—right in front of the door, but they have the privilege of going in there and leaving their cars in front and there's a parking lot next door. I think they should take it now because they've taken the building down next door to it because a boy had been killed there in the little coal yard. So I think that they should take that for a little parking lot and park the cars that they want right in front. Bcause they leave them there. They first come in at six o'clock and leave at ten o'clock at night. Then we have to duck to get across the street. We have to go around the car. Why don't they just right the little people?

MRS. FRANCES COHEN, NEWBURGH, N.Y.

Mrs. COHEN. Mr. Dow, may I say a few words?

Mr. Dow. Would you like to come up and sit down?

Mrs. COHEN. Well, I just got in. I'm out of breath walking from Lutheran over here to make sure I got here to see you and speak to you.

Mr. Dow. Will you tell us your name?

Mrs. COHEN. Frances Cohen.

Mr. Dow. Where do you live, Mrs. Cohen?

Mrs. COHEN. 33 Lutheran Street, Newburgh.

Mr. Dow. All right, now what would you like to say?

Mrs. COHEN. I'd like to say that the President was supposed to give a minimum amount to the senior citizens. Now I get way below—and everything goes up every time we go into the store—it's more and more—I get $56. Now what can you get with $56?

Mr. Dow. A month?

Mrs. COHEN. That's right.

Mr. Dow. Well, this new bill will increase it, the minimum, I think to $70, but I don't think that's very much either.

Mrs. COHEN. Well, it won't be now. It'll be next year, I believe.

Mr. Dow. I guess it will be next year.

Mrs. COHEN. But the President was saying they were supposed to give a minimum of one hundred.

Mr. Dow. Well, I'll tell you, this bill has been passed by the House. It's going up to the Senate; maybe they'll make it a hundred. Maybe the President will put in for it.

Mrs. COHEN. I've been writing to the Commissioner of Social Security and everything and I can't seem to do very much. I figured maybe you can do something. You have more push over there than they have.

Mr. Dow. Well, I don't know. Is this fifty-six from Social Security?

Mrs. COHEN. Yes, that's right. And that's with Medicare taken off.

Mr. Dow. I see. You know the welfare benefits are going to be a minimum of $150.

Mrs. COHEN. Well, I have a building and I have an apartment, so that leaves my not having to pay any rent. But if I'd have to pay rent, then I'd starve altogether.

Mr. Dow. If you have the building, are you able to rent any of it? Do you get any rent?

Mrs. COHEN. Well, I have it rented, but with all the tax now being so high, it doesn't leave me anything. For the month of May I had to put my Social Security check in for the water department. The water and the sewer and the property tax and the school tax—I don't have to tell you what all goes on. It's almost impossible to hold that.

Mr. Dow. Well, you're making a good point. What you're saying is one of the basic problems that the older people face.

Mrs. COHEN. It's very, very difficult.

Mr. Dow. It's up to us Congressman to know that. I'm only one Congressman; I can't change the country overnight.

Mrs. COHEN. Yes, but when you get together. . . .

Mr. Dow. When I get together, I can say what I've heard from you people.

Mrs. COHEN. And another thing is that the people have to be here five years in order to get some lowering on the taxes.

Mr. Dow. Yes, I know.

Mrs. COHEN. But I'm only here—it's going to be three years—and I can't get anything because of the fact that I'm not here long enough in Newburgs. So that makes it very difficult and I have a mortgage on the building outside of all these high taxes. And I had two operations so I can't go out to work. I wanted to get a job, but it's very difficult for me on account of my operations on my eyes.

Mr. Dow. Well, you still look pretty cheerful.

Mrs. COHEN. Thank you. About the only thing is the looks, but what's inside nobody knows.

Mr. Dow. Well, I suppose that's true with lots of people.

Mrs. COHEN. When I get that check, I don't know where to start because I owe so much. And you can't cover very much with $56.

Mr. Dow. Well, Mrs. Cohen, it's a very serious, hard problem and we've had many others here who've told us of similar problems. That's why I'm having the hearing. I just wish I could solve all these problems right off, but the wheels of government turn very slowly. It takes a long time.

Mrs. COHEN. I know, but I notice that a lot of the officials got increases on their own. Why don't they share it with somebody else that really needs it and say "Well, we don't need it as bad as other people do"?

Mr. Dow. It doesn't look well. I agree with you. Well, you're very good to come and tell us. We wanted to hear from average citizens.

Mrs. COHEN. Well, I walked up from Lutheran Street because I can't afford taxis that's for sure. They're so high that it's almost impossible to get anywhere. You have to walk.

I have to go to the Grand Union to save a couple of pennies from the big check that I have and make it stretch. I have to go to the Grand Union and then I have to walk down and walk back with a shopping cart, which is not easy. Ten blocks one way and ten blocks the other way back.

Mr. Dow. Well, this transportation for older people is a serious problem. How often do you go to the Grand Union?

Mrs. COHEN. Well, I can't stock up too much because I don't want to take up too much of my money for shopping or I'll have nothing left to take care of my bills. I have to see what I have to pay this month or next week and then I have to go along and see how much I can spend on shopping.

Mr. Dow. Well, I'm glad that you took the trouble to come all the way up the hill to tell us the story and we'll put it together with some of the other stories. I hope we can do something.

Mrs. COHEN. I would appreciate it very much and thank you very much for taking the time.

Mr. Dow. Thank you for coming. Glad to have you. Oh, you'd like to say something?

MRS. FRIDA SCHOTTLER, NEWBURGH, N.Y.

Mrs. SCHOTTLER. I would just like to say a few words.

Mr. Dow. All right, you go ahead now and tell us.

Mrs. SCHOTTLER. For my trouble, I have to have chiropractic treatments and I've been having them now for about two years. They've helped me a lot, but I m still not finished. I have to keep going. But the chiropractic treatments are not covered by Medicare. So that's what I want to ask, if that couldn't be done.

Mr. Dow. Well, occasionally other people bring up this problem and I'll look into it.

Mrs. SCHOTTLER. All right. That's all I wanted to say.

Mr. Dow. That's clear enough message. Now, we have Mrs. Morris here from the New York Regional Office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Is there anything you'd like to say, Mrs. Morris? She's been here all day listening to the testimony.

MRS. ELENA MORRIS, ASSOCIATE REGIONAL COMMISSIONER FOR AGING, OFFICE OF SOCIAL AND REHABILITION SERVICES, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, NEW YORK, N.Y.

Mrs. MORRIS. Well, It's been a privilege to listen. I welcome opportunities to hear from people directly because it's different from reading a piece of paper. The transportation problem, I think, is one that came out in all the White House Conference forums, and some of you have mentioned your participation in preparing the policy recommendations. I certainly agree, Congressman Dow, with what you said earlier that face to face action, as with you, is more important; but I'm also aware that these people and many others have contributed to the recommendations to be considered by that conference and I hope that something can come from that also. Thank you very much for inviting me.

Mr. Dow. We're glad you were here. Does anybody else want to be heard? Well, if nobody else needs to be heard, we're pretty much on schedule. I guess that this will wind up the hearing. We've been going all day. They've been good hearings and we've had some very good contributions. Everybody that came to this hearing was very clear. It was clear thinking and we've got notes on it. We've got it on the tape and we're going to see that some of this gets down to Washington to the people that need to hear it. So with that, I'll call the hearing to an end.

TRIBUTE TO MARY C. HIGGINS

HON. PAGE BELCHER

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to insert the following editorial from the Tulsa World which is a fitting tribute to Mary C. Higgins, my former administrative assistant:

[From the Tulsa (Okla.) Daily World, Aug. 3, 1971]

THE QUIET SERVANTS

Thousands of Oklahomans who never saw her in person owe a debt of gratitude to Mary Higgins.

As Administrative Assistant to Congressman Page Belcher, Miss Higgins served her State and nation in an important but little-publicized role.

Everyone knows that a Congressman's job is passing laws. Not everyone realizes that his job also includes a tremendous workload not related to legislation in any way. He is a father confessor, ombudsman and occasionally, a court of last resort for constituents who have problems.

Whether the problem involves a multi-million-dollar program in his District or a mix-up in an old woman's Social Security payment, a Congressman hears about it. How well he can handle it depends largely on his staff.

In the tough and demanding yet little-publicized area of Congressional staff work, Mary Higgins was a standout. Her importance would be hard to exaggerate. In her death, Oklahoma and the nation have lost a valuable servant.

THE MAJORITY LEADER

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring the attention of the Members to an article about our distinguished majority leader, HALE BOGGS, which appeared in the July issue of the New Orleans magazine.

The authors, Rosemary James and Philip Moreton, are to be commended for their candid and perceptive portrait of this dedicated, hardworking, and forward-thinking American.

In his own words, Mr. BOGGS sees service in the House of Representatives as "the greatest calling a man can have." Through the years, he has served the Nation and the House, with selfless devotion and vigor.

I am proud to know Mr. BOGGS as a friend, and it is a deeply felt personal honor to work under his progressive and enlightened leadership.

I am glad to provide this information to the Members. The article follows:

THE MAJORITY LEADER—A SHORT HISTORY OF A CONTROVERSIAL MAN

(By Rosemary James and Philip Moreton)

When I was 14 years old I was reading Blackstone, a book I borrowed. What do you propose to do, they asked. I propose to be a lawyer and a member of Congress, I said. I entered Tulane University with a scholarship and $35.

—HALE BOGGS, *Member of Congress.*

You would say that Roger Brooks is virtually unknown, yet this dignified, brown man has lived a great deal of his life close to history. Roger is a chauffeur, an infinitesimally small link in a chain of great events, a quiet man who drives his black limousine through the streets of Washington with great speed and authority.

If you measured these things, you might say that Roger is more aptly evaluated by the countless times he has carried destiny in the rear seat of his immaculate automobile. He is no stranger to crisis, no alien to the sense of urgency in the night, never too far from the ponderous turning wheels that have changed and shaped the world.

For over 22 years he drove for former Speaker of the House, John McCormack. During these years he learned the connection of human courage and human frailty with the monumental events that most people only read about. Perhaps more than most men he understands the majesty of a government of free men in a free land, and as much as any he understands the enormous weight on the men he carries to their unknown trials.

Over the years Roger has seen shadows fall on the Potomac city, darkness fall and the sun shine again. He has known crisis, peril, sadness and exultation and he has known triumph over adversity. Roger does not read about Washington and indulge with its critics. He lives it. And because he is close to the men who make the United States Government persevere, he knows that Washington is the most realistic symbol of hope for the world.

"I'll never forget the day," the man in the rear seat is saying, "when I drove Sam Rayburn away for the last time. We looked around at the dome because he thought he was coming back and I knew he wasn't. It was about sundown and the sun sort of settles on the dome and he said, what a beautiful sight. He said, it's just as thrilling to me today as it was in 1913 when I walked out of the Union Station and saw it for the first time."

The legendary Mr. Sam's last day in Washington is a sensitive memory of an acutely sensitive man. For a split second, like a crack in a door opening and then closing again, a glimpse of a man comes through, a man few people know. For Hale Boggs is only dimly visible to most people. Though he will go down in history as a statesman, one of the most capable politicians Louisiana ever sent to Washington, and one of its most constructive sons, the real man remains remote, enigmatic, hidden, almost isolated from view.

As differences go, several million light years lie between the black limousine moving through Washington and the nondescript precincts of Parasol's bar and restaurant, informal headquarters of Irish Channel politics. Several months ago it had been the scene of an astonishing convocation: old pals, city officials, Channel businessmen, civil leaders, aristocrats and men of different nationalities. A mixed bag for a birthday party. Oysters and hogshead cheese, beer and hot sausage, pork chops and red beans and rice, and a common understanding that they were better men because they had stood by Hale Boggs.

It was later that day, when the frivolity had died away, that the Majority Leader of the House of Representatives of the greatest nation on earth rose among the scattered dishes and the remnants of French bread and spoke softly in the hot, crowded restaurant.

"I owe you so very much. I want to thank you for being my friend when it was not easy to be my friend. Without you I could not have served in the government of the greatest nation on earth, that has brought more light to mankind than any other. I could not have served in the House of Representatives, the greatest calling a man can have.

"Because of you I have been able to participate in the high councils of government, to follow the high ideals of our country, to work and dream of a better life for all our citizens, and to know that I have had some part in strengthening America and all that it stands for . . ."

It little resembled Hale Boggs on the stump; the words were unusual for a neighborhood political bash, particularly when there was no one around to require the politican's repertoire. An accomplished orator in the halls of Congress, Boggs performs routinely and sometimes awkwardly on the political stump, almost as if he abhors the latter-day sophistry that modern campaigning demands.

But the Majority Leader was at his best that day, at ease among people he knew and trusted. If the words sounded corny, they were the earnesty of revelation, for ultra-sophistication nas yet to invade the atmosphere of Parasol's bar and men still deal there in basic values. If his manner suggested an evangelist, they came from a deep evangelical drive, normally concealed, in a man who never became cynical about the United States of America or the ideals for which it struggles.

You do not fool the men in Parasol's bar.

"That's the Boggs they don't know about," Postmaster Paul Burke said.

"I don't suppose they ever will," a man offered.

Burke shrugged. Perhaps it no longer mattered.

The vague "they", as Paul Burke would put it, is the invisible minority in Boggs' Congressional District and out, who have consistently opposed him with an unyielding, withering wrath. No words have been too unreasonable or ungraceful. No condemnation too severe. With these opponents, he can do no right, no matter how high he rises in the affairs of government. No matter how monumental the benefits—public works, hurricane protection, roads and bridges, consumer protection—his district and city have received from his long career. He has even been accused of the high crime of consorting with the President of the United States, defection most would consider honorable.

But the Sixties were the maelstrom years with the nation's values twisted and left like wreckage on the landscape, an inglorious period of American history, redeemed only by the survival of the theory of government for all citizens. In a time of struggle with the nation on the brink of change, the great issues became sociological and new virulent and unruly currents were loosed into American political life.

It was a time, thankfully past, when thousands of citizens cried for politics instead of principle, when the survival of the nation rested on the assurance that strong men who believed in the ideals of America were not yielding to the passion of the times. The years scarred many men. They left a deep and profound mark on the life of Hale Boggs.

Perhaps events came to floodtide in 1968. Congress was deeply troubled, smoke and flames had marred the image of America, and the President's will to serve his nation had been destroyed. Boggs flew to Chicago to assume the chairmanship of the platform committee of the stricken convention. It was a time when dissidents attempted to bring the oldest free political party in history to its knees, proving that it could destroy the American two-party system. The nation gaped in awe and repulsion, barely sensing how close to peril it had come. A distraught Boggs knew, as men privy to naked tragedy know.

Moreover, it was his own time of peril for he had cast an affirmative vote for the Open Housing Act. As a result the polls showed that he could not, under any circumstances, be re-elected. Boggs left the debris of Chicago and came home prepared for the conclusion of his long illustrious career.

"There wasn't any question about the fact, that I was aware of it, that the vast majority of the people I represented, for that matter, I would say the majority of the people of the United States were opposed to the Open Housing Law. Frankly, I voted on the question of right or wrong.

"I had voted against Open Housing two years before and then with the assassination of Martin Luther King and the tremendous turmoil it caused the country, and the fact that I consistently voted to draft black boys and men to fight, in Viet Nam like anyone else, I just decided that I just couldn't in good conscience not vote for that bill.

"The bill was not a drastic bill despite all the propaganda against it. I have reached the conclusion that there isn't any way on earth to deny full citizenship to any American regardless of what his background might be. So I voted for Open Housing in

1968, and it was a very tough vote and it gave me a very tough election."

Boggs won the election, a tired, literally exhausted man, torn between the problems of his own survival as a Member of Congress, and the responsibilities he bore in the nation's capitol. The Majority Whip, he has served for years on the demanding Ways and Means Committee, the President's Committee on Violence, the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, and had been Vice Chairman of the national committee since 1956.

Moreover, he had felt the brunt of taking the leadership on such issues as Aid to Education, Medicare, and Housing Programs—all controversial matters he felt were vital.

"Those were very hard-working times," he said. "And I did my best to carry out my responsibilities. My Lord, how I carried that load I'll never know, and then to go through that convention and come home to a knock-down and drag-out election . . ."

A young Republican challenger, David Treen, making his third race for Boggs' seat, drove him to the limit of endurance, confident of success in one of the most tumultuous years in Boggs' life. That he failed is not to his discredit; Boggs believes that his belief in himself and his actions carried him through and he remarks today of David Treen: "A fine, honest and decent man."

Of those who opposed him through the years, Boggs says:

"I have profound respect for people, but one of the reasons they say that they find it very difficult to believe that I sincerely believe in the fact that all Americans are equal is that they don't believe that and they can't imagine that someone else can be sincere enough.

"When anyone says I have treated any one with contempt, they mean that I don't subscribe to their prejudices and that's all. There isn't any contempt at all. I don't argue with them. I'm respectful of their opinions and I don't engage in acrimony with them, but I don't agree with them.

"So contempt becomes a kind of dramatic expression of the fact that some people in the past did not agree—incidentally, there are only so many today, the change of attitude in my district is fantastic. There are so many more people who today agree with me."

Open Housing had not been Boggs' first test during the Civil Rights Years. In 1965 another critical act had come before the Congress, the Voting Rights Act. Like so many others during those halcyon years, the issues were shrouded in emotionalism and tended by fiery advocates on both sides. The implications tested men in the clear, glaring light of day. Either uphold the ideals of the nation, where it professes to grant equality of citizenship, or yield and sidestep and eventually be party to letting the nation fall victim to the desecration of its values, with hypocrisy and disillusionment falling in the long years after, and hope for a united nation dwindling.

"I was very surprised to see later that the polls showed a very sizeable majority answered affirmative to the question of whether a person should be allowed to vote regardless of race, creed or color.

"Of course, the opposition tried to confuse the issue by saying, well, we believe there ought to be right to vote, but the Federal Government should not be setting the laws. And it would come back to that sort of technical question.

"But the answer I gave was that prior to the Voting Rights Act, you had Ph.D.'s who, if they were black, couldn't register to vote. There were parishes in Louisiana where there wasn't a single black man registered to vote, not one."

The heresy of Hale Boggs.

"Things are changing all over the South. You know, just a few years back the late Seymour Weiss called me and said, Hale, you have to do something, we're going to lose the American Legion convention. Because of 50 blacks out of 50,000. They wanted them to stay out at Dillard so we lost the convention. Today that would be unthinkable.

The Civil Rights Acts did it. When they passed the bill, people said just about everything terrible was going to happen. Why, it was quite the contrary and New Orleans got back its big conventions and the restaurants got back into business. None of the dire things happened.

"The whole history of our country is full citizenship to all of our people. We absorbed millions of poverty-stricken immigrants from Ireland, Italy, Germany, toward the turn of the last century. Now the problem is to make full Americans out of some of the oldest Americans, namely the black people. I have not tried to take exception to the point of view of people who oppose this, but I just haven't agreed with it.

Over three decades ago, when the Majority leader first entered politics, the world was different. The issues were different. The nation had emerged with a sort of fraternal union with common despair. And in Louisiana emotionalism was rampant, although it had a different tenor. It was the voice of anger and disgust; the state, and for that matter, the nation, was so static that the fear of change did not exist. The war lay somewhere on the horizon as Louisiana wallowed in the aftermath of scandal, corruption and conflict between city and state. The great sociological issues, that would test and burn so many men, lay years away; they would emerge in the wake of World War II. Life was simpler, more direct.

Boggs, who was then practicing oil and gas law with Marion Eppley, Jr., recently retired chairman of the board of Texaco, Inc., helped form an organization called the Peoples League, including among its members Nat Knight, the late Chep Morrison, Laurance Eustis, Robert Ainsworth, Charles Smither, James J. Coleman, and others who have gone on to make illustrious careers. The "angel" of the group, Boggs recalls, was Mrs. Philip Werlein, Sr., who staked the group to $25 weekly.

"When the scandal started developing in New Orleans, I called a mass meeting on the steps of the courthouse, in 1938, maybe 1939. I didn't know what to expect when we went out there. Laurance Eustis and I went together. There were so many people there I had to stress the right of peaceful assembly so there wouldn't be any trouble.

"Our group was instrumental in bringing about some resignations from the District Attorney's office and the beginning of a series of indictments that later went into Federal District Court. And later, we followed with the election of Sam James as Governor in 1940. That year I ran for Congress and was elected. The Jones people asked me why did I want to be a member of Congress and I answered the same way I always answered.

"Being a member of Congress is about the highest calling a man can have because the only way you serve in the House is by election. One can become governor by the death of a governor. Senators can be appointed by governors. Vice-President can succeed through the death of a President. The only way you can get to be a Congressman is by election. To me it is a very noble calling to represent the people.

"I always repudiate that business about not representing my people, because every two years they have spoken and they have been spending me back."

Like so many others, Boggs is a veteran of the newsroom. Both he and Representative F. Edward Hébert came from this fertile soil. It began inauspiciously: "George Healy offered me a job, but Barney Krebs was managing editor of *The Times-Picayune* at that time. Healy took me over and introduced me to Krebs. Krebs asked me what I was doing in school and I said, I want to become a lawyer, and so Krebs said, well, we ain't training lawyers around here. That's the end of my job. But Healy, God bless him, he called Major Crown at the New Orleans *States* down on Camp Street.

"So I walked on down to the *States* and into the newsroom and paper was four feet high on the floor. Jim Crown and Meigs Frost and Captain Ross, they called him and a couple of others, like Andy Ojeda, were there. They were all playing poker and they had a bottle of bootleg booze setting on the desk. It was prohibition then. They were all in their undershirts, hot as hell. So I walked in and Crown said, what can you do? I said anything. He said OK, you're hired. So I said, what am I supposed to do and he said, you can do anything, go ahead and do it.

"So they paid me a nickel an inch. Man, the inches I produced. It was fantastic."

The newspaper gave Boggs his first contact with awesome political power, Huey P. Long.

"I had a lot of contact with Huey. He used to come in on the Crescent Limited, about 7:30 in the morning, and he would have this great retinue. And the first time Jim Crown sent me down there to meet Huey I was kind of shaking. He had body guards and all that kind of stuff. When I got close to where he was supposed to be, a couple of the body guards wanted to know who I was and I told them I was a reporter for the *States*. And one of them said, my God, they've got kid reporters now.

"I remember walking up to Huey and introducing myself and he said, you're a reporter? Yes, I'm a reporter. For the *States*? Yes. They've taken to corrupting the young people, he said.

"But one time, just for the hell of it, just to help me out, he gave me a big scoop. No one else had it. Told me what he was going to present to the legislature."

There were other jobs, too, selling clothes and Beechnut Gum on the Tulane Campus. Born in Long Beach, Mississippi, in 1914, Boggs moved to Gretna when he was seven and attended St. Joseph School. His first job was watering down Huey P. Long avenue in Gretna, old "Coppernickas' Avenue", at 50 cents a week. In 1924 the family moved to Metairie, ultimately returning to the Coast where Boggs went to high school in Long Beach.

If anyone ponders the Majority Leader's incredible ability to work, to assume tremendous burdens and carry them to conclusion, they might well peruse his earlier years. The tenacity and almost elephantine determination that he has exhibited all through his political career were early in evidence. He would not be found wanting. He was a radio announcer and sold radios on the side. He worked in a filling station and read Blackstone and he won the first Tulane University scholarship given the Long Beach school. Thirty-five bucks and a scholarship. "That's all I had."

By the time he left Tulane he was making $400 a month working on the newspaper copy desk, selling gum, mints and sometimes candy, distributing it at parties, stuffing the mail boxes of the Newcomb dormitories, standing by to take orders, devising ways and means to increase the demand.

There are people who say Hale Boggs does not know anything about the American way.

It was in Congress that he came under the greatest influence of his life, Sam Rayburn, a man who used to laugh in later years when he would hear that opponents of Hale Boggs' had called him names ranging from "pink" to "wildeyed liberal", and eventually, to "Communist". Sam Rayburn of Texas, legendary Speaker of the House, one of the great figures of Congress.

"Mr. Rayburn was a rare individual with a great sense of dedication. He understood the

House and he was zealous of its prerogatives, the rights of the House as an institution. He was a man with a good sense of humor, but he never committed any indiscretion as far as the House was concerned.

He had served with a great many presidents, since the administration of Woodrow Wilson. He was a man given of many likes and dislikes. If he didn't like you, you were out. I spent a great deal of time with Mr. Rayburn, not only in the Capitol, on the House floor, but in his apartment, at home and we used to go fishing frequently and I'd sit in the boat and listen to him talk.

"His life span went back to the Civil War practically. He was really a pioneer. His family moved from Tennessee to Texas when he was a very young man because they were poverty sticken after the Civil War. He grew up in the early Texas, sort of frontier tradition. More than any other member of Congress he influenced me in my life. Probably more than any man, except my father.

"I was 26 when I came to Congress. Mr. Rayburn had no family, no son, no children, and he more or less adopted me. He gave me a great sense of this institution and it has been my observation that this is what happens all through history. That men have passed down to younger men a love of the institutions that run our country.

"Mr. Rayburn having done that for me, I find myself, as Majority Leader, spending more and more time with younger members of Congress. I spend a lot of time with them, talking to them, listening to them, keeping them interested. This is important, it is vital to the maintenance of our democratic process. It is a sense of continuity, one generation to another.

"Mr. Rayburn was a remarkable man, completely devoid of bigotry and prejudice, and yet in many ways he was still a small town Texas politician. He and I were instrumental in putting Johnson on the ticket with Kennedy. At first he was against it, telling Mr. Johnson not to do it, but Mr. Rayburn had never been fond of Mr. Nixon so I reminded him whether or not he wanted this man as President, and before the morning he had shifted and encouraged Johnson to run with Kennedy."

There have been many chapters in Hale Boggs' life, and if any conclusion can be drawn, they do not add up to a long life of uninterrupted peace, no matter how full of achievement they may have been. But they do add up to the total man. The years pass and though memories grow dim, they do not altogether go away. They leave their mark or their blessings, and only the strong men survive to go on to greater things. One of these traumas came in 1951, when Boggs decided to run for governor in the campaign of 1952.

Earl Long was leaving office under heaps of abuse. The state was in an uproar and the sense of reform was again in the air, a cycle that Louisiana has repeated so long it now seems dull and meaningless. But in those days it was still the simple right values against the old wrong values. A contest of the righteous against the rascals.

Early in the year a *Times-Picayune* reporter had sat in the downtown office of Leander Perez, Sr., then District Attorney of Plaquemines and St. Bernard Parishes, and heard him say: "We're going to prove Boggs a Red. Look at these Hullabaloos." He waved old copies of the Tulane newspaper with pictures of Boggs dressed in a comical dictator's uniform, from an old campus rally when he had protested against the dictators rising around the globe. "We're going to tie him up so he won't be able to move," Perez persisted.

"Leander Perez was my worst enemy, but he is dead now and God bless his soul. In 1952 he went into court and filed suit and said I wasn't qualified to be governor because I was a Communist, a kind of ridiculous thing. I came as close to hating Leander Perez as any man I can imagine, and I found this to be a very consuming thing. I really prayed that the Good Lord, then and now, would get the hate out of my system and He did. I don't hate anyone today, no matter what they have tried to do, and I certainly didn't hate Mr. Perez for many, many years before he died. That's all water over the dam. I never dwell on these things. It is certainly non-productive, so I just don't dwell on it."

It was a time when Earl Long came to Boggs' defense. Judge Carlos Spaht was Earl's candidate and the incumbent governor spoke all over the heavily-Protestant parishes of the north. Earl defended Boggs in a way that has gone down in Louisiana political folklore and this, to this day, brings a smile to Boggs' face.

"If you can't vote for Carlos Spaht, then vote for my good friend, Hale Boggs," Long told the Baptists and Methodists. "Now, they tell all kind of lies about my good friend. So this fellow, Leander Perez, he says he is a Communist, so I say Hale Boggs isn't a Communist, he is a devout Roman Catholic. Why, his brother is a Jesuit priest. Now don't believe all those lies. They say if he is elected Governor the Pope will be running Louisiana. Now you folks know that the Pope is too busy over there in Rome and he hasn't got time to run Louisiana and Hale Boggs comes from New Orleans and he and that Archbishop down there are just like that, and that Archbishop is one smart man."

"School was out," said Boggs, who ran third. "I heard him make that speech up at Dodson when he didn't know I was at the back of the crowd."

Texas Senator Tom Connally once declared that if anyone wanted a postgraduate course in politics, he should go to Louisiana.

But the campaign of 1952 was notable for one conspicuous irony. Another charge levelled against Boggs by Judge Perez was that he had failed to help resolve the State's tidelands conflict with the Federal Government. Opponents picked up the charge, crying "with all his influence in Washington, he's done nothing to help us." The issue was critical and the charge severe; millions hung on the advantageous resolution of the tidelands argument.

"We could have settled it way back in Harry Truman's administration. Oscar Chapman, his Secretary of the Interior, called me one day and asked me to talk to him which I did. He proposed a settlement which was very fair, roughly the same formula which exists on the public lands in the United States. He proposed that we have all the revenues from the marine bottoms which were property of the State of Louisiana. We have this today.

"But he also proposed 37½ per cent, which is the public lands formula, of everything beyond that. I was very pleased that such a proposal was made and relayed this back, I think to Earl Long who was governor then, and he was pleased and sent Judge Perez to Washington.

"We sat down with Mr. Rayburn who was also concerned, and Mr. Perez proceeded to make some remarks about Tom Clark, who was then attorney general of the United States, and Mr. Rayburn invited him to leave. And that was really the end of the tidelands settlement."

And that, and the election, was 19 years ago.

Ten years later Boggs was appointed Whip of the House of Representatives. The hot winds of the civil rights debate were blowing all over the nation. New Orleans had by then brought national attention to itself by its uproar over the integration of two schools. The nation saw on television a New Orleans it had never seen before; the graceful city that care forgot, for awhile, became the city that hate had not overlooked. It was a calamitous time, full of declining business indicators and apprehension, a time for opportunists who told the people what they yearned to hear, never caring that they could not keep the faith.

It was a time of the George Wallaces and the Ross Barnetts, of futile standing in the doorways and turning dogs loose, and when the sound and fury had cleared away, the righteous movements of the nation had changed not at all. The convulsion of change had not been pretty to see. It disillusioned a world and it disenchanted a generation, and as some predict, the nation will long pay a price for its lip service to its ideals.

For men responsible to the nation and their states, it was a time of trial. In earlier years, perhaps, when the nation was more innocent, and the values more simple, and the issues unclouded with the implications of race and color, the rise of Hale Boggs through the Democratic party would have been an episode of honor to his district. An accident of time. Louisiana has sent so many impotent and inconsequential political figures to the United States Congress, that some element of tragedy must exist in the Majority Leader's relations with his fractionated constituency. Boggs may very well be one of the greatest and most productive figures ever to go to Congress from Louisiana, and yet, though history may mention him well, he has felt the brunt of attack few men have been called upon to bear.

Too, he appeared on the national scene, close to the Presidency at a time when the nation refined its methods of attack upon a President realizing that in the wrath of public opinion it had almost developed the power to destroy a President, to drive him from office, to flay him alive. The sixties were a time of vengeful hysteria against the presidency that exceed almost anything known in American history since the venal attacks made upon Lincoln. The spectre of an ungovernable nation became debatable, as was anarchy and extremism.

And too, the sixties were the time of death.

"I loved him very much," Boggs said of the late John F. Kennedy.

In the deceiving little parlor game people play with loose political labels, reactionary, progressive, liberal, socialist, conservative, John Bircher, and others similarly vague and yet persuasive, it has never been clearly established where Boggs resides. "I am an American," he says. "I believe in what the founders of this country wanted it to be."

While he has been called a liberal at home, he has been called a Dixiecrat, Southern conservative up north. While he was close to President Kennedy, he was not an intimate part of the so-called Irish Mafia. It was almost as if he has been aloof from intimate, entangled associations with any but the late Sam Rayburn, as if he has charted a self-sufficient, lonesome course for himself, which after all, in the Byzantine environment of the Capitol cloakroom, is the work of a consummate politician. For he has participated in nearly every major event of Congressional history since lend-lease.

When he decided to run for Majority Leader, a party elective position, the so-called liberal wing of the Democratic party mustered forces against him. Why did he run?

"I spent my whole life drilling myself for leadership. I was Deputy Democratic Whip, seven years. Majority Whip for nine years, done all of the really hard work. The toughest position of leadership is the Whip's job, so if I hadn't run, particularly with a lot of people saying I couldn't win and I was terrible, if I had got up and walked away from it, I just would have had no faith in myself."

Boggs won, 140 to 88.

It was not long after, however, that he found himself at the vortex of strong winds of a different sort. The J. Edgar Hoover con-

troversy. Not too long ago, in his Bethesda, Maryland home, he calmly discussed his protest against secret surveillance. It was only several days before he would rise again in the House and present evidence which appeared inconclusive in support of his "wiretapping" accusation. Somewhere at the bottom of the turmoil may lie an accident of semantics.

"I just felt this whole business of irresponsible extension of police authority, to people generally and to public officials in particular, had reached a point where somebody had to say something about it.

"Plus the fact that this administration has officially decided to make bugging part of its alleged law and order program.

"Once you open that door, there just isn't any limit.

"I have been much concerned about this business for sometime and I had planned a rather scholarly paper on it more than anything else. The day I did it I was provoked by events of the time and decided to do it and I am glad because since then more and more things have come to light.

"Wiretapping is a word that may not be a proper word. I've noticed how they keep using that word, wiretapping. Today there are all kinds of electronic means of overhearing conversations, not only telephones, but everything we say in this room. I have every reason to believe that one time or another an effort was made to do that to me. More than one member of Congress has come to me to tell me of their suspicions that they were under surveillance.

"If we don't reverse what is going on in this country, there is no question in my mind, you are going to have a Big Brother society. You have Army Intelligence, FBI surveillance, CIA all over the place, all sorts of private snooping organizations, retail credit associations, Lord knows what else. They can put a device in your home the size of a pea and park an automobile two blocks away and know everything that is going on.

"The FBI, nonetheless, is a really fine organization and one that is very definitely need in this country, but Mr. Hoover in his later years has been so totally concerned with his image and his ego that it has had a devastating impact on the FBI. There is a bill in Congress now to limit the director's term to 10 years. The President of the United States cannot serve but eight."

A political observer in Washington said:

"If you know Hale Boggs, you know he is acting on what he considers principle again. But he's bitten off an awful lot in Hoover. Both Johnson and Nixon wanted to retire him, and both were afraid of public opinion. Can you imagine a 76-year old federal employee with that kind of clout? Boggs may just have strengthened him. Made it harder to get him out. No chief of police should have that kind of tenure and power in a free nation."

And in Boggs' home state, a legislature, playing cheap, election-year politics, passed a brave resolution supporting Hoover.

Perhaps it is the story of Hale Boggs' life.

Devotion to principle has always led him into conflict.

It is when you walk down the halls of Congress, sensing the enormous weight of our history, the work of the men who have walked there before, who have carried the destiny of this nation, if not the world, with them, that you wonder about those who would tear down this great Capitol and its machinery for good. You wonder about those who would smear and scorn and sneer at one of the most magnificent works of men, the United States Congress, held together by the strength of men who have given their lives to principle.

There is nothing easy about governing a nation.

Particularly a nation in change.

"If we can set an example to the rest of the world of a country that is really a Democratic country, that really recognizes the rights of all citizens regardless of what their background might be, of what their racial connections might be, if we can give opportunity to our people, commensurate with their skills and training, then the United States will continue to be, in my judgment, the great force of the world.

"I never thought much of the dominance theory—the Pax Americana idea. I think the U.S. period as an influence in the world is only beginning. I think we have passed the stage in human events where martial forces are dominant factors. I think an adequate defense is still very vital and you must have a nuclear deterrent, but the idea we would dominate the earth by the use of force is one that I have never thought much of.

"We must clean up the cities, build adequate housing for our people, educational institutions, health programs and of course, provide the economics to get the country moving again. The idea of 6,000,000 people and 30 per cent of our industrial capacity lying idle is a terrible thing and we should concentrate here.

"The idea of not being able to do these things is ridiculous. If we can have enough ingenuity to send men to the moon, and all of the scientific resources that went along with it, then certainly we can resolve the other problems.

"We must keep the small cities and rural regions attractive enough so people will stop leaving and ending up in tenements in the big cities. And we must make the cities habitable. It needs a bit of doing. It needs re-direction of resources. And we must be united."

It is on Sunday morning that the Majority Leader puts on nondescript clothes and works in the garden of his Maryland home. At the time these interviews took place, spring was coming to Washington. The cherry blossoms were bursting and the trees were greening. Raking leaves, fertilizing, pruning, setting out small plants, the Majority Leader seemed as though he had left the troubled affairs of his nation somewhere far away.

"I'm old enough not to be terribly concerned about my political future, if I have any," he said. "I would hope that I have one, but if I don't it is still all right. Even though my ambition is still to be Speaker of the House of Representatives. I have no ambitions beyond the House.

"My family is grown, they have been very well, and my wife and I are happy, and so I feel relaxed and free for the first time in my life. After working very hard, I have been elected to a post I think I can do and do well.

"There isn't any person, I don't care what his station in life is, who contacts me that I don't try to help in one way or another. One reason they have never succeeded in defeating me, no matter how much they have spent, is the fact that we have always helped people. I have profound respect for people. It is a noble undertaking to represent the people, and at last, to have some active part in the leadership of this country in my own right."

It has been a long road to Washington.

CUMBERLAND NEWS CITES AMBASSADOR BRUCE

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, on August 6 the Cumberland News of Cumberland, Md., cited the chief negotiator at the Paris talks, Ambassador David K. E. Bruce, for the outstanding job he has done as the leader of the U.S. Delegation in Paris. I would like to share the Cumberland News' editorial with the Members:

[From the Cumberland (Md.) News, Aug. 6, 1971]

AMBASSADOR BRUCE DESERVES CREDIT

Last summer, at age 72, David K. E. Bruce was summoned from retirement to become the United States' chief negotiator at the Paris peace talks.

Hopes rose high with his appointment to this difficult task. Ambassador Bruce was well known in international circles for his distinguished diplomatic career. He had headed embassies in Paris, Bonn and London under Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson.

President Nixon had gone to some lengths to stress the importance of his selection of Mr. Bruce and it was made known that the new chief negotiator would have "broad latitude of movement" in the Paris talks.

One year later, and despite Ambassador Bruce's undisputed diplomatic skill, the Paris negotiations are still stalemated and often acrimonious.

At the last meeting of the peace talks Mr. Bruce attended before retiring once again from public service, the North Vietnamese made the usual charges. They accused the ambassador of irresponsibility for not properly understanding their peace proposal.

Ambassador Bruce charged them with secret military preparations around the demilitarized zone.

Though success has eluded Ambassador Bruce, his countrymen owe him a debt of gratitude for having undertaken such a demanding task so late in life. For his successor, Ambassador Porter, one wishes the fortitude, patience and tact needed to carry on the negotiations.

WILLIAM H. TIMBERS CONFIRMED AS CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS JUDGE

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, William H. Timbers of Connecticut has been confirmed by the Senate to be a judge on the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.

Bill Timbers has been an outstanding judge in Connecticut, Mr. Speaker, having served as district court judge since 1960, and in 1964 having become chief judge of the district court.

A 1940 graduate of the Yale Law School, Judge Timbers began his career with the New York City firm of Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sunderland, and Kiendl. From 1953 to 1956, Judge Timbers served as General Counsel to the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission.

Judge Timbers' career in Connecticut has been marked by well-reasoned decisions and mediation.

A well-qualified, experienced judge, Bill Timbers is also a good friend. His nomination has been admired widely in Connecticut, reflecting well both on Judge Timbers and and on President Nixon who selected him for this important position.

Bill Timbers will make an outstanding

appeals court judge, Mr. Speaker, and in the future may fill still more elevated positions in the Federal judiciary. I congratulate Bill Timbers on his nomination and confirmation, Mr. Speaker, and wish him a successful new career in these trying times for both judges and the law.

DEPARTMENT OF ARMY RECOMMENDED READING LIST

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the 1971 Contemporary Military Reading List may offer some suggestion as to the new military leadership, since a military commander reflects in his objectives his environment and his training.

I have in the past commented that the suggested reading of unbalanced literature by our military leaders seems to indicate that they are being prepared for other than military ideals. The 1971 military reading list recommends 39 volumes, of which 12 are authored by members of the prestigious-intellectual-financial-industrial organization known as the Council on Foreign Relations. The CFR publications identify this organization as "a nonprofit institution devoted to the study of political, economic, and strategic problems as related to American foreign policy."

Since the CFR has a membership of 1,451, it is quite a coincidence that the solutions and alternatives offered by its members receive such a great opportunity for advancement outside the State Department. The contemporary military reading list was ordered by Gen. W. C. Westmoreland, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, a member of the CFR.

I include the military reading list at this point in the RECORD and that each of the authors who are designated as CFR members be shown by asterisk:

1971 CONTEMPORARY MILITARY READING LIST

1. General. Department of the Army responsibilities, policies and information on the availability of books for the Contemporary Military Reading Program are specified in AR 28–86.

2. Reading List. A brief synopsis for each book is given in the appendix.

Author, Title, and Year.

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*Baldwin, Hanson W., Strategy for Tomorrow, 1970.

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Glick, Edward B., Peaceful Conflict, 1967.

*Glubb, John Bagot, A Short History of the Arab Peoples, 1969.

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*Horne, Alistair, To Lose a Battle: France 1940, 1969.

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*James, D. Clayton, The Years of MacArthur, Vol. 1: 1880–1941, 1970.

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*Sampson, Anthony, Anatomy of Europe, 1969.

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*Stanley, Timothy W. and Whitt, Darnell M., Detente Diplomacy: United States and European Security in the 1970's, 1970.

Tarr, David W., American Strategy in the Nuclear Age, 1966.

*Thompson, Robert G. K., Revolutionary War in World Strategy, 1945–1969, 1970.

*Uris, Auren, Mastery of Management, 1968.

Weigley, Russel F., History of the United States Army, 1967.

Wilson, Dick, An Anatomy of China: An Introduction to One Quarter of Mankind, 1968.

*THE SUPREME COMMANDER: THE WAR YEARS OF GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

(By Stephen E. Ambrose (1970))

The author was the Associate Editor of the Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower: The War Years; as such he had access to valuable, unpublished information dealing with World War II. In this book, General Eisenhower's progress is traced from the conflict's start through North Africa, Normandy, and the Battle of the Bulge. Ambrose has provided a straightforward and judicious account of World War II as seen by the top Allied commander in Europe.

*STRATEGY FOR TOMORROW

(By Hanson W. Baldwin (1970))

A thought-provoking area-by-area analyzation of the various world regions, their forces and weaponry, in specific terms. The author delves into and outlines the importance of such primary issues as national power, forces, trends, and national will. From recent wars, he draws what he considers to be the key lessons, some of which are controversial, but all of which add important insights as to future strategy. Baldwin maintains that "military force is indivisible, and military power of all types from all services will be required in the years ahead." He adds, however, that "the man on the ground with the gun in his hand is still the ultimate weapon."

THE DISCIPLINE OF POWER

(By George W. Ball (1968))

An incisive examination, from the vantage point of wide experience at high-policy levels, of U.S. foreign policy problems. The questions addressed include the background of the Common Market, the advantages of a united, "Third Force" Europe, relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., and U.S. activities in Vietnam.

CHINA AFTER MAO

(By A. Doak Barnett (1967))

The Red Guards—largely teenage groups of Chinese terrorists—burst dramatically upon the scene in mid-August 1966 at a huge mass rally in Peking. The avowed aims of these mobs were to suppress dissidence against Mao and to elevate him to the status of a near-deity. Barnett poses the question: Can the "thoughts of Mao" provide the answers to China's unsolved problems or will changing conditions make Maoism obsolete. He seeks some indication of the answers by examining the major problems and possible directions of change. He finds that, although those who are trying to insure that Mao's dogmas prevail after his death are now in the ascendancy, they may be fighting a losing battle. The competing forces that are sure to collide after Mao's death may ultimately compel the Peking regime to come to terms with reality and move in new directions toward more rational and moderate policies.

*THE LIGHTNING WAR

(By W. Byford-Jones (1968))

An eyewitness record of the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict by an experienced military observer. The author's personal acquaintance with many leaders on both sides of the struggle gives this book a flavor and authenticity of its own. This 218-page account explains why and how the war broke out and how it was fought. Colonel Byford-Jones also provides the reader with a detailed summary of the opposing forces' characteristics and their respective strategies.

THE OBLIGATIONS OF POWER: AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

(By Harlan Cleveland (1966))

Written by a former Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs and U.S. Ambassador to NATO, this book is an excellent review and forecast of U.S. policy. A short and very readable account of U.S. successes in the cold war emphasizes lessons for crisis management, means of maintaining peace, and the usefulness of development assistance.

LIMITED WAR AND AMERICAN DEFENSE POLICY

(By Seymour J. Deitchman (1964))

A timely and comprehensive analysis of limited war, including a history of such wars over the past 20 years, the kinds of limited war likely to face the United States, and the areas and environment where they may be fought. The book considers tactical nuclear weapons, battlefield mobility, tacical air support, command, and control, force structure, and the impact of technology on limited war. Deitchman also examines the issues to be resolved and the alternatives available to bring U.S. military capabilities into consonance with U.S. foreign policy.

THE LESSONS OF HISTORY

(By Will and Ariel Durant (1968))

A short but balanced view of historical study as it is affected by the forces of morals, race, biology, character, religion, economics, socialism, government, war and progress.

PEACEFUL CONFLICT

(By Edward B. Glick (1967))

Glick's book deals with the nonmilitary use of the military. He argues for the peaceful worldwide use of arms for engineering scientific, medical, educational, and agricultural

services, citing examples of such services from history and the current scene. Basically, Glick expands the "third mission" assigned to the U.S. Army by describing how discipline, training, and technical skills of armed forces can be used for nation-building purposes. Tracing civic action roles in other countries from Biblical times to the present day, Glick cites the roles armies have played as nationbuilders, colonizers, and pathfinders for the civilization which followed. Detailed and illustrative reports concerning peaceful roles of military forces in many parts of the present-day world emphasize the contribution to social and economic development.

*A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ARAB PEOPLES

(By John Bagot Glubb (1969))

Beginning with an account of the Arabian peoples prior to Islam, Sir John Glubb recounts the emergence of the Prophet Muhammad and the founding of Islam. The book then carries the story through the first four caliphs, the Umayyad and Abbasid empires, the conquest of North Africa, the Arab incursion into Spain, and the subsequent ebb and fragmentation of the great Arab empires. The Byzantine, Persian, Mongol, Turkish, and subsequent French Crusader contacts with the Arabs and Arabicized peoples are also chronicled. The volume concludes with a discussion of the current status of the Arab peoples. This work contains some useful tactical and strategic insights into various Arab campaigns which the author, as a lifetime soldier, is well able to assess.

COMMAND DECISIONS

(Edited by Kent R. Greenfield (1959))

Twenty command decisions of World War II, seven concerning the war in the Pacific, and thirteen dealing with operations in Europe and Africa, are discussed and evaluated by sixteen historians of the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. The dilemmas, alternatives, and options involved in such controversial operations as the attack on Pearl Harbor, the withdrawal to Bataan, the landings at Anzio, the Normandy invasion, the closing of the Argentan-Falaise Gap, and the use of the atomic bomb are analyzed in detail and in a scholarly and objective fashion.

THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

(By Samuel B. Griffith (1967))

Published by the Council on Foreign Relations, this book provides a thorough and authoritative study of the Chinese Communist armed forces, including not only their organization, capabilities, and leadership but also their role in political indoctrination and organization of the people of Communist China.

*TO LOSE A BATTLE: FRANCE 1940

(By Alistair Horne 1969))

A masterful account of the fall of France and of the factors which led to the defeat of the French Army in 1940. The author presents a highly interesting and vivid contrast between the development of the German warmaking potential and the antimilitarism of France.

*THE SOLDIER AND THE STATE: THE THEORY AND POLITICS OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

(By Samuel P. Huntington (1957))

A study of the interaction of the professional officer corps and the civilian departments of modern government, primarily in the United States. Its purpose is to examine military events in American history for ways to maintain both civilian control and national security.

*MIDDLE EAST POLITICS—THE MILITARY DIMENSION

(By Jacob Coleman Hurewitz (1969))

Professor Hurewitz has compiled what is essentially a military geography of the Middle East; a geography which includes the political component. Each Middle East state receives individual attention; separate chapters cover such general elements as historical backgrounds, arms races, and U.S. options.

*CASTRO, THE KREMLIN AND COMMUNISM IN LATIN AMERICA

(By D. Bruce Jackson (1969)

Castro's concept of revolutionary action à la Guevara and Mao is at odds with theories of the old line, Russian-oriented Communist leaders of Latin America. Consequently, Castro's support has existed outside the regular party and has proven to be weak and transient though sufficient to cause political splits and discord. The author finds that instead of being arm-in-arm comrades, Castro and the U.S.S.R. are involved in a struggle for primacy.

DECISIVE BATTLES OF WORLD WAR II: THE GERMAN VIEW

(Edited by Hans A. Jacobsen and Jurgen Rohwer, Translated by Edward Fitzgerald (1965))

Ten selected campaigns of World War II are discussed by German historians, many of them distinguished military commanders. Included in the book are campaigns from Dunkirk to the Ardennes. Tactical conduct of the operations are reviewed as are the influences of elements such as geography, political systems, resources, and intelligence. The assessment of each campaign concludes with a summary of the lessons to be learned.

*THE YEARS OF MACARTHUR: VOLUME V: 1880–1941

(By D. Clayton James (1970))

This book is the first of two-volume biography of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur. Professor James chronicles the general's background and career from his early days up to Pearl Harbor. This first volume is at once the story of a full life and a history of the American Army during a consequential era.

ISSUES OF NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE 1970'S: ESSAYS PRESENTED TO COLONEL GEORGE A. LINCOLN ON HIS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY

(Edited by Colonel Amos A. Jordan, Jr. (1967))

This book consists of a number of specially written essays by authors who have worked with Colonel George A. Lincoln during his military career. Active and retired military personnel such as General Dwight D. Eisenhower, General Charles A. Bonesteel, Colonel Robert N. Ginsburgh, and the junior author, Lieutenant Colonel John W. Seigle are among the contributors. Taking a critical look at the world of the 1970's, the various authors have analyzed the threat; the use of military powers; and the problems associated with NATO, Asia, internal defense, arms control, and other aspects of the national security of the United States. Few volumes are of more direct interest to the military in their attempts to peek into the future.

THE REAL CIA

(Mr. Lyman B. Kirkpatrick (1967))

An authoritative account of the evolution of the U.S. foreign intelligence system, providing many useful insights into recent history and valuable commentary on governmental machinery and the decisionmaking process in the field of national security.

* AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: THREE ESSAYS

(By Henry A. Kissinger (1969))

In the first essay, the author contrasts the American foreign policy tradition with the Soviet ideological approach, and with the revolutionary approach characterizing the new nations. The second essay concentrates on structural conceptual problems of U.S. foreign policy. The final essay outlines what has become, essentially, of the U.S. policy in Vietnam. In his approach to these complex issues, Professor Kissinger calls for a new burst of creativity which, rather than seeking pat technical answers, search for a second conception of what constitutes a stable and creative world order.

A SHORT GUIDE TO CLAUSEWITZ ON WAR

(Edited by Roger A. Leonard (1968))

The editor has extracted the essentials of Clausewitz's famous three-volume study, On War, and introduced the abridged text with a succinct yet comprehensive point-by-point analysis of the essence of the major work. This book may be used as an alternative to the basic text for the reader with limited time searching for a more rapid understanding of Clausewitz's main ideas and his impact on the conduct and theory of warfare.

STRATEGY

(By Basil H. Liddell Hart (1967))

A basic study by one of the greatest of military thinkers, this book provides a fundamental examination of the subject, analyzing its various aspects, and in this new edition includes a chapter providing valuable insight into the role and capabilities of guerrilla warfare.

THE ART OF COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY WAR

(By John J. McCuen (1966))

A basic coverage of counter-revolutionary war, addressing not only the military but also the psychological and political aspects.

AMERICA'S STAKE IN ASIA

(By Drew Middleton (1968))

A survey of U.S. relations with and prospects for 13 Asian countries, including a careful examination of the situation and alternatives in Vietnam.

A HISTORY OF WARFARE

(By Montgomery of Alamein (1968))

A comprehensive, analytical study of warfare from the earliest times to the present by a writer who speaks with the authority of both a commander and scholar.

*AFRICA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

(Edited by Clark D. Moore and Ann Dunbar (1969))

There are greater differences in thought, background, economics, cultures, and politics in Africa South of the Sahara than exist among European societies. In this volume, selections from a wide range of authors, together with implementing editorial comment, describe the blend of diversity that makes Africa fascinating—backwardness and progress, African culture and colonialism, and a varying mixture of juju magic, tribal autocracy, democracy, and Marxism.

LATIN AMERICA: MYTH AND REALITY

(By Peter Nehemkis (1964))

An encompassing review of the history and development of Central and South America, blending competent analysis with concise factual reporting. Opposing points of view are presented objectively; military, political, sociological, and economic implications significant to the current world power struggle are examined thoroughly and perceptively.

COUNTER-INSURGENCY OPERATION: TECHNIQUES OF GUERRILLA WARFARE

(By Julian Paget (1967))

Case studies of three counter-insurgency operations (Malaya, Kenya, and Cyprus), differing in cause, character, and solutions, with lessons to be derived from each.

GEORGE C. MARSHALL: VOLUME 1—EDUCATION OF A GENERAL, 1880–1939 (1962); VOLUME 2—ORDEAL AND HOPE, 1939–1942 (1966)

(By Forrest C. Pogue)

The first two volumes of a projected four-volume definitive biography. Volume 1 follows Marshall's progress from his childhood in Uniontown, Pa., to 1939 when Hitler marched into Poland and Marshall took the oath as Chief of Staff of the United States

Army. The development of the United States as a world power and Marshall's early role in that development, are shown. Volume 2 carries his career in Washington through the difficult early years of World War II and portrays his skillful leadership in the struggle to strengthen the Army.

BEYOND VIETNAM: THE UNITED STATES AND ASIA

(By Edwin O. Reischauer (1967))

A penetrating analysis of Asia's basic problems and aspirations and their implications for U.S. policy. For this book, the author draws on his extensive knowledge of and experience with the Orient and its people.

THE KOREAN WAR

(By Matthew B. Ridgway (1967))

General Ridgway tells how he met the challenge of Korea during the period 1950–1953 and how all-out Asian war was averted. He unfolds the succession of events leading to MacArthur's dismissal, dwells upon the difficulties of negotiating with the Communists, and reflects upon the meaning of limited war as it applied to Korea and how he feels it should apply in Vietnam.

*ANATOMY OF EUROPE

(By Anthony Sampson (1969))

The author has produced a detailed but concentrated guide to the workings, institutions, and character of contemporary Western Europe. In relation to the European environment, this work discusses, among other subjects, the roles played by the politicians, military, students, tourists, tycoons, workers, and technocrats.

TIME OUT OF HAND: REVOLUTION AND REACTION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

(By Robert Shaplen (1969))

Robert Shaplen, author of THE LOST REVOLUTION, surveys the contemporary scene in eight nations of Southeast Asia. His book describes the various relationships among the countries of Southeast Asia and the relationship of this region to the rest of the world.

*DETENTE DIPLOMACY: UNITED STATES AND EUROPEAN SECURITY IN THE 1970'S

(By Timothy W. Stanley and Darnell M. Whitt (1970))

This book provides a factual background for a consideration of the Soviet-Warsaw Pact's call for a new East-West security conference. In this short but complete work, the authors take cognizance of the history, interests, options, major issues, and prospects associated with such a conference.

AMERICAN STRATEGY IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

(By David W. Tarr (1966))

This book presents a clear overview of U.S. military strategy since World War II. A short introduction sets the stage in collating military power, national objectives, military strategy, and national strategy. The policy of containment as outlined in NSC–20 and the succeeding initial nuclear strategy as set forth in NSC–68 and NSC162/2 are highlighted. NATO and SEATO military matters are also covered. Massive retaliation, flexible response, finite deterrence, and the counterforce strategies are discussed. Intervening crises such as Berlin, Indochina, and Cuba are treated in the overall strategic military context. Throughout the book, the various strategies and critical events are viewed with respect to our overall strategy of deterrence.

*REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN WORLD STRATEGY, 1945–1969

(By Robert G. K. Thompson (1970))

This book presents an analysis of various revolutionary struggles since World War II in terms of Soviet and Communist Chinese policies aimed at projecting their influence and control throughout the world. The author views revolutionary wars as being manipulated, if not conducted, by the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic to further their national objectives of world domination and the security of their homelands. Although this volume does not examine the details of internal defense and development operations covered by Sir Robert's previous works, it does present a greater worldwide picture of the threat.

*MASTERY OF MANAGEMENT

(By Auren Uris (1968))

Although his observations are aimed at the commercial-industrial manager, the author has much to say to military executives, especially the younger officers, about the practice of organizational leadership in a rapidly changing social, educational, and technological environment.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY

(By Russell F. Weigley (1967))

This is a carefully researched military history. The story of the Regular Army is recounted along with that of the militia or volunteers. A procession of great names marches across its pages together with an assessment of their contributions, their effectiveness, their dedication, and, where research or retrospect so indicates, their pomposity or pretensions. The origin, development and contributions of the great military schools of the nation are explained with specific credit going to Dennis Mahan and Sylvanus Thayer. Lessons learned from each war are recounted in context. The exhaustive bibliographical notes alone comprise a gold mine of source and reference.

AN ANATOMY OF CHINA: AN INTRODUCTION TO ONE QUARTER OF MANKIND

(By Dick Wilson (1968))

An objective and incisive analysis of the forces and trends at work in Communist China. In conducting this study, the author examines the society, economy, and diplomacy of the Chinese Communists.

PEDAL POWER

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, pedal power is gaining strength across the country as more and more people take to the bicycle for their daily transportation. People are finding that bicycles are convenient for urban transportation—costing little to maintain and a pleasure to ride.

Bicycling has certain dangers, however, when the cyclist is forced to compete with motorists—and thus it is necessary that we take steps to develop bicycle lanes in our urban areas. To this end I have introduced H.R. 9369 to provide Federal assistance from the highway trust fund for the construction of bicycle lanes and shelters. The Bicycle Transportation Act of 1971 is now cosponsored by 28 Members of the House and on August 5 was introduced in the Senate by Senators ALAN CRANSTON and JOHN TUNNEY of California under the number, S. 2440.

The Bicycle Transportation Act of 1971 is receiving support from all parts of the country. The most recent statement of support was broadcast over WPIX on July 26. The following is the text of the WPIX editorial:

WPIX EDITORIAL

At the moment, the automobile is the principal villain in the fight for cleaner air for our cities. Despite the fact that federal standards on auto exhaust pollution will go into effect in 1975, and substantially reduce the problem, there are still those who would like to see private cars banned in major cities.

The reason, of course, is traffic congestion. Someone who studies this sort of thing has estimated that the average speed of vehicular traffic in Manhattan in 1909 was 11 miles per hour, and now, in 1971, after 62 years of progress, the average speed is 9 miles an hour.

One of the most often mentioned remedies for this problem is the bicycle, a non-polluting, non-congesting means of transportation which also offers as a benefit better health for those who ride.

But, in the congested cities, when one rides a bike in the street, he subjects himself to possible injury or even death because of the traffic congestion.

To break this cycle—no pun intended—it is clear that something must be done about creating special lanes or paths for bicycles in the City.

To this end, Congressman Edward Koch has introduced what he calls the Bicycle Transportation Act of 1971, which would allow states and communities to use Highway Trust monies to develop bicycle lanes.

The people who favor the bill say that it is too dangerous to have people riding with regular traffic, and point to the many acknowledged benefits of cycling.

The opponents say the idea is too expensive, that the lanes might block traffic, particularly delivery trucks which must stop at the curb. One also might guess that some of the opponents are just too lazy to pedal.

After considering the matter, the Management of WPIX supports the cyclists. We think that bicycle lanes and paths should be developed, and that Congressman Koch's bill should be passed. We're not sure that the bicycle is the wave of the future, but when we were kids, we got around pretty well on our bikes. Maybe progress sometimes means going backward. What's your opinion? We'd like to know.

PORNOGRAPHY IS A CANCER

HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss a subject that is of great concern to every family in America today. The subject is pornography.

Pornography is a cancer in this country, growing more widespread every year. It is a malignancy that threatens the welfare of large segments of our society today, particularly our young people.

Countless moviehouse marquees throughout the country flaunt explicit scenes of sexual activity in an effort to sell more tickets, and Hollywood seems determined to see just how far it can go in the name of "art."

It has even reached the point that people cannot even take their families for a drive through the countryside without being subjected to explicit, sickening, and tastless scenes of sexual activities that are the current fare at thousands of open air, drive-in theaters.

Pornographic bookstores, which ad-

vertise their wares in window displays that pedestrians cannot avoid seeing, have multiplied in recent years to the point that there is hardly an American community left today without at least one.

And the Nation's Capital, far from setting a proper example for other American communities to follow, has gained a reputation as one of the world's leading centers for the sale of pornographic material.

There are dozens of pornography peddlers operating in the very shadow of the White House today, much to the dismay of this city's residents, and much to the disbelief of the millions of tourists who visit Washington every year.

Bad as these conditons are, by far the worst is the pornographic distribution sanctioned by the U.S. Government through the use of its postal service.

Millions of private homes throughout America are being relentlessly bombarded with the worst kind of filth, the kind that even the basest sense of decency must recognize as being obscene.

The American people in overwhelming proportions have called on their Government for relief from this constant attack, and the Government has responded to some extent, but we still have far to go before this problem is completely solved.

In the almost 3 years that I have been a Member of Congress, I have sponsored several legislative measures designed to cope with the pornography problem.

In the 91st Congress, I introduced legislation which would have placed the responsibility for controlling smut mail on the peddler himself, and not on the decent American citizen who does not want anything to do with pornographic material.

As I said in a speech at that time, "Why should the American people have to assume the responsibility for putting a stop to this unwanted mail? Let us place the blame and the responsibility where it belongs, on the illicit mailer, not on the unwilling receiver."

I was gratified to see a strong antipornography bill passed during that last Congress, providing for up to $100,000 in fines and 10-year prison sentences for multiple offenders. I supported that bill as a substitute for my own, and I voted for its passage.

But that bill, although it was the strongest legislation of its kind ever passed, still did not do all that needs to be done.

It provided a way for private citizens to request that this material not be sent to their homes, by filling out a form and submitting it to the post office, but this still places the major burden on the private individual, rather than on the dealer.

In the 92d Congress, a further step in the right direction was taken with the passage if a new antiobscenity bill which strictly defines "obscenity" and provides for more stringent controls on the sale of pornographic material to minors.

I strongly supported this bill, and offered an amendment to it which would have prohibited pornography dealers from mailing potentially offensive material to private homes unless that material has been ordered by the resident.

I firmly believe that every legal, financial and procedural burden involved in the distribution of pornography should be placed squarely on the man who peddles pornography for profit.

Our common law, and our written statutes, have traditionally recognized the fact that "a man's home is his castle," not to be penetrated by anyone or anything without the permission of the owner.

A man is not required to register at the police station in order to have his home protected from thieves. Why should he have to register at the post office to keep merchants of filth from intruding with their unwanted wares?

The burden of the law should be weighted as heavily against the pornography dealer as it is against the thief in the night.

The right to peddle pornography should end at the door of the American home, and the penalty for violating the sanctity of that home with smut mail should be severe.

It was with these thoughts in mind that I introduced my amendment, and I was surprised and saddened that it did not pass.

At a time when the spread of pornography has reached epidemic proportions in our country, and when the moral fiber of our Nation seems to be rapidly unraveling, I believe we are in desperate need of strict and effective controls over the sale and distribution of pornography.

I intend to continue making every effort to see those controls enacted and enforced.

YOUTH CAMP SAFETY

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the House Select Subcommittee on Labor is currently considering legislation to establish Federal youth camp safety standards. It was my privilege to testify before that subcommittee recently; a privilege, it must be noted, I have had twice before. Despite the efforts of Chairman DOMINICK V. DANIELS and those of the subcommittee, Congress has failed to legislate in an area of great importance to our Nation's youth.

When I first introduced legislation in 1967 to establish Federal safety standards for the operation of summer camps, over 6 million children attended such camps. Now, 4 years later, there are close to 8 million youngsters in more than 10,000 recreational camps across the country. While many camps maintain high health and safety standards, each summer we become painfully aware that there are far too many that do not.

Incredibly enough, camps with weak or nonexistent safety standards, face little State regulation or control, and no Federal regulation.

According to the American Camping Association, an organization active in camp safety, 24 States require no licenses or set no standards for the operation of a camp. Only eight States actually license these establishments. Twenty-nine States require no annual inspection of camp facilities and of those that do inspect, only four consider safety factors in the inspection.

I believe that Congress, faced with the reluctance of States to act in this area, must insure that no more summers pass without reasonable and effective camp regulation.

A study made in 1956 by the Mutual Security Life Insurance Co. on the 3½ million campers it insured during 1962–64, reported 35,000 injury claims. Based on the increased number of campers we have today, we can project that there will be a minimum of 80,000 claims arising out of summer camp illness or injury this year alone. In the 3-year period covered by the study, 8,469 claims were filed due to colds, flu, or tonsillitis, 3,584 because of lacerations or cuts, 5,860 because of sprains or bruises, 3,937 because of skin or ear infections, and 2,268 because of broken bones or puncture wounds. If 80,000 claims are actually filed we can be sure that there are many more cases of accident or illness not reported.

It is my strong feeling, both as a parent of a 10-year-old boy now attending camp and as a concerned Member of Congress, that this situation must be corrected. It is for this reason that I urge immediate adoption of my bill, H.R. 6493, or similar legislation, to provide Federal leadership and grants to States for developing and implementing State programs for youth camp safety standards.

Under my bill, the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare must, within 1 year after enactment, establish standards for safe operation of youth camps. The Secretary will be responsible for the implementation and enforcement of the standards except when individual States desire to do this themselves. There is $2½ million authorized to encourage States to both develop and enforce their own standards. As part of this program, the States must set up advisory boards to assist the agency in charge of overseeing the enforcement program, much the same as the Secretary is to establish an Advisory Council on Youth Camp Safety within HEW. State programs are subject to review by the Secretary. Should the standards be changed or enforcement judged deficient, upon proper notice, the Secretary would apply Federal standards in that State.

Millions of parents each year must decide, based on inadequate information, which camps their children should attend. In many cases, these camps are located far from the family home, making thorough parental inspection impractical or impossible. Parents deserve the assurance that these temporary homes for their children meet certain minimum health and safety norms.

If the bill becomes law, I would recommend that the Secretary of HEW give consideration to the following:

First. The activities of youthful campers must be supervised by trained professionals. Too often positions are filled by inexperienced personnel without real

qualifications. Standards of performance skills must be established for counselors in fields that require special expertise, such as swimming, boating, archery, riflery, and hiking. Too many injuries to campers result from improperly trained counselors directing these activities. Before anyone is allowed to supervise activities in these risky areas, special training for supervisors and testing of their skills must be required.

Second. General camp training courses in first aid should also be made mandatory to prepare staff members and administrators for unexpected emergencies. Also adequate medical facilities and personnel should be required for each camp on a 24-hour standby basis. There have been too many instances in which sick or injured children have not received prompt and proper medical attention.

Third. Each member of the camp community, camper and counselor alike, should be required to submit to the camp, an up-to-date health record. All too often, children away from home require certain medicine, have serious allergies, or other medical conditions whose neglect can, of course, be disastrous.

In one instance, for example, a 15-year-old epileptic who failed to take his medicine suffered a seizure while swimming at camp, resulting in a "partial drowning." Though a doctor was called to pool side to give artificial resuscitation, the boy suffered severe brain damage. This could have been avoided if the camp had known and acted on the boy's medical needs.

With qualified supervision by counselors and administrators and with necessary precautions, this accident, like so many other tragedies, could have been avoided.

There are other areas that require regulation: the wholesome handling of food supplies must be required and provision for adequate sleeping arrangements and sanitation facilities provided. Fire prevention and drills and adequate water and sewage treatment are also a "must." These are responsibilities of camp directors. Conscientious operators should be careful to provide a safe, clean, and adequate environment for all campers.

While the American Camping Association is currently revising and strengthening its standards, fewer than one of every three camps is now able to meet its present standards. I wonder what that number will drop to, when the Camping Association issues its more stringent list of what it considers proper norms.

It is clear, then, that most States and many camps have failed to meet their obligations "in loco parentis." It is for this reason that Congress must act decisively and promptly in this area.

Past critics of the Youth Camp Safety Act have rejected a Federal role in what they considered to be a State matter. Yet H.R. 6493 and Chairman DANIELS' H.R. 1264 give individual States the opportunity to establish and implement their own regulations. In fact, both bills encourage them to do so by providing grants for this express purpose. Hopefully, the principal role of the Federal Government will be supportive and advisory. Only in those cases where individual States fail to act in implementing standards will the Federal Government assume greater responsibility.

Each new camping tragedy evidences a growing need for passage of a youth camp safety bill providing for minimum health and safety standards. In addition to these standards, there may be a need for other provisions, such as requiring a recreation camp to carry accident or injury insurance so that compensation will be available to anyone injured. Perhaps camps should also be required to publish their accident records, in any brochure printed for the purpose of promoting the camp, and include information on such things as camper-counselor ratios and qualification standards for counselors.

Parents need, and children deserve, better protection than they presently have. Passage of the Youth Camp Safety Act would lead to such protection.

Failure of this Congress to act now makes us accomplices in future camping mishaps and tragedies.

The need is urgent, the time is now, the opportunity is here.

POW PRIEST HONORED BY AIR FORCE ASSOCIATION

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, at Armed Forces Day ceremonies observed at Mitchel Field, Hofstra University, N.Y., the Air Force Association, an organization devoted to the advancement of American military aviation, presented its national certificate of honor to a clergyman whose global efforts devoted to alleviating the sufferings of the American prisoners of war held captive in Southeast Asia and their families, have earned him the sobriquet of the "POW Priest."

You have no doubt followed his activities in the newspapers, Mr. Speaker. He is the Right Reverend Bartholomew Ruxton Fox who holds the rank of Archimandrite in the archdiocese of Toledo, Ohio, of the ancient Orthodox Church of Antioch. It is worth noting that Toledo's archbishop, the Most Reverend Michael Shaheen, himself a veteran of World War II, is the first American-born prelate to achieve such an exalted position in Christianity's oldest continuous church.

In 1970, Archimandrite Bartholomew began an odyssey that was to last for 5 months and take him completely around the world in an effort to secure humane treatment by the Communists for defenseless prisoners of war. He was 1 of 4 clergymen commissioned by POW families to bring the consolations of religion to men who have been imprisoned for as long as 6 and 7 years. If they were to learn names of men missing in action while there, so much the better.

His clerical colleagues, a Latin priest, a rabbi, and a Protestant minister returned to their pastoral charges after 3 weeks. It is a tribute to this prelate's tenacity, that he pursued his mission to the ends of the world.

Mr. Speaker, Father Bartholomew's AFA citation follows:

For outstanding service to the cause of human rights by virtue of taking positive action in behalf of Americans who are missing in action or held prisoner of war in Southeast Asia.

Summarized in these few brief words, Mr. Speaker, is the mission which brought Father Bartholomew to Rome, Geneva, Stockholm, Moscow, Damascus, Vientiane, Saigon, and the combat areas of Vietnam and Cambodia. In the course of his pilgrimage for peace and humanitarianism, he met with world religious leaders, the prime ministers of two nations, foreign ministers and diplomats, both favorably disposed toward the United States of America and Communist officials, representing North Vietnam, the Vietcong and Pathet Lao, the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China.

To each and every one he pleaded for humane treatment for his fellow Americans, even though in some instances it only evoked further denigration of this country's heroic prisoners of war and himself as a servant of God.

Our allies of the Republic of Vietnam were quick to recognize the dedication of Father Bartholomew and decorated him with the Psychological Warfare Medal, first class, for "bringing redeeming love in the midst of hellish war."

Mr. Speaker, the newspapers described the dedicated efforts of the POW priest, as "mission impossible" aware as they were of Communist cynicism, but this Father went forth with a heart full of hope and prayer.

I should like to call to the Members' attention some of the Father's background as I recognize him today.

During the Korean war he served commendably at the Army's Psychological Warfare Headquarters where he experimented with spy war leaflet drops from helicopter. Following duty with the Air Force Reserve, he continued a military career in State's militias, being promoted to the rank of brigadier general in 1967 by the Governor of Louisiana.

Father Bartholomew's academic accomplishments include a B.Sc. from Fordham University where he majored in Russian language and area studies, a providential preparation for his mission to Moscow; a master's in counseling, and the Licencié en Théologie from the Institut de St. Denys in Paris. His earned doctorate in theology has been enhanced by honorary doctorates in religious education. He is a fellow of both the Royal Society of Arts, and Philosophical Society of England.

Upon leaving Fordham, he did welfare casework in Harlem, moving over to the Correction Department at Rikers Island Penitentiary before accepting an appointment as guidance counselor on the warden's staff at Sing Sing prison. The similarity of this work to pastoral counseling finally inspired him to enter the sacred ministry.

Following ordination he was appointed to an order devoted to aiding earthquake survivors where he developed innovative techniques to expand greater use of ex-

isting resources. In recognition of these inspired services, he was elevated to the rank of Archimandrite a little more than a year after entering the sacred priesthood. Further recognition was taken in his being awarded the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Knights of St. Denis of Zante, a Greek ecclesiastical decoration, Mr. Speaker, awarded to every President of the United States from Mr. Herbert Hoover to Mr. Richard Nixon.

Archimandrite Bartholomew served in several pastorates in New York and New Jersey, as well as devoting time to ecumenical groups. However, he was called again and again to more cosmopolitan concerns such as to those victims impoverished by the Middle East war. His dedication to the needs of all in Israel regardless of creed earned him the appreciation of the Catholic Church which awarded him the Cross of the Knight Commander of the Order of Galilee. For his church he serves as a U.N. observer.

During the Biafra struggle, he took a leading part in introducing freeze-dried food experiments which required no refrigeration to feed Africa's hungry masses. Among this dedicated prelate's awards and decorations I should like to list: The Order of the Star of Karageorge and the Royal Order of St. Sava granted by the late King Peter II of Yugoslavia; the Order of St. Mark from the Church of Alexandria, Gran Cruz Eloy Alfaro from Panama, the Japanese Red Cross Medal, and Faria Medalho awarded by Brazil.

I cite these admirable accomplishments, Mr. Speaker, in order to underscore the caliber of the man sent forth upon this mission and to thank him for his efforts on behalf of our POW's and MIA's.

PRESIDENT MAKES PLANS FOR TRIP TO RED CHINA

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the President is preparing to invoke personal diplomacy into our relations with Red China.

The stage is set for the President and what he describes as a very small working party of aides to make the trip to Hanoi in the months ahead. No date has been announced except that it will precede any summit meeting with Soviet Russia.

Individual Members of Congress—particularly those who are members of neither the Foreign Affairs nor the Armed Services Committees—have little detail beyond that made available through the public press. As long as the members of those committees are adequately informed, however, this factor gives me no problem.

On the strength of what we know, the reactions of our allies, the hesitancy of some of our top administration officials and diplomats, there is continued justification for my original doubts about the dramatic high-level decision.

In its role of world leader, our Nation has many delicate situations. Nothing comes easy, every word and motion is watched and analyzed, rumors and suspicions are rampant.

Our Nation's switch in relations toward the Red Chinese is an exceedingly important diplomatic step. Its ramifications may not be known for a long time.

In the meanwhile, I am hoping for the best. In particular, I am hopeful that on developments this time the Chief Executive will take the Congress into his full confidence through its respective committees.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks I include two articles from the Buffalo, N.Y., Evening News:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, July 20, 1971]

NIXON PLAYING DOWN CHANCES FOR VIET ACCORD ON CHINA TRIP

(By Lucian Warren)

WASHINGTON, July 20.—The Nixon administration is turning a strong fire hose on speculation that the forthcoming presidential trip to China will bring about an end of the Vietnam war.

Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler performed the damping down ceremony Monday when he told White House reporters that the purpose of the forthcoming visit is to discuss matters of mutual interest between the two nations.

The President, Mr. Ziegler said, declines to speculate on the effect of the forthcoming discussions "on any other matter, and said such speculation would not be helpful."

One of those to get the word was Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott who on Sunday told reporters he expected the President to outline the connection between the China visit and the Vietnam war to congressional leaders Monday.

Mr. Nixon met with the leaders Monday and shortly thereafter Sen. Scott took to the Senate floor to say that speculation would not be helpful at this time.

Despite the cautionary notes, however, officials recognize that it will be almost impossible to prevent speculation involving the Vietnam war, the Paris peace talks, China's seat in the United Nations, diplomatic recognition of the Peking government and the fate of Taiwan.

Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.) said Monday: "A reconciliation between the United States and China could transform prospects for world peace. More immediately, the President's visit to Peking could be most helpful in bringing an earlier peace in Vietnam.

"I believe it is inherent in the President's announcement that all U.S. troops will be out of combat in Vietnam before the President goes to Peking and that Peking has reached the same conclusion."

Diplomatic observers point out that the President must move with caution lest Peking get the idea it can extract prior concessions from him as a down payment for the invitation.

"That theory is based on the belief that the Chinese aren't as anxious for the visit as the President is," an administration source said.

Some diplomatic observers believe Mr. Nixon may be compelled to fix as early a date as possible for the trip in order to forestall or avert the kind of unrealistic expectations that might be generated by delay.

Meanwhile, ambassadors of other nations are being assured that the President's trip will not adversely affect the interests of their countries.

There have also been reports that Mr. Nixon hopes his decision to visit China will promote a prior trip to the Soviet Union next fall, possibly to conclude an agreement on nuclear weapons now being negotiated at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks in Helsinki.

Undersecretary of State John N. Irwin told the American Bar Association meeting in London that moves to improve relations with China are not directed against the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, White House officials said that Vice President Agnew had not been informed of the planned visit until shortly before Mr. Nixon's public announcement Thursday. The President is known to have been especially concerned with avoiding leaks. It has also been reported that Mr. Nixon was displeased with Mr. Agnew's criticism of April's visit to China by the U.S. table tennis team.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, July 24, 1971]

NIXON'S HINTED FOR YEARS BUT CHINA'S BEEN TOO COY

(By Lucian Warren)

WASHINGTON.—President Nixon's announcement he will go to Peking is most often described as a "bombshell," but the surprise need not have been that great.

Any careful student of Nixon's remarks and actions beginning in about 1968 can tell you that the politician who once made political hay out of the soft-on-communism issue sang a very different tune as he edged closer to the presidency and after he was sworn in.

It will come as a startling revelation to some that the President sent his new foreign policy adviser, Dr. Henry Kissinger, a memorandum on Feb. 1, 1969, 10 days after the Nixon administration took office. The memorandum said to explore every avenue that would lead to improved U.S. relations with mainland China.

It must be also startling for these to learn that President Nixon set himself a kind of informal time-table in wooing the People's Republic of China. The goal was to make sure that once in every three months the President would publicly say something about his desire to "normalize" relations with mainland China.

Mr. Nixon began such an operation even before he was nominated by the 1968 Republican convention.

In the spring of 1968, he twice described his feelings on the subject.

In a signed article in the influential Foreign Affairs Quarterly, Nixon said: "Any American policy towards Asia must come urgently to grips with the reality of China."

At about the same time, he told the American Society of Newspaper Editors that laying the groundwork for future relations with mainland China would be one of the primary goals of his administration.

At the Republican national convention in Miami Beach, Nixon said on Aug. 8, 1968:

"We extend the hand of friendship to all people, to the Russian people, to the Chinese people, to all people in the world."

The same theme is contained in a campaign booklet—"Nixon on the Issues"—where the candidate talked about "short run" policies of "no reward" for Peking's expansionism, but defined long term goals as "pulling China back into the world community."

Nixon's inaugural address on Jan. 20, 1969, ignores the subject, but it didn't take him long to return to the theme.

In his first presidential press conference on Jan. 27, 1969, Nixon damped down any speculation that he might soon favor U.N. or U.S. diplomatic recognition of Red China, but said the U.S. was prepared to see whether a dialogue couldn't be started via the ambassadorial level at Warsaw, Poland.

At his press conference on March 4, 1969, Nixon found no immediate grounds for optimism in a possible "breakthrough" in relations, but added in perhaps the first White House remark intended for Peking consumption:

"Looking further down the road, we could think in terms of a better understanding with Red China."

Peking apparently didn't get the message and the Nixon feelers on the subject became somewhat feebler during the balance of 1969. But in 1970 the President really began to turn on the heat for an attempted thaw in U.S.-China relations.

The President's foreign policy report of Feb. 18, 1970, talked about the willing spirit with which formal ambassadorial talks had been resumed in Warsaw and added: "No nation need be our present enemy."

When the Chinese didn't appear to get the hint, Nixon tried again on July 20, 1970, at a press conference when he noted there had been a "slight movement" towards closer relations in the Warsaw meetings and that "we are still hopeful that those meetings will be resumed."

Nixon at a year-end press conference on Dec. 10, 1970, discouraged speculation on the undiplomatic recognition questions, but then added significantly:

"I have begun an initiative of relaxing trade restrictions and travel restrictions, and attempting to open channels of communication with Communist China, having in mind the fact that looking long toward the future we must have some communication and eventually relations with Communist China."

He referred to the liberalization of trade and travel restrictions again in his foreign policy report to Congress on Feb. 25, 1971. Then he dropped another broad hint:

"The resumption of talks with the Chinese in Warsaw may indicate that our approach will prove useful. These first steps may not lead to major results at once, but sooner or later Communist China will be ready to re-enter the international community."

The lack of any reciprocal feelers must have gotten the President discouraged at about this point because he told a press conference on March 4:

"We would like to normalize our relations with all nations of the world. There has, however, been no receptivity on the part of Communist China."

Then, apparently, things began to happen that led to the final breakthrough.

The President waxed eloquent on the subject before the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 16 in a lengthy reply to an editor's question.

"Now it's up to them," he said. "If they want to have trade in these many areas that we have opened up, we are ready. If they want to have Chinese come to the United States we are ready. We are also ready for Americans to go there, Americans in all walks of life."

At one point, the President remarked that "I think the steady ordered process that we have engaged in now begins to bear fruit."

Then he told of telling his two daughters that he hoped they would be able to visit China, adding: "I hope sometime I do."

This must have broken the ice-jam because events moved rapidly then. Peking welcomed the U.S. table tennis team. On April 14, 1971, the President announced greatly liberalized trade and travel restrictions with China, and at a press conference April 29, Nixon said with some satisfaction that "what we have done has broken the ice."

His hints became even broader: "I hope, and, as a matter of fact, expect to visit mainland China sometime in some capacity."

The time-table of feelers every three months was stepped up as Nixon announced on June 1 that the State Department was analyzing its attitude towards admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

And, on July 6, the President in briefing midwestern editors at Kansas City, Mo., forecast that the 800 million Chinese would become an "economic force in the world of enormous potential" and talked of steps leading toward the improvement of U.S.-Chinese relations.

Chinese Premier Chou En-lai had a copy of these remarks when he talked with Dr. Henry Kissinger during their marathon sessions of July 9–11 in Peking.

The President's public utterances were not, of course, the only way he got his message to Peking. Romanian President Ceausecu paid a state visit to the White House last October and is supposed to have then taken a direct Nixon message to Chou en-lai and Mao Tse-tung on his recent visit to Peking.

Edgar Snow, the longtime American friend of Mao, in a recent magazine article wrote that in early 1971 the "White House had once more conveyed a message (to Peking) asking how a personal representative of the President would be received in the Chinese capital for conversations with the highest Chinese leaders."

Barring an unforeseen upset, such as the U–2 incident which prevented Dwight Eisenhower's summitry with the Soviet Union, President Nixon will get his wish for direct talks with the Chinese leaders.

Whether his longterm goal of "normalizing" relations, including diplomatic and U.N. recognition, can be achieved without upsettin U.S. Diplomacy abroad and U.S. conservatives at home, will be perhaps Nixon's toughest hurdle in coming months.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express]

MEANY HITS PRESIDENT'S CHINA PLANS

(By Victor Riesel)

WASHINGTON.—It is tradition that this early in the presidential race George Meany, leader of America's labor legions and campaign caravans, is the most inscrutable, powerful Occidental of them all. But he has junked tradition. He's not fiddling on the roof. He's very scrutable. And that's vital in the making and breaking of a presidential front runner—because Meany directs one of the nation's most effective political operations—if not actually the most effective.

To hear "George" among his peers, as I have at the International Longshoremen's Assoc. (ILA) (AFL-CIO) convention, is to understand his political—not personal—distaste and antagonism for President Nixon. The labor chief makes no pretense of traditional neutrality.

I do believe Meany has become Sen. Henry Jackson's unofficial campaign manager. For fascinating example:

Last Monday morning Meany, in the raw heat of Miami Beach, took the Longshoremen's platform and dissected Nixon's policies—ranging from financial to Oriental. Amid cheer after cheer from shirt-sleeved delegates—some 40 per cent of whom were black—the AFL-CIO president sat down and listened to Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson pour it on. Then, after a while, they both went up-beach to the convention of the 15,000-member International Union of Elevator Constructors.

George Meany, whose leadership of the political campaign machinery known as the Committee on Political Education (COPE) makes him chief of what virtually is America's third party, appears not to approve of President Nixon's new China policy.

Meany is the voice of most of American labor—and on the platform that Monday morning—without any later dissent from Scoop Jackson—the AFL–CIO chief mocked Henry Kissinger, jabbed and needled President Nixon, warned against great expectations, sarcastically and rhetorically asked what had turned Mao's Sino empire into a saint, and wondered why Peking had suddenly stopped casting the U.S. as the world's capitalist, imperialist villain.

There was much more in the voice than in the script—all ad-libbed. For the moment, then, this is AFL–CIO reaction to the proposed presidential trip, from which the President himself has warned Americans not to expect war's end.

Official AFL–CIO policy will be made at the 14 million-member organization's Executive Council session in San Francisco, Aug. 9.

This comment on Nixon's fantastic travel plans was Meany's first reference to the swiftly changing China policy. And the comment has double significance. Meany, the AFL–CIO, the powerful hard-hat complex (of which Teddy Gleason's longshoremen are a part) have been the most influential and solid supporters of the administration's foreign policy.

Without such support President Nixon will need to build a new coalition in the Congress not only on China but on such other crises issues as Southeast Asia and the ABM.

Traditionally the AFL–CIO has been opposed to the recognition of Communist China and Peking admission to the United Nations.

Meany took nothing for granted. He questioned and questioned. Musing aloud to the delight of the 550 delegates—who have the power to load or not to load, to unload or not to unload craft trading with Red China—Meany observed that other nations will be watching. Other friends such as Golda Meir and Willy Brandt are deeply concerned.

"Red China is still a slave state," asserted Meany, "where human freedom is non-existent. It still has its program in company with the Soviets for Communist world domination, and the only difference between them and the Soviet Union on this question is: How do you accomplish your objective?"

He asked just what had been exchanged during the 20-hour Kissinger-Chou En-lai conversation. He said, "While we hope as a consequence of Kissinger's long conversations that the Americans still imprisoned in Red China, missionaries, men of peace and the like of that tortured over the last 20 years—can we hope for a better day for them? Is it possible that the Red Chinese will think of them in human terms?

". . . What is Red China's contribution to the cause of peace in our time? Are they going to put a little pressure on their junior partners in Hanoi to look at the prisoner-of-war issue in a humanitarian way?"

Then he cautioned not to place high hopes on the presidential visit. He argued, "let's keep our fingers crossed on the coming meetings between President Nixon and the Red Chinese Communist voice."

There is one problem still to be faced by Meany: "Scoop" Jackson does endorse Nixon's travel plans."

WESTERN FIELD TRIP

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 6, 1971

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is spending a part of the summer recess on a Western field trip through California, Idaho, Oregon, Montana, and my own State of Wyoming. The trip will be from August 7 through August 14.

Three days of the 8-day tour will be spent in Wyoming—inspecting Yellowstone National Park, the proposed corridor link between Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Park, Grand Teton National Park itself, and the pro-

posed Fossil Butte National Monument in southwestern Wyoming.

A related newsstory follows:

YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

Geology of the park

Yellowstone has seen some of the world's more violent geologic events. Yet, as the World-Wide Research and Publishing Company's National Parkways Guide to Yellowstone notes, it all began quietly enough some two and a half billion years ago.

At that time, the Rocky Mountain part of the United States was low-lying and frequently covered by primeval seas. The lapping waters of these intermittent seas covered the land for tens of thousands of years. The original sea beds were slowly covered by shifting sands and muds that settled out of the water and solidified into sandstone and shale. Yellowstone's oldest mountain chain, the Gallatin Mountains in the northwest corner of the Park, are made mostly of these rocks that formed under the ancient seas.

Fossils in the sandstone and shale record life's evolution. First, single-celled forms; later, primitive seaweeds and multi-celled invertebrates that floated or swam about. Then, some life forms that crawled on the sea floor or maybe out onto the shore as the seas temporarily receded. Much later, dinosaurs plodded through great swampy forests that grew along the edge of the warm seas. Coal deposits throughout the Park mark the locations of those primitive swamps.

About 65 million years ago, the first Rocky Mountains slowly began to rise, over a period of 10 to 15 million years. These first mountains were not the ones we see today; in the Rocky Mountain System many a lofty peak has risen and completely eroded away, only to rise again. Some of the present mountain ranges are the second, third or fourth in the same location.

Toward the end of the first mountain building period, great volcanoes erupted, building up the high lava cones. Off and on for 5 to 10 million years these volcanoes spewed lava and volcanic matter—the light greyish rock which is still evident in Yellowstone National Park today.

Then came the Ice Ages in North America, and ice slowly flowing down the valleys and through the basins of Yellowstone eroded the lava cones into a gentle, rolling landscape.

The ice came and went several times and it was during one of the inter-glacial periods that some very phenomenal events set Yellowstone apart from the rest of the world.

The west central portion of the Park exploded into intense volcanic action. With fire and steam, thunder and quakes, 100 to 200 cubic miles of molten rock and lava spewed forth in a very short time. All this gushing out left a huge underground cavern covered by only a thin roof of the earth's crust. Then this roof fell in. An area 30 to 40 miles across plunged downward about a mile, forming a great volcanic crater. The rims of the crater tumbled in and more great lava flows spilled over and around it. Later, enormous subterranean earth forces pushed the fallen roof back up into a dome that is centered just east of world famous Old Faithful. Sometime later a similar event occurred in the area north of Yellowstone Lake.

These two volcanic spectaculars made Yellowstone unique on the face of the earth. The primal heat of the planet still comes nearer the surface in Yellowstone than in any other known location. Molten rock is still only a few thousand feet down and provides the heat for Yellowstone's bubbling pools and steaming geysers.

Glaciers once again returned and then receded, leaving behind great piles of stone and dirt. These piles of debris form many of the smaller grey and pink hills throughout the Park. The last glaciers melted only 10,000 to 11,000 years ago.

History of park

About 8500 years ago—some 3500 years before the first pyramid was built in Egypt—men hunched over the campfires in what is now Yellowstone National Park. These men were nomadic hunters, predecessors of the modern American Indian. However, unlike the ancestors of the Crow or Blackfoot Tribes, this band did not develop an aggressive culture around the horse and the buffalo. They remained within the park area where natural features protected them from hostile neighboring tribes. When the Park was founded in 1872 these Indians were still practically in the Stone Age . . . poor, filthy, miserable, and constantly on the verge of starvation.

Beautiful and protective as it was, the Park was not prime living territory for a Stone Age Indian. Winters were unduly harsh and the only shelters were caves or "wickiups" of sticks, brush and grass. The growing season was short, and the Indians depended on berries, seeds and roots for a large part of their food. These Indians, unable to complete with the powerful tribes who hunted the abundant lower valleys and plains, stayed in the park area to hunt the elusive mountain sheep.

The famous Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804 to 1806 missed the Park by about 40 miles. However, one of its hunters, John Colter who left the Expedition on its return trip to become a fur trapper, was the first known white man to explore the Yellowstone area. In the winter of 1807–1808, Colter happened upon Yellowsotne Lake and was amazed at the spouting geysers, boiling springs and bubbling mud pots that bordered it. Years later, when he returned to civilization, he told of what his eyes had seen, but no one believed him. Newspapers ridiculed him and referred to the region as "Colter's Hell."

In the 1830s and 1840s trappers worked the area. The famous mountain man Jim Bridger brought back descriptions of the region, and when he found he wasn't believed, added to them until his tales were only loosely based on the truth. It was 20 years before anyone else bothered to go look at the area.

Finally, the Montana gold rush of the 1860s brought civilization close to Yellowstone. Such fantastic tales began to spread that curiosity was aroused. In 1869 the Folsom-Cooke-Peterson Party set out on a two-month expedition for the sole purpose of exploring and reporting on the Yellowstone area. What these three men saw was so amazing that they were afraid of being ridiculed and made very few public statements. However, they privately told enough of their friends that a 19-man party made a second expedition in 1870.

Reportedly, it was on the last night this group of 19 men spent in the area that Cornelius Hedges proposed that the upper basin of the Yellowstone be set aside as a national park. Whether or not this is true, the members of the expedition engendered so much publicity about the wonders of Yellowstone that in 1871 there was an official government expedition by the United States Geological Survey led by Dr. F. V. Hayden. On March 1, 1872, three years before the Battle of the Little Big Horn, Congress established Yellowstone National Park "for the benefit and enjoyment of the people."

Wildlife in the park

The wilderness that surrounds Yellowstone's spectacular geologic phenomena is one of the reasons for the Park's existence. It is America's largest wildlife preserve, a total environment of plants and animals existing in a near-natural state. The majority of the Park is exactly as it was before man arrived.

The Park is abundant with both large and small wildlife. Both Grizzly and Black Bear can be found. The Black Bear may appear to be a fat clown rummaging through trash cans followed by one or two toddling cubs or panhandling along the road side for marshmallows or hot dogs. But this bear can shimmy up a tree in seconds, and although he may appear clumsy and lumbering, he can run at speeds up to 30 miles per hour.

The Grizzly, on the other hand, is a solitary animal, prefers the uninhabited parts of the Park, and is rarely seen.

Elk, moose and mule deer can be found grazing the quiet hills of Yellowstone National Park.

The Moose, the largest of Yellowstone's deer family, stands about six feet at the shoulders, is about nine feet long, and weighs 900 to 1400 pounds. In summer, 500 to 700 moose roam the Park. Usually alone, he prefers marshes and shores where his favorite food—water plants—grow.

Elk are the most common large animal in the Park and about 13,000 roam the meadows and hills in the summer. Males stand about five feet on the shoulder and weigh nearly 1000 pounds; females are smaller.

The Mule Deer is much smaller than the moose or elk, standing about three and one-half feet at the shoulder and weighing about 200 pounds. He is named for his large, mule-like ears and can be seen all over the Park in meadows and woods.

On a visit to Yellowstone Park, one is apt to see many of the other mammals that inhabit the area: buffalo, bighorn sheep, badger, coyote, bobcat, fox, wolf, otter, mink, beaver, muskrat and cougar. Also, chipmunks and squirrells of several varieties are seen playing around campgrounds where visitors have left cookies, crackers and candles.

Because of the abundant, fish-filled waters, Yellowstone is a favored area for water fowl the year round. The rare trumpeter swan, a large white bird with wing spans up to 7 feet, nests in the Park. The great blue heron, standing four feet tall, wades in Park waters; the black double crested cormorant with his long, S-shaped neck perches nearby. Canadian geese and ducks of many kinds bob on the lake surfaces, and gulls, fish-eating hawks and gangly pelicans skim over the water's surface.

About 200 species of small perching birds are found in the Park, as well as the Bald Eagle.

Streams and lakes are stocked, and the waters provide good to excellent fishing for the angler.

The main tree found in the Park is the lodgepole pine which makes up about 80 percent of the forests. Spruce and fir make up the remaining forest growth. Smaller foliage varies from sagebrush and rabbitbrush in drier sections of the Park to willow groves in the moist, damp areas.

Wildflowers grow throughout the Park, including the Rocky Mountain fringed gentian, the official Park flower.

GRAND TETON NATIONAL PARK

A one-day stop will be made on the Subcommittee's tour in Grand Teton National Park, which is just south of Yellowstone. The Park encompasses the loveliest parts of the magnificent Teton mountain range, possibly the most photogenic and the most photographed range in America.

Geology of the park

The Teton range, a north-south buckle in the earth's crust some 40 miles long and

15 miles wide, rises abruptly from a broad, flat valley in northwestern Wyoming.

Like the rest of the Rockies, the Tetons were once the shifting sands of ocean beds. Tens of thousands of feet of marine sediment accumulated, leaving remains of life's evolutionary stages, still evident in some of the bottom strata of the mountains.

Very gradually, uplifting and tilting of these layers of ocean sediment began. Great sections of western Wyoming warped and buckled, while some sections broke free along fault lines and were pulled or pushed downward some two and a half billion years ago.

These rocks, formed and molded by heat and pressure deep within the earth, compose the bases of the lofty Teton range and are characterized by black and white granite scattered with countless varieties of colored rocks forming intricate networks and patterns.

The tilting was followed by volcanic eruptions which lay thick lava beds upon the granite, forming still evident black strata streaked with white.

By geological standards, the Tetons are a young range; in fact, they are still growing, hence the jagged and saw tooth appearance and the height of from 5,500 to 13,770. It is estimated that only 15,000 years ago, these mountains stood a towering 30,000 feet above the valley.

The beauty is awesome. From the valley, one can gaze on the dark variegated grey rocks patterned with threads of lighter and darker strands of multi-colored rocks. At various times and seasons, the colors of the rocks change. Year-round snow caps accentuate and outline the rugged shapes of the range.

History of the park

The rugged terrain and the bitter winters of the Teton range forbade settlement by pre-historic man. No tribe claimed the area as its year 'round home and it was a no man's land to be used only by hunting parties in the summer months. Evidences of temporary camps of several tribes are found in the Park, but the first men to live permanently in Jackson Hole were whites.

The first man known to have explored the area and see the lofty Tetons rising out of the valley was, again, John Colter. Soon after this, British and French-Canadian trappers began working the Teton country.

With the wan of fur trading, the Teton area slipped out of history until government surveys began following the establishment of Yellowstone as the world's first national park.

The Army sent an expedition through the valley in the winter of 1876, and continued to use this route, bringing along artists, paleontologists, geologists, and a new group of trappers.

By 1884 a few permanent settlers were scattered over Jackson Hole, and the town of Jackson was well established by 1897.

The first stirrings of action for the Tetons came early in the 20th Century. In 1917 and 1918 Congress heard proposals to extend Yellowstone National Park 60 miles south to incorporate the Teton range. In dissention, the measure failed. In 1926, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. was so impressed by the valley that he began buying up land in hopes of a national park designation. When Congress considered establishing Grand Teton National Park in 1929, the controversy arose again over what acreage should be included, and Congressional action was delayed.

With pressure from the Rockefellers and their offer to donate the land they held to the Park, President Roosevelt decreed the area to be a national monument in 1943.

In 1950, nearly 80 years after Yellowstone's designation, Grand Teton National Park was established.

The wildlife of Grand Teton National Park

As World-wide Research and Publishing Company's guide to Grand Teton notes, "Grand Teton is a year 'round showcase for nature. The setting changes constantly. The magnetic blue-grey spires of the summer mountains become a white jagged backdrop for a frozen winter world. Hillsides that are buttercup yellow one season turn to blue with lupines for the next. Aspen groves that dance light green in June change to rivulets of gold on an October mountain."

Elk, moose, and mule deer represent a large portion of Grand Teton's wildlife, although an occasional bear, bighorn sheep and coyote can be spotted. The area is particularly abundant with water-mammals; beaver, weasel, mink, otter can be seen playing in the many mountain lakes.

Water fowl and fish complete the variety of animal life that makes an afternoon by the water's edge a remarkable experience in nature.

FOSSIL BUTTE

When the Western Field Trip was being planned, I suggested the inclusion of the proposed Fossil Butte National Monument, which despite a century of contributions to the earth sciences, has never received deserved national recognition.

As the sponsor of the House bill to designate this world-renowned scientific treasure, I welcome the attention of the Interior Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation and hope it leads to the long-overdue favorable action on this legislation.

A treasury of fossils

Fossil Butte is located in the southwestern area of Wyoming, about 10 miles west of Kemmerer in Lincoln County. The proposed boundary encompasses some 8,200 acres. Of this amount, five per cent is private land; nine per cent is State land; and 86 per cent is Federal land administered by the Bureau of Land Management.

Within its boundaries is the greatest fossil-bearing formation in North America. With the recognition and protection provided by National Monument status, the area can display for the enlightenment of visitors those features of primary significance and those which tie the physiographic and geologic story together.

The story of life recorded at Fossil Butte reaches to the Eocene age, giving evidence of fresh-water fish which lived about 45 million years ago.

The Butte is a ruggedly impressive topographic feature, which rises sharply 1,000 feet above Twin Creek Valley to an elevation of over 7,500 feet.

The site is of major importance because of its unusual concentration of aquatic vertebrate remains. This is even more significant because known locations of fossil fish of any age are relatively rare, and yet at Fossil Butte literally thousands of fish fossils are present. With unequalled quality and quantity, the fossils represent the evolution and modernization of fresh water fish.

The base of Fossil Butte consists of brightly colored red, purple, yellow and gray beds of the Wasatch formation. The eroded portions of these horizontal beds slope gradually upward from the valley floor, and steepen abruptly. Overlying them and extending to the top of the Butte are the much steeper buff-to-white beds of the Green River formation, here about 300 feet thick.

The richest fossil fish deposits are found in limestone layers about three feet thick which lie from 30 to 300 feet below the varying surfaces of the butte.

The formation also contains very well-preserved insect fossils in layers near the top of the butte, and about a dozen species of such other invertebrate animals as snail, clams, and ostracods, along with fragments of a few birds and many plant remains, ranging from fossil palm and fern leaves to pollen.

Fossil Butte area is but a small part of a vast area in which the fine-bedded layers of the Green River formation make up much of the landscape. It is strategically situated, however, since it offers not only rich deposits, but outstanding examples of lake, shoreline and tributary river flood plain deposits.

A century of contribution

The first fish from the Green River formation were found along the Green River in 1856 by Dr. John Evans. A. C. Peale examined the Butte in 1877 and described it in the Hayden Survey report of that same year. A more comprehensive study was made in 1905 by A. C. Veatch and described in a U.S. Geological Survey Professional Paper two years later. A 1939 résumé provided by Hesse concluded, "Few museums in the world, certainly none of the larger ones, are without specimens of the fossil fish from the Green River shales of southwest Wyoming. These are prize exhibition specimens and no other fossil-bearing formation in North America has produced so many and such characteristic fossils as this great series of lake beds."

Despite this acclaim, Fossil Butte has yet to be accorded deserved recognition through designation as a National Monument. Beginning with the distribution of a Department of Interior preliminary report to members of the Wyoming Congressional delegation in 1962, passage of this legislation has been a continuing dream.

In this time, the boundary has been shifted to reflect the consensus and grazing provisions have been set which will result in no hardship. The energetic Kemmerer Boosters, including Don Kominsky of the Kemmerer Gazette, the Board of County Commissioners, including Wilford Williams, chairman, and Charles Julian and Harry Bruce, the city officials, personnel of the Resource Conservation and Development District, indeed, the entire population of Lincoln County, have sustained interest in this bill through the years of disappointment.

With the revisions and solidification of support locally, there remain no obstacles, save Congressional indifference, to the designation of Fossil Butte. It is, in every respect, highly suitable for national monument purposes.

Although fossil fish have been quarried there for almost a century, the potential has barely been touched. Past activity has centered at one small quarry on the south face of the Butte. Fossil deposits worked at this site are only a minute fraction of those remaining within the Butte; and ample opportunity for further exploration and in-place exhibition of fossil exists.

The area is very accessible, located just north of US Highway 30N and about 30 miles north of Interstate 80. Because of its proximity to some of the West's most colorful and scenic areas, Fossil Butte would make an appealing addition to any visitor's itinerary.

Less than 250 miles to the north are Yellowstone and Grand Teton national parks and less than 150 miles southeast is the increasingly popular Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area.

As a National Monument, protected and made available for public use and enjoyment, Fossil Butte would receive the national recognition it so richly deserves.

While continuing its contributions to the work of geologists, paleontologists, ichthyologists and botanists, Fossil Butte can also bring the visiting layman some appreciation for the wonders of the geologic past—an intangible reward beyond the measure of economics.