

No rollcall votes will occur tomorrow on that legislation. This will give committees of the Senate an opportunity to hold uninterrupted sessions with respect to legislation which may soon be reported to the Senate for floor action, and the joint leadership hopes that Senate committees will take advantage of that opportunity.

When the Senate completes its busi-

ness on tomorrow, it will stand in adjournment until 10 o'clock on Monday morning next.

On Monday next, in accordance with the wishes of the distinguished majority leader, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of the conference report on the extension of the draft. The unfinished business at that time will continue to be the military procurement authorization bill.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 39 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, September 10, 1971, at 10 a.m.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### RESOLUTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

#### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, on August 11 the Massachusetts Senate, and on August 23 the Massachusetts House of Representatives, adopted resolutions calling for the immediate cessation of all economic and military aid to the Government of Pakistan for the duration of its civil war. It is essential that public officials speak out against the atrocities being committed in Bengal with American arms, and I praise the Massachusetts Legislature for the wisdom and compassion of its action.

With this in mind, I include the texts of the resolutions:

**RESOLUTIONS URGING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE CONGRESS AND THE CITIZENS OF THE COMMONWEALTH TO TAKE ANY ACTION APPROPRIATE TO EFFECT THE SUSPENSION OF ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID AND SALES TO PAKISTAN, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES, FOR THE DURATION OF ITS CIVIL WAR**

*Whereas*, The people of the commonwealth are gravely concerned about the tragedy in East Pakistan and the military action of the Pakistan army which has killed an unknown number of civilians and driven more than seven million refugees to India; and

*Whereas*, The United States government is continuing to ship ammunition and military equipment to Pakistan for use by its army against its own civilian population and is requesting the Congress of the United States to appropriate one hundred thirty one million dollars for aid to Pakistan; and

*Whereas*, In providing military and economic aid to the Pakistan government when all other major aid-giving nations, except China, have temporarily suspended aid, the United States is, in effect, supporting the repressive action of the Pakistan army and its persistent brutality against a majority of that country's population; and

*Whereas*, American interest and the real interests of Pakistan cannot be served by continuing to assist a regime which savagely suppresses its own people, flaunts the democratic processes demonstrated in the elections of December, 1970, causes a flood of refugees to a neighboring state and threatens the peace and security of the entire Indo-Pakistan subcontinent; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Massachusetts Senate urges the citizens of the commonwealth and all firms, unions and other organizations operating therein to oppose any further military aid or sales to Pakistan and to oppose further economic aid, other than food and other relief assistance distributed and monitored under international auspices, until military action ends in East Pakistan, civilian

rule is restored and a majority of the refugees are able to return to their homes; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Massachusetts Senate respectfully urges the President and Congress of the United States to take any action which may be necessary to immediately suspend military and economic sale to Pakistan for the reasons hereinbefore stated; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to each member thereof from the Commonwealth.

**RESOLUTIONS URGING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE CONGRESS AND THE CITIZENS OF THE COMMONWEALTH TO TAKE ANY ACTION APPROPRIATE TO EFFECT THE SUSPENSION OF ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID AND SALES TO PAKISTAN, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES, FOR THE DURATION OF ITS CIVIL WAR**

*Whereas*, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts is concerned about the tragedy in East Pakistan and the military action of the Pakistani army which has killed an unknown number of civilians and driven more than seven million refugees to India; and

*Whereas*, The United States government is continuing to ship ammunition and military equipment to Pakistan for use by the army against its own civilian population and is requesting Congress to appropriate one hundred thirty one million dollars for aid to Pakistan; and

*Whereas*, In providing military and economic aid to the Pakistan government when all other major aid-giving nations, except China, have temporarily suspended aid, the United States is, in effect, supporting the repressive action of the Pakistani army and its persistent brutality against a majority of that country's population; and

*Whereas*, American interest and the real interests of Pakistan cannot be served by continuing to assist a regime which savagely suppresses its own people, flaunts the democratic processes demonstrated in the elections of December, 1970, causes a flood of refugees to a neighboring state and threatens the peace and security of the entire Indo-Pakistan subcontinent; therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives urges the citizens of the Commonwealth and all firms, unions and other organizations operating here to oppose any further military aid or sales to Pakistan and to oppose further economic aid, other than food and other relief assistance distributed and monitored under international auspices, until military action ends in East Pakistan, civilian rule is restored and a majority of the refugees are able to return to their homes; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Massachusetts House of Representatives memorializes the President and Congress of the United States to suspend military and economic sales on the basis as stated above; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of this resolution be sent forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to each member thereof from the Commonwealth.

### HIGH SCHOOL ESSAY CONTEST WINNERS

#### HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1971

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I often worry that the deluge of newspaper and magazine articles concerning campus violence, drug addiction, and juvenile delinquency may distort our impression of young people.

In order to present an accurate perspective of the true values held by the majority of our young citizens, I am inserting below five essays written by outstanding high school students from my district. These students were the winners of the high school essay contest which I sponsor each year.

The first prize, an expense-paid trip to Washington for the student and parent or other adult chaperone, went to Linda Tyler, 7916 Laura Street, a student at Richland Senior High School, for her essay on "What Can Be Done To Curtail Drug Abuse?"

Four runners-up, each of whom received a \$25 U.S. Savings Bond, were Jerry Stanley, 3541 Wooten Drive of Southwest High School; Susan Breen, 4400 Mary's Creek Drive of Western Hills High School; Steve Tatum, 3605 Ledgeview Court of Fort Worth Country Day School; and Cornelia Sheppard, 5620 Shiloh Drive of Como High School.

The contest was open to all Tarrant County high school juniors and seniors. In addition to the individual awards, which included congressional pen and pencil sets for those gaining honorable mention, the school libraries of the five winners received clothbound copies of the 1971 Congressional Directory.

Judges were Dr. E. C. Barksdale, chairman of the history department at the University of Texas in Arlington; Mary Crutcher, executive city editor of the Fort Worth Press; and Eden Van Zandt, youth editor of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram.

Each essay was numbered and the judges did not know the identity of school or writer.

Jerry Stanley wrote of "How Can

Peace Be Attained in Vietnam?" Susan Breen wrote on "What Should Be Done To Improve the Draft?" Steve Tatum wrote on "The Generation Gap," and Cornelia Sheppard wrote on "Is There a Generation Gap?"

In addition to the above awards, honorable mention went to the following: Stanley Allen, 2846 Peninsula Drive, Grapevine, Carroll High School; Jim Brumhall, 1031 Lynda Lane, Arlington, Arlington High School; Judith Copping, 1304 Park Center, Western Hills High School; Terry Drennan, 7716 Llano, Western Hills School; Richard Hilton, 5113 Roberta Drive, Richland Senior High School; Janis Klein, 2833 Spruce Park, Richland Senior High School; Angelo Rigby, 1818 East Tucker, Polytechnic High School; Earl D. Sherman, Jr. 3014 Plantation, Western Hills High School; Barbara Tankersley, 1212 Parson's Lane, Diamond Hill-Jarvis High School; Joe William Tuckness, P.O. Box 3010, Masonic Home High School; Deborah Vereen, Route 8, Box 227-A, Brewer High School; Lynn Weldon, 2232 Irwin, Castleberry High School; and Ron Young, 1209 West Devitt, Paschal High School.

The five winning essays follow:

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO CURTAIL DRUG ABUSE?  
(FIRST PLACE)

(By Linda Tyler)

"You don't know me," the voice said over the phone. "I read in the paper a report of a talk you gave. I think my daughter, a college student, is using marijuana. What can I do?"

This, says psychologist Dr. Helen Nowles, is the kind of phone call she gets all the time.

"You say, 'Have you talked to her about it?' 'Oh, no, I couldn't. It is too terrible.'"

Parents often go into hysterics when confronted with the fact of drugs in their own families. They avoid talking to their children. "Oh, no, I couldn't!" The generation gap is too wide. How can parents hope to cope with the situation in their own families? Learn some facts, at least as many as their children know. Build some bridges. Straighten out the drug mix-up in their own minds. And it is a mix-up. Drugs have become entangled with every social problem in the current history of American society. That fact doesn't help anyone trying to reach solutions.

And who should try for solutions? We can't expect someone else to solve the problem in our local communities. We are all involved. Responsible citizens must not shirk the obligation which rests upon them in the face of so serious and threatening an issue, which if unmet promises social deterioration. Major social cooperation is required and all potential participants should be canvassed for a local effort.

- (1) A large burden rests upon the educators.
- (2) The medical profession and medical facilities of every type must be included in any successful effort.
- (3) Politics must be involved, for it is only here that sufficient authority is available when needed.
- (4) Involvement of the religious community is also essential.
- (5) Most communities are reasonably endowed with agencies of social service.
- (6) The Communications Media have a very important role to play.
- (7) Of prime importance is the participation of youth themselves. No program can be successful without their full involvement. Fortunately, there is evidence of their readiness to be so engaged and of their effective performance when they have been involved.

A Community desiring a solution to drug abuse must first acknowledge the problem, then take steps to organize for sustained action. This would involve the cooperation of at least the groups listed above stimulated and sustained by competent public-minded individuals who are willing to commit themselves over the long pull.

All in all the final hope of bringing down drug use—is to approach the potential users on their own terms, with restraint and respect, with solid facts and complete honesty.

One reason this will work is that they want to know. A survey of students indicated that they are curious about drugs; eight out of ten wanted the programs on the campus, but they didn't want the programs merely to try to discourage them from drug use. They wanted "current and objective information about the physical and psychological effects of drug use."

In the last analysis, indeed, personal aims, ambitions, proper use of one's waking hours: these are the keys. The real way to turn youngsters off drugs is to turn them on to something else. Young people of today are looking for serious purposes, missions with concern for others, social commitment.

HOW CAN PEACE BE ATTAINED IN VIETNAM?

(FIRST RUNNER-UP)

(By Jerry Stanley)

"The scene is a small square in the city of Hue, South Vietnam. A couple of military police were on duty to keep order. On this day one of them had supplied himself with some candy for the children who played in the square and crowded around the Americans. As he started his distribution in a friendly mood, a swarm of youngsters, jumping and reaching, pressed about him. With a laugh, he tossed the candy out on the cobblestones. Immediately the children descended like locusts, each intent on grabbing a piece. A young Vietnamese school teacher happened by at the moment, and seeing the scrambling children, he spoke to them in a stern and emphatic tone. He told them to pick up the candy and give it back to the American. After some hesitation they sheepishly complied. Then, facing the soldier and speaking in measured English with a tone of suppressed anger and scorn, he said: "You Americans don't understand. You are making beggars of our children, prostitutes of our women, and Communists of our men!"<sup>1</sup>

What alternatives have we for attaining peace other than conceding that we became involved in a futile and costly endeavor, finding that the price of victory was too high? Peace cannot be attained by a military victory. War in hope of friendship or alliance is like cutting back the tree in winter. Come spring and it grows to even greater proportions. Peace could not be found by a complete and sudden withdrawal of troops. To do so would be like building a fort of dead soldiers and awaiting the on-slaughter. Too many men have died in search for a universal peace to settle for a moment of tranquility.

If we are to remain in Vietnam, making unilateral withdrawals and intensifying our peace talks in Paris, we should review our position. If the attitude of the South Vietnamese people is that of hostility, how can we possibly attain peace? If eighty percent of the South Vietnamese people consider Ho Chi Minh their hero and liberator, do they also consider America the aggressor?

Let us examine possible reasons for our current involvement in Vietnam. Is it that we seek freedom for South Vietnam to choose and shape for itself its own destiny, or a battlefield to prove the endurance of democracy? Is it that we actually seek to drive the Communists from the streets of Saigon, or from the shores of America? Is it that we seek to give freedom of choice to South

Vietnam, or establish another democracy in the world?

Perhaps peace can be attained in Vietnam, but does that assure us that within the same year we attain peace that we will not be fighting another war in another country with the same meager prospects of peace? Let us make this war, not a step in the pathway towards peace, but the actual means to its accomplishment. How can we end this war with peace which will conquer aggression and love which will smother hatred?

Mahatma Gandhi led a campaign of non-violent resistance. He mapped a very simple, yet at the same time very complex plan for peace. Simple because it involves only one word and one idea, complex because it involves all of mankind in order to meet success. The Gandhian concept of peace is that of Satyagraha. Satya is truth which equals love, and graha is force. Satyagraha thus means truth-force or love-force. A note must be made that force is that of magnetism which draws opposites together, rather than the repelling force of magnetism.

In our examination of our involvement in Vietnam we found that our motives were not that of love or even in search of truth. They were that of the wolf disguised in sheep's clothing. An examination of our own personal motives in our dealings with our fellow men might reveal the same. To close I will define that love which is my answer to attaining peace in Vietnam. "Love is very patient and kind, never jealous or envious, never boastful or proud, never haughty or selfish or rude. Love does not demand its own way. It is not irritable or touchy. It does not hold grudges and will hardly even notice when others do it wrong. It is never glad about injustice, but rejoices whenever truth wins out. There are three things that remain—faith, hope, and love—the greatest of these is love."<sup>2</sup>

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE TO IMPROVE THE DRAFT?

(SECOND RUNNER-UP)

(By Susan Breen)

Because of the rising opposition to the present method of drafting young men, a new way of conscription must be found. This plan must not only be fair to all the youth of America, but to America itself. When one plan fails, a new plan must be tried immediately.

In making these plans, the important thing is for all Americans to be involved. Enlistment should not be based on such things as luck or financial situation or even scholastic achievement. In cases where religion or personal convictions are in conflict with the military standards, alternatives such as the Peace Corps and Vista programs would be offered. New groups connected with the welfare department or public health service might be considered.

The handicapped could contribute according to their abilities; giving them a sense of pride long denied to them and freeing the more able-bodied from simple, frustrating tasks. Disabled people can be trained to perform many useful jobs such as janitorial service, light kitchen duties, office work or hospital chores.

It has been proven that women are capable of carrying out certain military and Peace-Corps duties. In Israel women serving in the army have developed a national pride. Enforced enlistment would remove social stigma from military life for women while providing training for large groups normally denied formal education. Many girls, upon graduation from high school, have no chance of work except jobs offering no advancement.

There should be freedom in choosing the organization that you wish to work with aided by vocational guidance tests. Even the

<sup>1</sup>Peace in Vietnam, a report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee.

<sup>2</sup>The Living New Testament, I Corinthians 13: 4-6, 13.

decision of when to join would be left to the individual within a limited time, such as seventeen to twenty-five years of age. This would allow time to finish college and graduate from school. The amount of time to be served in each branch would depend on the activity, with military duty and hazardous duty limited to one year plus whatever training was needed. Peace Corps workers stationed in primitive areas would serve two years, with other programs having an enlistment of three years. If additional enticements were needed in favor of the military then the pay scale could be adjusted.

Many unforeseen problems will arise in these or any suggestions for change of a program involving so many lives. A very flexible and realistic board made up of persons experienced in all fields involved would be needed to oversee the program. Complete information and counseling must be presented to all young people.

IS THERE A GENERATION GAP?  
(TIE FOR THIRD RUNNER-UP)  
(By Cornelia Sheppard)

It is my belief that there definitely exists a generation gap in our society. This, in my opinion, is not such a startling fact. As long as two or more generations exist in this world at one specific time, there will always be a generation gap. My generation is one that is inquisitive as past generations were, seeking new ideas, as past generations have done, and growing into young men and women, which older generations will agree isn't easy.

It is only logical that people of different generations will have their differences. Older people have walked the roads we have yet to tread. They have, as all humans, made mistakes that they want our generation to escape. They have grown up with apathy, segregation, discrimination and prejudices. Therefore, they remember the past with sorrow in some instances and hold strong biases against others.

My generation realizes that there are many problems in the world—hunger, poverty, apathy, war, social equality—and we are searching for some truths and answers. The problems that have been passed down through the generations have not been solved in the "white collar," "black suit," segregated society that has prevailed. The terms that I used above are my way of symbolizing a conservative society. How humiliating this world would be if things never change.

This is 1971. Men have walked on the moon. Surgeons have transplanted hearts. These are changing times, and we cannot live in this changing society unless we ourselves change. I am aware that there must be rules of society that everyone must obey and an anarchic society would be quite barbaric. But if I don't like what you like, who's to say which one of us is wrong? Society is people. People are human. It is only human to make mistakes. We must consider that the rules of society are not flawless. My generation feels this way and is trying to reevaluate these inherited principles.

Society is a cruel demon. People are judged not as individuals but by their outward appearance—length of hair, mod, vivid clothes, and other unconventional paraphernalia. One is judged by the character of his associates and isn't given a chance to be tried on his own merits. They must realize that we are all human and capable of error. Therefore, no one can pass judgment.

The generation gap is mainly due to an acute communication conflict. Parents seem to forget that they were once teenagers; eager to learn, wanting to assert their independence and trying to accept responsibility. They seem to forget that they were probably somewhat rebellious. If parents would communicate, associate, and relate to their children and cease to dictate, they would have a better relationship.

All the problems will not be solved. Under-

standing among parents is all that is needed. When a child is small his parents should teach him the things that are right. They should instill in him values that are clean and wholesome. They should be living examples of good citizens and should thereby establish good relationships with their children. Open communication with their children is a very important factor.

After a certain age, a child should be responsible enough, educated enough and mature enough to be trusted to make decisions. When a bird is a certain age, its parents push it out of the nest and destroy the nest. The bird is on his own and must think for itself. Maybe parents should take a lesson from the birds. Parents tend to hold on to their children too tightly and refuse to let them think for themselves. They forget they made mistakes and their children must make those same mistakes. A well-rounded person must experience every phase of life. All we are asking for is a chance and a little understanding.

THE GENERATION GAP  
(TIE FOR THIRD RUNNER-UP)  
(By Steve Tatum)

Yes, there is a generation gap. What is it? Is it peculiar to our modern times? Is it necessarily a bad situation?

What is it? The generation gap is an overworked phrase used to describe the difference in ideals of the young and the old. It is overworked because it has been used to describe every conflict in values between age groups since the "beginning" of the youth movement in the early sixties. The gap exists today, but in the eyes of the public it has taken a back seat to the war in Southeast Asia, the environment, and the racial problems, as the cause for national concern. Despite its recent lack of publicity, the gap still exists.

Is the generation gap peculiar to our modern times? Hardly! As long as there are young people, there will be a gap. The ancient Greeks described in their young people the same basic characteristics that we associate with our discontented youth: increasing social awareness and disenchantment with the system and its values as set up by the elders. The behavior of the Greek youth seemed just as outlandish to their elders as our behavior seems to ours. As long as there exists the idealism of youth, there will be disagreement with the caustic cynicism of old age.

Is the generation gap a bad situation? Not at all. Our governmental system is based on the conflict of ideals we call the generation gap. If it were not for concerned, bright, young politicians, the country would be foundering in the quagmire of corrupt politics that usually develops when one group retains power for extended lengths of time. Our government is based on the system of checks and balances. If the young idealists and the old pragmatists did not continually check and balance each other's power, this country would be in the grips of Congressional tyranny with one group in power as in the case of the Radical Republicans during the Reconstruction period following the Civil War. The two groups do check themselves and the result is a set of laws that benefit the vast majority of the people.

The generation gap does exist; it was and is a problem, and it is an advantageous one.

WARNING AGAINST PREMATURE  
ADVANCED DEVELOPMENT OF  
ULMS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Dr. George W. Rathjens, professor of politi-

cal science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology testified May 19 before the Ad Hoc Research and Development Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Armed Services. In his formal presentation, which focused on the alleged gap between Soviet and United States expenditures for research and development, Rathjens raised the following issue:

The situation as regards strategic weaponry seems to me drastically different. The present situation is one of great overkill and considerable stability. I do not expect ever to see the strategic weapons used—and if they are, I do not expect this Nation will survive as a going society; and that will not depend on whether or not one side or the other has somewhat superior weaponry. Thus, in the strategic area I submit we need not be much concerned about modest differences in performance between Soviet and American systems or even about whether all of the systems have been thoroughly tested. What we must be concerned about is the possibility of a major technological breakthrough that could so alter the strategic balance that it would be exploited against us politically or militarily. Our best insurance against such surprise will be vigorous efforts in research and possibly in some exploratory development. Such work will let us know what is possible. Until such time as a true breakthrough appears in sight, vigorous efforts at advanced development will be unnecessary and even wasteful. As an example, it would seem to me that freezing the ULMS design and going into advanced development would be premature at this time.

Hyman Fine, a professional staff member of the subcommittee, returned to Dr. Rathjens' comments on premature development of the Navy's Undersea Long-Range Missile System—ULMS—later in the session. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Rathjens' response to Mr. Fine's question points out that today the threat to our submarine nuclear deterrent systems—our Polaris and Poseidon systems—is only a "sort of vague fear." We must not undermine our existing deterrent—by accelerating the already rapid strategic arms race—nor severely cripple our future deterrent—by becoming locked in on an obsolescent system. It is dangerous to forge full speed ahead on the ULMS project without knowing our destination. There is no need to pursue advanced development work now. Continued research and preliminary development work should be the hallmark of our ULMS program until the threat, if any, to Polaris/Poseidon becomes real rather than imagined.

DISCUSSION OF LEAD-TIME

Mr. FINE. I think one other point should be clarified. You made reference to the ULMS program and you indicate that the dollars that were being requested in fiscal 1972 were to be used to freeze design and possibly initiate engineering development. Here again without knowing whether you have specific information as to what is planned to be done in fiscal 1972, I wonder, particularly with your background, recognizing a ULMS type of system has a lead-time which exceeds that of practically every other weapon system we have in the inventory, whether you are giving adequate consideration to that lead-time in making a judgment that we are proceeding too rapidly?

Dr. RATHJENS. Well, let me just make a very brief comment in this regard and then I cannot go as far as I would like because we are in open session.

The lead-time problem is a very severe one with ULMS. I agree with you entirely

that it probably has a longer lead-time than any weapon system we can consider. But one of the problems with ULMS that I see is that one is really concerned about two different threats to it. One is the possibility of some kind of breakthrough in Soviet anti-submarine-warfare capability. We do not know what that could be.

I think Dr. Foster and every other responsible scientist would concede at present that the submarine systems are relatively invulnerable. It is only a sort of vague fear that we have that somehow this situation could change. How it would change is very ill defined. It could be that there could be a breakthrough in training. It could be a breakthrough in development of some kind of mines. It could be a breakthrough in sonar, improved localization using large arrays or something like that. Depending on what kind of breakthrough the Soviet Union might achieve you might want to design a rather different kind of submarine. Beyond that, another breakthrough you worry about against which ULMS might be a hedge would be a massive deployment by the Soviet Union of an ABM system. If that were to happen it would become important that ULMS be able to deliver large amounts of payloads so you could deliver many penetration aids, many warheads.

#### PROJECTION OF SUBMARINE WARFARE

If I can generalize—and I hesitate to do so, but I will at some risk—if the Soviet threat should develop along the antisubmarine warhead line I would think we would not want ULMS. We would want to build relatively large numbers of relatively small submarines as the best hedge. We would probably want to pay a very high premium to minimize the sub noise levels. Some of these things would have to be considered in a tradeoff of calculation.

On the other hand, if the threat should be a massive Soviet ABM system, we would probably want to build very large submarines simply because we could then carry large amounts of ordnance for a given expenditure of money. It is because of these great uncertainties in the potential threat to ULMS that I think one ought to try to put off any decision as long as one can. We may not want to build any. There may be no breakthrough in antisubmarine warfare, or in ABM on the Soviet side, in which case we would want to avoid any expenditure. So the important thing in this particular case would be to hedge as best you can against all of these possibilities. That probably means avoiding freezing the design at this time.

Now one postscript to all of this. I would emphasize that I'm focusing on the strategic area. Although the lead-time for ULMS is going to be long, the lead-time for the development of any Soviet capability that can seriously erode our overall strategic retaliatory capability will also be very long. The development of a massive Soviet antisubmarine warfare capability—one that would be 10 or 20 times or 100 times as effective as we have, and I think it would take that—would take an enormously long time.

So again in this overall area I think the important thing would be a very significant program that would permit us to identify as best we could, as early as we can, real breakthroughs, the real kind of breakthrough we cannot now foresee. The only way that I can imagine doing that is through work at the early part of the R.D.T. & E. cycle research and exploratory.

Senator McINTYRE. Would a request for \$109 million indicate to you a freezing in design?

Dr. RATHJENS. Not necessarily; but it does mean to me more of a move toward development, as distinct from research and studies, than I think is probably warranted.

## BUFFALONIANS RESTORE SITE WHERE THEODORE ROOSEVELT TOOK OATH AS PRESIDENT

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, on next Tuesday morning, September 14, the citizens of Buffalo and western New York will see the culmination of a years-long effort to preserve the downtown Buffalo mansion where Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office as President in 1901.

Research shows that concern for the fate of the mansion extends back more than 35 years when the Theodore Roosevelt-Spanish War Veterans Memorial Association launched a campaign to acquire the mansion as a memorial to Theodore Roosevelt.

That effort of the mid-1930's collapsed in a matter of months and the structure known as the Ansley Wilcox Mansion continued to deteriorate. It had served for a time as the location for a famous Buffalo restaurant.

In the early 1960's there was a rebirth of interest which reached its peak when a local real estate company threatened to demolish the structure and turn the space into a parking lot.

It was at this time that I became actively interested in the preservation of the Ansley Wilcox Mansion as a national historical site. I introduced appropriate legislation for its preservation, but my bill failed to clear the 88th Congress.

I reintroduced the measure in the 89th Congress and—despite endless frustrations—with the help of many Buffalonians, as well as many Members of Congress, the bill was enacted into law and signed by the then President Lyndon B. Johnson in November 1966.

Meanwhile, the mansion had been saved from demolition by the action of the Liberty National Bank which purchased the property as a public-spirited gesture. The bank agreed to hold the property temporarily while local supporters of the memorial mustered the necessary legislative and other support required for its preservation as a national historical site.

Ralph Dibble, reporter for the Buffalo Evening News, has narrated the intriguing story of the dedicated effort of many individuals in the restoration project.

Mr. Speaker, as a part of my remarks I include the text of Mr. Dibble's story on the love and persistence that went into restoring the mansion to the way it appeared that day 70 years ago when Theodore Roosevelt was summoned to Buffalo to take the oath of office as President succeeding the late William McKinley.

I also include a story from the same newspaper telling of the amazement of the National Park Service official at the speed with which the Buffalo committee moved to complete the restoration:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Sept. 2, 1971]

LOVE, PERSISTENCE UNRAVEL WILCOX HOME'S MYSTERIES

(By Ralph Dibble)

It's a true detective story that began nearly four years ago with an empty old Delaware Ave. mansion and two photographs. In four years, the protagonists of the tale have solved more mysteries than they can count.

The last chapter isn't written yet and there's a good chance the finale will be the most dramatic part of the story.

The mansion is what Buffalonians refer to as the Ansley Wilcox home, although Mr. Wilcox never owned it. Only four years ago, it was a forlorn, empty building with plaster peeling from the walls and a weed-grown yard.

The detectives are a determined group of Junior League members who set out to restore the library of the mansion to the way it looked Sept. 14, 1901, when Theodore Roosevelt stood in it to be inaugurated as the 26th President of the United States.

The old home, operated as the Kathryn Lawrence Tea Room and Restaurant for more than two decades, had been saved from demolition by an 11th hour designation as a national historic site.

#### JUNIOR LEAGUE ASSUMES CHORE

Then, the Junior League of Buffalo decided to take on the formidable task of bringing the mouldering old home back to life. Mrs. Richard S. Gallivan suggested it while she was project research chairman.

All they had were two photographs, taken a couple of hours after the inauguration ceremony.

The nation's leaders had only just filed out of the Wilcox library when a photographer climbed up on a chair in the northwest corner of the room and took two excellent black and white time-exposure pictures.

Mrs. Daniel C. Donaldson remembers how it began with minute examinations of the photographs with each piece of furniture, fixtures and other objects given a serial number, along with the best description possible.

Then, the Junior Leaguers began asking questions of friends, especially those belonging to some of the city's old families.

Gradually, they began finding some of the furnishings of the room in 1901—some in the attic of a Richmond Ave. home, others in an Akron flea market.

#### COUNTLESS HOURS OF EFFORT

No one could count all the hours of work when a group of Junior Leaguers gathered Wednesday for a briefing session in preparation for the official opening of the old home on Sept. 14 as the Theodore Roosevelt Inaugural National Historic Site.

In the group were the leaders of the restoration project and another group of members who will serve as what the league calls docents—or guides for visiting tour groups.

It was a poignant moment of pride in a labor of love for the project leaders as they stood by the restored north wall of the library and gazed through the wide windows cut into it for viewing.

It's certain that visitors to the mansion will feel some of the same tingle of excitement—the feeling of really traveling into the past.

Unlike the antiseptic rooms of famous homes like Mount Vernon and Monticello, the Wilcox library looks as though it were being lived in—right now.

#### THE "LIVED IN" LOOK

Books are out of place and clumsily on their sides at the ends of book shelves. A stack of magazines is slightly askew. And the chairs look as though they had been

pushed out of place by someone standing in an overcrowded room.

The 1901 photographs were taken in a room that was much lived in and the work of the Junior Leaguers has brought it all back to life.

Leaders of the project walked into the room Wednesday and spoke into a tape recorder to provide information for present and future guides.

Mrs. Donaldson told of early visits to professional antique dealers.

She remembered contacts with members of the Wilcox family, especially a niece of Ansley Wilcox, Mrs. Mary Wilcox Plimpton of Boston. Mrs. Plimpton provided information on one thing the pictures didn't show—the colors of objects in the room.

Also giving a big assist was Mrs. Edwina Mitchell of Lancaster, who had succeeded her mother as a member of Mrs. Wilcox's Literary Club which had its meetings in the library.

#### CONSULT THOSE WHO WERE THERE

Another Junior Leaguer, Mrs. Fred W. Eder told of how she discovered that Mrs. Nathaniel K. P. Patch of Richmond Ave. had been at the Wilcox house on the day of the inaugural and was familiar with the house.

Mrs. Eder's conversations with Mrs. Patch provided two vital links with the past. Mrs. Patch told of visiting the Wilcox house years after the inaugural and seeing to her dismay that workers were removing bookcases from the library.

Mrs. Patch persuaded them to give her one of the bookcases and she had it moved to her Richmond Ave. home. After they were given to the Junior League, the original bookcase was turned over to expert furniture makers who made copies of it.

In fact, a game the guides will play with the tour groups will be to ask if they can identify the original bookcase and the copies of it.

#### CANDLESTICK FROM SPINDLE

Mrs. Patch also had a candlestick made from one of the spindles on the original Wilcox home staircase. Using that for a starting point, craftsmen were able to re-construct the stairway in all its original beauty and grace.

Walls of the library were bare—all the way to the lathe in some places. But around woodwork, there were remnants of wallpaper.

Working from that, craftsmen of the Birge Co. made paper for walls of the restored room.

Mrs. Richard Wagner told of tracing two ceiling light fixtures to an Akron flea market operated by Kevin Hickey, a Buffalo policeman. Mr. and Mrs. Hickey were using one of them in their own dining room and had the other in a barn. They were turned over to restoration project.

It is hoped gas service will be connected in time to provide authentic gas lighting by the reopening date.

A tea table from the room was located in the Lafayette Ave. home of Mrs. Sarah C. Hoff. It had been a gift to her mother.

#### TITLE SEARCH WAS FIRST

Mrs. Wagner also described a title search by attorneys of the Liberty National Bank. Using that as a starting point, Junior Leaguers did exhaustive research on the Wilcox home which originated about 1840 as part of the Poinsett Army Barracks.

A chair that had been given to a Wilcox chauffeur was turned over to the Junior League by the Seifert family.

Mrs. John M. Montfort told of how she had traced a bronze floor lamp to a Lake Shore home. It was purchased through a \$75 gift by the Allentown Art Society, along with a picture of Dexter Rumsey, Ansley Wilcox's father-in-law and actual owner of the house in the early 1900s.

Books for the library shelves come from the Dr. John C. Lord collection of 15,000 volumes, now in custody of the Buffalo & Erie County Historical Society.

Mrs. Theodore J. Stein Jr. told of tracing

a black pedestal vase to the Barnabite Fathers who care for the Our Lady of Fatima Shrine in Lewiston. They quickly donated it to the historic shrine.

Mrs. Stein had spotted a picture of the pedestal in another old Buffalo home and traced it to the religious order through questioning members of that family.

#### CASH, AS WELL AS TIME, EFFORT

In addition to their hours of work, Junior Leaguers have chipped in \$50,000 for the project.

It all seemed worthwhile Wednesday as they gazed in pride at the beautiful old room. Speaking to the docents or guides, Mrs. Edward A. Rath told them, "The great and near great have trod the rooms of this house . . . I think you will love it as we have learned to love it."

Mrs. Rath thinks the end of the story isn't in sight yet.

Hundreds of invitations have gone out to members of the Wilcox, Rumsey and Roosevelt families to attend a pre-opening reception in the old home on Sept. 11.

The Wilcox home, at the turn of the century, is recalled as a house filled with children.

When some of the now elderly people return to the home furnished as they knew it in their childhood, many new links with the past may fall into place.

Mrs. Rath and her fellow Junior Leaguers think there is still more of the Wilcox home story to be told.

[From Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News,  
Aug. 27, 1971]

#### WILCOX MANSION WORK AMAZES U.S. PARKS AIDE

"It's amazing the amount of work that's been done since I last visited here," the landmarks specialist for the National Park Service said today as he stood in the library of the Wilcox Mansion at 641 Delaware Ave.

Floyd B. Taylor who serves as landmarks specialist for the more than 100 historical and natural landmarks in the State of New York was here to see how preparations for the Sept. 14 opening of the Wilcox Mansion were progressing.

The opening will mark the 70th anniversary of Theodore Roosevelt's inauguration as President in the library of Wilcox Mansion on Sept. 14, 1901.

"I came here to make sure that all preparations are going according to schedule for the Sept. 14 opening and to see if the National Park Service can help in any way," Mr. Taylor explained.

"It is difficult to find appropriate adjectives to express my appraisal of the work accomplished here. The job is so complete that I wish we could recruit the staff that accomplished all this."

He added he will report to the director of the National Park Service that preparations for the opening are proceeding smoothly.

"The last time I was here on July 13, the place looked so different," Mr. Taylor said. "The lawn was filled with weeds and dead trees. The interior of the mansion was completely bare."

"But six weeks later, I arrive to find the place has come alive with magnificent landscaping and with books, shelves, staircases and clocks. It's unbelievable."

Mr. Taylor added, "I think this is the first Presidential memorial for which local organizations and staff developed the project plans."

Normally he said, the National Park Service has its own staff develop the plans for a memorial owned by the federal government.

Mr. Taylor cited Dr. Walter S. Dunn, director of the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, and his staff for their work in drawing up the project plans which were later approved by the National Park Service.

He also cited the community involvement, particularly the Junior League, in making the plans a physical reality.

Mr. Dunn and Mr. Taylor pointed to one example of community involvement—the wooden mantle surrounding the fireplace in the library.

"I understand that beautiful mantle was built by a local millwork," Mr. Taylor said. "The entire structure was recreated from photographs of the library from the early 1900s."

Mr. Taylor added he will be here for the Sept. 14 opening. "It will be the most important date for this mansion since 1901," he said.

#### CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

### HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, in a democracy, the various institutions—including of course the news media—should maintain a continuing, critical evaluation of the government's policies and programs. However, the news media also has a responsibility to point out the negative aspects of a political campaign.

David Broder, the outstanding political columnist for the Washington Post, has pointed out the political campaign for the 1972 elections started earlier than ever before in history. Unfortunately, some Americans have interpreted as constructive criticism, phony attacks on the President by announced or unannounced candidates for President.

Perhaps our younger voters have been particularly susceptible to the disguised campaign rhetoric and have not been objective in evaluating economic or foreign policy on a broad basis. As a result, at this point, they may have developed a trend of going against the establishment.

But Bob Curran, writing in the June 26, 1971, issue of the Buffalo Evening News, points out that—

The future for most "aggrinners" won't be as bright as the present is.

I commend his article to the attention of my colleagues and include it at this point:

NEGATIVE SIDE OF DEBATE: IS IT ALWAYS  
A WINNER?

(By Bob Curran)

Four weeks ago today I drove to Niagara University campus near Lewiston to see Taylor Caldwell receive an honorary degree. At the graduation ceremonies I saw two happenings that thrilled me.

At one point the graduating class applauded their parents. Later 24 young men were applauded by the class and the spectators as they received their commissions as second lieutenants in the United States Army.

Because of this experience I paid more attention to the graduation ceremonies at the different schools around here than I usually do. All in all, I was impressed.

As I read the different addresses by the visiting dignitaries, I found myself wondering what I would tell a group of young people who were just graduated from college. And I asked myself if this wouldn't be the best I could tell them: "Go against, young man! Go against!"

For openers I would refer them to the producers of what is usually referred to as "that courageous documentary," The Selling of the Pentagon.

The true description of it is "that phony

show." And before those of you who always call me cute names reach for your stationery, I would point out that one of the iciest blasts against the way in which the show was handled came from the Washington Post, which has been the hairshirt of the Pentagon for years.

At one point in the show, we see Col. John A. McNeil talking. The five sentences he utters seem disjointed, but we are given the impression that he said them one after another as speakers normally do.

The first sentence came from page 55 of the text of a briefing Col. McNeil gave. The second is from page 36 of the script, the third from page 48 and the fourth from page 73. A TV editor put them all into one short speech that was a misrepresentation.

McNeil is quoted as saying: "If South Vietnam becomes Communist, it will be difficult for Laos to exist. The same goes for Cambodia and the other countries of Southeast Asia."

Before the taping McNeil made it clear that the above was a quote from Souvanna Phouma, the prime minister of Laos. The TV editor cut out the attribution and led the audience to believe McNeil said it.

In another part we see a Pentagon official at a press briefing say that he doesn't have enough information to answer three of what seemed to be a half-dozen questions posed, but would try to get it. At the press conference there were 34 questions asked and 31 answered. So while we were given the impression that only 50 per cent of the questions were answered, the real percentage was 91.

Now the people who produced the show and many of its adherents say the Pentagon's methods deserve exposure. That's all right with me, but if the case is so strong why is deception necessary in the presentation. And I just mentioned two incidents. There are others of the same nature.

After the program was attacked, it was awarded a Peabody Prize and then an Emmy Award. At the Emmy awards night the producers were given a standing ovation.

"Go against, young man! Go against!" I guess for my second example I would show the young people a review of a new book by a writer described as "one of America's leading investigative reporters."

Some years back the writer was fired by a newspaper in New York City because the editors said he threw some fiction into one of his exposes to make it zestier.

So the "investigative reporter" turned to books, and being wise to the ways of the marketplace picked a surefire target in the Establishment—the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Naturally he got a book publisher to print the book and bill him as "one of the America's leading investigative reporters." Who cared if he was known as a faker—his target was the prime consideration.

In this direction I have to advise the people who ask me how to get a book published that I can think of no surer way than by attacking J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. Many hacks have done well doing that. As a gent said recently, "I have the feeling some people won't let up on Hoover until he apologizes to Dillinger."

"Go against young man. Go against." Of course we have Representative Paul McCloskey who was an unknown until he announced he would lead a move inside his party to dump President Nixon. Overnight his campaign was financed by a man outside the party and two of his advisers are from Ted Kennedy's camp. Before long he was the party and two of his advisers are from magazine.

"Go against young man. Go against!" Then we have John Kerry, whose acclaimed speech was written by Adam Walinsky, to this day friendly writers leave that fact out when praising the speech. When Kerry was asked about the bit about throwing medals away, he said that a TV

producer told him that only a dramatic gesture like that would give the Vietnam Veterans against the War extensive coverage.

There is a veterans group that supports the administration and it has a lucid spokesman. But young John O'Neill is not getting much attention because he took the wrong direction and is on the side of The Establishment. He certainly didn't get the exposure given to Al Hubbard, who was presented to the nation on TV as a wounded Vietnam veteran and no one asked him for credentials he didn't possess because he had never been there.

"Go against young man. Go against!" Then we have the Chicago 7, most of whom are getting wealthy from royalties on books. When you see how well they are doing, you can appreciate why Abbie Hoffman would say that if his friends and he didn't have a Vietnam they'd invent one.

But anyway, I wouldn't give that advice about "going against" to our young people because I believe in them. And I am confident the American people are not gullible as some show-biz types think they are. Accordingly I figure the future for most "aggriners" won't be as bright as the present is.

#### PLAN TO REDUCE SOYBEAN LOSSES DURING HARVEST

### HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1971

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Agriculture Hardin has joined with leaders of the soybean industry to support a program to help farmers retain up to 6 percent more soybeans through care during the harvesting process this fall.

I commend Secretary Hardin for this positive step which, without a doubt, will contribute greatly to the net income of the Nation's soybean producers.

Illinois is the leading State in the Nation in the production of soybeans and annually produces one-fifth of the Nation's total soybean crop. This year Illinois farmers alone expect to harvest 7,208,000 acres of soybeans.

The program endorsed by Secretary Hardin for a more efficient harvest could help farmers save 3 bushels per acre. At current soybeans prices, that is nearly \$10 an acre, or for the State of Illinois alone, more than \$70 million for this year.

The soybean harvest plan endorsed by Secretary Hardin emphasizes that the key to saving more soybeans at harvest time is the efficient adjustment in operation of harvesting combines.

The seven-point harvest plan which was presented to Secretary Hardin by leaders of the soybean production industry is: First, begin harvest when soybean seed moisture reaches 13 percent; Second, harvest at an average combine speed between 2.5 and 4 miles per hour; Third, count lost beans on the ground before combining so preharvest losses are not charged against the combining operation; Fourth, match ground speed to reel speed to reduce shattering; Fifth, cut soybeans as close to the ground as possible to harvest even the lowest pods; Sixth, measure soybean losses from cutting, gathering, and threshing operations to pinpoint necessary adjustments; and,

Seventh, continually adjust the combine to changing crop conditions.

I salute Secretary Hardin's initiative in supporting this program which has a potential of saving the Nation's soybeans producers more than \$350 million.

#### THE UNFINISHED APPROPRIATIONS BUSINESS

### HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1971

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I should like to just briefly restate the business of appropriations which remains to be finalized in this session. Of the 14 regular annual appropriation bills, nine have been signed into law; one is pending in conference; and four remain to be reported to the House. I should add that there will also be a catch-all supplemental bill.

#### BILL PENDING IN CONFERENCE

The public works-AEC appropriation bill for fiscal year 1972 has passed both Houses and is awaiting conference. Finalization of action on it can be expected shortly. As passed by the House, that bill was \$39.7 million below the related budget requests. As passed by the Senate, it is \$100.9 million above the related budget requests.

#### BILLS YET TO BE REPORTED

The four regular bills for fiscal 1972 yet to be reported to the House are: Defense; military construction; foreign aid; and District of Columbia.

As Members know, necessary authorizations have not yet been provided by Congress for these appropriation measures. In total, the four bills involve budget requests of approximately \$80 billion.

The Committee on Appropriations is in position to move promptly once the related authorization bills are sufficiently far advanced to enable the committee to mark up the appropriation requests.

Hearings on the Department of Defense appropriation bill were concluded 3 months ago. The authorization bill, H.R. 8687, is now pending in the other body.

Hearings on the military construction appropriation bill were concluded about 2½ months ago. The authorization bill, H.R. 9844, is pending conference action.

Hearings on the foreign assistance appropriation bill were concluded over 2 months ago. The authorization bill, H.R. 9910, is pending in the other body.

Hearings on the District of Columbia appropriation bill were concluded prior to the summer recess but that bill is significantly dependent on revenue legislation which the House has yet to consider.

We would expect to shortly receive necessary supplemental appropriation requests from the President, and when received the committee will get busy with their consideration.

#### ACTION ON 1972 APPROPRIATION MEASURES

In addition to the nine regular appropriation bills for 1972 which have been signed into law, there were two special resolutions, one for \$1 billion for the

emergency employment assistance program and the other for a special summer feeding program for children.

In the 11 measures involved, budget requests for appropriations—new budget authority—of \$70.3 billion were considered. Congress, in these 11 measures, approved \$72.6 billion, a net increase above the budget requests of about \$2.3 billion. I should note that this net increase of \$2.3 billion above the budget needs this qualification:

First, in relation to the overall budget recommendations of the President, it is an overstatement of congressional action to the extent of \$1 billion which is in the budget as a proposed supplemental for special revenue sharing relating to certain housing and urban development programs as a substitute for only 6-month funding of some of those programs; Congress, in the appropriation bills, funded them on a 12-month basis, and the extra 6 months shows up as an increase—more apparent than real—above the specific budget requests.

Second, likewise, in relation to the overall budget recommendations of the President, the \$2.3 billion is an understatement of congressional action to the extent of \$400 million in connection with proposed legislation in the budget relating to student loan funds dealt with in the education appropriation bill.

In other words, taking into account these two factors, the net increase is approximately \$1.7 billion above the overall budget requests.

**COMPREHENSIVE BUDGET SCOREKEEPING REPORTS**  
The figures I have given relate to the appropriation bills reported out of the Committee on Appropriations.

For general reference purposes of Members and others, it may be of interest to again call attention to the periodic budget "scorekeeping" reports issued by the staff of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures. These reports are designed to keep tabs, currently, on what is happening in the legislative process to the budget recommendations of the President, both appropriationwise and expenditurewise, and on the revenue recommendations, and not only from actions in the revenue and appropriation bills but also in legislative bills that affect budget authority and expenditures—backdoor bills, bills that mandate expenditures, and so on.

Several such reports have been issued this year—the latest one as of August 6. Copies are sent to the office of each Member.

#### MAKE GOVERNMENT SURPLUS PROPERTY AVAILABLE TO DAY-CARE CENTERS

### HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1971

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, on July 27, 1971, I introduced H.R. 10112 which if enacted, would enable nonprofit day-care centers, both existing and potential, to obtain surplus Federal equipment and supplies. Last year, \$254.3 million worth of property was distributed to civil de-

fense, public health, and educational groups. Ninety percent-plus of this went to educational institutions. Unfortunately, day-care centers are deemed social services under the Federal Property Administration Services Act of 1949, so although these centers are often in dire need of capital, they are unable to use this source of equipment. One of the purposes of the Comprehensive Child Development Act is to give day care a positive image; granting centers status on a level with educational services would help accomplish this. By adding day care centers to the list of groups eligible for surplus property, we can increase financial support for them at no extra cost to the taxpayer. I hope the Committee on Government Operations will give this legislation its prompt consideration and report this bill out to the floor.

#### A BUDGET-BUSTING DAY IN CONGRESS

### HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, taxpayers who wonder where and how it is that so much of their money goes so fast here in Washington could have witnessed a striking—if rather depressing—object lesson by watching the proceedings of the House of Representatives July 27 on the final version of the appropriation bills for "agriculture-environmental and consumer protection programs" and for the Department of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare—except for the Federal aid to education programs—for fiscal year 1972. These two appropriation bills alone represented an increase of more than \$1½ billion over this year's budget—already a huge increase over last year's—in the face of a deficit now estimated at \$23 billion.

The recent history of the agriculture program appropriations is a particularly graphic demonstration of the continuing process of budget busting by Congress. Here is the sorry record:

Budget authority enacted to date, fiscal 1971: \$9.559 billion.

Budget authority requested by the administration for fiscal 1972: \$12.107 billion.

Budget authority granted by original House appropriation bill this year: \$12.426 billion.

Budget authority granted by final version of this year's appropriation bill: \$13.279 billion.

As is obvious at a glance, every new step in this process involved added spending. The final total of \$13.279 billion represents not only more than a billion dollar's increase over this year's budget request by the administration but a colossal 38.9-percent increase over comparable funding last year. Budget increases of this magnitude cannot possibly be sustained indefinitely, yet no end is in sight. On the contrary, they have become so routine as to rate hardly a line of print in our daily newspapers.

A famous humorist once said that "the people are never safe while Congress is in session." Since Congress is now almost

always in session, regularly spending the American people's money in the manner so well exemplified by the proceedings July 27, it appears that the people are never safe any longer.

Later on that same day, the House voted a 17-percent increase over last year's appropriation for the Department of Labor and for all programs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare except aid to education. In this case the House added almost \$100 million more over and above the budget request, by floor vote, in defiance of its own committee report, after the committee-approved bill had been proudly presented to the House as being already \$322 million over the budget and \$2.879 billion over last year's appropriation.

Although the agriculture bill, with its 39 percent budget increase, received 162 "No" votes, only 25 of the elected Representatives of the American people could be found to vote against the 17-percent increase for the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare.

As Congressman FRANK T. Bow, of Ohio, said when it was all over:

I am wondering what they are going to say about inflation now. I wonder whose responsibility it is going to be.

It is about time that we began to stop, look and listen when it comes to expenditures of this kind.

A nation which habitually increases already large government expenditures by percentages so greatly in excess of its combined rates of economic growth, population growth and inflation, is on a toboggan either to bankruptcy or to a completely Government-dominated and Government-absorbed economy—or to both.

#### THE DILEMMA OF UNEMPLOYMENT

### HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1971

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues the following item on unemployment:

[From the Knoxville (Tenn.) Journal, Aug. 11, 1971]

#### THE DILEMMA OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The rate of unemployment is an unsteady index of the state of the national economy, as was pointed out a couple of days ago by Clark MacGregor, the President's liaison man with Congress, who is a former member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Minnesota.

He said in an interview that a big factor in economic conditions is the transition between war and peace, asserting that more than a million people "who were getting a paycheck from Uncle Sam are now doing something else or looking for work."

MacGregor added, "Unemployment is not up; unemployment is down . . . People forget that unemployment ran higher when President Kennedy was President than with President Nixon."

As encouraging factors he cited a rise of about \$52 billion in the gross national product, record retail sales in June and July, and reduced inventories.

Unemployment, it would seem, will be a perpetual problem. Because the civilian labor force is constantly fluctuating but growing

in the long run employment statistics can be rather misleading. Comparison between conditions at one time with those of another is never clearly delineated.

Latest available figures showed the total U. S. civilian labor force at about 84 million with some 4.9 million unemployed. That is 5.8 per cent.

In 1961, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the labor force was only 70.459 million and unemployment was 4.714 million, which was a rate of 6.8 per cent. President Kennedy was then in office, as he was through most of 1963, when the labor force was reported at 71.833 million and unemployment at 4.070 million, or about 5.7 per cent.

A low level of unemployment was 2.817 million in 1968, when Lyndon Johnson was President. By then the labor force had grown to 78.737 million, and the ratio was only 3.6 per cent. But the smallest percentage of unemployment was in 1969, after Richard Nixon took office. The labor force was up to 79.691 million, unemployment was 2.789 million and the rate was but 3.5 per cent.

Since that year, however, the labor force has swelled by more than four million, creating a situation in which the rate of unemployment rises even if total employment remains constant or increases a little.

So the nation has a most intricate problem, one which appears to defy a satisfactory solution—too many potential workers facing an inadequate number of jobs for their expanding ranks. If there is a possible definitive answer, neither the economists nor the politicians have found it yet.

#### MANY HELP IN RESTORATION OF SITE WHERE OATH TAKEN BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT IN 1901

### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 8, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, there are many, many persons who have played vital roles in providing authenticity to the restoration of the Buffalo, N.Y., mansion where Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office as President 70 years ago next Tuesday.

The job of restoring an old and misused property requires much patience, research, and ingenuity when one seeks to carry out all the details of conditions that existed at a specified time in history.

Fortunately, a photographer took several excellent pictures of the mansion interior within minutes after the guests had left the ceremony in which Theodore Roosevelt took the oath.

Widespread research resulted in locating many items of furniture and other remnants which provided the basis for preparing duplicates and replacements.

The fabric responsibility, such as the lace and chair coverings, draperies, rugs, and so forth, was assumed by the Junior League Wilcox Committee which devoted countless hours and contributed considerable dollars to aid in the project.

The Cheektowaga Chapter of the Home Bureau also was active.

After years of effort, the Ansley Wilcox Mansion in Buffalo, where Theodore Roosevelt took his oath, will be dedicated as a national historic site on next Tuesday, September 14.

The authorization for the mansion's

designation as a national historic site resulted from legislation which I sponsored and which was signed into law in 1966.

The act provided for the National Park Service to purchase the site for \$250,000 and to provide an additional grant of \$50,000 toward restoration.

The balance of the cost of restoration has been borne by local contributions, as well as many priceless donations of original Wilcox furnishings which have been located after much searching—and research—around the country.

The work of the women in refurbishing the mansion has been well documented by a story by Betty Ott Plants which I include as a part of my remarks: [From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Sept. 3, 1971]

#### LACEWORK FOR WILCOX HOME SUPPLIED BY CHEEKTOWAGAN

(By Betty Ott Plants)

Thanks to the able fingers of a Cheektowaga woman and an old pattern booklet she saved, crochet work for the Wilcox Mansion will be authentic.

Twelve yards of hand crocheted lace edging the brown velvet cloth on the library table in the restored mansion, the work of Mrs. Paul A. Grau Jr. of George Urban Blvd., Cheektowaga, is one of the many items copied or restored from the past to be seen at the Theodore Roosevelt Inaugural National Historic Site on Delaware Ave.

The lace and chair coverings, draperies, restored furnishings and rugs represent hundreds of hours of time and labor put forth by individuals, organizations and businesses under the supervision of the Junior League Wilcox Committee for the restoration project. The results of these efforts will be seen at a contributor's reception at the mansion Saturday afternoon, Sept. 11, and at the official opening Tuesday morning, Sept. 14.

Mrs. Grau, a member of Cheektowaga Chapter of the Home Bureau submitted samples of crocheted lace when the chapter joined the restoration project after hearing Dr. Walter S. Dunn Jr., director of the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, and Mrs. Julia Reinstein, Cheektowaga Town Historian, discuss the subject at a membership tea in 1969.

#### OLD BOOKLET PROVIDES MATCH

Since hand crocheted lace varies from one person to another, it was decided that Mrs. Grau would make the entire 12 yards of edging for the brown velvet library cloth. The chapter furnished the material.

The pattern was selected from a 10-cent booklet from the Star Book of 100 etchings, published by the American Bread Co., in 1942.

Mrs. Grau laughingly said, "I save many things, but I never believed saving this booklet would mean so much in matching crochet patterns dating back to 1901."

She said it was her mother, Mrs. John Tolom of Nanty Glo, Pa., who taught her to sew when she was about 8 years old. A next door neighbor in Nanty Glo, Mrs. Michael Kalemak, taught her how to crochet.

Mrs. Grau estimated it took her about two months to crochet the 12 yards of edging. She was busy with the needle during much of her free time and while watching late television programs. She has used 1,600 yards of Lily ecru cotton crochet thread to complete the lace for the library table.

Her nimble fingers are still busy as she aims to meet the reception deadline for completion of a lace antimacassar for the headrest on the deep maroon leather, button back Morris chair in the library. She estimated 1,600 more yards of thread will be required to complete it. "Twelve patterned squares are done," she sighed, "and 18 more to go."

#### HEIRLOOM PILLOW HELPS

The center pattern for the antimacassar was selected from a pattern on an heirloom pillow Mrs. Grau had in her trunk of "things I save." The rest of the design was created by Mrs. Grau.

"It's funny how few young people want to do anything as tedious as this type of work today," she said. "I don't want any medals for my efforts. It's been fun to do and I've enjoyed helping in something so worthwhile."

She recalled one of her mother's anecdotes so often heard at home—"Idle fingers are the devil's playmates"—and said that this training has carried through all these years.

Mrs. Grau said that her daughter, Mary, who was married in July, now Mrs. Joseph J. Falcone of Philadelphia, can sew and do handiwork. The Graus also have a son Paul A. III, who will enter his junior year, studying economics at Oswego State College.

"The 75 members of our Cheektowaga Chapter of Home Bureau are always interested in doing community work," said Mrs. Eugene J. Wozniak of McNaughton, Cheektowaga, chairman, "and handicraft work for the Wilcox Mansion restoration seemed a most fitting project. These efforts will make it possible for other generations to see what members of Home Bureaus can do for the community," she said.

In the past years the chapter has collected toys and clothing for the West Seneca State School and made white shirts into gowns for the patients at Erie County Home and Infirmary at Wende. The group also makes cookies for the patients at Wende.

Mrs. Virginia Hill Inman, who in private life is Mrs. Eber C. Inman of Soldiers Pl., and a member of the American Institute of Interior Designers, has had a deep concern for the preservation of the Wilcox Mansion as well as other Buffalo historical sites. As a representative of the local group of A.I.I.D., she offered her services in an advisory capacity.

#### TAPESTRY FROM ENGLAND

Mrs. Inman has been attending the monthly meetings of the Junior League Wilcox Restoration Committee with Mrs. Edward A. Rath Jr., chairman, for the past year. Mrs. Fred W. Eber and Mrs. Robert C. Wagner are active volunteers in this committee.

Mrs. Inman tracked down patterns needed for period fabrics to nearly duplicate the original library furnishings. Peter Apel, vice president of the Arthur H. Lee fabric house of New York City, contributed necessary yardage of antique woolen tapestry handwoven in England, suitable for the occasional lady's chair once used by the late Grace Wilcox. The chair is mahogany with small side and back spindles extending from an upholstered back rest.

It was given by Mrs. Wilcox to her former chauffeur, the late John H. Guldner and his late wife. They used the chair in their home until a year ago when they passed it on to their granddaughter, Mrs. Robert F. Seifert and her husband of Lisbon Ave. When Mrs. Seifert learned that the mansion would be restored she felt it belonged in its original setting and gave it to the Historical Society.

The fabric, for this chair in a tulip design of brown, blending to deep blue tones and soft gold to rose shades is valued at \$135 per yard. Mrs. Inman had the chair upholstered and supplied the labor for making the draperies in the library and exhibit rooms of the mansion. The drapery fabric was donated by Payne & Co. of Dayton, Ohio, through its Buffalo representative, Robert McGorray.

The draperies in the library are of silk gold-colored gauze, lined with opaque ecru-colored satin. The draperies in the exhibit and orientation rooms are of plain gold fabric with a dull satin finish, lined with ecru satin.

#### BOOKCASE COMES BACK

The library bookcase, an original piece in the library in 1901, was donated by Mrs.

Nathaniel K. B. Patch of Richmond Ave. The seven-shelf oak bookcase will be filled with period books in time for the opening. A small spindled gallery details the top of the case. Mrs. Patch the former Ethel Chapin, recalls standing out on the lawn in front of the mansion at age 18 watching the inaugural ceremony in 1901. Her father the late William H. Chapin, was New York State inspector general, charged with the safety of the officials inside.

Mrs. Dunn Jr., wife of the Historical Society director, has given an occasional table from her home that looks like one of those in the original furnishings. The table of fruitwood has a scalloped edge and is styled with bowed-legs and matching shelf.

According to O. William Shelgren Jr., architect for the restoration project, the mantlepiece in the library was completely rebuilt to specifications from an enlarged picture of the room taken at the time of the inauguration. He said the wood is of fine, straight quartergrained natural white oak and features a spindled gallery at the mantle top and spiraled and vertical grooved columns at either side.

#### ORIGINAL WALLPAPER REPRODUCED

The architect and restoration committee found fragments of the original Victorian wallpaper in the mansion which has been reproduced by the Birge Wallpaper Co. It covers walls of the library and hall. After reproducing the paper in a filigreed pattern of a rich, satin finish gold background with a black, white and dark green embossed design, the Birge Company was so pleased with the results that they plan to put it into their new line of papers. They designed a deep border embossed frieze to complement the paper.

The Charles Markarian & Sons, oriental rug merchants will complete the finished look of the room by lending a 60-year-old Herez oriental 6 by 9 rug for the library floor.

It has brown and ivory tones with an all over geometric design. Other throw rugs of oriental designs will cover the open floor areas. Also on loan, will be an oriental prayer rug used over the window seat couch, woven of antique red and gold threads.

It is due to the efforts and generosity of such community-minded citizens, along with many more people behind the scenes, that the Wilcox Mansion will be "dressed" for its grand opening this month.

#### LET'S GO TO WORK

### HON. LAMAR BAKER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon spoke about the "work ethic" of America in his Labor Day address to the Nation. He says our "work ethic" is another name for the competitive spirit in this country.

To my mind, one of the most significant points in the address came when he said:

... labor is good in itself . . . a man or woman at work not only makes a contribution to his fellow man, but becomes a better person by virtue of the act of working.

In a pre-Labor Day editorial, the Chattanooga News-Free Press had some things to say about the "work ethic" in America and they compliment what the President said in his address the following day.

I wish to call this excellent editorial to the attention of my colleagues. Its title is most apropos as we attack the

pile of legislation remaining to be considered in this session of Congress: "Let's Go To Work."

#### LET'S GO TO WORK

Time was, a father considered the best advice he could give a son going out on his own was to give "an honest day's work for an honest day's pay." Along with that counsel went the suggestion that, whatever the job he took, give it all he had—"if you're a ditch-digger, be the best ditch-digger there is."

Often that was all a young man could become, because educational opportunities and the chances to move ahead in business or industry were limited. But the expansionary movement in all fields of endeavor has ended that era of limitation. It's true that circumstances sometimes smash dreams, but the rewards are there for those who will work for them.

Sadly, however, we've seen the national mood change from the "give-it-your-best" period, which might have been happier days after all. People everywhere, workers and management, want the rewards quickly, and too often they want them with as little effort as possible. Money, and the things it will buy, has taken precedence over productivity.

We're paying for it right now. We are gripped in a "frozen" inflation that has been the result of bad example by irresponsible government spending and the no-win war of goods prices and labor costs. While our international competitors have badly outstripped us in rate of productivity, we have plunged into the gathering storm of skyrocketing wages and prices. It has to end, sometime. It could end in complete financial chaos. The storm will rage anew when (and if) the "freeze" is lifted, unless we find sound fiscal purpose as government and people.

There can be endless debate on blame; there's enough for everybody. Undoubtedly, some management has been overly-keen on profit-taking and has not invested soundly in plant modernization that would encourage greater productivity. Workers have demanded higher pay, often for less work or featherbedding practices and "fringe" benefits that add to costs. We are all victims of the ensuing higher prices, even as we howl with some justification that government is too quick to tax more and more to be and do "all things for everybody."

The time has come to weather the storm. A beginning will be a reversal of national mood from "grab" to "give." Scorn is heaped on harkening to the "good old days," but here we can call it a lesson from history: Give it all we've got, wherever we work at our jobs. If we produce more and better goods and services, our money will be worth more. The solution could be as simple as that.

### MARY GROSSO: AN OUTSTANDING UNION LEADER

### HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, on October 24, 1971, Mrs. Mary Grosso, of New Brunswick, N.J., an outstanding union leader, will be given a testimonial dinner on her retirement.

Mary has been an active leader in the union field for 27 years and has not only gained the respect of the thousands of union members she has served with such dedication, but has earned the respect of management, as well. And there are valid reasons for this remarkable feeling that both labor and management have for this

exceptional person. Mary Grosso is partisan, but she is also fair. She is tough, but she is warm. She is firm, but has wonderful human qualities.

Mr. Speaker, many of the gains that union members often take for granted are due to the efforts of union leaders like Mary Grosso. Higher wages, longer vacations, improved fringe benefits, more equitable grievance procedures, and other gains that members enjoy today, she helped make possible.

What Mary Grosso has done for the Textile Workers Union of America—especially for her beloved Local 630—will always be remembered. She has dedicated her life to helping union members—not for money, not for glory, not for self-gain, but because she believes in unions and knows that they improve conditions for workers.

So, Mr. Speaker, I salute Mary Grosso on her pending retirement. I am grateful for having the privilege of knowing her as a union leader over the years and I can honestly say that she is one of the most dedicated leaders I have ever known. I, for one, will never forget her as long as I live, and neither will any other person who has known her. And to know Mary Grosso is to respect her, to admire her, and even to love her—for her inspiring leadership, for her superb integrity, and above all, for the great compassion she has for people.

### CONGRESSMAN WYATT REPORTS ON RESULTS OF HIS POLL

### HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I have just sent to my constituents in the First District of Oregon the results of my 1971 questionnaire. I would like to share these with my colleagues in the House, as I believe the results are most informative, and in some cases very surprising.

TABULATION OF REP. WENDELL WYATT'S 1971 QUESTIONNAIRE

[All figures in percent]

1. To get families off welfare, President Nixon has proposed a work incentive and job training program while guaranteeing a basic level of financial assistance. Do you favor this alternative to the present welfare system? Yes, 83.7; No, 10.4; No opinion, 5.8.
2. Do you approve of the way the Nixon Administration is handling the conduct of the Vietnam War? Yes, 32.2; No, 62.4; No opinion, 5.3.
3. Would you favor a federal program which would actively provide information on ways to control the size of families? Yes, 74.1; No, 21.3; No opinion, 4.6.
4. Do you favor federal legislation to legalize abortions nationwide? Yes, 60.8; No, 32.9; No opinion, 6.3.
5. Would you favor stringent federal controls on air, water and land pollution by industry even though this may result in higher taxes for you? Yes, 73.7; No, 21.4; No opinion, 4.8.
6. Should the federal government impose wage controls in order to slow inflation? Yes, 67.7; No, 24.1; No opinion, 8.2.
7. Should the federal government impose price controls in order to slow inflation? Yes, 72.3; No, 20.3; No opinion, 7.5.
8. President Nixon has proposed a program of revenue sharing with state and local gov-

ernments. Would you favor returning a share of federal taxes to the states and local governments, with no restrictions on how the funds are to be spent? Yes, 45.0; No, 45.5; No opinion, 9.5.

9. Do you think the federal government should provide a medical insurance program to everyone, even if it meant higher taxes to you? Yes, 38.6; No, 54.9; No opinion, 6.4.

10. The construction of the Supersonic Transport (SST) passenger plane has created controversy because of the noise problem and the possibility of increased air pollution. On the other hand it will provide new jobs and advocates argue that it will help the balance of trade problems of the United States. Do you favor using federal money to support the construction of the SST? Yes, 26.2; No, 68.1; No opinion, 5.7.

11. In general, (a) How would you rate the performance of President Nixon? (b) How would you rate the performance of Vice-President Agnew? President Nixon: Excellent, 7.3; Good, 29.7; Fair, 36.6; Poor, 26.3. Vice-President Agnew: Excellent, 10.2; Good, 24.8; Fair, 26.4; Poor, 38.6.

12. What, in your opinion, are the top domestic issues confronting the United States today? Please rate first, second, third. Inflation, 44.6; Law and Order, 20.2; Environment, 15.7.

## FRIENDS OF THE KENNEDY CENTER

### HON. GEORGE McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, on Tuesday of this week I had the privilege of attending the Kennedy Center performance of Mr. Leonard Bernstein's Mass. It was a beautiful experience.

Beyond this, I am convinced that the new Kennedy Center, under the direction of Mr. Roger Stevens and Mr. William Blair, will, for years to come, play a marvelous role in the cultural life of our Nation.

Much of the credit for the creation and launching of the Kennedy Center must go to a voluntary citizen's group first headed by Mrs. Frank Wisner, and now by Mrs. Polk "Lili" Guest.

The Washington Post of Sunday, September 5, carried an excellent article about Mrs. Guest, her remarkable life and personality, and the role of the Friends of the Kennedy Center. I ask unanimous consent that this article be printed in the RECORD.

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

ALL WORK AND NO PAY, LILI GUEST WINS FRIENDS FOR THE KENNEDY CENTER

(By Sally Quinn)

Last May, 3,000 of the politically and socially elite gathered at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts for one of the most widely heralded social events since the Inaugural Balls.

Only this one was bi-partisan. High ranking Republicans and Democrats alike overcame party affiliations and members of the Gala Committee helped them by making sure they found their tables in separate theatres.

Joan Kennedy played the piano with Peter Duchin in the cabaret and Ethel Kennedy danced with Andy Williams. Mame, Julie and David Eisenhower, in the main ballroom in the grand hall exchanged courtesies with Martha Mitchell and Henry Kissinger,

Most of Washington society had been working for years toward the gala and wouldn't have given up that night in May for anything.

But there was one person—who had been responsible for much of the initial enthusiasm for the Kennedy Center—who wasn't there.

It was Mrs. Polk "Lili" Guest, chairman of the Friends of the Kennedy Center.

She was in the garage manning the complaint center. Wearing a simple evening dress, and a "smile" button ("one paper called to ask if I was planning to wear my grandmother's jewels"). Mrs. Guest spent the evening in the cold dampness by the escalator listening to what people thought was wrong with the Center.

"We had a ball," she says with a smile, "and very few complaints."

"When I first met Lili Guest," says Marilyn Robinson, a black reported for WRC-TV, "I was working in the publicity office for Friends. She walked into the office and she looked regular and she talked regular. But when she left someone told me she was one of the biggest socialities in Washington. I never saw her nose in the air, and I never saw the minks and the diamonds. She came to us for advice, let us make our own decisions and if we needed something down home we'd just go to Aunt Lili for the dirt. She may have been one of the high-mucky mucks but she didn't care if anyone else was."

"Aunt Lili's" upper class New York accent doesn't get in her way.

She likes to eat "high off the hog" at Sans Souci, across the street from the office, or order out Chinese food and eat around her desk with the rest of the staff.

She is as likely to be having a seated dinner for members of the D.C. Youth Orchestra as she would for Ambassadors or Cabinet members.

She could as happily sit in a box at the opera in evening dress as put on blue jeans and tend mules at her farm in Middleburg, Va. (She kept and fed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference mules after Resurrection City had disbanded and they couldn't make it home.)

Lili Guest is a working girl. For the last four years, as chairman of the Friends of the Kennedy Center she has come to work between 9:30 and 10 a.m. each day, left between 5 and 7:30 p.m. and taken off several weeks of vacation just like regular employees. She pays her annual \$25 membership fee and until recently "I was paying \$600 a year parking just for the privilege of working for the Friends." Eventually she was given a free parking space. That is her only monetary compensation for her hours spent at the Center.

The Friends of the Kennedy Center were originally a group of interested and well placed people in Washington who were told to "go out and make friends for the Kennedy Center" before its was even under construction. With the name Metropolitan Washington Area Fund Raising Campaign under the chairmanship of Mrs. Hugh D. Auchincloss, the mother of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Mrs. Guest, Mrs. Frank Wisner, Mrs. Llewellyn Thompson and others did just that. Later they established the Friends of the Kennedy Center under that name to be an auxiliary organization of the center, paying its own way by having membership subscriptions.

The first year Mrs. Frank Wisner was the chairman and founding membership subscriptions were \$25 a year. Now they have gone up to \$50 a year for Washington residents and \$35 for out of towners. For that they get preferential handling of tickets, better seats, advanced information and a newsletter. There are also \$5 a year memberships for those who want just the newsletter and advance information.

Since 1966 the Friends membership has grown to 6,500 people all over the country

with three of them recently becoming life time members at \$1,000 each.

The membership includes educators, college students, people involved in the arts and "though it's not a social thing it does have its social aspects," says Mrs. Guest. It has been mainly through the National Council of Art's social connections that many of the "Friends" have been made and kept.

The Friends had children from all over the world paint panels to hide the construction site, started the American College Theater Festival, ran the information center at the site and still maintain a speakers' bureau, financing their speakers.

Though the Friends as an organization did not put on the gala in May, the major organizers were all members and they used Lili Guest's office as their own.

If they need to raise money they will put on a benefit such as the picnic box-supper movie two years ago with people paying for the tickets according to their financial situation.

With Friends money Lili Guest helped to support the first black blues festival in Washington, put on by Topper Carew, director of the New Thing Art and Architecture Center.

"You get to know more people in a normal way through the arts," she says. "When people are in the arts you take them for what they're doing, not because they're young or black."

"Lili Guest is a beautiful woman, no . . . say lady, a beautiful lady," says Topper Carew of Mrs. Guest. "She's one of the few aristocrats who's really an aristocrat, and one of the few I choose to relate to. She and I have been very good friends for a few years. Our relationship is one of mutual respect."

Though the Friends is a branch of the Kennedy Center, their offices are on the same floor of the Federal Building on 17th Street as the center. Roger Stevens, Chairman of the Kennedy Center, and William McCormick Blair, general director, pop in and out of her office to ask advice or discuss problems.

"We listen to Lili because she has lots of good ideas and she's a very bright person. You might say she's experienced in the ways of the world," comments Roger Stevens.

The problems of the center Lili Guest considers her own and has quick answers for the two most frequent criticisms.

"People are always saying we're pushing the Kennedys and the center is nothing but a Democratic project. That's simply not true. We're bipartisan. You can't do more than have Mrs. Eisenhower, David and Julie and Martha Mitchell at the gala to prove it.

"If Republicans don't want to come because they think it's a Democratic thing it's the same thing as my saying I can't go to Lincoln Center in New York because he was a Republican."

Criticism number two is that the Kennedy Center is not really for all the people, that it's just for the elite and the rich who can afford the expensive tickets.

"That's just not a valid criticism until we've been open a year," she says. "We have a wide range of programs that will appeal to a lot of different people, we have a lot of \$5 memberships and already the upper tier seats, the least expensive, are almost sold out."

To visit Lili Guest in her office one might see her as one of the millions of women in America working to supplement the family income. She sits behind her desk in a large leather chair, dressed simply in a two tone blue denim dress—no jewelry. The dress is well cut, midi length, but still denim. Her steel grey-black hair is cut short enough to run her fingers through without messing it up.

On the wall of her tiny office are pictures of the Kennedy Center under construction, and a large poster—"Homage to Marc Chagall on his Eightieth Birthday" which she found in London in an antique shop. On the

floor next to her desk is a plastic "tantrum mat" with two red feet which reads "an easy way to rid yourself of temporary frustrations and hostilities."

A few left over cartons from a just eaten take-out Chinese lunch and a Pepsi cup are still on her desk. When a photographer tries to remove them she says with a wry smile, "What's the matter. Too much of a common touch?"

Later that afternoon Lill Guest receives guests in her modest little white brick Georgetown house. "Shall I put on a ball gown and pose in front of the draperies," she jokes.

She offers a drink, goes up to change into a bright orange cotton shirtwaist dress and returns to the tiny, blue velvet living room.

She buys her furniture and her materials at second-hand furniture stores and mill end shops, she explains.

A picture of the rear ends of three cows graces the space above the door to the hall.

That's called "Flag for Lady Farmers," she says. "Jan Thompson (the wife of Llewellyn Thompson, former Ambassador to Moscow) displayed it in the embassy in Moscow with a plaque saying "From the collection of Mrs. Polk Guest."

Most of the paintings she has are by friends, including a large one by Bill Walton.

She laughs when asked to be photographed in the kitchen. "Nobody would ever believe anybody with the name of Guest would cook." Instead she picks up a bag of needle-point and begins to work on that. "It keeps me from smoking."

Elizabeth Sturges Polk was born in New York City, then came to Washington with her family because "Pa was Under-Secretary of State during the Wilson administration." She went to Potomac school here, then to Brearley, an exclusive New York girls school, after her parents moved back. After Brearley she chose to attend what is now Julliard Institute of Musical Art, "simply for my own pleasure."

She doesn't like to talk about her social background. She lights a cigarette when asked about her debut. "Oh, sure, we had a good ole tea in the house for family friends and then a dance at the Pierre or Sherry's. I can't remember which, and I had a temperature of 102 anyway and I can't remember a thing about it."

She brightens when asked about her work with the Musicians' Emergency Fund which she helped start in New York during the depression.

After her marriage to Raymond Guest, former Ambassador to Ireland, they moved to Middleburg, and traveled to Long Island, Florida, anywhere there were horses. "A few more years of the beautiful people. We followed the polo ponies," she said. "It's not that I don't like horses. It's just that I'm one of those people who think of horses as animals."

She does, however, have her own horse in the country which she calls Rat-Fink.

During the war, the Guests moved from Middleburg "over the Shenandoah to the wrong side of the tracks." Her husband was then in the Virginia State Senate.

She later divorced him and has not remarried, keeping the farm in Virginia when he was appointed Ambassador to Ireland.

Lill Guest was a long time between jobs. She did volunteer work at the Washington Home for Incurables and worked on some charity balls but doesn't like them, nor for that matter, large social events. "It's not my bag. I like people more than I do that sort of thing."

She bucks criticism from some contemporaries for her seeming iconoclasm and once asked by a friend who had heard of one of her dinner parties for blacks and arts people, "Lill dear, you don't mean to say

you actually have those people in your home?"

She entertains regularly at small dinners at home "for my pals," and her pals can almost always be found in the Social Register.

"Lill is just her own person," said one, "and we respect her for her ideas and her opinions. She always seems to end up on the side of the good guys."

Lill Guest has three children, Liz, 33, who is married to George Stevens; Virginia, 25, and Andy, 32, who is planning to run for Virginia State Legislature on the Republican ticket.

With her children grown and gone she is alone and her time is her own. "They may fire me tomorrow, but I'd love to stay on at the Friends until the Kennedy Center gets rolling," she says. "But I really have no ambition for the future. I might take to drink so that my grandchildren could say let's go see what the old lady's talking about today."

On Sept. 8 the John F. Kennedy Center will have its second great gala, the time of the official cultural opening. Leonard Bernstein will play his new "Mass," written especially for this event, and some of the wealthiest and most social people in America will be there.

Lill Guest will not be there.

Tickets for that evening ("Mass" is open to the public the 6th, and the 7th will be Congressional and Diplomatic night) were so tight because of big contributors that the "Friends" were allotted only four pair. With 8,500 people clamouring for a seat Lill Guest took her pair and threw them into a box to be drawn along with the other four pair.

"I'll go the night of the 6th," says Lill Guest. "It'll probably be more fun anyway."

#### GREECE—A PUZZLE

### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, there exists in Greece today a military dictatorship that is effectively stifling all forms of Democratic existence. Recently a paper has come to my attention that deals with the Greek situation and its critical relationship with the United States. Elias P. Demetracopoulos outlines the reasoning behind his questioning title: "Greece—A New Vietnam?"

He presents a widely believed theory on U.S. foreign policy in Greece—that the present Greek rulers are supplying enough economic, political, and military stability to the government and its people to secure U.S. concerns there. This is supposed to negate any possibility of an alternative government ever coming into power.

Mr. Demetracopoulos then takes that hypothesis and step by step, he examines and illustrates the real misconception and delusion behind the expressed premise. The stated examples are devastating evidence against defending the regime and offer a penetrating and perceptive analysis of the matter. Besides the obvious political and moral repugnancy of the junta, it cannot possibly maintain the stability necessary to preserve the country as a whole functioning unit.

Finally, the U.S. position and stature is being undermined by the belief that the United States played a large part in the 1967 coup and is responsible for keeping the colonels in power. Mr. Demetracopoulos reiterates these points and offers specific changes in U.S. policy that "would be both in the interest of the United States and the Greek people." He foresees disaster and another Vietnam-type situation, if they are not heeded soon. Every Member of Congress should be aware of this thesis and for that reason I enter the following:

#### GREECE—A NEW VIETNAM?

(By Elias P. Demetracopoulos)

(Text of speech delivered on Wednesday, April 21, 1971, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.)

I would like to discuss the situation in Greece; a situation which I believe not only denies the Greek people basic democratic rights but is also harmful to the national interests of the United States and contains the seeds of another "Vietnam." The element of time is terribly important in this connection, as the dangers posed by the current Greek situation leave little time for constructive action by the United States. In other words, I believe the clock is running out in Greece, and unless some major changes are forthcoming in American policy toward Greece, both the U.S. and NATO are apt to be faced with the reality rather than the potential of explosive political, military, and economic developments on NATO's Southern Flank.

U.S. foreign policy in Greece, inherited by the Nixon Administration, is based on the hypothesis that the present dictatorial regime provides sufficient military, political and economic stability to satisfy America's strategic interests in the area—the kind of stability, supposedly, which could not be guaranteed by any realistic alternative.

If that were true—if indeed the regime offered the only reasonable hope of stability in Greece—it would be possible for me to understand, even though both as a Greek and as a supporter of free democratic systems of government as a matter of moral and political principle, I am strongly opposed to dictatorship in any form. In my opinion, however, the premise that the Junta has or can bring stability to Greece is false. On the contrary, not only has the Junta failed to provide stability in spite of dictatorial and ruthlessly repressive tactics; it has actually created instability, uncertainty and the very real risk of civil war in Greece.

First, let us begin with the premise that the Junta has brought military stability. Both Pentagon and other senior U.S. officials claim that the Greek armed forces and terrain, as well as the U.S. and NATO bases in Greece, are necessary to maintain control of the Eastern Mediterranean, to deter communist aggression from the North, and to provide a vital link with Turkey which would otherwise not be a viable military ally. In addition they cite increased Soviet naval strength in the Mediterranean to strengthen their argument. I agree with their assessment as to the importance of a strong and stable Greece as far as NATO is concerned. The key question then is: have the Colonels indeed provided this stability?

The Greek armed forces today are far less effective than they were prior to the coup. They are mainly an internal security force in which the Junta-controlled elements watch not only potential civilian opponents but also the very real latent opposition in the armed forces themselves. To this effect the continuing purges of the Greek military establishment four whole years after the April 21, 1967 coup are a key indicator.

The Junta has systematically removed from

the armed forces an alarming number of the officers they consider unreliable. These hundreds of officers were trained at enormous American expense in the U.S., other NATO countries and Greece, since the Truman Doctrine of 1947. The officers purged were not and could not possibly be communist, considering the nature of the recruiting process and the close ties between the Greek Armed Forces and the U.S. military and intelligence communities. Indeed many of these officers fought against the communists in the Greek guerrilla war. In fact, the officers purged by the Junta were generally considered by Washington, the NATO authorities and the Joint U.S. Military Aid Group to Greece to represent the elite of the Greek officer corps. Their only sin was to have opposed the illegal seizure of power by a relatively small group of officers. It is interesting to note that "the hatchet fell with particular alacrity," according to the May 1969 issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, "on those officers who, during the German occupation . . . chose the path of resistance, either inside Greece or outside, especially those who served in the 'Sacred Battalion' which distinguished itself in all Mediterranean campaigns alongside the British forces. . . . For any man who was capable of choosing to fight against an oppression (the Nazis) is perfectly capable of fighting a new oppression. . . ."

The usurpers, the officers who seized power four years ago, are reliably reported to number no more than 300, with a good percentage of them having intelligence and security training and background.

The purging of the cream of the Greek officer corps and a preoccupation with the internal security duties make the combat effectiveness of the Greek armed forces in time of full mobilization of the reserves an agonizingly open question mark for NATO planners. Thus the illegal seizure of power by the Junta and its subsequent actions have not only seriously weakened the combat capabilities of the Greek armed forces; they have also undermined Greece's political and moral ability to fulfill its NATO commitments. For any crisis which required full mobilization would in all probability lead to the speedy overthrow of the Junta. This really explains why the Junta thought it wise to "defuse" the Cyprus crisis in November 1967. The armed forces have become mostly a police force which, under the new constitution, are also charged with preserving the "existing Social Order." The same reasoning applies to the U.S., NATO bases and other American listening posts and propaganda machinery operating on Greek territory. These bases are important. Yet in view of the climate in which they exist today it is a real question how much long-range strategy in the area can be built around them.

The Soviet naval build-up in the Mediterranean, the Middle East crisis, the events in Czechoslovakia and the outflanking of Greece and Turkey by the Soviet Union's rapid strategic deployment along North Africa's coastline and the Middle East, were used by the Johnson and Nixon Administration as reasons for supporting the Junta. This is indeed tragic, since the Junta's actions have weakened the military capabilities and stability of the Greek armed forces and consequently NATO's strength in the area.

Let us now turn to the key question of political stability which the supporters of the 1967 coup—including the Junta itself—cite as one of the prime benefits of the current Greek dictatorship. Measuring political stability is not easy when there is martial law and press censorship, when no opposition is permitted, and when violence, although on the increase, is still sporadic. The Junta alleges that they stepped in to save the country from the danger of communism—yet even Greek Conservative leaders emphasize the fact that the danger of com-

munist was non-existent in Greece. They overthrew a conservative government.

Those who place too great an emphasis on the confused political situation in Greece as a justification for the Colonels' coup must remember that Greece fought a hard and dirty war against a foreign dominated and supported communist aggression at the peak of the "Cold War" in Europe. The victory, although assisted greatly by U.S. material help and advice, was finally wrested with Greek, and only Greek, blood. If Greece were able to win this victory under a parliamentary government with basic democratic institutions functioning it is inconceivable that the current military dictatorship is necessary to correct alleged political instability.

There are some who argue that there was no political stability prior to the Junta and that the present arrangement is at least an improvement. This argument is superficial. Its evaluation needs a detailed recording of the events and the over-all background that preceded the coup.

The fact is that political stability was damaged in the 1965-67 period by the intervention of the Greek Monarchy and its military establishment in the political process, thus perverting the institution of parliament and the mechanism of achieving political stability which had worked well until then. This was done by repeatedly denying the use of the best safety valve available to real democracies—free elections.

In 1963 and early 1964, the eight years of conservative (ERE) rule under Prime Minister Constantine Caramanlis, ended at the polls with the largest majority in modern times for the Center Union Party led by the late George Papandreu. The peaceful transfer of power was accomplished in the middle of the Cyprus crisis involving the threat of a shooting war with Turkey, following years of impressive aggregate growth and financial stability.

The victors (the Center Union) promised a better distribution of income, a more rapid modernization of Greece to enable it to enter the Common Market, and a reform of Greece's institutions which included a reduced role of the Crown in controlling the Armed Forces and the political processes. In short, a return to the intent of the constitution which would have the King "reign, not rule." In foreign policy, Greece was to become a fully equal member of the NATO Alliance, with a real voice in determining its own destiny. In pursuing these goals there is no question that the Papandreu Government committed a number of mistakes and lost many opportunities.

The Center Union Party was soon faced with the violent and growing opposition of the Crown, the Armed Forces leadership, and the economic oligarchy—an opposition which was enjoying the support of a large part of the official American establishment in Athens. The result was the overthrow of the elected government and a series of almost comic-opera attempts to make parliamentary rump-governments from mid-1965 through Christmas 1966. The agreement of the Conservative and Center Union Parties to hold elections in 1967 in order to restore real parliamentary government, and thus political stability, led directly to the Colonel's coup, only a few weeks before the elections were to be held under the conservative government of Mr. P. Canellopoulos—who, by the way, has spent a good part of the last four years under strict house arrest.

The Athens Colonels have since persecuted the leaders of all of Greece's major political groupings, i.e., the conservatives, the royalists, the Center Union—among whom were several of America's best friends—as well as the left and the extreme left. They have resorted to systematic torture of opponents, as was shown at the Strasbourg hearings of

the European Human Rights Commission and as has been publicly condemned by leaders of the British, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch and Italian governments, among others.

Many senior U.S. government officials, at the time of the Colonel's coup, argued that there was little the U.S. could have done because the coup took the U.S. by surprise and once it was successfully carried out the U.S. was faced with a *fait accompli*. This is untrue as the threat of dictatorship in Greece was spotted early and this threat greatly disturbed politically prominent Americans well before the actual coup took place.

As early as September 4, 1962, and again on October 13, 1963, Senator Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) in published interviews with this writer stated: "I am particularly concerned about the political developments in that country (Greece) and I do believe that careful investigation should be carried out on those accusations against our U.S. Embassy role in Athens in the last Greek elections." And in 1963 he said: "I am against the establishment of a dictator any place. That is why I strongly attacked the suggestion made that the establishment of a dictatorship in Greece would be an effective solution to Greece's problems. Oh, Lord, no. Greece is the most sophisticated, civilized country in the world. Our democratic way of government came from Greece. It would be tragic if Greece, where democracy itself was first founded, were to go back to a dictatorship. I can't even imagine the Greeks thinking about it."

And in the summer of 1966 a galaxy of highly placed and influential U.S. personalities, covering the spectrum of American political life, condemned publicly, very strongly and in no uncertain terms, the possibility of a military dictatorship of any kind in Greece, under whatever pretext. They also urged the Johnson Administration to take all necessary steps to ensure that such a catastrophic development for American interests will not occur.

Their names are: The Speaker of the House of Representatives J. McCormack, Senators V. Hartke, S. Thurmond, E. McCarthy, J. Javits, W. Morse and E. Kennedy; the Chairmen of the House Judiciary, Armed Services and Agriculture Committees, Congressmen E. Celler, M. Rivers and H. Cooley; the former Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral A. Burke, the former Supreme NATO Commander in Europe, General L. Norstad, and the Governor of California E. Brown.

They spelled out their views to me in question-answer format, taped, typed and in officially signed press interviews, which received wide coverage both in Europe and America. In short, there were numerous, early and authoritative warnings given to Washington, but to no avail.

Since 1947, America has played a decisive role in Greece, and, beginning in 1959 with Ambassador Ellis Briggs—now a strong advocate of the Athens Colonels—America has pursued disastrous, contradictory and vacillating policies—policies largely influenced by inter-service and personality rivalries. Should these policies be continued the communists will have an opportunity to organize and lead a liberation movement in Greece, for the first time since the late 1940's, with wide support and backing from non-communist elements in both Greece and Western Europe. Such a movement, even if led by communists, would ironically be formed under the banner of returning democracy to Greece. Thus, the tragic makings of a new Vietnam in Greece are all present.

It is very important for Americans to understand that there is widespread belief in non-communist Europe that Washington

was involved, either by commission or omission, in the April 21, 1967 coup and is responsible for keeping the Athens Colonels in power. While the substance of the more extreme forms of these theories has not been proven yet, the U.S. should realize that these beliefs have done much more than the criticism of the Vietnam War or the de Gaulle policies to undermine basic U.S. positions and interests in this vital area. This point, in many ways the most telling, is supported by such a personality as Mrs. Helen Vlachou-Loundras, well-known publisher of the most influential conservative Greek newspapers, who was forced into exile in London, when, after the Junta seized power, she bravely refused to publish under censorship. Mrs. Vlachou-Loundras spoke about the Greek regime in London on October 17, 1968:

"So the moment of truth is approaching, and the first brand new European dictatorship since the war is about to emerge, born of The Pentagon by the CIA, reared by NATO, surrounded by dotting businessmen. It is no use criticizing the Americans, divided as they are between those who would like to chase the junta but cannot do it, and those who can and will not." In this connection it is very significant that the Johnson Administration in December 1967 let down, in a shameful, unbelievable and humiliating way, even the ultra-conservative Greek monarchy which, since the Truman doctrine of 1947, has been a basic element of U.S. foreign policy towards Greece. This happened when King Constantine finally decided to overthrow the Junta in his armed but ill-fated attempt.

That is why I strongly believe that an over-all and thorough congressional investigation of the U.S. role vis-a-vis Greece would not only be completely justified but also urgently advisable if the blunders of the past are not to be repeated and a new "Vietnam" is to be avoided.

The European reaction to the Greek coup can be gleaned in the following statements: West German Deputy, Klaus Schultz, said, "It was 36 years ago that Hitler took power in my country. And he did it under conditions far more democratic than those imposed by the Greek colonels." British Deputy Robert Edwards, during the debate whether to expel Greece from the Council of Europe for violating the 18-nation organization's statutes on human rights, said: "I am amazed at some of these speeches. We heard them between the wars—Franco was going to hold elections. Hitler was no dictator and Mussolini made the trains run on time."

In a futile attempt to improve their international image, to buy desperately needed time and to overcome the stubborn refusal of Greeks of prestige and ability to work for the regime, the Junta announced a referendum on a new constitution in September 1968. This document, which received the private blessing of some American officials, in fact makes the Armed Forces the sole final source of power, the guardian of the status quo and the dispenser of civil liberties in Greece. Thus the constitution in effect gives the wolves the responsibility for guarding the lamb by giving the Athens Junta full power to "protect" the liberties they had already seized from the Greek people.

The subsequent referendum on the Colonels' constitution, carried out under conditions of martial law, resulted in a Soviet-style vote of 92.2%. The really free sentiments of the Greeks became manifest a few weeks later when over 300,000 people in Athens spontaneously demonstrated against the regime and for democracy on the occasion of the funeral for George Papandreou, the last elected Prime Minister.

Let us turn now to the economic stability that allegedly the junta brought to Greece.

Under democracy the Greek economy had achieved one of the highest rates of economic

growth in the world together with monetary equilibrium. Greece was officially and repeatedly cited as one of the two or three countries, which made the best possible use of American economic aid and achieved a spectacular recovery from the ravages of war. Sustained sharp increases in domestic saving, coupled with massive inflow of foreign long-term development capital, allowed for an accelerated capital formation and expansion of the industrial basis of the economy. But instead of burdening you with details I may simply refer to assessment of the free Greek economy by the Nobel prize winner Professor Paul A. Samuelson on May 22, 1967 in Newsweek.

In short, the junta inherited a sound and rapidly growing economy the momentum of which somehow survived the Colonels although there are increasing signs of deceleration and strain. It, indeed, takes some time to undo a good thing! . . . Reaping the benefits from the successful development efforts under parliamentary governments the junta in vain strived to buy popular support through measures of utter financial irresponsibility.

For example, a massive giveaway took place when all farm debts amounting to some \$280 million to the formerly U.S.-financed Agricultural Bank were written off. This not only penalized farmers who had paid their debts but probably convinced all farmers, who constitute some 45% of the total population, that there is no point in paying future loans. What is perhaps worse is that the immense resources distributed in this way have not been directed towards raising farm productivity and bringing about the long needed structural reform of Greek agriculture.

The Government made numerous appeals to attract foreign capital. Its most publicized achievement for political, propaganda and lobbying reasons, was the signing of a lucrative contract with Litton Industries (a few weeks after coming to power) which guaranteed the latter a handsome annual fee as well as a commission on all investments it induced to come to Crete and the Western Peloponnesus. It is of interest to note that Litton withdrew its proposals prior to the coup, due to overwhelming parliamentary opposition. Litton produced some studies and very small investments coming mainly from the Litton group companies. It would seem that even their corporate name has not been sufficient to overcome the doubts of those who might have put their money in Greece. That is why this contract was terminated.

Although most foreign investors found pre-Junta Greece a favorable spot for private enterprise, a difficulty did arise in the case of the Esso-Pappas refining, petrochemical and steel complex. This contract was strongly criticized by the Center Union before it came to power and was renegotiated to Greece's advantage while they were in power. Oddly enough, Thomas Pappas of Boston has since then managed to avoid, with Junta approval, most of the less profitable investments he was supposed to undertake and he has emerged as one of the most influential and vocal backers of the Junta in the U.S.

Much has been made of an agreement of the Junta with Onassis to establish a new refinery, aluminum plant and tourist investments, reportedly totaling some \$600 million. It is significant that the Onassis effort to build the alumina-aluminum plant in partnership with the U.S. Reynolds Metals Company has fallen through. On April 15, 1971 the Junta publicly and strongly hinted that the agreement with Onassis is likely to be cancelled while Onassis has requested international arbitration.

By contrast to the massive net inflow of capital from abroad for investment purposes in pre-Junta Greece, today this type of capital inflow is equal to zero on a net basis. It is the first time since the end of World War

II that Greece has such a heavy short-term debt burden.

The overindebtedness created for the economy by the large amounts of short-term borrowing abroad in order to conceal the impending balance of payments crisis may well lead to external insolvency in the next few years.

In summary, instead of bringing about stable economic growth the Junta has presided over a tragic misuse and waste of national resources, in an attempt to buy acceptance and some semblance of legitimacy. The resulting "gold rush" to extract favorable concessions from the Athens Colonels in return for supporting their dictatorship has resulted in the sacrifice of important Greek economic resources and interests which no parliamentary government could have undertaken and remain in office.

The political anomaly of a new post-war dictatorship in present day non-communist Europe has led to a suspension of some \$55 million of European Investment Bank loans to Greece under the Treaty of Association with the Common Market. The long-run future of Greece's association with the Common Market, the first of its kind, is in fact in doubt. As Greece's chief Common Market negotiator John Pezmatzoglou, then Deputy Governor of the Central Bank, said in a 1966 Bank of Greece message, the economic union of Greece with the EEC was based on the mutually agreed, basic objective of an ultimate political union of Greece with its European partners.

Since then the Governor of the Central Bank, Professor X. Zolotas, an internationally respected central banker, and the equally prominent Professor J. Pezmatzoglou have resigned in protest over the Junta and its policies. In fact, the great bulk of Greece's trained professionals have refused to participate in the Government, a phenomenon which has seriously hindered efforts at rational economic policy formulation and implementation.

I believe that it is imperative for the Nixon Administration, which is in the advantageous position of having no responsibility for the events of April 21, 1967 and December 13, 1967 to conduct a basic and urgent review of U.S. policy toward Greece on the following grounds:

A. The assumption that the current military regime in Athens has or can bring stability is incorrect.

B. The Junta has greatly weakened Greece's military capability and political ability to fulfill its NATO commitments.

C. The situation in Greece is potentially dangerous. If present policies are continued, a new Vietnam could result.

D. The widespread belief in Europe that the U.S. is responsible for the coup and for keeping the Colonels in power is seriously damaging to America's position in Europe.

E. The existence of a military dictatorship in Greece is morally and politically repugnant especially to the extent that it appears that the United States is supporting this regime.

In considering U.S. policy towards Greece I would like here to make several points directed primarily to American conservatives. It has been a tragedy that many American opinions and actions concerning Greece have been viewed as a political issue between conservatives and liberals. As a result of the opposition to the Greek Junta by many prominent American liberals, all too many American conservatives have not realized the true nature and intent of the current Greek regime. While Greek political liberals have suffered as a result of the coup, as many Greek conservatives with well-known anti-communist credentials have been suppressed, imprisoned, and driven into exile by the Junta. In fact, many of the most severe critics of the coup and the current regime could be described as conservatives.

In the light of the Athens Colonels' past and continued repression of anti-communist Greek conservatives and the often-forgotten fact that the Colonels seized power from a conservative government, I would ask some American conservatives who have either largely remained neutral or have supported the current Greek regime to reconsider their positions. For the situation in Greece cannot be described or understood along American political lines. In this case both American liberals and conservatives, perhaps for different but compatible reasons, should oppose the authoritarian dictatorship imposed on the people of Greece by a small group of colonels in Athens.

Thus, in reviewing U.S. policy towards Greece I would suggest that the following specific changes in the policies inherited by the Nixon Administration would be both in the interest of the United States and the Greek people:

1. A clear-cut public condemnation of the Greek Junta by the Nixon Administration and real efforts of disassociation from the Johnson Administration policies, attitudes and methods used in dealing with Greece.
2. Terminate immediately and completely all U.S. military aid to the Athens regime and reverse the disastrous decision taken on September 22, 1970 to resume delivery of major U.S. military equipment to the Athens Colonels. Such a decision gave in effect official public U.S. government approval to the Athens military dictatorship.
3. Take the initiative for joint NATO action against the Junta by exercising maximum diplomatic, economic and military aid pressure, on a well-coordinated basis, in behalf of the Atlantic Alliance. Such an American initiative will take options away from Moscow policy-makers and will build up U.S. influence in NATO and among the European liberals, intellectuals and youth. Such a U.S. initiative would have worldwide favorable repercussions and Washington will be in a better position to exploit existing turmoil among Moscow's Eastern European communist satellites, non-satellites and the communist parties in non-communist Europe.
4. Give full U.S. support to the efforts of the Common Market and the Council of Europe to isolate morally, politically and economically the Athens Colonels.
5. Find appropriate ways and means to support actively and effectively all anti-junta, anti-communist elements who represent the vast majority of the Greek people.
6. Strong efforts should be made to dispel the belief of U.S. involvement and support of the Greek Junta in Greece and the rest of Europe, including the use of the Voice of America. Such efforts are essential to forestall violent anti-American backlash in Greece, which otherwise is a virtual certainty.

In evaluating the merits of the above basic recommendations it is important to understand the following points:

A. All the above peaceful measures are sufficient if used effectively, in my opinion, to overthrow the Greek dictatorship without bloodshed, and without risking American lives, as you do in Vietnam today, or you did in Korea, Lebanon and in the Dominican Republic. The Nixon Administration must have learned some very valuable lessons with the events in Pakistan, the crisis in Peru and the negotiations over the Spanish bases. These events proved the grave risks inherent in dealing with anti-communist military dictatorships and should help dispel the myth that such regimes serve effectively the U.S. interests.

B. If the Junta is overthrown by these peaceful measures proposed to the Nixon Administration, Washington will be in a much better position to deal also with the Middle East crisis, having the full support and cooperation of the liberated (with American

support) Greek people, and the U.S. and NATO bases presently in Greece will not any longer be surrounded, as is the case today, by an increasingly hostile population, which makes their value presently, in the case of emergency, at least doubtful.

C. More than 100,000 hard-core Greek communists live in various parts of the Eastern European communist world, including the thousands of young children abducted by the retreating Greek communist guerrilla forces in 1949. These children are now completely trained militarily and indoctrinated. Greece has very extended and rugged mountain frontiers with her northern communist neighbors. These facts may represent, at a given moment, an ace in the hands of Moscow and Peking.

D. Greece's unique geographical position places her athwart the crossroads of Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. The Middle East and Africa are two areas where the Greeks for centuries have maintained the closest ties and interests. On the northern borders of Greece is a kaleidoscope of three different kinds of communism: the Peking style in Albania (where hundreds of Chinese advisors are stationed in this first Chinese beachhead in Europe), the Moscow style in Bulgaria, and the Tito style in Yugoslavia. This fact itself makes Greece a very good western "window," an ideal listening and influence post for the Southeastern European area. But it also makes Greece far more exposed to external communist and Slavichauvinistic pressures now greatly complicated by the current Sino-Soviet confrontation.

E. The U.S. record over the last decade clearly shows a very benign attitude toward right-wing military coups while registering great alarm over left-wing ones. The so-called Schwartz doctrine (State Department senior official and former top Pentagon authority on international security affairs) makes clear the U.S. will not interfere with extra-constitutional, totalitarian rule by anti-communist governments. This double standard justified accusations all over the world and, naturally, Greece.

We were all dismayed at the ruthless crushing with Soviet military power of the modest liberal reforms which were taking place in Czechoslovakia. No satellite could be allowed to sway that far from orthodoxy and control in the minds of Warsaw Pact hard liners. Moscow paid a heavy price in terms of world condemnation and the discrediting of hard-core Czech communists. To many, the parallel of the U.S. position in Greece is disquieting. And Moscow's diplomats and propagandists are counter-attacking criticism aimed at their Czechoslovakian action by pointing to the U.S. role in Greece since April 1967. For the coup against the prospect of a liberal but pro-NATO government was carried out by people closely connected with the U.S. military, intelligence and financial complex, with U.S. weapons and using a top-secret emergency NATO plan. All in the name of anti-communism, the preservation of the orthodoxy of Greece in the Western Alliance and protecting the Monarchy—which the Junta forced into exile eight months later. Moscow intervened with Soviet troops to crush what she considered dangerous Czechoslovak liberalization tendencies.

While I do not believe that the use of U.S. troops to protect the freedom of the Greek people was, or is, necessary, it is a tragedy that the Johnson and Nixon Administrations played the role of Pontius Pilatus while U.S.-supplied tanks were used to crush Greek democracy even though ample warnings about the impending coup existed. That the Johnson and Nixon Administrations, on many occasions, has given the impression of supporting the dictatorship of the Athens Colonels, is doubly disquieting, considering that the freedom of the Greek people was guaranteed by NATO

which Greece freely joined as a free nation in 1952.

In the process the U.S.'s best friends were systematically destroyed. In the end the Greeks will force their oppressors out of power. The process could be bloody and might well involve the U.S. in another Vietnam-type situation. It is, therefore, legitimate to ask why long-term U.S. interests are being sacrificed in Greece for the sake of an ephemeral appearance of security and stability and whether it is wise to continue along this road to disaster much longer.

#### THE POTENTIALLY HARMFUL EFFECTS OF FORCED BUSING

### HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a letter from a Virginia legislator who represents my hometown of Newport News in the Senate of the Commonwealth, the Honorable Herbert H. Bateman. Senator Bateman is extremely concerned over the situation which has developed in our public school systems as a result of forced busing of schoolchildren in order to achieve a racial balance. His cogent presentation of the potentially harmful effects of this critical situation on all our citizenry, I feel, should be shared with each of my colleagues. Therefore, I include his remarks in the RECORD at this point:

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA,

August 10, 1971.

To the Honorable Members of the Congress of the United States:

As a private citizen and as a member of the Senate of Virginia I have supported the integration of the public schools and all other public institutions. Denial of any right or privilege of citizenship on account of race is not defensible on legal or moral grounds. The concern which induces this letter is not, therefore, motivated by any notion that segregation of the races is valid or proper, or that integration of our society is improper or undesirable.

I am alarmed at what is happening to our nation and am gravely concerned at the realistic prospect that our representative system of government is in the process of being destroyed, as a result of the means by which the courts are seeking to accomplish a legitimate objective. Specifically, I am referring to federal court decisions requiring massive bussing of school children to accomplish some magic statistical norm based upon the ratio of black to white population in a community.

Integration of public schools is an important and legitimate objective, but it is not the only objective of our society, or the only or paramount constitutional right of American citizenship. To accomplish integration at any and all costs, as the federal courts are insisting, is self-defeating as a social policy and abusive of other constitutional rights.

Surely requiring untold thousands of children of both races to be transported long hours through congested traffic arteries for many miles to schools remote from their homes is not in the best interest of young children. The inconvenience, fatigue, lack of normal recreational time after school and necessity of arising at early hours are incompatible with the schedule and routine which children should maintain. What the courts are requiring obviates the normal opportuni-

tives of public school students to participate in leadership, character, cultural and physical development programs and activities which have characterized the public school system. This deprivation is not theoretical, it is a logistical reality.

White parents are virtually unanimous in their opposition to massive bussing as an instrument for integrating public schools. Black parents in substantial numbers, and I believe in the majority of instances, likewise object. In several Virginia cities compulsory bussing has occasioned what is described as "white flight" from the center cities to suburban areas, leaving less integrated public schools, and cities without a tax base with which to continue to provide even existing levels of financial support for public education and social services. As a result of past deprivation and segregation black children need more not less in the quality of education and in social services.

In my city the physical well being of children, the unusual geography and demography of the city, the financial burden and the deep, sincere and virtually unanimous opposition of parents have been consistently ignored in deference to racial norms for every public school. The City of Newport News is over twenty miles long and at some points only three miles wide. A black population once scattered throughout the city has in the last twenty years become increasingly concentrated in the southerly portion of the city. Despite the hardship on children, their parents, and the undue burden on the taxpayer, we are told children must be bussed from the southern extremity of the city to the northern extremity and vice-versa so racial norms can be achieved.

What is being required in my city and in many others in its practical and real implications is irrational. It can and has been said that in the past black children were bussed past nearer public schools to more remote points under a policy of segregation of the races. Without reservation or hesitation I agree that what was imposed upon black members of our society was wrong, immoral and was properly declared unconstitutional. But two wrongs do not make a right. The sins of parents and grandparents should not and cannot be expiated by placing an unconscionable burden on children of either or both races.

Most of you who serve in the Congress are not from the south and many of you represent areas where there is no problem arising from past or present segregation of the races because your constituents are almost all of one race. Many others of your numbers are from large metropolitan areas where there are many black citizens who lead a more segregated existence than black citizens of the south. Recent studies indicate conclusively that the most racially segregated citizens of the United States reside outside the south. Such being the fact, how long can the courts or you in the Congress continue to pursue policies which deal with segregated minorities differently in one part of the country than in another? Even if you agree with me that an integrated society is valid and desirable, would you condone the mass transporting of small children long distances and long hours to and from public school to achieve integration according to arbitrary statistical norms? I don't believe you would and if you did the parents who are your constituents would not continue to support your re-election at the expense and discomfort of their children.

As a legislator and feeling deeply that our representative system of government is of paramount importance, I want you to be aware of the peril that faces our system of government. This peril arises from the broad based and increasingly deep rooted feeling among the body politic that the system of government we have known has broken down and is no longer worthy of their confidence. This wide spread and strong dis-

affection is in large measure due to the fact that mass bussing of school children is almost unanimously abhorred by the people of whom it is required, yet the only result of their opposition is additional court decreed bussing of their children. A political system based upon representative government by consent of the governed cannot long endure where those who consent to being governed become convinced that their government is acting contrary to their clearly expressed desires. Especially is this true when the governmentally imposed conduct they abhor directly affects their children.

Members of the Congress, I write you out of the depth of my concern and as the instrumentality of our government which can preserve our system of government while protecting the legitimate objective of a fair, an equal and an effectively integrated public school system and society. Our federal court system through a legitimate concern has unfortunately exceeded the bounds of reason. The federal judiciary has unknowingly contributed to hostility and resentment on the part of citizens, which is the greatest deterrent to an integrated society, and to the resolution of the tragic problem that racial discrimination has fostered.

You of the Congress can and should address yourself to initiating an amendment to our constitution establishing a valid, responsible, national educational policy which would recognize the efficacy of integrated schools while preserving the concept of the neighborhood school. One approach would be to constitutionally guarantee the right of a parent to have his child attend the nearest available public school provided in their city or county, or such other public school of the parent's choice in which his child would be of the minority race. By this means the neighborhood school concept would be preserved, yet the right to attend integrated schools under any circumstances anywhere in the country would be extended and protected. This is but one approach. I am sure there are others.

Respectfully and prayerfully I urge you to reflect on this critical matter. If you do I believe you will support efforts to resolve these grave problems by initiating a well conceived amendment to the constitution of the United States. If you do not exert the legitimate prerogative and the high responsibility of the legislative branch of our federal government, I tremble at the fate which will befall our system of government and our nation. An increasingly doubtful and impatient citizenry await your action.

Sincerely,

HERBERT H. BATEMAN.

#### LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH A MID-DECADE CENSUS

**HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN**

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the 90th Congress the House passed legislation to establish a mid-decade census commencing in 1975. I was a sponsor of that legislation which, unfortunately, never won approval in the other body. Today I am submitting a proposal like the one the House passed in the 90th Congress.

When the census was conceived, it was adequate for the Nation's needs. But today, with a highly mobile and fast-growing population, it simply is not adequate. Typically, it is badly in error 5 years after it is taken.

This is particularly harmful in States which are gaining population more

rapidly than the national average. The rapid growth of my own district, the Second District of Colorado, is a stunning example of this situation. According to the 1960 census, there were 438,974 persons, a number slightly above the national average for congressional district populations. However, by the 1970 census, the second district, which consists of six counties encompassing the suburbs of Denver, showed a population of 718,942. This makes the district the largest and well over the national average.

Because of our shifting and changing population, because of the movement of people from the great core cities to the suburban cities and unincorporated areas and from the rural areas to the metropolitan areas, we need a mid-decade census.

Information which can be supplied only by a census is needed to fairly administer both State and Federal Government programs. The same information can be equally important to private industry in developing new technology and marketing data.

At the present time, Mr. Speaker, more and more Federal assistance programs are being geared toward lending greater support to more populous areas. For these programs to succeed, it is imperative that the population statistics used by government agencies be as accurate as possible. The American people are becoming even more mobile. One out of every five Americans moves each year. Statistically, that means all of the people will change their residence during a 5-year period. If government is to assist people, it must have a fairly accurate notion of where the people are.

When revenue sharing becomes a reality, and I am hopeful that that will not be too far into the future, a quinquennial census will be even more necessary. When preliminary estimates of the distribution of general revenue sharing were released earlier in the year, I was shocked to discover that three cities in my district, with populations between 28,000 and 93,000, were not listed. The three cities had been incorporated during the decade of the sixties, and as far as the Federal Government was concerned, they did not exist yet.

The Census and Statistics Subcommittee of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee has already held extensive hearings on the need for a mid-decade census. In introducing legislation today, Mr. Speaker, I wish to advise the distinguished members of the subcommittee of my appreciation for the work they have already done, and to urge them to report a bill at an early date so that the first mid-decade census can be taken in 1975.

"OFF LIMITS" FOR HEAVY  
INDUSTRY

**HON. FRANK M. CLARK**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, I believe that the following article from the Evening

Bulletin of July 6, 1971, will be of interest to the Members of Congress:

[From the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, July 6, 1971]

**"OFF LIMITS" FOR HEAVY INDUSTRY**  
(By Douglas Bedell)

Delaware's Governor Russell W. Peterson landed in the front ranks of the ecology movement last week.

In signing new coastal zoning bill, the governor pulled in the welcome mat from heavy industry on Delaware's side of the Delaware Bay.

For a former research director of the DuPont Co., it was an impressive performance. The governor closed the door, specifically, to steel mills, chemical plants, paper mills and similar processing industries. Also banned are any deepwater shipping terminals in the bay.

The new zoning law has wide public support in Delaware and among conservationists nationally. Nonetheless, its essential precept—that industry and ecology don't mix—is a troubling one.

The law gives the impression that Delaware considers itself something of a coastal island, that it can chart its future without much thought to its location in the East Coast urban complex.

**BUSINESS HARBOR**

Certain types of industrial activity, the law states, simply aren't compatible with maintaining Delaware as a highly livable state. There is no chance, it decrees, of the new supertankers coexisting with Delaware's beaches and marshes.

Delaware might be a snug harbor for corporate headquarters. Because of its favorable tax laws, hundreds of national corporations have Wilmington or Dover as their addresses of record.

But when it comes to permitting new industrial plants in the state, or supertankers in Delaware Bay, that's something else again.

Delaware has no objection to assembly plants without smokestacks, or to research and distribution centers with relatively few employees.

But Governor Peterson sees the choices facing his state as keeping heavy industry out or having Delaware's shoreline develop in "The Marcus Hook-to-Philadelphia pattern" of grimy refineries and factories placed next door to each other.

This, though, was the pattern of another era. No one is proposing to line the Delaware Bay with steel mills, nor should Delaware let any such disaster happen.

Increasingly these days, industry is recognizing that it no longer has a license to pollute air and water. If a state as small in area as Delaware doesn't feel it can hold industry to enlightenment standards, or accommodate varying levels of development in an orderly way, how are larger neighboring states to be encouraged to do any better?

Delaware, moreover, cannot ignore some of the economic forces its location exposes it to.

**OIL COSTS**

The Delaware Bay is a priceless recreation resource. But it is also a gateway to New York, Philadelphia and Washington, some of the largest concentrations of population in the country.

The people who live in these areas have needs beyond access to sandy beaches and unblighted seascapes, as important as these are.

Take the issue of supertankers being permitted to unload in the bay.

The East Coast cities consume tremendous quantities of energy. They depend on assured supplies of fuel oil at low cost. The economics of the new tankers are such that they will be carrying an increasing percentage of the world's oil. Trading nations will

either have to admit them or pay more for their oil.

**THE BEACHES**

As it happens, Delaware Bay has the only deepwater channel south of Machiasport, Maine. Without the bay as a tanker port, two things can happen:

The East Coast will be short on low cost oil. Or the bigger tankers will be forced to offload at sea, a more hazardous procedure than bringing them into the bay for unloading.

Keeping supertankers out of Delaware Bay won't keep smaller tankers from coming up the Delaware River to the Philadelphia-South Jersey refinery complex. It will only increase shipping movements in the bay, with greater risk to Delaware's beaches.

With the big tankers, oil could be moved upriver in pipelines, and tanker traffic in the bay reduced.

**IRON AND COAL**

The point in the bay at which oil companies want to build a transfer point is five miles off the Delaware coast. Even if it was expanded to handle iron ore and coal, it would hardly be visible from the shore.

While the possibility of an accident can never be excluded, insurance costs alone require that the big tankers be operated as safely as possible.

What happens on shore would be up to Delaware. It doesn't follow that refineries and factories would spring up around the offshore terminal if the state didn't want them to.

Further consideration of such issues could persuade Delaware that economics and ecology aren't so antagonistic after all.

**JUDGE MIZE—A RARE MAN**

**HON. WALTER FLOWERS**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. FLOWERS. Mr. Speaker, on August 19, Judge Henry H. Mize, a great man and native of my home community, was taken from among us by death. During his 59 years he participated in many worthwhile endeavors—practically everything that is good in our society. "Bene," as he was affectionately known to all, served his family, his community, his State, and his Nation with limitless devotion. Everything he did—he did to perfection, and he deserved and enjoyed the admiration and respect of his fellow man. He will be greatly missed by all who knew him for his life was the essence of citizenship.

In tribute to the memory of an old and dear friend, I insert the following articles from our hometown newspapers in the RECORD at this point:

**HENRY H. "BENE" MIZE**

Henry H. (Bene) Mize, who died here last week at 59, was a rare man. Tuscaloosa was blessed by his life. We can ill afford to lose him now.

Bene Mize was a loving husband and father, churchman, jurist, teacher, soldier and stalwart citizen. But he was more than all of these. In him there was a sturdiness of character and loftiness of purpose that served as an example to us all.

His earnestness, sincerity and conscientiousness marked Bene Mize as a tower of strength. Whatever he did, he did well. He was a superior man in every way. What he set out to do, he devoted his full intellect and energy to achieve.

As circuit judge since 1966, Bene Mize exhibited a diligence and fairness which made him one of this state's and nation's outstanding jurists. He loved the law and as a practicing attorney and later as judge of circuit court, he served the law faithfully and with great wisdom.

As a student at the University of Alabama, this native of Tuscaloosa was exemplary. He was a Phi Beta Kappa and achieved the highest three-year average in his class. His keen intelligence early attracted attention. As many young men did, he went off to war and served with brilliance and dedication, later retiring from the Army Reserve as a colonel.

Tuscaloosa County knew and loved Bene Mize. He went to the State Senate to represent his home county from 1947 to 1951 and in the Alabama Legislature he earned statewide recognition for the qualities which made him a favorite here.

In the State Senate Bene Mize was identified with every worthwhile movement for the betterment of the state. He took his citizenship seriously and, being state senator from one of Alabama's leading counties, it was only natural for him to set the highest example of unselfish public service.

Bene Mize was marked early in life for great things. He was a friend and inspiration to many. His kind too seldom come our way. We give him up with sorrow, realizing full well that he was a blessing for county and state for which we should be eternally thankful.

**BENE MIZE SERVED COMMUNITY WELL**

Gentleman and solid citizen. Those words describe Judge Henry H. (Bene) Mize whose death Friday was a shock to this community.

Judge Mize was a gentleman—and a gentle man. His manner was always one of dignity. He was a kind, friendly and gracious person who accomplished much during his lifetime. His wise counsel, his generous nature and his deep and abiding interest in many worthwhile community endeavors will be sorely missed.

Few men have been called to serve in as many leadership capacities as was Judge Mize. And few have a record of accomplishment his equal.

A native of this city, Judge Mize was a scholar. At the University of Alabama he received the bachelor, master's and LL.B. degrees. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, scholastic honorary fraternity, and graduated from Law School with the highest average in his class.

He served with distinction in the National Guard and the Army in World War II. He continued his service in the Reserve and at the time of his retirement in 1963 had served his country for 33 years.

In his chosen profession, Judge Mize was a leader. He served as president of the Tuscaloosa Bar Association. He was a past president of the Alabama Association of Circuit Judges.

A state senator from this county he was instrumental in getting legislation adopted that created the Druid City Hospital board of trustees. Later he was a member of that board during a period of great growth for the hospital.

Judge Mize served on the city Board of Education, was chairman of the Tuscaloosa County Board of Pensions and Security. He was a charter member and past president of the Tuscaloosa Lions Club which honored him with the Lion of the Year citation in 1960.

He was a lifelong member of the First Baptist Church, served it in a number of capacities and was secretary of the church's Foundation at the time of his death.

He was devoted to his family. A kind, loving and generous father, his dedication to his wife, children and mother was not distracted by his professional or community responsibilities.

Bene Mize served his native community well. It is a better place because of his great interest and dedicated work. His loss will be felt keenly by a wide range of friends and co-workers.

#### COORDINATION OF DRUG ABUSE PROGRAMS

### HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, there has been an almost total failure through the years to establish a high-priority comprehensive national program to meet the problem of drug abuse. It is a serious problem on a domestic level as well as an international level; yet the programs to deal with the problem are unrelated, uncoordinated, inconsistent and, consequently, highly inadequate.

In the State of Minnesota, as everywhere else, the problem is becoming increasingly serious and hard to deal with. In Hennepin County alone, the arrests for use and possession of drugs have better than doubled in the past 2 years, and estimates are that there are 25 times as many users as there are people arrested. There were five times as many overdose deaths last year as the year before, and there were half as many in the first 2 months of this year as there were in all of 1970.

Meanwhile, the users and sellers of these drugs have become more vicious and dangerous; most are found to have loaded guns in their possession and there has been an increase in "rip-offs"—addicts robbing each other.

Estimates range from \$2 to \$100 million as the amount of goods stolen to support heroin addicts in Greater Minneapolis.

We are fortunate to have many private and State agencies, groups, and clinics, including two methadone treatment centers, whose purpose is to aid and rehabilitate addicts. Unfortunately, very few of these groups have been, or are being, assisted by any Federal programs at all. Most would like some Federal aid and have been unable to get it. Furthermore, those that have Federal aid feel it to be highly inadequate.

This problem cannot be allowed to grow greater. We need a program to establish means of better law enforcement, research techniques and facilities to aid the addicts in the rehabilitation process, and preventative education procedures, on a domestic level.

On the international level, we need a program to effectively discontinue the illegal importation of opium derivatives into this country.

My bill, H.R. 7120, which is currently pending before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, seeks to establish an Office of Drug Abuse Control in the Executive Office of the President, to which a Director would be appointed. The Director would prepare a comprehensive program for the control of drug abuse.

This program would include, among other things, the following:

1. Expanded research efforts to:
  - (a) create a synthetic analgesic to replace opium and its derivatives in medical use;
  - (b) develop and disseminate a long-lasting blocking or antagonistic drug for the treatment of drug addiction; and
  - (c) develop a detoxification agent to ease the physical effects of withdrawal from heroin addiction.
2. Development of a large-scale national program of methadone maintenance.
3. Development of programs for the control of the production and distribution of psychotropic substances.
4. Development and evaluation of the drug abuse prevention education programs.
5. An international program under which the United States would offer advanced technical assistance and effective cooperation with international institutions to:
  - (a) successfully develop and implement crop diversification programs in opium-producing countries;
  - (b) enable these countries to offer alternative employment opportunities to persons involved in the drug business; and
  - (c) develop methods of controlling the international traffic in drugs that are abused.

The most important aspect of the proposal is that the present Federal programs, which are widely scattered in many departments, and the present funds, which are also widely scattered, will be coordinated under the Office of Drug Abuse Control. I feel the present noncoordination has been one of the chief causes for overlapping of the programs, uncooperation, and even competition, between the programs and, simply, the appalling ineffectiveness of the programs.

My bill could have the effect of establishing an effective means to end drug abuse; namely, it would establish an effective organizational framework.

#### NEEDED: U.S. POLICY ON SCHOOL BUSING

### HON. RICHARD H. FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, to say that justice and the American people have been confused and trespassed against by recent court busing decisions is not a statement made lightly. It is, however, a statement of truth and fact.

In a Sunday, September 5, Nashville Tennessean special report, staff writer Jim Squires outlined the busing truths, facts, and history. I include his article in the RECORD:

#### NEEDED: U.S. POLICY ON SCHOOL BUSING (By Jim Squires)

In 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court made school desegregation law especially for the South, and the South wept alone. This year the court made more desegregation laws for the South, and the whole nation is crying.

The court's decision to bus school children, coming last April in a Charlotte, N.C., case, was aimed mainly at wiping out the

last vestiges of dual school system operation in the South. It affected directly about 70 southern districts.

Now, with some schools open and the rest to begin this week, the busing issue envelops more than 300,000 students in scores of cities North and South.

Polls show at least 78% of all Americans regardless of color or where they live oppose busing. Legislative bodies from city councils to the U.S. House of Representatives have passed meaningless laws against it.

#### CONFUSION BLAMED

At the core of this din of protest is the simple proposition that busing moves children from schools near their homes to schools far away and parents just don't like it.

But equally responsible for the wave of resistance is that neither the courts nor the national administration have shown any consistency on the question.

In 1969 the Nixon administration had virtually no school integration policy. Instead it was making only strained attempts to distinguish between de jure segregation of the South—that fostered by the deliberate and lawful segregation policies of the past—and the de facto segregation of the North, such as that resulting from housing patterns.

HEW bureaucrats were trying to negotiate voluntary desegregation plans in many stubborn southern districts. But then the Justice Department abruptly went into court seeking delays in court-ordered school integration in slow-moving Mississippi. Immediately about one-third of the districts negotiating with HEW reneged.

#### HEAVY CRITICISM

Responding to heavy criticism by civil rights advocates, the administration reversed itself in 1970 and began moving quickly toward speeding school desegregation. Many school districts were sued and HEW had cut off federal funds to others.

But busing was not then an issue. The President expressed his opposition to it. School systems were not being asked to bus, either by the courts or HEW.

Then, in February 1970, Federal District Judge James B. McMillan ordered the massive busing of 13,000 more students in Charlotte, N.C., to assure an approximate ratio of 71% white and 29% black in each school. In June the Justice Department asked the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals to weaken McMillan's decision outlawing such "unreasonable factors" as "excessive busing." The appeals court overturned McMillan and again the fear of busing subsided.

#### INVOLVED IN CASE

As that case and three others traveled to the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Warren Burger gave notice as to what might follow by refusing to stay an integration order in Richmond, Va. schools. A desegregation plan requiring the busing of 13,000 was adopted in that city. The Justice Department had also been involved in that case on the side of an HEW plan which would have provided no busing and left eight all-black schools in Richmond.

Then came the U.S. Supreme Court ruling upholding Judge McMillan in the Charlotte case. In a decision written by Chief Justice Warren Burger, Nixon's own appointee, the court carefully avoided requiring the use of busing but left no doubt busing was constitutional as a means of dismantling dual school systems of the South. Burger upheld enough busing to place white majorities in every Charlotte school and threw out an HEW-drawn plan for Mobile which preserved neighborhood schools and called for little busing.

#### ANNOUNCE DEADLINE

At the same time the court was considerably less clear on how much busing would be tolerated: "No rigid guidelines as to student

transportation can be given application to the infinite variety of problems presented in thousands of situations."

A month later the Nixon administration announced a fall deadline for Southern cities to comply with the decision. The government moved first in Austin, Tex., drawing with considerable attention what would be a prototype plan for all southern districts. Though the President may never have viewed it personally, the final version went to the White House where it was approved by Edward L. Morgan, education deputy to presidential assistant John Ehrlichman, and Leonard Garment, special consultant to the President on civil rights issues.

HEW Secretary Elliot L. Richardson forwarded it May 15 to U.S. Dist. Judge Jack Roberts, who had requested administration guidance.

The HEW plan urged a racial balance for each Austin school—65% Anglo-Saxon, 20% Mexican-American and 15% black. It would have required the busing of 85% of the pupils and 200 new school buses. In a letter to the Austin school board on May 20, HEW Secretary Richardson said he felt busing was the best means of accomplishing desegregation there.

Meanwhile, HEW was busy preparing plans for other southern school districts, including Nashville, Corpus Christi and Columbia, S.C. Action in these four cases goes a long way toward explaining the legal confusion over busing.

The HEW plan for Nashville is well-known. It required the busing of 15,000 students.

The Corpus Christi plan was identical in philosophy with that of Austin and Nashville, requiring the busing of 15,000 of the city's 46,000 students. Reportedly the Nashville and Corpus Christi plans were approved in the same meeting by top-level officials of Justice and HEW.

#### PLAN LEAVES 7

HEW's plan for Columbia, S.C., where Nixon must deal with Sen. Strom Thurmond, was somewhat different. While requiring some busing, the plan leaves seven all-black schools. A plan that left several all-black schools in Nashville was discarded within HEW before the top level officials ever saw it.

The apparent inconsistency with which four separate courts treated these plans is astonishing.

The Columbia plan was accepted by a South Carolina federal judge virtually intact. In Nashville, Judge L. Clure Morton followed the HEW guidelines closely, modifying the plan but leaving no all-black schools. His plan requires the busing of 15,000 more students than were bused last year.

In Austin, Judge Roberts rejected the HEW plan, choosing instead a school board plan which relies heavily on "learning resource centers" for desegregation purposes. This allows students to attend neighborhood schools, be bused to the centers for some of their classes, then returned to the neighborhood school for dismissal.

HEW's plan for Corpus Christi was accepted by the court, and massive busing ordered.

In Austin, Corpus Christi and Nashville, the courts' decision's have been appealed. But again the government's action in these cases defies reason.

On August 3, 49 days after HEW submitted the plan in the Austin case, President Nixon repudiated it. He said the Justice Department would appeal the Austin decision on "constitutional grounds" but he flatly denounced the HEW's work. A few days later the White House warned that government bureaucrats could lose their jobs if they seek to impose widespread busing as a means of desegregating schools.

Again new hope was held out to opponents of busing. This was followed only last week by a statement from Burger reiterating the

court's stance that not every school need have a perfect racial balance.

#### NASHVILLE REFUSED

On Aug. 19 the Justice Department went before the Supreme Court and helped Corpus Christi win a delay in implementing the HEW desegregation plan the Justice Department had fought for in district court. When Nashville attorneys asked Justice to do the same for this city, Justice refused. Another Supreme Court justice turned down the request for a delay. Requested stay orders in cases from Virginia, Louisiana, California and North Carolina have also been rejected within the last week.

Such seeming discrepancies in enforcement of busing exist in all segments of the country. In Dallas a federal court has rejected massive busing in favor of a closed-circuit television plan which allows whites and blacks to watch each other. In Seattle, a state judge has halted all busing for a year. In Savannah, Ga., a federal court has ordered the busing of 3,000 new bus riders, while in Macon, a federal judge has ruled the city "legally segregated" and refused to reshuffle enrollment requiring more busing.

Still another stumbling block in the acceptance of busing as law is that de facto segregation is still immune to court intervention, and untouched by the federal government.

The majority-black school systems of Washington, Atlanta, Chicago and Baltimore, all of which are surrounded by nearly lily-white suburban school districts, have done nothing to further the acceptance of busing among southern parents. More than 38% of black pupils in the South now attend majority white schools, compared with only 27.6% black students outside the states of the old Confederacy.

And the distinction between the legally-segregated schools of the South and the de facto segregation of the North is growing more vague with each new population tabulation.

#### GONE OVER HUMP

Central cities in every geographical segment of the U.S. are growing ever more black. They have lost 2.5 million whites and gained 3 million blacks since 1960, while suburbs have gained 12 million whites and only 800,000 blacks during the same time. Many Southern cities where school desegregation is still considered the result of legal barriers of the past are now nearing all black majorities.

Atlanta, for instance, has apparently gone over the hump. In the last 10 years the 70% white, 30% black ratio of Atlanta school enrollment has been reversed. There a federal court has held that school desegregation is no different from the North where white students would have to be bused to re-desegregate. For this problem, the courts have offered no solution.

In Richmond, Va., where the city's schools are two-thirds black, a federal court has recommended the merger of city system with the schools of suburban Chesterfield and Henrico counties—which are 90% white. This is also the case in Indianapolis, where a U.S. district judge has ordered a city-county school merger in order to satisfy guidelines of the Charlotte case.

U.S. Dist. Judge Hugh Dillin, in suggesting the city-county merger in Indianapolis, said busing can serve only as a "stopgap measure" against further segregation. At the same time, he said, it may speed the flight of whites to the suburbs and "thwart the effectiveness of long-range plans for racial balance."

#### STILL UNTOUCHED

Though many school districts outside the South and border states are still directly untouched by the Charlotte case, their so-called de facto segregation is being tested in one way or another.

Examples include Providence, San Francisco, Pontiac, Indianapolis, Evansville and Detroit. Voluntary school integration plans resulting from efforts by state agencies or civil rights groups were also making progress in cities such as Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Denver. But in virtually all of them busing has become the major point of contention and resistance, often meaning the slowdown or halting of efforts.

"We're all for integration," said a board member in Denver, where busing opponents had just turned back an ambitious integration plan. "But we just don't think busing is the right way."

Even where intentions are good, the cost of busing students is often prohibitive. In Los Angeles, where a federal judge held that massive busing is the only way to rectify legal segregation brought about by school site selection and boundary designation, school officials estimate an adequate busing program would cost \$180 million over the next eight years. It would also require 1,938 buses—enough to stretch 13 miles bumper to bumper.

At the same time the federal government, first the Congress and now the President, is saying it will not finance such costs, and HEW officials have been directed to "work with individual school districts to hold busing to the minimum required by law."

#### OPPOSITION STIFFENS

This has done nothing but further stiffen the opposition and heighten chaos in a situation which demands cooperation and order. Some relatively acceptable experiences with busing as a means of desegregating schools have been obscured by the loud voice of majority.

Harrisburg, Pa., for example, has—at the direction of the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission—used busing to attack de facto segregation with some degree of success.

Testifying before a Senate committee earlier this month, the Harrisburg school superintendent said that maintaining neighborhood schools in ghetto areas only assured that "another generation of children grow into a class consciousness that already was destroying the ability of Americans to get along with one another."

In one section of Harrisburg, five elementary schools were each from 88 to 99% black in the 1969-70 school year. Last year, through computerized pupil assignment, the five schools ranged from 56 to 64% black. The acute racial imbalance was corrected in all of them according to school officials, destroying the pattern of "good" and "bad" schools that had existed.

The Harrisburg school superintendent said: "We know that the system is working because we live with it every day. We have seen the lid about to blow off two junior high schools and have seen the change in students and administrators as we moved to the middle school concept. There are still problems with student control and discipline but now the answers are within our grasp... you can't show it on paper yet, but down inside you know it's working."

#### CRUCIAL QUESTIONS

Proponents of school desegregation will continue to attack the problem on different fronts, with each new court decision breaking new legal ground. Only last week the California Supreme Court ruled that the state's system of local property taxing is unconstitutional because it provides better education for the wealthy than it does for the poor. This time a court talks about rich and poor, not black and white.

Crucial new legal questions will be asked. Judges must decide whether segregation patterns are de facto—as the judge did in Atlanta—or whether they are de jure and in need of a legal remedy. To what extent will the law follow the judges in Richmond and

Indianapolis who ruled that regardless of housing patterns equal education requirements demand the merger of separate legal jurisdictions such as city and county? To what extent will the law take such mergers, across county lines, state lines? Meanwhile, opposition to busing is widespread.

#### STANDING IN THE DOOR

In Alabama, busing has George Wallace again standing in the schoolhouse door defying a law, just as he did in 1963 in final defiance of the 1954 court ruling which held school segregation unconstitutional.

In Washington, President Nixon—though against blocking school doors—is sounding like Wallace, interpreting the court decision one way while others in his administration and some federal courts interpret it another.

In Pontiac, Mich., busing opponents have blown up 10 school buses and some parents are on national television saying how proud they are of whoever did it.

For once the protest in a school desegregation controversy is a long way from being all-white and all-Southern.

Last Thursday American Indians, armed with machetes and hatchets, marched on a Pembroke, N.C., school to protest busing. In recent weeks Negroes in Arlington, Va. and Chinese-Americans in San Francisco have been in court attempting to block plans for hauling their children away from neighborhood schools, adding their voices to those of white parents from Miami to Seattle.

#### A HARBINGER

Regardless of the future of busing, as an issue it has provided common middle ground for school desegregation problems in all areas of the country, demonstrating geographically that school integration is going to be impossible on any large scale as long as suburbs continue to be white and the central cities black.

It has served as a harbinger of what is to come if the problems of equal education continue to be dealt with separately and apart from the real problem of racial division in this country.

A tool for dismantling dual school systems it may be. A tool for dismantling a dual society, it is not.

### CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG'S LITTLE RED BOOK MAKES INTERESTING READING

#### HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's announcement of his planned trip to Red China stimulated me recently to read Chairman Mao's "Quotations," his "little red book," which is among the world's best sellers. I read it as published in Stuart R. Schram, editor, "Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung" (N.Y. Praeger, 1967), borrowed from the Library of Congress. Although parts of it will irritate any good American, or in fact anyone who believes in liberty and freedom of thought, it contains other portions that have valuable thrusts for anyone trying to understand this powerful man, and which can add to our wisdom at this time. Among the irritating passages are ones which condemn the United States, and unfairly, that is, pages 6, 41, 42, 44, 45, 100, and so forth; also those which paint Marxism and Leninism as

being the only valid political concept; that is, pages 1, 2, 11, 12, 13, 75, and so forth; and those also which indicate that war is desirable and, in fact, necessary to change the world to a Marxist planet, that is, pages 32 through 38, and so forth. But out of the setting of these irritants the following words from the little book seem to me to be worth everyone reading today; and therefore I include them in the RECORD at this point.

#### THE NEED FOR MORAL AND OTHER EDUCATION

"Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." (Page 92)

#### ARROGANCE AND MODESTY

"Even if we achieve gigantic success in our work, there is no reason whatsoever to feel conceited and arrogant. Modesty helps one to go forward, whereas conceit makes one lag behind. This is a truth we must always bear in mind." (Page 134)

"Any specialized skill may be capitalized on and so may lead to arrogance and contempt of others. Even one's age may become ground for conceit. The young, because they are bright and capable, may look down upon the old; and the old, because they are rich in experience, may look down upon the young. All such things become encumbrances or baggage if there is no critical awareness." (Page 135)

"We should be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and serve the Chinese people heart and soul. . . ." (Page 95)

"Anyone should be allowed to speak out, whoever he may be, so long as he is not a hostile element and does not make malicious attacks, and it does not matter if he says something wrong. Leaders at all levels have the duty to listen to others. Two principles must be observed: (1) Say all you know and say it without reserve; (2) Don't blame the speaker but take his words as a warning. Unless the principle of 'Don't blame the speaker' is observed genuinely and falsely, the result will not be 'Say all you know and say it without reserve.'" (Page 90)

#### BE OPENMINDED

"In this world, things are complicated and are decided by many factors. We should look at problems from different aspects, not from just one." (Page 122)

"We must learn to look at problems all-sidedly, seeing the reverse as well as the obverse side of things. In given conditions, a bad thing can lead to good results and a good thing to bad results." (Page 125)

"Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded; on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness." (Page 154)

"A Communist must never be opinionated or domineering, thinking that he is good in everything while others are good in nothing; he must never shut himself up in his little room, or brag and boast and lord it over others." (Page 156)

"Communists must listen attentively to the views of people outside the Party and let them have their say. If what they say is right, we ought to welcome it, and we should learn from their strong points; if it is wrong, we should let them finish what they are saying and then patiently explain things to them." (Page 156)

"We think that it is harmful to the growth of art and science if administrative measures are used to impose one particular style of art or school of thought and to ban another. Questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through

free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. They should not be settled in summary fashion." (Page 174)

#### THE NEED FOR EDUCATION IN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

"Education in democracy must be carried on within the Party so that members can understand the meaning of democratic life, the meaning of the relationship between democracy and centralism, and the way in which democratic centralism should be put into service. Only in this way can we really extend democracy within the Party and at the same time avoid ultra-democracy and the *laissez-faire* which destroys discipline." (Pages 90-91)

#### DO GOOD ALL ONE'S LIFE

"It is not hard for one to do a bit of good. What is hard is to do good all one's life and never do anything bad." (Page 141)

#### YOUTH

"The world is yours, as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people, full of vigour and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you." (Page 165)

#### CHANGE

"Conditions are changing all the time, and to adapt one's thinking to the new conditions, one must study." (Page 175)

#### SELFLESSNESS

"We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness." (Page 95)

"At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, whole-hearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect." (Page 153)

#### CONSCIENTIOUSNESS

"What really counts in the world is conscientiousness." (Page 81)

#### SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE

"Our point of departure is to serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from interests of the people and not from one's self-interest or from the interests of a small group, and to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the leading organs of the Party." (Page 95)

"Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected—that is what being responsible to the people means." (Page 96)

#### DISCIPLINE AND FREEDOM

"Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other. Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline." (Page 144)

#### DILIGENCE AND FRUGALITY

"Diligence and frugality should be practiced in running factories and shops and all state-owned, co-operative and other enterprises. The principle of diligence and frugal-

ity should be observed in everything. This principle of economy is one of the basic principles of socialist economics. China is a big country, but she is still very poor. It will take several decades to make China prosperous. Even then we will still have to observe the principle of diligence and frugality. But it is in the coming few decades, during the present series of five-year plans, that we must particularly advocate diligence and frugality, that we must pay special attention to economy." (Page 105)

#### WASTE AND EXTRAVAGANCE

"Wherever we happen to be, we must treasure our manpower and material resources, and must not take a short view and indulge in wastefulness and extravagance." (Page 106)

"In order to speed up this restoration and development [of agricultural production and industrial production in small towns], we must do our utmost, in the course of our struggle for the abolition of the feudal system, to preserve all useful means of production and of livelihood, take resolute measures against anyone's destroying or wasting them, oppose extravagant eating and drinking and pay attention to thrift and economy." (Page 106)

#### SELF-RELIANCE AND REGENERATION

"On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts. We are not alone; all the countries and people in the world opposed to imperialism are our friends. Nevertheless, we stress regeneration through our own efforts. Relying on the forces we ourselves organize, we can defeat all Chinese and foreign reactionaries." (Page 110)

#### ACHIEVEMENT OF IDEOLOGICAL IDEAS

"The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education, and not by the method of coercion or repression." (Page 28)

#### GET THE FACTS

"You can't solve a problem? Well, get down and investigate the present facts and its past history! When you have investigated the problem thoroughly, you will know how to solve it. Conclusions invariably come after investigation, and not before. Only a blockhead cudgels his brains on his own, or together with a group, to 'find a solution' or 'evolve an idea' without making any investigation. It must be stressed that this cannot possibly lead to any effective solution or any good idea." (Page 131)

"Investigation may be likened to the long months of pregnancy, and solving a problem to the day of birth. To investigate a problem is, indeed, to solve it." (Page 132)

#### BEING PRACTICAL

"If a man wants to succeed in his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fall in his practice. After he fails, he draws his lessons, correct his ideas to make them correspond to the laws of the external world, and can thus turn failure into success; this is what is meant by 'failure is the mother of success' and 'a fall into the pit, a gain in your wit.'" (Page 119)

#### MISTAKES

"Taught by mistakes and setbacks, we have become wiser and handle our affairs better. It is hard for any political party or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it, and the more quickly and thoroughly the better." (Page 152)

#### FIRMNESS

"'Grasp firmly'. That is to say, the Party committee must not merely 'grasp', but

'grasp firmly,' its main tasks. One can get a grip on something only when it is grasped firmly, without the slightest slackening. Not to grasp firmly is not to grasp at all. Naturally, one cannot get a grip on something with an open hand. When the hand is clenched as if grasping something but is not clenched tightly, there is still no grip. Some of our comrades do grasp the main tasks, but their grasp is not firm and so they cannot make a success of their work. It will not do to have no grasp at all, nor will it do if the grasp is not firm." (Page 61)

#### STRUGGLE AND WORK

"The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle." (Page 111)

"We must thoroughly clear away all ideas among our cadres of winning easy victories through good luck, without hard and bitter struggle, without sweat and blood." (Page 111)

"What is work? Work is struggle. There are difficulties and problems in those places for us to overcome and solve. We go there to work and struggle to overcome these difficulties. A good comrade is one who is more eager to go where the difficulties are greater." (Page 113)

#### PERSEVERANCE

"There is an ancient Chinese fable called 'The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains'. It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of the North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination, he led his sons in digging up these mountains hoe in hand. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, 'How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you to dig up these two huge mountains'. The Foolish Old Man replied, 'When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?' Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?" (Pages 113-114)

#### BUSING—UP EARLY, HOME LATE

### HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, yesterday several hundred concerned citizens from Norfolk, Portsmouth, Virginia Beach, and elsewhere in the Tidewater area of Virginia, came to Washington to express their distress over the problems caused by massive forced busing of public school children. The concern expressed by these men and women is sincere and well-founded, and I hope that the Congress will make every effort to produce meaningful legislation that will

restore the right of every child to attend his neighborhood school.

To that end, I am working with a number of my colleagues, including Mr. BENNETT, Mr. DOWNING, Mr. MIZELL, and Mr. SPENCE, to produce a constitutional amendment which will preserve the spirit of the Civil Rights Act and enable the schools to return to fulfilling the purpose for which they were intended: the education of all our children.

Two letters appeared in the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot recently, outlining the dislocation and disadvantages caused by massive crosstown busing. I commend them to the attention of my colleagues.

The letters follow:

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: UP EARLY, HOME LATE

EDITOR, VIRGINIAN PILOT: Busing itself is not bad enough! Now we have been introduced to a new school day, 10 a.m. to 4:25 p.m.! I realize that due to busing the schools have to make adjustments, but not to the extent of starting at 10 a.m. This is more than outrageous; it is sad. Let us not consider the situation of the teacher, who probably will not be leaving school until 5 or 5:30, and then will not get home to her own family until 5:30 or 6. Let us concentrate only on the advantages and disadvantages of this new time schedule as it affects the children.

#### Disadvantages:

1. A working mother will have to leave the house before her 8- or 9-year-old. This may serve either to make our third and fourth graders very independent little men and women, or else increase the enrollment in Juvenile Court.

2. Our children will not be able to go out and play after school. The area is fairly dark at 5 when we are not on DST. This also will eliminate after-school athletics.

3. The children will have no chance to really relax. By the time they arrive at home, it will be time to eat, do their homework, and go to bed.

4. Although school does not start until 10, children still must awaken at an early hour to ride the bus. This makes a very long day for an elementary school child.

5. A child's attention span is longer and sharper early in the morning. By 10 a teacher has lost at least 90 minutes of valuable teaching time.

Enough of the pessimistic view, I am sure the list could go on. Now let us turn to the advantages of the system.

I cannot think of one.

Norfolk.

WENDIE BRANIGHAN.

#### SCHOOL DAYS

EDITOR, VIRGINIAN-PILOT: It was with great shock and disbelief that I read the Norfolk school times for the coming year.

I was shocked that adults could make up such absurd school hours for small children. Do they realize that children as young as six years who are on the 10 a.m.-to-4.25 p.m. school schedule would be gone from their homes approximately 8 hours a day? That children, for their physical well-being need hours of free time each day to play? That this will mean the curtailment of outside activities such as Scouts and sports for older children? That all the children will lead a drudge-type existence—of getting up, being bused to school, spending 6 hours and 15 minutes in school, being bused home, eating dinner, doing homework and going to bed, only to be faced with the same bleak existence the next day?

Our schoolchildren, who are to be bused farther across town than anyone else, now are being faced with the worst possible school hours. What kind of logic exists in a plan that is formulated by adults and does not take the well-being of our children into consideration?

We are being forced to withdraw from a public-school system that so many of us were willing to support.

ANN PHILLIPS.

Norfolk.

### AN EFFECTIVE "BLOOD BANK" PROGRAM

**HON. JEROME R. WALDIE**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, a retirement community in my district, Rossmoor Leisure World, has just recently begun their own innovative blood bank system. This arrangement provides blood when needed at the lowest cost to the member. This kind of service is a positive asset to the community.

The chairman of the Rossmoor Civic Affairs Council and sponsor of the project, John Drenth, wrote an informative series of articles "About The Blood Bank." These commentaries answer the questions raised by the project, in a clear analytical manner. Others can learn from this effort and initiate their own plan into a reality. In this way, more can benefit from Rossmoor's imaginative idea. For these reasons I enter the following:

#### ABOUT THE BLOOD BANK

##### WHO IS COVERED?

We all know that blood is the one thing we can not live without, even for a very brief time. When an accident, operation or hemorrhage requires blood to replace that which is being lost, immediate action must be taken to preserve life.

Fortunately blood is available in the hospitals everywhere, it being stored there by blood banks. The blood reserves are never allowed to drop below a level determined for each reserve account.

When blood is used the cost is or seems to be high. For those over 65 Medicare does not pay for the first three pints but does pay for the fourth and following units required. The normal charge is \$37 per unit.

For those under 65, unless there is group or personal insurance which covers blood, the patient must pay for all of the blood used.

When a blood reserve account is established by an organization its purpose is to replace the blood used but which is not paid for by Medicare or any insurance.

This is the reason the Rossmoor Blood Bank was organized. It was a new idea and after the preliminary work was done, replacement coverage became effective on April 21, 1971.

This is how it works. Any resident member of Golden Rain Foundation covered under Medicare requests the hospital to bill him for the one, two or three pints used and not paid by Medicare. Present or send this statement to William Sheppard at our Medical Center. He will check and approve the withdrawal of the amount of blood used from the Rossmoor reserve account.

This cancels the charge and pays the amount made against your account for blood used.

For those resident members of Golden Rain Foundation and for all employees of Golden Rain Foundation the same general procedure is followed.

There is no Medicare and if the group or individual insurance does not provide coverage for blood, present the bill for the total amount of blood used. When verified by Mr. Sheppard the replacement blood will be

withdrawn from our reserve account and in effect paying the bill for the blood used.

This means that every member of the Rossmoor Community, resident owner or employee of Golden Rain Foundation, can draw on our reserve account for blood needed and, if not covered by Medicare or insurance, have replacement of blood made without cost. (It must be pointed out that in the few cases where there is a deductible on an insurance policy, there is no way to replace or pay for the amount of the deductible.)

The Rossmoor Blood Bank reserve has been established as a community service, covering every member of the community and without cost to any member.

It is a unique approach to community cooperation and a new first for Rossmoor, Walnut Creek. Again we lead, and other communities will follow when they learn that our project is successful.

##### WHO GIVES THE BLOOD?

In last week's article coverage was described as a program which supplies all blood needed by any resident member or employee of Golden Rain Foundation, without cost, when Medicare or insurance does not provide this coverage.

The next question that is frequently asked is how can an adequate supply of blood be supplied and a reserve maintained? The majority of Rossmoor residents are retired and blood from those over 65 years of age is not accepted.

In order to get the necessary blood reserve established as quickly as possible, contact was made with Diablo Valley College. Arrangements were made to invite students to come to the mobile unit of the Alameda-Contra Costa Blood Bank at its April visit to Walnut Creek at the Elks Club.

Dr. Charles Sweet, Chuck Sweet and Ralph Chamberlain joined me to meet and welcome the young men and women who answered the call.

Between 4 and 6 p.m. on April 20, 12 pints of blood were processed for our reserve account and each of the young donors welcomed the \$10 given them.

This enabled us to complete the agreement with the Central Blood Bank and establish April 21 as the effective date for blood coverage in Rossmoor.

Dr. Thurston Hatch accepted the responsibility of cementing the relationship with Diablo Valley College.

When the mobile unit arrived on the afternoon of May 20, students began arriving in such numbers that all could not be examined that afternoon.

It takes 30 minutes to process each blood donor and we were happy the staff was able to accept 72 pints of blood for our reserve account. This brought our total blood purchased to 84 pints at a cost of \$840.

Dr. Mandel had been the first to donate blood and one more Rossmoor donor has volunteered and given blood for the Rossmoor reserve account.

In one month the amount of blood received has exceeded the goal set four times over and we know that the project is now an established part of Rossmoor community living, and proof of the real community spirit and desire to help each other in time of need.

Our reserve blood account is now far over the minimum required and we will not buy any more blood for several months unless there is unexpected need due to catastrophe or epidemic situations.

##### WHERE DID THE MONEY COME FROM?

When the call was made for blood donors the students at Diablo Valley College responded so willingly that our quota requirement was exceeded within 30 days. There was no generation gap or lack of communication between us and those who are almost 50 years younger than the average Rossmoorite.

Since the sum of \$850 passed from our hands into those of the young volunteers so

that their blood could be passed on to a reserve from which we could obtain blood when needed, the question of where the money came from makes an interesting story.

The first requirement of any new project is money. Usually many ways to get it are considered and one must be chosen which seems to offer the best chances for success without undue delays.

Fortunately the Civic Affairs Council directors are men and women with vision and the ability to take action. When the president suggested that the council contribute \$50 to the Blood Bank project others suggested that this action and the project be explained to other Rossmoor clubs.

Assignments were made to do such work, and we chose this plan to secure the money needed to establish a blood reserve.

Within a week momentum began to build and the word spread through articles in the Rossmoor News. Kiwanis—Rotary—Lions—Monday Forum—Aahmes Shrine—Staggers—Lawn Bowling—Projects, Ltd.—Womans Club—Shuffle Board—Needlecraft Guild—Ecology Action—Camera Club—W. O. W.'s—Sociologists—Lapidary and Jewelry—Domino—Tice Valley Mendico's—Residents Association—Ball Room Dance Group all made substantial contributions.

After the Flea Market proved successful, as anticipated, the Rossmoor Activities Council approved the Blood Bank as a worthy cause and this check with many individual contributions brought the total to \$2,000 by the end of June and the success of the project was assured.

There was no campaign or money raising drive. The committee presented the program as a community need and the community responded.

Many of the checks came by mail or in personal visits and we did not know who was responsible for the action needed to have the contribution made.

Only in Walnut Creek Rossmoor could such results come from voluntary action in response to a program designed to assist any member of the community when an emergency occurs.

The thanks of the Civic Affairs Council, our Blood Bank Committee and those who have received blood from our reserve account during the past three months is hereby extended to the participating clubs and each person who has helped make the dream a reality.

##### WHAT TO DO WHEN BLOOD IS NEEDED

The first three articles explaining the Blood Bank in establishing a blood reserve for members of the Rossmoor Community.

The use of blood and its storage and distribution is entirely a function of the medical profession. Our Medical Center keeps all of the records of blood in our reserve and authorizes its withdrawal when needed. Dr. Mandel wrote a news release to tell you what to do when the doctor decides you need the blood and the hospital furnishes it.

##### YOU CAN GET BLOOD OUT OF A TURNIP

You can, when the turnip is the Rossmoor of Walnut Creek Blood Reserve Account.

The procedure couldn't be simpler. All Golden Rain Foundation members and employees of the Foundation who have received blood in any hospital can have blood replaced without charge.

All that is required is a call to the Medical Center, 939-1220. Ask for Mr. William Sheppard, Office Manager, or in his absence, Dr. William Mandel, Medical Center Director. You report the number of units of blood you were given and the name of the hospital in which you received the blood. Thereafter the Medical Center initiates a process which ends with the hospital being notified that the blood has been replaced, so the charge for the blood is canceled.

The usual way to replace blood is either to buy it at \$25 per unit or to have a

friend or relative donate it for you. At Rossmoor, the friend or relative is represented by the total community support of the blood bank.

If you are over 65, Medicare will pay for all blood after three units have been given. Medicare pays the handling charges for the first three units. Thus, for those over 65 replacement is one unit for each of the first three units.

For those below 65, the replacement is two units for each unit given.

The Rossmoor community provides blood—the gift of life—to those who are ill and injured. There is no substitute for blood when it is required.

Mr. John Drenth, a director of the Civic Affairs Council, is chairman of the Rossmoor Blood Bank Committee. This committee is currently incorporating itself so that donations will be tax deductible. Any Rossmoor resident or Foundation employee who wishes to contribute should write a check to the Rossmoor of Walnut Creek Blood Bank, and send it to Mr. Ralph H. Chamberlain, Treasurer, 2801 Golden Rain Road, No. 8, Walnut Creek, California 94595.

Any individual below age 65 may donate blood on the third Tuesday of each month from 3:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. at the Elks Club, Walnut Creek. This donated blood can be assigned to the Rossmoor Blood Account.

The article last week included the letter from Dr. Mandel outlining the procedure to follow when blood is needed. As this is the final article in the series, there will be some repetition of points covered in the previous articles.

Early in the year legislation was introduced to allow a \$25 tax deduction for blood donations. I wrote Representative Waldie asking his support on behalf of the Rossmoor Blood Bank. His reply closed with this firm commitment: "I would like to join you in this important effort and I, therefore, will not only support this bill but will also sponsor it."

On July 8 another bill was introduced in the House of Representatives to amend the Internal Revenue Code to provide that non-paid, voluntary blood donation shall be considered as charitable contributions deductible from gross income. The purpose is to encourage eligible donors of blood as a preventative measure for hepatitis.

Studies show that drug addicts, skid row derelicts, and others with a predisposition to hepatitis are more likely to lie about past exposure to this disease due to their need for money. The unpaid donor has no reason to hide the facts about the past when asked about illness suffered.

This gives us the answer for a considerable number of persons in Rossmoor. If you weigh 110 pounds or more, have not donated blood in less than 8 weeks and are between the ages of 18 and 65, your blood may be acceptable. The third Tuesday of each month at the Elks Lodge, South Main and Creekside Drive, from 3 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. is the place to go. Take your Social Security Card and ask that the blood be credited to the Rossmoor Reserve.

Last night I received a phone call asking if a contribution could be made in memory of a friend who had died. This morning the check arrived for the blood bank. This memorial gift idea has not been mentioned before, but it is one that all of us can keep in mind and follow when the occasion seems appropriate.

During July additional Rossmoor clubs have sent in checks for the blood bank. We suggest that clubs whose budget did not permit participating this year, plan to share in the program in 1972 by providing for a contribution for the Blood Bank. In a later article a suggestion will be outlined for ways for individual participation. In the mean-

time, remember the blood containers in the Medical Center are for your use and any loose change is a contribution.

Blood has now been available to all members of the Rossmoor Community for four months. It is too soon to predict future needs accurately but to date it is apparent that there is a need for this service and that we must keep a constant reserve of blood at all times. Two more calls came from the hospitals within the last three days and filling the need has become a routine practice at the Medical Center.

THE HUMAN COST OF COMMUNISM IN CHINA

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, "If the rains of communism flood the world, humanity will drown. Would you understand me, dear friend, if I told you I saw an old woman weep because the sun had died in China?"—Liu Shaw-tong, out of Red China.

Millions of Chinese have died as a result of communism in China. The immensity of the crimes committed against the Chinese people by Mao Tse-tung, his longtime lieutenant Chou En-lai, and their entourage, is thoroughly documented in a study entitled, "The Human Cost of Communism in China," prepared by Prof. Richard Walker, director of the Institute of International Studies at the University of South Carolina, and just released by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

The magnitude of Mao Tse-tung's crimes is so appalling, the scope of his campaign to pulverize the Chinese people so great, that even with the irrefutable evidence before us it is difficult to comprehend. Hitler appears almost humanitarian when compared to this man, who managed to outdo even his mentor Stalin in sheer numbers of terror victims.

Since coming to power in 1949 the Chinese Communist policy has been divide, liquidate, and rule. Total, all-pervasive terror was, and is, the single governing principle. A continuous succession of purge-drive campaigns such as "the great proletarian revolution," "the great leap forward," the "three-anti and five-anti" campaigns, and the like, each one claiming millions of victims, has been launched against the people of China by Mao Tse-tung and his followers. Intellectuals, students, businessmen, landowners, peasants, each in their turn have been branded "counterrevolutionary groups" and smashed.

In the following table extracted from the study, it is important to note that approximately 90 percent of the victims claimed by communism in China were killed after the Communists seized power. The alternative to resistance against the Communists is not bloodless peace, as some would have us believe. Professor Walker notes in his study that even some of the high estimates given below are probably too conservative.

CASUALTIES TO COMMUNISM IN CHINA

	Range of estimates	
1. 1st Civil War (1927-36).....	250,000	500,000
2. Fighting during Sino-Japanese War (1937-45).....	50,000	50,000
3. 2d Civil War (1945-49).....	1,250,000	1,250,000
4. Land reform prior to "Liberation".....	500,000	1,000,000
5. Political Liquidation Campaigns (1949-58).....	15,000,000	30,000,000
6. Korean war.....	500,000	1,234,000
7. The "Great Leap Forward" and the Communes.....	1,000,000	2,000,000
8. Struggles with minority nationalities, including Tibet.....	500,000	1,000,000
9. The "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" and its aftermath.....	250,000	500,000
10. Deaths in forced labor camps and frontier development.....	15,000,000	25,000,000
Total.....	34,300,000	63,784,000

I strongly urge all Americans to read the entire study. This information is so important that my office has purchased a number of copies of Professor Walker's excellent, though horrifying, treatise and will be glad to supply a copy to anyone upon request. The nature of national leaders can be accurately gaged through their political practices. Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and the other members of the Chinese Communist Party who have contributed to the greatest blood-letting operation in recorded history are thereby simply revealed as they really are—not as so many Americans, high and low, would like to believe them to be in this age of "Ping-Pong diplomacy."

THE PUGET SOUND AQUACULTURE FRONTIER: A NEW INDUSTRY FIGHTS HUNGER

HON. FLOYD V. HICKS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. HICKS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, in a series of six articles, Tacoma News Tribune staff writer Malcolm MacNey has put together the story of aquaculture development of Puget Sound. Aquaculture, as you may know, is the salt water propagation of marine life under carefully controlled conditions, leading to an highly efficient chain of inexpensive protein production which compares favorably to all other animal protein sources.

Aquaculture has been practiced for decades in Japan, but is an infant in the United States. Presently two projects in the State of Washington's great estuary, Puget Sound, are on the frontiers of domestic aquaculture development. Since cheap sources of high-yield protein are a priority matter in the effort to cope with problems of world hunger, we on the shores of Pudget Sound welcome this promising use of our extraordinarily fertile marine environment.

Mr. Speaker, I commend these articles to the attention of my colleagues:

FARMING PUGET SOUND—I: AQUACULTURE FUTURE BIG

(By Malcolm MacNey)

For centuries and centuries farming has had to do with things like seeds and soils,

vegetables and fertilizers, rainfall and climate, and any number of other things. In short, farming has had to do with raising things from the ground.

Now we are about to see man start using parts of Puget Sound as he has the land, cultivating it intensely.

Of course, Puget Sound has been producing harvests of various things for a long, long time. Things such as salmon and oysters and clams.

#### ABUNDANCE

The Sound Indians found these things in such abundance they paid relatively little attention to the land.

And until recently man has continued to harvest the Sound in much the same way as the Indians.

Oh sure, fishing methods have been refined, hatcheries have been built to try and replace losses due to pollution and the ravaging of rivers and spawning grounds, and conservation methods have been introduced to keep something around to harvest.

#### STILL HUNTER

But essentially, as one fish biologist explained it, man is still in the hunting stage when it comes to using Puget Sound as a food producer.

However, changes are coming rapidly.

The Lummi Indians are about to start commercial production of an estimated 1.25 million pounds of trout and salmon a year, plus another 2 million pounds of oysters.

Ocean Systems, Inc., is running a pilot program, with the help of a \$100,000 federal grant, for raising silver and chinook salmon in nylon-net cages in Clam Bay near Manchester.

The National Marine Fisheries Services is working with Ocean Systems, plus working on the hybridizing of salmon, and doing research on shrimp and mussels and the raising of salmon at various water temperatures.

#### UW PROJECTS

The University of Washington, designated as a Sea Grant college by the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration, has a number of projects going. In addition to working with fish, the U.W. Division of Marine Resources is collecting data on temperature, salinity, currents, turbidity and exposure. The College of Forestry is even getting into the act by studying sea Polymers to learn if they have a drug potential.

The State Department of Natural Resources is planning a number of stations in southern Puget Sound to test the growing of oysters and seaweed at depths where they would offer no hinderance to commerce or recreation.

The State Department of Fisheries has been working for years on the proportion of chinook and silver salmon—both by natural and artificial means—and is now moving into the chum and sockeye (pink) fields. The department has also gathered much data on oysters and clams, available to anyone wanting to grow these things. And during the first years at least of salmon farming, the department will be supplying the seeds (eggs).

While fish farming on the Sound is new, with the exception of oysters, some forms of aquacultures have been practiced for hundreds of years.

Tim Joyner, oceanographer with the National Marine Fisheries Service in Seattle, said mussels were cultivated by the Romans.

#### TUNA IN PENS

The Japanese have been growing oysters suspended from rafts for many years, and are raising yellowtail tuna in ocean pens.

But fish farming in Puget Sound for salmon was only made legal by the last legislature. An act by that body gives the Department of Fisheries authority to issue licenses for fish farms.

Other permits are also needed, from the Corps of Engineers and the Department of Natural Resources, but we'll go into the details in later articles.

The fish farming potential? Nobody really knows.

#### MUST BE MAPPED

Nor will they until the Sound has been mapped for such things as currents, temperatures, salinity and the like, such as is being done by the U.W. Just as some soils are better for growing certain crops, certain areas of the Sound are richer in their potential for fish growing.

However, some idea of the potential can be gained from just one estimate.

Conrad Mahnken, oceanographer and project manager of the NMFS work in Clam Bay, believes 500,000 pounds of fish can be raised per acre of surface water a year.

Naturally, as with any new enterprise, there are still many bugs to be worked out, not the least being economics.

Jon Lindberg, head of the Ocean Systems project, said:

"There have been a lot of failures, and I suspect there will be more, as there is bound to be in a pioneering industry. We could get clipped, but I'm quite optimistic it will go."

Some of the possible snags, and the potential rewards, will be discussed in detail in succeeding articles.

#### FARMING PUGET SOUND—II: LUMMIS ARE FARMING SSTs—IN THE SEA

(By Malcolm MacNey)

The farming of fishes right now is about where agriculture was years and years ago.

The hybridizing of salmon, for instance, is just under way in an attempt to produce a fish that will grow faster and be more vigorous.

Data is being collected on salinity, currents, turbidity, available food and temperatures in various parts of Puget Sound to determine what things can be expected to grow best in what areas.

The first oyster hatchery on Puget Sound will be under construction in July, and will offer opportunities for crossing oysters and working toward ever more delectable strains.

And a new SST program is about to get under way. But this one will not be the building of a supersonic transport—rather, the raising of super sea trout. The trout are the products of years of genetic selection by Dr. Loren Donaldson of the University of Washington.

The super-trout have shown even more fantastic growth in salt water than they did in fresh.

The first large-scale commercial sea-farming effort on Puget Sound has been in the making on the Lummi Indians reservation near Bellingham since 1969. Final diking of a 750-acre pond was completed June 4. Within the pond will be grown the SST's, silver salmon and oysters.

The other rather large-scale production of salmon is being undertaken by Ocean Systems, Inc., a subsidiary of Union Carbide. This program, in which up to a million salmon will be raised in nylon-net cages 50 feet square and 20 feet deep, is designed as a full-scale test of the commercial possibilities of salmon farming.

The Lummi project is the brainchild of Dr. Wallace G. Heath, an aquatic ecologist, who did a quick-sell job on the Lummis after hearing they were planning to dredge Lummi Bay for industrial and other types of development.

Dr. Heath had become intrigued with the possibilities of aquaculture upon seeing what was being done in Hawaii. After hearing of the dredging proposal, he called the tribal council.

"They told me to come on out and went

for the idea immediately, and we were funded in less than a year," he said.

Since then things have been buzzing around the bay, with the building of test facilities, the training of the Lummis, the enclosure of the first pond, and fighting off the opposition of the Lummi Bay Beach Association.

#### SOME GRUMBLES

While some grumbles are still heard, opposition was largely blocked when the Corps of Engineers issued a permit for the building of the pond.

The most frantic day in the pond building program came June 4, when 800 feet of dike had to be installed in a 20-hour period. The last big gap had to be closed quickly so the constricted tidal flow would not reach such a velocity that it would start washing away the barrier.

The dike was constructed of a core of sand with shoulders of gravel. Huge rip-rap was placed along the outer side to guard against winter storms and big tides.

One of the project's first efforts was the building of natural-bottom research ponds, to test not only the growing of fish and oysters, but also the use of tidal pumps.

The latter are extremely important, for their function is to keep the water in the pond constantly changing.

Nearly a million gallons of fresh water a day will be required for each of the 750 acres. The new water will bring in nutrients and oxygen, plus providing a cooling factor. The old water will carry away waste material.

In the research work, 4,500 of the Donaldson trout were raised in eight-tenths of an acre of seawater pond. They grew from an average of a tenth of a pound each to 1.25 pounds between April and August, with a mortality rate of about 3 per cent.

#### POUND FOR POUND

They were given a diet of Oregon moist pellet fish food, and put on a pound of growth for each pound of food. While that represented a production of something over 6,000 pounds of fish an acre, Heath said he will be delighted to average 2,000 pounds in the large pond.

Heath also has high hopes for silver salmon—"good, tough fish"—that showed a five-fold gain in weight in the same five months.

Between the trout and the salmon, he is estimating an annual harvest of 1.25 million pounds of fish, which would bring a gross income of \$1 million for the tribe. Another million dollars or more is expected from the sale of oysters.

While other fish biologists think Heath may be somewhat optimistic about the fish, they believe a number of problems may occur in the pond culture. They were almost unanimous in predicting success for the oyster operation.

One goal is to make the entire program self-sustaining, and in order to achieve this two hatcheries will be constructed. One will be to hatch fish, and the other oysters.

#### OYSTER THUMB

In charge of the oyster program is Richard L. Poole, described by an admirer from the National Marine Fisheries Services as "having an oyster thumb."

The oyster hatchery will be so self-sustaining the Lummis will even grow the algae to provide supplemental food for the oyster larvae.

In addition to raising enough oyster seed for the Lummis project, Poole anticipates selling 50 million seed (there's a good farm word) to other commercial growers. This would meet about 5 per cent of the annual demand by Puget Sound growers.

"In the hatchery," Poole explained, "you have all kinds of options. You can practice genetic selection to improve the stock, for one thing. We're becoming true farmers."

Poole has also experimented with growing

scallops and abalone, and though they showed promise, water conditions will not be right in the first pool to warrant a commercial venture.

#### WARM THINGS UP

Another advantage of a hatchery, Poole said, is that you can fool an oyster into thinking it is summer—spawning time—by raising the water temperature.

Another thing that can be done is to breed for better taste. Of course, once you eat an oyster it's gone, but you can collect the sperm beforehand and preserve it by freezing.

Both the Lummis and Jerry Yamashita at Purdy have found that growing oysters in suspension has one great advantage—growth. Left to their own, oysters take three or four years to reach market size. But in suspension they can be harvested in 15 months or so.

They can be suspended in two ways. The first is by letting the seed attach itself to old shells, then stringing the old shells to wire or rope and hanging them from rafts.

The second, known as the clutchless method, is to grow the oysters on trays of fine wire, with the trays suspended from rafts.

Four oysters are being cultured at the Lummi project—the Pacific, Kumamoto, Eastern and European flat. Yamashita is growing mostly Pacifics, with a few of the gourmet-type European flats.

#### ECONOMIC LIFT

The Lummis have been fortunate in one big factor—money. Because the reservation has been rated as continually economically depressed, the federal government has picked up most of the \$3 million tab for the project.

Not all of the money has gone for construction. A good chunk has gone in training Lummis to make the thing go when it is completed.

Besides being given rather thorough training in fish and oyster biology, they also are taught water quality control. In this phase, they learn to test for such things as sulfite waste liquor control and fluorides, two pollutants that might turn up from nearby industries.

Boss of the entire operation is the Lummi Tribal Council, from Heath on down.

Heath said there are about 2,000 Lummi tribal members, with half of them living on the reservation. When Phase I—the 750-acre pond phase—is in operation, jobs for about 200 Lummis will be provided.

Close to 120 are on the payroll now, both in training and in construction.

If everything works out, the remaining 1,750 acres of tidal land owned by the Lummis may be diked to create more ponds. If this is done, another 400 jobs could be created.

While 50,000 pounds or so of fish may be marketed this fall, the first large commercial crop is not expected until 1972. By 1974, the goal is 3 million pounds of fish and oysters.

The Lummis have also been doing some work with red seaweed, harvesting the natural growth, and starting some tests on growing the seaweed on rope. The project is still too new, Heath explained, to determine whether there are commercial possibilities.

#### FARMING PUGET SOUND—III: FISH RAISING PROMISES INNOVATION AND PROFIT

(By Malcolm MacNey)

Some of the most exciting work in Puget Sound fish farming is going on in Clam Bay near Manchester.

Here an old coastal vessel, the MV Brown Bear, is tied up alongside a pier that was formerly part of the U.S. Navy Fuel Supply Depot.

The Brown Bear is headquarters for a variety of research projects being carried on by

the National Marine Fisheries Service. And she is also located only a few hundred feet from where Ocean Systems, Inc., is launching a pilot program to test the feasibility of farming chinook and silver salmon.

There is marine life all over the place, in nets of woven, knotless nylon alongside the Brown Bear, and in tanks in a small building on the pier—chinook and silver salmon, hybrid crosses of male sockeye and female chum salmon, male spring chinooks and female pinks, even-year Alaska pinks (sockeye), lobsters, Puget Sound spotted shrimp, sea urchins and sickle snouts.

The lobsters, urchins and sickle snouts have little to do with the research. The lobster and urchins are used to help keep things clean, while the sickle snouts are "pets" of a summertime student worker.

The shrimp, the Puget Sound spotted variety, are part of a doctorate research program being carried on by Vincent Price, a graduate student at the University of Washington of Washington from Kenya.

Price is also working with four other varieties of Sound shrimp, but his greatest experience has been with the spotted ones.

#### FISH BIOLOGIST

From that research, the shrimp "looks like it might be a promising animal," according to Anthony Novotny, NMFS fish biologist.

Indications are the shrimp can be cultured up to about a three-year, or eating, size in one year.

Dr. Kenneth K. Chew, shell-fish expert and advisor in Price's doctoral program, says the Sound shrimp is better eating even than the Gulf shrimp because it is easier to chew and tastier.

The possibility of growing lobsters commercially in Puget Sound is also being considered. Jon Lindberg, head of the Ocean Systems project, said such a possibility is interesting.

The lobster has a high market value and is scarce, but there would likely be a number of problems, he said. For one thing, they grow slowly, taking five to seven years to reach market size and are very cannibalistic.

"You could almost certainly reduce the growing time, but by how much? That's a long time to hold a critter," Lindberg said. He described a look into lobster possibilities as a "far distant kind of thing."

A right now thing is the project to raise 400,000 to a million salmon to market size and sell them. Market size will likely be between a half pound and a pound.

Ocean Systems has about 600,000 little Chinooks, and 400,000 silvers, raised from spawn purchased from the State Fisheries Department last fall. The firm constructed a hatchery on Beaver Creek near Manchester for the spawning and then moved the tiny fish to Glud's Pond near Brownsville.

#### PLACED IN PENS

Now the chinook are about three inches long and are being put in a pen alongside the Brown Bear.

More than 300,000 of them were in the pen last week.

The silvers, which must remain in fresh water longer than Chinook, will start moving to Clam Bay about the middle of July.

Ocean Systems has received a \$100,000 grant from the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Institute, and is investing another \$160,000 of its own money. The grant is for raising of 400,000 salmon, and anything more than that will be up to Ocean Systems alone, Conrad Mahnken explained.

Mahnken is project manager on the Brown Bear for the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS), and is just as anxious to see the fish farm program become successful as the Ocean Systems people.

Lindberg is hoping the hybridizing work by Anthony Novotny, NMFS fisheries biologist, is as successful as early results indicate it may be.

Novotny has crossed male sockeyes and female chums and male chinooks and female pinks. The purpose is two fold: "To get hybrid vigor the same as in domesticated animals," and to get a fish with the flesh of a sockeye or chinook that will move into salt water rapidly.

#### PUT ON WEIGHT

Salt water, Novotny said, is where the salmon put on weight, and a sockeye under normal conditions may take up to a year to make the migration from fresh to salt water.

One batch of the hybrids were introduced to sea water successfully 30 to 40 days after "swim up," when a newly hatched fish stops feeding off its eggs and starts fending other food.

But there is still a long way to go, Novotny said. The experiments cannot be considered 100 per cent successful until the crosses have been raised to adulthood and it is learned whether they will spawn.

However, whether they spawn or not, hybrids could still be farmed if they are as vigorous and make the growth hoped for.

The salmon at the Ocean Systems project will be raised in four pens, 50 feet square and 20 feet deep and will be covered, for blue herons and diving ducks look on little salmon as gourmet meals.

The pens will be anchored to a 20-by-100-foot barge, from which food will be dispensed. This can be done by hand now, but some other means will have to be found later.

When the fish get to be around a half-pound, the logistics become tremendous, Mahnken said. At that time, the fish will be gobbling around 6,000 pounds of food daily, which will require some sort of freezing equipment at dockside for storage.

#### REQUIRES TRUCKS

To haul that amount of food from the manufacturing plant at LaConner will likely require two or three trucks a week.

And when the fish start reaching market size—Lindberg says a rough estimate would be in February or March—some 30,000 a day will be processed.

Mahnken sees three processing possibilities: On the barge, on the shore or by subcontracting.

He also spoke of the economics involved. Their test work has indicated the salmon will require 1½ to two pounds of food per pound of fish.

Feed, he declared, is by far the biggest cost factor.

Figuring on the high side, a one-pound salmon would take 34 cents of food. Labor and equipment he estimates at 15 cents, packaging at perhaps 5 cents and air freight to East Coast markets at another 10 cents.

That adds up to 64 cents a pound, and in their test marketing work with silver salmon on the NMFS has had offers from 70 to 80 cents a pound.

Mahnken figures that when the fish are actually marketed they may bring a higher return than the testing indicated. Trout being raised in Nova Scotia are bringing \$1.29 a pound in eastern Canadian cities, and the salmon are certainly better than they are, he said.

Capital outlay for the nets is not too great an item. The NMFS has one pen 30 feet square and 15 feet deep, somewhat smaller than the ones Ocean Systems will use, that cost about \$1,600. The nylon net was purchased for 3 cents a square foot, and then put together by NMFS personnel.

#### NO POLLUTION

One of the best things about fish farming, according to Mahnken, is that it is a non-polluting industry, and one of the best uses that can be made of aquatic lands.

But pollution produced by man could give the fish farmers problems.

Mahnken said while an oil spill might not

kill the fish it certainly could cause problems.

For one thing, oil would put the fish off their feed, and if that happened when they were making fast growth, the setback could tip the operation into the red.

Oil also puts the fish under stress, and there is a strong indication stress and an increase in disease are connected.

On the subject of nets, both Novotny and Mahnken said they believe that method offers much better possibilities than ponds.

Pens can be anchored in water that stays cool. That is important, they said, as salmon get uncomfortable and more disease prone in water above 55 degrees.

Pens further can be held at a depth that won't disturb surface traffic.

Last fall one pen was submerged so that it was about 20 feet down at the lowest low tide, and 45 at the highest. The fish were kept there for 10 weeks, fed through a tube, and the growth rate was only 10 per cent less than those raised just under the surface.

The suspended pens allow fresh water to wash continually through, bringing oxygen and natural nutrients, and flushing away waste materials.

As mentioned in an earlier article, Mahnken estimates 500,000 pounds of salmon can be raised per acre of surface water. He further estimates there are 10,000 acres of Puget Sound in Kitsap County suitable for salmon farming.

#### ENTIRE CATCH

"You could equal the entire American catch of salmon," he said.

Many things would have to be worked out, and conflicts resolved involving aesthetics, recreation and commerce.

Jerry Yamashita, the only person now practicing raft culture of oysters commercially, in Puget Sound, also had something to say on the matter. He had a lot of opposition to overcome before he was allowed to install the rafts.

"I think all of us are becoming aware of a responsibility to our fellow man," he said. "I think eventually we will be able to live in harmony, but we are suffering in the transition."

#### FARMING PUGET SOUND—IV: MUSSELS AN OVERLOOKED CROP FOR FOOD, PROTEIN, CALCIUM

(By Malcolm MacNey)

A little black mollusk that grows like crazy in Puget Sound and gets hardly any attention is believed by at least a few experts to have the greatest potential of all.

No. 1 champion of that mollusk—the mussel—is Tim Joyner, oceanographer with the National Marine Fisheries Services in Seattle.

Mussels produce high quality meat that is delicious, Joyner said, when cooked in any number of ways.

The mussels can be ground up, the meat and shells separated, and the meat processed for use as a poultry, animal or fish food additive.

The shells won't go to waste either. Being practically pure calcium carbonate, they can be used for poultry grit, or as a thickener in paint and asphalt as is being done in Germany.

#### LOTS OF PROTEIN

But perhaps the greatest use that could be made of mussel meat is extracting the high-grade protein the little bivalves produce so efficiently.

The odorless and tasteless concentrate could be highly important in a world where many people are suffering from malnutrition brought on by a lack of protein.

"No other animal," Joyner said, "can turn feed into high grade protein better than a mussel."

They are the most efficient filter we know, he added. While oysters only digest a little

of what they take in, the mussel digests most anything.

So they grow rapidly, can be "pastured" at nearly any depth and are great little water cleaners.

Because they are such "efficient biological filters," mussels do become toxic from time to time by soaking up a paralytic poison. However, there has never been any known paralytic shellfish poisoning inside Admiralty Inlet, Joyner said Dr. Dixy Lee Ray has reported.

This might be a point to capitalize on for mussels grown in Puget Sound.

Joyner also pointed out that in areas where mussels might be intensely cultivated, and might be exposed to the poison such as that found in a red tide, "the presence of paralytic poisoning can be readily detected by regular monitoring."

Then harvesting would be curtailed until the mussels had released the poison and again became safe.

#### FARMING NOT NEW

Mussel farming is certainly nothing new. They have been raised since Roman times, Joyner said.

An Irishman shipwrecked on the severe southern coast of Brittany in France during winter a couple of hundred years ago accidentally started mussel culture there. Unable to climb the cliffs behind him, the Irishman put together bits and pieces of old fish netting, tied the netting to posts and set them out to catch low flying birds that kept him going through the winter.

Finding mussels clinging to the posts in the spring, he added them to his diet.

When his French farmer rescuers found the Irishman living better than they, the next question was how had he done it. Thus was born a business that has produced some wealthy Frenchmen.

Almost as intriguing is the story of mussel farming in the deep inlets of Spain's Atlantic coastline.

Prof. Buenaventura Andrea found mussels growing profusely in one of the inlets. The natives didn't much care for them, though they did use "mussel mud" for pig food and fertilizer.

But the professor talked the government into supporting research into suspended culture of the mollusks. And he found they grew with amazing speed at almost any depth.

In fact, those grown down where they didn't get any light came out a light brown and brought a premium price on the markets in France.

#### LEADING PRODUCER

From the idea of that one man, Spain in two decades became the leading mussel producer in the world, selling mainly to markets in northern Europe. On rafts 1-10 acre in size, an average of 55 tons of mussels are grown each year.

They can also be grown on ropes stretched horizontally between posts, or on ropes wrapped around posts.

Holland also has been a producer of mussels for many years, but the highly polluted Rhine River has wiped out some of its "farms."

This should serve as a good example for Puget Sound of what not to do, Joyner believes.

Nutrients to grow all kinds of marine things are constantly being washed into the Sound from the sea, and poured in from the sea, and poured in from the river tributaries.

"We're sitting on a goldmine, if we'll just take cognizance of it," Joyner declared.

"The Sound is just like a great big piece of bottom land . . ."

"We have an incredible resource if we choose to use it this way. If we don't, we'll have another Chesapeake Bay by the end of the century."

Not only must any further polluting of the Sound be halted, he said, but it should be restored to its original pristine state.

He cites the formation of Metro around Seattle and the Puget Sound Governmental Conference as steps in the right direction. "But," he said, "the counties must give up some of their jealously guarded authority. If things remain fragmented as they are, it'll all go down the tube."

But with a clean, fish-producing Sound, the use of the fertile valleys of the Sound tributaries to produce crops, and the growing of farm goods in Eastern Washington, Joyner believes Washington could very well lead the nation in food production.

Joyner spoke of Willapa Harbor, the state's major oyster producing area, as a way not to go.

More and more housing means more and more septic tanks, until seepage from these tanks is "threatening a very valuable industry."

Joyner also spoke of a way to go, if the Sound is not let go down the tube. That is what he calls polyculture, the growing of non-competing crops in the same area.

The crops he suggested are salmon in net pens or cages, and shrimp, mussels, oysters and even scallops beneath the pens. The shellfish would utilize what feed the salmon missed, plus the fish wastes, and at the same time they'd be providing a natural water-cleaning system.

One problem a mussel grower would probably have now is finding markets. But the NMFS is working on this also.

The service is encouraging restaurants to offer the mollusks as a gourmet item. Once this happens, Joyner reasons, the Joneses will want to keep up with the Vanderbilts. And everybody wants to keep up with the Joneses.

#### FARMING PUGET SOUND—V: OTHER INTERESTS MUST BE WEIGHED IN AQUACULTURE

(By Malcolm MacNey)

Many things have to be considered when it comes to farming Puget Sound for fishes, in addition to the actual growing and marketing processes.

Water skiing, boating, sports and commercial fishing and commercial movement are some of those things.

Both the Army Corps of Engineers and the State Department of Natural Resources will have a hand in trying to keep everybody happy. Any prospective fish farmer will need permits from each organization.

"Our objective is to promote aquaculture compatible with recreation and commerce and environmental considerations," said Dr. David W. Jamison, aquatic land manager for the DNR.

In line with this, the DNR has applied to the Corps for permits to carry on experimental work at 12 sites on Puget Sound, 10 in the south and two in the north.

In its new role as a protector of the environment, the Corps announced factors that would be considered in studying the applications would be "navigation, fish and wildlife, water quality, economics, conservation, esthetics, recreation, water supply, flood damage prevention, ecosystems, and, in general, the needs and welfare of the people."

The DNR tests are designed to learn if some aquaculture techniques can be developed to meet both the Corps' and its own criteria.

Jamison is proposing to try growing clams, oysters and seaweed at depths that would not disturb surface traffic.

Some naturally grown seaweed, the red *Iradaea*, has been harvested by the Lummi Indians the past couple of summers. The red kelp brings a price of \$300 a dry ton because of the carrageenin it contains.

Carrageenin has widespread use in toothpaste, ice cream, milk products, prepared

cereals, cosmetics and paints as an emulsifying and smoothing agent.

#### MARKET FOR KELP

But there is a market for the more common brown kelp, also. Because the price is only \$60 a dry ton, however, an inexpensive harvesting method is a must.

Harvesting could likely be accomplished without undue expense if the kelp will grow on lines beneath the Sound.

Seaweed is not found extensively in southern Puget Sound, but there is rather firm belief this is because the bottom does not provide enough things for the kelp to fasten to.

(This belief is partly borne out by the kelp that grows readily and rapidly on ropes hanging in the water around the National Marine Fisheries Service facilities near Manchester.)

Test growing of the kelp will be between minus 15 and minus 60 feet, as will that of the oysters and clams.

Oysters will be grown both suspended on ropes and in trays, while the clams will be tried on trays.

#### UNSURE OF CLAIMS

"We don't know," Jamison said, "whether claims will grow outside sand and gravel. If they need gravel, that could add a tremendous weight factor."

Littleneck and Manila clams will be used in the test work.

"When it's all over," Jamison added, "we can then say what will grow where and what the possible return might be. I think we'll find some choice areas."

The department is also taking into consideration the private beach owner who might want to do a little home fish gardening.

"We'll be putting out a publication in six or seven months," Jamison said, "on backyard aquaculture."

As an example of the backyard variety, Jamison mentioned growing oysters on ropes or wires suspended from swimming or boating docks.

#### SELFISH MOTIVE

The work to be carried on by the DNR is far from altruistic. Under the state constitution, the state owns all the lands under the Sound, with certain exceptions too detailed to go into here.

So if aquaculture programs can be developed, they would put "a good monetary price on the bottom of the bay that was not there before," Jamison said.

Some of that land is already under lease for harvesting clams, including geoducks, and oysters.

The price is \$5 to \$15 an acre for oysters, depending on the grounds, 50 cents an acre plus a royalty on the poundage for geoducks, and a straight royalty on the poundage for other clams.

#### NO SET SCHEDULE

While no definite schedule has been worked out for raising salmon, Jamison suggested it could be on a royalty basis, or in the form of share-cropping such as on grazing or wheat lands.

"We'd have to be fair to the grower," Jamison said, "as we don't want to drive him out. For the first few years, high development costs will have to be considered."

Land Commissioner Bert Cole, who heads the DNR, is another champion of aquaculture.

"There is no reason why recreational activities and the commercial growing of marine and freshwater products for food and industrial materials cannot occur at one and the same time. Use of these marine areas can be comparable to the multiple use we now make of our forests and rangelands," Cole has declared.

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#### FARMING PUGET SOUND—VI: CROP PRODUCTION PROBLEMS SIMILAR ON LAND, IN THE SEA

(By Malcolm MacNey)

Farming on the land and in the sea have many similarities, as has been pointed out. Just as certain soils are better for raising certain crops, there are places in the salt water better suited for growing various marine organisms.

Temperatures are important in both aquaculture and agriculture.

Some crops in both activities need feeding or fertilizing.

And in both forms of farming there are dangers of crop losses and failures.

By far the greatest threat to fish farming is pollution.

Unless pollution is checked, Puget Sound can be ruined. Unless reversed, it will never realize its potential. These are the facts of life pointed out by nearly everybody taking part in the propagation and raising of marine life.

#### NOTHING LIKE IT

"There is nothing else like it in the world," Tim Joyner, of the National Marine Fisheries Service said, referring to the Sound.

Cool and fresh ocean water, carrying oxygen and nutrients, pours in through the bottom of Admiralty Inlet, and continues down the Sound until it hits the "prow" of Vashon Island.

There the water is forced to the top and back out to sea.

The "flush action" is slower in southern Puget Sound, and much, much slower in some of the southern bays and inlets.

This makes the southern part just that much more vulnerable to the pollution threat.

But it is just a matter of degree.

#### IN MANY WAYS

Pollution can attack in many ways. It can destroy parts of the food chain, including the phytoplankton that are at the start of the chain.

It can cause disease. It can cause retarded growth. And it can just plain make one of the potential Sound crops unsafe to eat.

That is happening now in some areas. Dr. David Jamison, aquatic lands manager from the Department of Natural Resources, pointed out.

"Weeping septic tanks" flowing across oyster and clam beds are creating a problem, as are some sewer outfalls.

The outfall discharges may even meet water quality standards, and still be declared a hazard by health officials through the probability of contaminating marine life.

When this happens, the state charges the polluter for the area withdrawn from production.

Mucking up of the Sound is not the only thing putting a crimp in marine production.

Salmon and steelhead spawning beds and the streams leading to them have been taking a beating for years. Dams, gravel and logging operations, and water removal are some of the things making it tougher and tougher to raise fish by natural means, referred to by Cedrick Lindsay as "a big natural aquaculture program." He is a veteran fish biologist with the Department of Fisheries.

Streams are the brood area and the first natural pasture, he added. Then the fish feed in the "big pasture in the sea," and are usually caught on the return migration.

"We must not forget the bulk of the salmon are being produced from natural production and are not artificial. If we don't protect the natural production, salmon could well go out."

One of the greatest threats to the Sound is oil. Something of its potential force for destruction was demonstrated when 5,500 barrels

of light No. 2 diesel oil was pumped into the Sound near Anacortes a few weeks ago.

#### HARD-HIT AREAS

Hardest hit was the south shore of Guemes Island where much marine life was destroyed.

That type of oil dissipates rather rapidly. If the oil had been a heavier, crude type, the damage could have been much greater.

The threat of oil, or at least of oil drilling, is one big reason many people hope successful aquaculture programs can be developed in Puget Sound.

They believe that aquaculture and oil drilling are somewhat incompatible, and that a successful fish farming industry would shut the door on any future proposals for Sound drilling.

The basis for this reasoning is a regulation that says when two industries are competing for a resource, the one least damaging to the environment shall be given the nod.

But first a successful aquaculture program must be developed. From the many efforts in that direction, success seems assured.

If the Sound is given the proper protection.

#### COTTER CALLS FOR NEW \$800 DEPENDENCY DEDUCTION

#### HON. WILLIAM R. COTTER

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. COTTER. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with interest to the President's remarks today in support of his program to stimulate the economy without increasing the fires of inflation.

There was little new information in his remarks and I believe his tax proposals are misguided and require substantial modification.

While I welcome the President's economic actions, belated though they may be, I believe that the Congress should carefully scrutinize the President's tax proposals to insure that they are designed to attain the goals they seek to achieve. These goals are to stimulate our stagnating economy and thereby lessen unemployment and simultaneously to dampen the fires of inflation that consume the wage earner's salary.

I have the most serious reservations that the 10-percent investment tax credit, and even the total repeal of the auto excise tax, will promote necessary stimulation of the economy. My reasoning is that the current economic problem of unemployment—it is over 9 percent on an unadjusted basis in my State of Connecticut—is more the result of the lack of consumer spending than the lack of new production facilities in big business. Indeed, the latest figures I have seen indicate that the productive capacity of the United States is being used at only 73 percent. This means that 27 percent of our industrial might is not being used. The central reason for this lack of production is that the consumer—the working man and woman—does not have enough expendable money or are too unsure of long range employment to spend. Therefore, the current economic stagnation with its high unemployment is being caused by the lack of consumer's desire or his inability to spend. In abstract terms

what this means is that the demand follows supply or more simply put, people are refusing to buy.

Given this state of affairs, I believe that the Congress should substantially modify the President's tax proposals by increasing the personal exemption for each taxpayer and his dependents to \$800 per person. This new, higher, personal deduction will be available to all taxpayers and is a more realistic figure for the cost of caring for dependents. What this means is that the workingman will get additional tax relief that will create a greater incentive to spend.

In order to minimize the revenue losses from such a program, I have also suggested in a letter to Chairman MILLS of the House Ways and Means Committee that the investment tax credit be lowered to 5 percent. I have suggested a lower investment tax credit for two reasons. In the current recession, there is no indication that there are now too few goods available. Indeed, 27 percent of our nation's industrial capacity is unused. This adequately demonstrates that the call for plant modernization, while important, should not be passed in lieu of more consumer stimulation. Most businesses that I am familiar with have not shown much hesitancy to modernize, with or without a tax break. If their goods and services are being used by the consumer. I believe that a 5 percent investment tax credit is a reasonable incentive to business to modernize, but I share the concern of many Members that such a modernization program could adversely affect employment. It is necessary to keep in mind that this program is designed for twin objectives—lessening unemployment and combating inflation. I believe that my proposal will help fulfill both objectives.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that there are other elements in the tax structure that should enter into the congressional deliberations. First, the accelerated depreciation which was enacted by administrative fiat should be repealed. This would save \$3.4 billion per year, in addition, the Congress should consider moving more forcefully in closing unfair tax preferences: The accelerated depreciation allowance for oil ventures and the intangible oil drilling write-off could be tightened; the loopholes in hobby farming could be restricted; capital gains regulations could be made stricter; and a stringent minimum tax could be adopted.

Mr. Speaker, on this issue of inflation, more remains to be done. Among my first legislative actions was a proposal for effective wage-price controls to combat inflation. I believe that restraint in this area must continue after the 90-day freeze and serious thought should be given to controls on interest, dividends, and profit. Furthermore, no segment of our society should be asked to bear the disproportionate burden of our Nation's economic policy. I believe that fair and enforceable set guidelines should be established after the initial freeze.

Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that the Congress will change the thrust of the President's tax proposals. I believe that a new \$800 deduction for dependents is the most equitable means to stimulate the economy without increasing inflation.

In addition, the new \$800 per dependent deduction is a more realistic figure of

the cost of raising a family in our Nation today. The effects of such a deduction would be seen in the worker's paycheck.

Finally, I would also like to point out that the 10-percent import tax established by the President could result in higher prices to the consumer. This temporary new import tax, while it might be necessary, requires the consumer to pay increased costs and reinforces the need for more tax relief for the already overburdened wage earner.

RED CROSS COMMENDS MRS.  
LESLIE PARKER

HON. RICHARD H. FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, today I received word from the American National Red Cross commending the heroism of a young Nashvillian, Mrs. Leslie Parker. I feel this heroism worthy of mention to my fellow House colleagues.

On April 10, 1971, a 14-month-old infant suffering a high temperature accompanying the gastrointestinal disease shingella, drove in with his parents to the Parker's Centennial Boulevard filling station. Suddenly, the child went into convulsions and stopped breathing.

Mrs. Parker, waiting to meet her husband, gave mouth-to-mouth resuscitation and revived the infant. He was breathing on his own when admitted to the hospital.

How long did the resuscitation take? According to Mrs. Parker, "not very long."

She said:

It seemed like forever, but it was only a matter of seconds before the child was revived.

Mrs. Parker, in 1969, had received Red Cross lifesaving training. On that April day, she showed how valuable it can be. As Mrs. Parker noted:

When you save someone's life, it's the most precious thing in the world.

"Without this—training and action—I believe the child would have died," she said. The attending physician agreed.

On September 20, Nashville's Red Cross Chapter will recognize Mrs. Parker's training and prompt action. She will be awarded the Red Cross Certificate of Merit, the highest honor given persons using Red Cross first aid, small craft, or water safety training to save a life.

Mrs. Parker's reaction to the award came with these words:

I'm excited and a little embarrassed.

We should all be excited when someone follows Mrs. Parker's example. There is no embarrassment when someone saves another's life.

I include the following letter:

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL  
RED CROSS,  
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,  
Washington, D.C., September 3, 1971.  
HON. RICHARD H. FULTON,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. FULTON: I wish to bring to your attention a noteworthy act of mercy under-

taken by one of your constituents, Mrs. Leslie Parker, 4905 Illinois Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee 37209, who has been named to receive the Red Cross Certificate of Merit. This is the highest award given by the American Red Cross to a person who saves a life by using skills learned in a Red Cross first aid, small craft, or water safety course. The Certificate bears the signatures of the President of the United States, Honorary Chairman, and E. Roland Harriman, Chairman of the American National Red Cross. Presentation will be made by the Nashville-Davidson County Chapter in Nashville.

On April 10, 1971, a 14-month-old infant who was suffering a high temperature, went into convulsions and stopped breathing. Mrs. Parker, who is trained in Red Cross first aid, gave mouth-to-mouth resuscitation and revived the baby. He was breathing on his own when admitted to the hospital. The attending physician stated that: "Without this form of ventilatory assistance the child could not have survived," and he commended Mrs. Parker for her first aid skill.

This action by Mrs. Parker exemplifies the highest ideal of the concern of one human being for another who is in distress.

Sincerely,

GEORGE M. ELSEY.

ADDITIONAL TEXAS JUDGE NEEDED

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, during the last Congress a public law was enacted which, among other things, increased the number of Federal judges in certain judicial districts throughout the Nation. When the bill this law was based on passed the House, it contained provisions for increasing the number of Federal judges in the Northern District of Texas from six to eight. This number was arrived at on the basis of the recommendations of the Judicial Conference of the United States, which had been studying in depth the problems of the Federal judiciary. Regrettably, the Senate did not make a similar increase in the number of Texas Federal judgeships. And when the bill emerged from a House-Senate conference committee, despite my vocal objections, the House-passed increase for the Northern District of Texas was limited to one additional seat. Thus the judicial needs of the northern district were not fully met in the new public law.

In an effort to redress this state of affairs I am today introducing legislation raising the number of Federal judgeships in the northern district from seven to eight.

To highlight just a few of the major reasons why this judicial district needs another judge, I am inserting in the RECORD excerpts from a memorandum supplied to me by the Honorable Joe Ewing Estes, chief judge of the U.S. district court in the northern district. While the statistics I will refer to represent the status of district cases in the last quarter of 1970, they graphically indicate the judicial predicament this district is in.

The Northern District of Texas is comprised of 100 counties—three times the size of Indiana.

The seven divisions for which court is

held—in Dallas, Fort Worth, Wichita Falls, Lubbock, Amarillo, Abilene, and San Angelo—embrace an area of 95,000 square miles.

The 1970 Census Bureau figures show a population of 3,625,739. The Dallas-Fort Worth metropolitan areas have increased in size from 563,959 in 1960 to 2,296,476 in 1970; an increase of 33 percent.

Since 1961, the northern district was given jurisdiction over habeas corpus applications of State prisoners by the 1966 amendment to 28 U.S.C. 2241, and those that follow. This amendment in effect transferred to this district, from other Texas districts, 40.3 percent of the State prisoner applications by reason of their conviction in the northern district.

Collections of the U.S. attorney's office for fiscal 1970 were \$6,943,305, the largest of any district in the Nation.

During the period from 1960 to August 31, 1970, case filings in the northern district have increased, as follows:

Civil case filings in the 12-month period ending August 31, 1970, rose 110 percent over calendar 1960.

Criminal case filings rose 70 percent. Bankruptcy case filings rose 296 percent.

It is important to note that the figure for civil cases included only 186 docketed habeas corpus cases. Additionally, approximately 400 prisoner papers were considered and disposed of without statistical records being sent to the administrative office because of the critical shortage of help in the clerk's office. Thus, the official figures are understated by approximately 400 civil cases.

The complex, time-consuming nature of the cases now pending in the northern district is reflected in the following issues present in those cases:

There are 617 pending civil cases involving multiple parties, 124 injunctions, 11 trademark, 35 patent and copyright, 52 class actions, 47 antitrust, 45 product liability, 23 stockholder suits, and 19 common disaster cases.

With respect to criminal actions, 62 involve multiple parties and 97 involve securities, fraud, conspiracy, and racketeering cases.

Of the 1,033 pending bankruptcy cases, 547 are pending in the Dallas Division, 58 percent of which are business bankruptcies, 387 of which have liabilities in excess of \$10,000. Of the first 37 cases checked by the referee, 33 cases have total liabilities in excess of \$9,547,009.29. There are 19,298 claims on file. The appeal to the district court from the referee in bankruptcy in one of these cases requires review of a record of 4,999 pages.

You are aware of the explosion of cases arising here under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The majority of the 124 pending injunction cases involve civil rights. These cases and criminal cases take precedence over, and therefore delay dispositions of, all other cases, many involving injury and loss of earning capacity or the loss of a person's business or property.

Approximately 50 percent of all insurance transactions in Texas occur in the northern district.

Mr. Speaker, I represent a significant part of the northern district of Texas. I am vitally concerned about the state of justice and the state of the judicial process in this area. And I know the residents of the district share this concern as well.

As President Nixon so aptly put it, "Justice delayed is justice denied." When this principle is applied to the facts of the matter in the northern district of Texas, the conclusion is inescapable. The needs of justice are going wanting in this section of the State. For this reason, the number of Federal judges in this judicial district must be increased to meet the increasing demands on the area's judicial system.

#### RAISES QUESTION ON RIGHT TO STRIKE

### HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, David Lawrence, the editor of U.S. News & World Report is an experienced and an astute observer of the labor-management relations scene. His editorial in the issue of September 13, 1971, raises an important question about the "right to strike."

The reasons, techniques and consequences, and effects of strikes on innocent third parties is a dimension that requires more consideration—even legislation.

Appropriate legislation is possible and necessary.

I urge Members, employers, and employees to read the editorial. There may be alternative proposals for solving this social and economic problem.

I commend Mr. Lawrence for his contribution to the better understanding of this problem.

I include the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

IS THE RIGHT TO STRIKE A RIGHT TO INJURE THE INNOCENT?

(By David Lawrence)

For many years now, the right of labor unions to engage in strikes and even to set up picket lines which members of other unions decline to cross has been regarded as virtually sacred. Yet, neither Congress nor any State legislature has ventured to defend the rights of those innocent persons who are adversely affected not only by strikes themselves but by threats of work stoppages which cause slowdowns or interruptions in the flow of products to their purchasers.

When will the Congress of the United States start to protect the individual whose business is hurt by threats of strikes or actual strikes? Again and again, management becomes involved in protracted negotiations until a crisis is reached and perhaps a halt in operations. Customers do not know whether the strike will last days or weeks or even months. Sometimes they must seek out other ways of meeting their needs. Costs can then be considerably increased, but labor unions are not required to pay any of the extra expense inflicted upon the innocent.

Many companies which are not participants in the disputes have paid large sums for in-

terim arrangements. Unions have caused incalculable outlays of funds due to uncertainty created by threats of strikes or the sudden closing down of plants.

If a computation could be made of the amounts of money spent in the last decade by businesses which were not parties to a labor controversy but which had to move their work from one place to another to avoid an interruption, the total would be a huge figure. These losses have been continuing, and there should be compensation to the victims. But most important of all, such damages should be prevented from occurring.

It surely is time for the rights of the innocent to be given consideration. Millions of dollars are lost by customers of industry when strikes are unexpectedly announced and are prolonged beyond the point where readjustments can be quickly made.

The right to strike is in itself legitimate, because nobody should be compelled to work if he doesn't desire to do so. But large labor unions comprise in a single organization many locals in different parts of the country. The national body thus asserts a vast authority in determining wage scales for an industry throughout the land. Employers, however, are not permitted to enter into agreements with each other on the prices they will impose or the wage scales they will pay. The anti-trust laws forbid such collusion.

Labor unions today are exercising in some respects more power than business monopolies ever did. So long as the right to strike is properly used, it must be sanctioned. But when it is manipulated in a manner that is hurtful to innocent parties, the Government must intervene with protective laws.

The issue is not just a conflict between labor and management. It is a matter of simple justice affecting millions of citizens. Certain unions of their own volition are able to force big factories to close and stop production. The Government has the duty to see that this right is not improperly used. Unfortunately, the protection of innocent parties is a step that has been neglected altogether.

There is, of course, a method of dealing with the problem which the labor unions would have to accept. Congress could pass legislation requiring that a labor-management contract should specify the expiration date and that this should be made public. A lockout or a strike would, by law, not be permitted until one month after the date agreed upon for the end of the negotiations. During the fixed interval between the last negotiation date and the day on which a strike would take effect, preparations could be made for the shutdown. There would be plenty of opportunity for compromise settlements to be developed before the 30-day period begins. Businesses which are dependent upon continuous operations should at least be provided with this means of making plans to meet emergencies.

If negotiations are resumed during the 30-day period and no agreement is reached, a new 30-day notice of the forthcoming strike would have to be given. In this way, all parties concerned will get an opportunity to make necessary adjustments. The public should be protected against the uncertainties of present-day negotiations which can bring work stoppages instantly.

There also should be some method whereby a third party who is injured by strikes could recover damages through the courts by suing labor unions or businesses which violated the laws requiring them to abide by the legal formula of a month's prelude to strikes or shutdowns.

These would be constructive measures to help avoid the losses that are being incurred by innocent persons today through threats of strikes or stoppages which sometimes are ordered with less than 24 hours' notice.

## CASE AGAINST NO-KNOCK

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article appearing in the Washington, D.C., Post of Friday, August 6, 1971, by Mr. William Raspberry entitled "Case Against No-Knock." In that excellent article Mr. Raspberry discusses the outrageous shooting of Kenyon Ballew by the representatives of AFTD.

The time is at hand when Secretary Connally must bring his household Gestapo under stern control, and unless he does so, it is almost certain that more citizens will be terrorized and shot and more women dishonored in the kind of brutal, bungling raid which appears to be something of a hallmark of the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Tax Division of the Internal Revenue Service of the Department of the Treasury.

The article follows:

## CASE AGAINST NO-KNOCK

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 housebreaking 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 lying 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 mo-

ment 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 plain-clothesmen in raids of this sort. However frightening 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.

## GI BILL SCORES WITH VETERAN

## HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, we hear a lot of reports about gripes and complaints and demonstrations these days. We hear plenty about what is wrong with anything and everything. So it was with much pleasure that I read in a recent Mike Causey column in the Washington Post an account of an ex-serviceman who liked the GI bill—and the way the Veterans' Administration took care of his various needs.

It is a refreshing, positive note, and I commend to the attention of my colleagues the pertinent portion of the Federal Diary column in the Washington Post of July 24, 1971:

Veterans' Administration recently received the following thank-you note from one of its millions of clients, a student on the GI bill. He used only his eight-digit service number for identification. It read:

"This will be the last card I'll be mailing in to you at the VA; I graduate next month. This is just to let you know I'm grateful for four years of devoted letter-opening, number-copying and transcript reading.

"Thank you for bearing with all the ad-

dress changes, the course load adjustments, the messy signatures. Thanks for quickly sending me the raises Uncle Sam allowed, and for somehow managing to always arrive just the day before my car was about to die from lack of repair, and I from lack of food.

"Even if all you do is open my envelopes and stuff my cards into some computer, thank you for not spinning, folding or mutilating me in the process.

"It's been a turbulent four years and I never would have made it without you. How you've managed to sort out order from so much confusion I'll never know, but I'll never forget what you've done for me.

"From the number on the other end of the mailbox: thank you and have a good day."

## FEDERALLY EMPLOYED WOMEN

## HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the second national conference of Federally Employed Women, Inc., was held on June 26, 1971, in Washington, D.C. The subject of the conference was "The Federal Women's Program—Fact or Fiction?" and it was designed to work out recommendations for improving the program, which is the principal means of implementing the administration's stated objectives of improving the opportunities for women in the Federal Government.

The conference produced a significant set of recommendations, which have been transmitted to the Civil Service Commission and the heads of Federal agencies. Included in these recommendations is the goal of requiring "Agencies to establish goals and timetables specifically for women, including minority women."

The complete compilation of recommendations of Federally Employed Women, Inc., follows. I commend them to my colleagues:

## FEW'S RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING THE FEDERAL WOMEN'S PROGRAM

## TO THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

## Goals

1. Require agencies to establish goals and timetables specifically for women, including minority women, similar to those defined in the memorandum to heads of agencies by the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission dated May 11, 1971.

## Organization

2. Retain FWP within EEO as provided in EO 11478, but give separate emphasis in both headquarters and field offices.

3. Require establishment of a Federal Women's Program Coordinator in addition to a Committee. The Coordinator should not be the EEO Officer or Counselor.

4. Provide a system for an annual evaluation of the Federal Women's Program, which measures results achieved against established goals and action plans.

5. Establish career fields for FWP Coordinators.

## Communication

6. Again require narrative Quarterly Reports on FWP progress from agencies. Have a *Women in Action* newsletter developed from these reports each quarter for distribution government-wide to individuals as well as FWP staffs.

7. Print sex statistics by race.

8. Initiate a new study to update the *Report of the Committee on Federal Employment* prepared by the President's Commission on the Status of Women, Oct. 1963, to measure the progress of women in federal employment in the past eight years.

#### Placement

9. Review recruitment literature and training materials to remove sex bias and implications of sex preference.

10. Require a statement in all examination announcements that volunteer/unpaid work experience should be stated and will be credited at the same level as paid experience.

11. Develop steps toward elevation of job classifications for clerical/secretarial positions.

#### Training

12. As one means of implementing EO 11478, establish grade requirement exemption for women and minority employees for attendance at the Federal Executive Institute at Charlottesville and other interagency executive training centers. Take 15s, 14s, and 13s in descending order until a 15% participation target is reached at each training session. This percentage should be increased until it reaches a level reflecting the proportion of women and minorities in the workforce.

#### Upward mobility

13. Provide greater opportunity for advancement by establishing bridges between lower level white and blue collar jobs and technical/professional/administrative series.

14. Promote interagency mobility for federal employees at all grade levels by expanding and publicizing counselling and placement services of the Career Service Div., Bur. Rec. and Exam.

#### Merit promotion

15. Amend Chapter 335 of the Federal Personnel Manual to require all agencies to publicize vacancies sufficiently in advance to permit interested employees to apply.

16. Since emphasis on supervisory appraisals leads to a "buddy system," require that no more than 25% of a merit promotion evaluation be supervisory appraisal scores.

#### R.I.F.

17. Ask the General Counsel of the CSC to clarify the legal basis of RIF procedures and their application as they relate to veterans vs. women. Since the Congress has refused to pass the Equal Rights Amendment (supported by women for 50 years), which would permit women to be drafted, veterans' preference in RIF appears to be illegal. Recent reports indicate that even women volunteers are not accepted on an equal basis with men.

#### Benefits

18. Review employee benefits to determine sex bias—e.g., in grants for overseas housing and transportation. Initiate action to equalize benefits for both male and female employees.

19. Advise FEW on status of CSC maternity leave study requested by the 1967-68 Interdepartment Committee on the Status of Women.

20. Support legislation for child care which includes provisions for children of federal employees.

21. Request the Office of Management and Budget to clarify its official position on what government funds can be used to help provide federally funded child care facilities in government agencies.

#### TO THE FEDERAL AGENCIES

##### Goals

1. Establish goals and timetables specifically for women, including minority women, similar to those defined in the memorandum to heads of agencies by the Chm. of the CSC dated 5-11-71.

2. Report publicly and regularly on results in hiring and promotion of women in rela-

tion to goals established by the President in his memorandum of April 21, 1971.

#### Organization

3. Provide full-time staff personnel for FWP in agencies exceeding 7,000 employees, and provide adequate staff support for FWP in all agencies, including field offices.

4. Clarify responsibility for implementing the FWP by issuing an agency directive to all employees defining the special responsibilities of the EEO staff, the FWP Coordinator, FWP Committees, and the management and line supervisors.

5. Require quarterly reports from field installations on their progress in implementing the FWP.

6. Provide a system for self-evaluation of FWP operations and for assessing results in terms of recruitment, training, and upgrading of women at all levels.

#### Communication

7. Assure that strong policy statements supporting the purposes of the FWP from the top management levels are thoroughly communicated on a repeated basis throughout the agency.

8. Include FWP discussion as a regular part of all management training and orientation programs.

9. Review recruitment literature and training materials to remove sex bias and implications of sex preference.

10. Assure that award systems provide recognition for actions helpful in promoting equal opportunity for women.

11. Include information on FWP activities in agency newsletters.

#### Program development

12. Conduct training programs for FWP Coordinators.

13. Make clear that FWP Coordinator and staff should attend meetings of organizations with goals relating to FWP.

14. Assure that EWP Coordinators assigned less than full-time responsibilities are given sufficient time to carry out their functions.

15. Issue guidelines for field FWP Coordinators—steps to be taken, useful procedures, etc.

16. Assure that the FWP is made visible to all employees.

#### Placement

17. Insure that women are members of promotion review boards, advisory boards, hearing panels, and are on community, interagency and similar committees.

18. Insure that women candidates are given positive consideration for vacancies in top levels of personnel, EEO, and training.

#### Training and promotion

19. Provide continuing career counselling to all employees and publicize its availability.

20. Since training can now be provided on the basis of potential as well as for job-related reasons, publicize such opportunities to all employees.

21. Develop "bridge training" opportunities for low-level employees to enable them to move into technical, professional, and administrative jobs, utilizing on-the-job training, details, and developmental assignments.

22. As a means of implementing EO 11478, include 15% women and minority employees in each agency management training program, increasing this percentage until it reaches a level reflecting the proportion of women and minorities in the workforce.

#### Special programs

23. Assure commitment to work toward establishing quality child care facilities for agency employees by determining the degree of employee need and interest.

24. Review employee benefits to determine sex bias. Initiate action to equalize benefits for both male and female employees.

#### TO INDIVIDUALS

1. Support legislation such as the Equal Rights Amendment, child care, etc., which

would strengthen equal employment opportunity for women.

2. Write letters to editors of newspapers on problems of sex discrimination in your community.

3. Ask your EEO Officer for copies of the EEO Action Plan for your agency.

4. Ask for the name of your FWP Coordinator in agency headquarters and field office levels.

5. Remind high level officials of your continuing interest in FWP.

6. Make recommendations to management on FWP via the suggestion system.

7. Educate women to awareness of discrimination problems.

8. Meet informally with other women to exchange ideas on EEO problems.

9. Recommend establishment of an ad hoc committee for focus on FWP.

10. Assist FWP Coordinator, EEO staff, unions, and management to solve problems of discrimination.

11. Encourage other women to advance their federal careers by utilizing available facilities of counseling and training.

12. Request that your name be placed on the mailing list of the Women's Bureau, Department of Labor.

13. Ask to be put on mailing list for CSC publications on FWP, including newsletter "Women in Action."

14. Organize interest in developing a FEW Chapter wherever one does not exist.

#### STRANGERS IN THEIR OWN LAND: THE PUERTO RICANS

### HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, for countless years the United States has been heralded as a nation of immigrants. We are considered to be a melting pot of diverse racial, ethnic, and nationality groups—a land in which all persons, both newly arrived and native born, ostensibly enjoy a wide variety of freedoms and virtually limitless opportunities.

Unfortunately, however, this is not an accurate picture as there are many who do not fully or equitably enjoy the benefits this country has to offer. Many persons are treated as second-class citizens and are prevented from fully participating in our political, social, and economic life. One such group is the Puerto Rican.

For many who migrated to the United States from Puerto Rico, their aspirations have not been realized and emigration to the mainland has tragically failed to provide the salvation many had imagined or hoped for. The Puerto Rican is seeking economic security and independence; full access to our educational, social, and political institutions; and the enjoyment of basic human rights and freedoms. Yet this is denied to many of us through ignorance, limited opportunities, prejudice, inadequate facilities and programs, and simple discrimination. There is much to be done to secure fair and equitable treatment for Puerto Ricans.

The tragic plight of the Puerto Rican was vividly presented in an outstanding television documentary earlier this summer. In the first of its three-part series—"Strangers in Their Own Land"—the

ABC television network presented a penetrating and graphic discussion of the many and varied problems experienced by Puerto Ricans in the United States. This program depicted the difficulties Puerto Ricans daily encounter in finding adequate housing, meaningful employment, proper education, in achieving equality with other American citizens, and in enjoying simple human dignity. Puerto Ricans are the newest immigrants and, historically, we are experiencing the greatest difficulty in being assimilated into the American way of life. This is particularly cruel as we already supposedly enjoy the advantage of being citizens.

Mr. Speaker, the ABC television network is certainly to be commended for the important service it has rendered in producing and broadcasting this series. I believe the documentary deserves our most careful attention and reflection, particularly as it focuses on some of the issues I have been discussing in the past months and reinforces my appeals for a concerted effort to relieve the problems which beset the Puerto Rican community. I present herewith, for inclusion in the RECORD, the transcript of "Strangers in Their Own Land: The Puerto Ricans" and urge our colleagues to closely and thoughtfully consider the issues it raises:

[Broadcast over the ABC television network, July 22, 1971]

STRANGERS IN THEIR OWN LAND: THE PUERTO RICANS

(Produced, written and directed by John E. Johnson, Jr.; narrated by Frank Reynolds; executive producer, Stephen Fleischman)

FRANK REYNOLDS. Puerto Rican Day—1971. A parade in New York salutes our newest immigrants, just as other parades salute those who came before them—the Irish on St. Patrick's Day, the Italians on Columbus Day.

DEMONSTRATOR. We're the most discriminated minority in this city and in this country. We have the highest rate of unemployment, the lowest standard of living, we live in the worst housing, we go to the worst schools—there's drugs in our community, there's genocide waged on our people. It's not the land of the free.

FRANK REYNOLDS. There are enough Puerto Ricans in New York to make them a major political force—over a million, more than in San Juan, Puerto Rico's capital city. They come mostly for the reasons the earlier waves of immigrants came: a chance to better their lives and those of their children. This is the story of 15 of them, the Ferrer family.

Good evening. This is Frank Reynolds in Brooklyn. More than one-third of the entire population of Puerto Rico, over a million people, have left the island to live on the mainland USA.

They are our newest immigrants but with a major difference. They come to the United States as strangers in their own land because for over half a century since Congress made their island a commonwealth territory in 1917, Puerto Ricans have been citizens of the United States.

Tonight ABC News begins a three-part series on minorities in America—Puerto Ricans, Blacks and Mexican Americans. All three are in one way or another strangers in their own land. All three face essentially the same problem—making good in a society which no longer needs the sweat and muscle of a man's back—as America did in other times when other unskilled minorities came here and made good. So the question is: Do we have room for the Puerto Rican in America, their own land?

They arrive at Kennedy airport at three in the morning. The economy flight from San Juan costs \$61.00 one way. They come to the American mainland, basically unskilled and uneducated—seeking a better way of life. It was only 2 years ago that Manuel Ferrer, his wife Maximina and their 13 children came to New York and settled in Brooklyn leaving hunger, unemployment and health problems behind in Puerto Rico.

MANUEL FERRER. In this country it is more better for about two or three reasons: to look, to look for a job is more better. To the health of the boys it is more better over here. I love my family. I want a larger life for them.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Manuel Ferrer sees a chance for his family here in America. But the statistics do not point to a bright future for Puerto Ricans. They have one of the highest unemployment rates of any group in America but it's worse on their island and so they come.

Congressman HERMAN BADILLO. I consider it a tragedy for Puerto Ricans to have to leave Puerto Rico.

FRANK REYNOLDS. I spoke with New York Democratic Congressman Herman Badillo, the highest ranking Puerto Rican political official in the United States, about the Puerto Rican immigration.

Congressman BADILLO. Migration of the Puerto Ricans to New York City and to the mainland is a migration only of poor people, purely for economic reasons. And it is not a migration, by the way, for welfare. Officially, the unemployment rate in Puerto Rico now is 12% which is twice the official rate in the mainland. But unofficially it has been admitted by the governor, the administration, and the newspapers in Puerto Rico—unofficially the unemployment rate in Puerto Rico is 30%. And it is for that reason that Puerto Ricans migrate.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Well, knowing what you know about conditions in New York would you recommend to a young man in Puerto Rico who cannot find a job there that he come here?

Congressman BADILLO. He would have no choice. Otherwise he would starve.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Manuel Ferrer had no choice—he had to leave Puerto Rico. In Mr. Ferrer's American experience he has been more fortunate than many others. He found a job. He is the foreman of the janitorial staff of Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church and school in Brooklyn. His two eldest sons, Angel and Hector work with him. Manuel Ferrer earns \$80 a week while his two sons earn \$88 per week working longer hours. But they are subject to the constant harassment that is so often the lot of the undereducated and the poor. The problem at the moment is housing.

MANUEL FERRER. My problem at the present is the house. You know, because at first we don't have problems with the house, but now, one of my boys, the little one was a lead poison, he ended up in the hospital. Then the Department of Health send a letter to the landlord and the landlord was too angry with me and he said to me you have to move. And you know a big family is no easy to look for an apartment—it is too difficult to look for apartment. It's my bigger problem, just now.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Because the Ferrers reported their son's lead poisoning to city authorities, they got into a fight with their landlord, whom they had been paying \$225 a month for their 3-bedroom railroad apartment. The upshot was that they moved out. Even so Manuel feels he's better off in New York. He thinks that back in Puerto Rico no one would have paid any attention to a complaint about housing and health.

It's the same for his retarded son Juanito, aged 10. In Puerto Rico Mr. Ferrer found no help for Juanito. That was another reason why he moved to the mainland. Juanito

Ferrer, at 10 years of age, has never been to school. With only the love of the family to provide any kind of training Juanito is becoming more of a problem for his mother.

In Puerto Rico the only public assistance is for the totally disabled, the old, and abandoned children. The Federal Government and the city provide a maintenance income for the Ferrers on the mainland—about \$100 a week in payments under the Aid to Dependent Children program and another \$50 weekly in groceries through food stamps for the family of 15. The Puerto Ricans, like other minorities, find that if they are really to make good, they will have to help themselves—through organizations like the Puerto Rican Family Institute. The Institute, financed through the Office of Economic Opportunity, employs Puerto Ricans to work with Puerto Ricans.

The Puerto Rican Family Institute which was begun in 1960 by a group of Puerto Rican social workers, due to the lack of other services for the Puerto Rican migrant, has attempted to provide a base for the new immigrant family. The institute's self-help program offers counseling, tutorial programs, job placement, housing information, and psychological assistance. The institute's motivation is to help the new immigrant family before the misery of second-class ghetto living breaks down the Puerto Rican family. Our cameras were at the institution when a typical immigrant family came seeking help, just as the Ferrers had done two years earlier. Miss Cruz Fuentes is in charge of interviewing the new immigrants.

MISS CRUZ FUENTES. Well, they came to this country just to—looking for better living and he came to find out a job from Puerto Rico because over there it was not so easy to find a job for him. At present he's unemployed but he has been looking around. He has not a formal education. He went only to the fourth grade of the schooling. The Puerto Rican Family Institute is going to try to get a job for Mr. Vasquez. We also will try to find some furniture for his apartment.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Fedora Porata, the assistant director of the Puerto Rican Family Institute.

MISS FEDORA PORATA. Us Puerto Ricans we face a lot of problems here. But I think Puerto Ricans, we Puerto Ricans should organize ourselves and we should be helping one another, and I think that is what the Puerto Rican family is trying to do.

FRANK REYNOLDS. As part of the Puerto Rican Family Institute's efforts to prepare the Puerto Rican community for first class citizenship they visit families in their homes. We asked to go along when Fedora Porata and Hector Pou visited the Ferrers. Hector Pou, a recent college graduate, is a volunteer tutor who will act as a big brother to the Ferrer family and will teach English to those members of the family who have language difficulties.

HECTOR POU. Do any of the little children have problems with English?

MANUEL FERRER. The little children. But some problem because then in the school gave them an assignment. I can help. I was in the school, to High School. I know read English, I know write the English. Sometime I got a problem on how pronounce the verb word, the verbs is my problem.

HECTOR POU. Oh, the verbs.

MANUEL FERRER. Yeah. Sometimes I pronounce in the past tense, sometimes past, first tense, you know. The future, never, because I know the future.

FRANK REYNOLDS. Although Puerto Ricans make up one-quarter of the public school population in New York City, sixty percent do not finish high school. And since education is the key to making good Hector Pou concentrates on helping the older Ferrer boys, Angel, 19, and Hector, 20, in English

comprehension and urging them to go back to school.

**HECTOR POU.** The horse's huge chest. Chest. The horse's.

**ANGEL FERRER.** The horse's what?

**HECTOR POU.** Chest, the first mistake here in touch you wrote t-o-c-h. In a way, right, because you wrote what you heard. Ah, touch is spelled this way, t o u c h. As you notice, there are many opportunities for studying. Just because you have been out of school doesn't mean you can't go back.

**Congressman BADILLO.** In our modern times nobody has any use for you unless you have an education.

When the Irish, the Italians and the Jewish people came to New York City fifty, seventy-five and one-hundred years ago, they also came as people who were poor, people who had no education but nobody else had any education either. For most of our jobs in the central city what is required is a trained mind and that is what this generation of migrant Puerto Ricans does not have.

**FRANK REYNOLDS.** In a conference at the Puerto Rican Family Institute ABC was allowed to film Hector Pou's report on the progress of his work with the Ferrer boys.

**HECTOR POU.** I have one concern, about the two oldest boys, Hector and Angel. They are working now and they're not in school and the job they hold now does not have any kind of a future. Both decided to go back to school and I think now's the time that they should go back and study, to learn some kind of trade.

**CARMAN FUENTES.** We'll have to find a school for them so that they can start in September.

**HECTOR POU.** I'm a college graduate and I'm having difficulty in finding employment, and imagine Angel and Hector without any high school diploma trying to find a job today. It's very important, I believe, very important that they go back to school.

**FRANK REYNOLDS.** Part of the Institute's self-help program concentrates on the Puerto Rican families' human problems. Through the efforts of the Institute, Juanito Ferrer will be tested by Aida Burnett, the Institute's psychologist, with the hope of getting Juanito into a special school.

**AUGUSTINE GONZALES.** We are very proud in the Puerto Rican Family Institute because we do feel that we are providing very badly needed service.

**FRANK REYNOLDS.** Augustine Gonzales the executive director in charge of the Puerto Rican Family Institute.

**AUGUSTINE GONZALES.** The Puerto Rican Family Institute is a self-help program because it was designed by Puerto Ricans for Puerto Ricans. And we really need self-help programs in the Puerto Rican community because we are in a very unique group with our very special needs. I don't think the Puerto Ricans are welcome in this country. The United States has been a country of migrations and I don't know of any group who have been the last who have been fully accepted from the beginning. Newcomers are never welcome because they are a threat to the stability that the already settled groups have achieved.

**FRANK REYNOLDS.** If the Puerto Ricans threaten the stability of the already established groups then what are their alternatives if they are compelled to come here? Congressman Badillo offers some answers.

**Congressman BADILLO.** What I am trying to do in the Congress is to help bring about a choice, to try to get programs developed through the help of the Congress in Puerto Rico so that we can begin to match the number of jobs with the number of people that join the labor force. I think that as American citizens, Puerto Ricans should have the right to migrate from one state to another or from Puerto Rico to any part of the mainland, but it should be an optional thing—something that people do because

they want to, not because they are compelled to do it. Unless the United States helps Puerto Rico it will not be possible to bring about a condition where migration can be a voluntary and not a compulsory thing. Today, you cannot provide employment for people who come to the cities unless they are trained first and the degree of training is much greater than it was even 10 or 15 years ago. And this is what we have got to recognize as a matter of national policy. And that's why we have to recognize transient migration, and begin to train people before they migrate.

**FRANK REYNOLDS.** But the goal which Congressman Badillo seeks—a higher standard of living for the average Puerto Rican in Puerto Rico, is a long way off. At a time of pressing social needs on the mainland, Puerto Rico's internal problems do not have a high priority in Washington. So the Ferrers will doubtless be followed by thousands of other islanders just as poorly equipped for life here.

On June 13, 1971 Puerto Ricans from all over descended on Fifth Avenue to celebrate the Puerto Rican Day Parade.

**Congressman BADILLO.** It has great symbolic importance to the Puerto Rican community because it identifies the Puerto Ricans as one of the major ethnic groups in the city of New York. The tradition has been that when you get to be a major group in New York City you get a parade down Fifth Avenue. And for that reason it has tremendous attendance and it's regarded as a symbol of having arrived. Now it doesn't mean you've arrived but at least one of the status symbols has been attained.

**FRANK REYNOLDS.** Manuel Ferrer, his wife Maximina, the 13 Ferrer children and an uncle and grandfather also attended.

**MANUEL FERRER.** I would like to go to the Puerto Rican parade because never in the life I went to the Puerto Rican Parade. That is something good because that belongs to the Puerto Rican people you know.

I would like to go with all the family because I want that all my sons look at the parade because they never see the parade, like me. It is a good day for the family.

**FRANK REYNOLDS.** But the younger, more militant Puerto Ricans do not share Mr. Ferrer's happiness. To them the parade was one more reminder of oppression and hypocrisy. The Movement for Puerto Rican Independence is part of the Puerto Rican community—young and angry.

**DEMONSTRATOR.** We want to denounce the whole image that the Puerto Rican politicians are trying to present of the Puerto Rican community through this parade. We want to change the content, this image that they want to present. It does not represent our reality as a people. As a minority we are the most oppressed minority in this country right now and there will never be a chance for us Puerto Ricans to make it in this city. There will never be the chance.

**DEMONSTRATOR.** We live under the worst conditions because that seems to be the policy of the United States Government. It seems that those that come last, get the last crumbs. The Puerto Ricans were the last people to come to New York therefore they live in the worst ghettos. We have rats in our houses, the landlords exploit us, the factory workers exploit us. Our people are saying that they are tired. Our people are saying that that's enough. We have our own country, we want to go back to our own country.

**FRANK REYNOLDS.** Congressman Herman Badillo.

**Congressman BADILLO.** You can't close your eyes to the reality that the Puerto Rican comes to New York City because he has no opportunity in Puerto Rico. But if he had the opportunity for a job he would prefer to stay in Puerto Rico. But as long as Puerto Ricans are suffering the disabilities of Amer-

ican citizenship they should also enjoy the benefits of it and that Puerto Rico should begin to participate in federal programs and on housing and education, and health and manpower training to the same extent that other American citizens do. But what we're doing is wasting one whole generation of Puerto Ricans and it's a personal tragedy to all of them and it's a luxury that I don't think this country can afford.

**FRANK REYNOLDS.** The question remains: How can the Puerto Rican make good at a time when greater skills and more education are required than when most of the rest of us came to this country as immigrants? For the Puerto Rican to gain economic and political footholds and a fair share in his America, it will take people like the Ferrers, anxious and willing to work and to better themselves. They are not in the least exceptional.

In fact, they are typical. It will also take people like the young, angry radicals who want to force change. We'll need self-help programs and the people to direct them, enlightened and courageous officials and supportive government programs. And that means, of course, the support of all of the rest of us. Perhaps it would be well for us to remember that most of us started not too many generations ago just where the Puerto Ricans are starting today—largely broke, undereducated and speaking a foreign language. It might also be well to remember that when we arrived in this country we may not have been received with open arms but we were given a chance. The chances are fewer in today's highly specialized and industrialized society but it is up to us to make sure that a chance exists for all of America's minorities. We are, after all, a nation of immigrants and that has been one key to our strength and our vitality. How ironic it would be if we did not now at this time provide the opportunities that we had to our newest immigrants. They are after all our own people even though they may be strangers in their own land.

#### CENSORSHIP ON THE NATIONAL LEVEL

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

**Mr. RARICK.** Mr. Speaker, the unusual investigation and use of lie detectors by the FBI in probing "leaks" at the State Department gives further indication that the future of this country rests in the hands of two men—Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, neither of whom will share his secrets with the Congress or the people.

The State Department has been forbidden to discuss several important foreign policy questions with the press—the only ones who make statements on these issues are the President and Kissinger, who, among other roles in the Cabinet, is the unofficial international Secretary of State.

The list of these forbidden topics is shocking and terrifying: China, disarmament, Pakistan, the South Vietnam election, and new international monetary policies.

The people have no right to know according to our Presidents. I include a related news article detailing the significance of the "investigation" by the FBI into "leaks" at the State Department in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Memphis Press-Scimitar, Sept. 4, 1971]

**NIXON'S STATE DEPT. MUZZLE: LIE DETECTORS SEEK "LEAKS"**

(By R. H. Shackford)

WASHINGTON.—Richard M. Nixon, who campaigned for the presidency with a promise to "clean house" at the State Department, is successfully removing that establishment from any major role in the formulation or public discussion of important foreign policies.

The latest White House step is a crack-down to inhibit State Department officials in their contacts with the press.

It follows White House directives forbidding the State Department from discussion of several major foreign policy issues including China, disarmament, Pakistan, the South Vietnam election and new international monetary policies.

With the concurrence of Secretary of State William P. Rogers, the White House has initiated an FBI investigation of State Department officials to try to find the source of "leaks" to the press. Some sources say the probe extends to the White House and Pentagon staffs as well.

Lie detectors are being used in the questioning.

Normally, the State Department's own security division investigates leaks to the press that are embarrassing.

Ironically, the task of explaining the FBI investigation—made known by a leak—fell upon State Department spokesman Robert J. McCloskey, whose role has been increasingly difficult with the White House ban on his discussion of important questions.

The two basic questions, which then led to dozens more, were:

Is the State Department using lie detectors, or the threat of them, in investigating leaks to the press?

Has the State Department issued new instructions to its officials regarding contacts with newsmen?

McCloskey confirmed that "we have cooperated with agents of the Justice Department (meaning FBI agents) who have undertaken investigations within the Department of State." He declined to say who initiated the investigation but said Rogers "concurred." Other officials said it was a White House initiative.

McCloskey declined to discuss the "details or anatomy of the techniques" of the investigation—such as the use of lie detectors. Other officials confirmed that such devices were being used in questioning but claimed their use was "voluntary."

McCloskey made a major effort to present the case for the investigation in a good light. He said there had been no disciplinary action yet.

When asked whether such an investigation wouldn't tend to intimidate officials and prevent them from discussing anything, McCloskey said the objective was twofold:

1. Avoid unauthorized leaks of sensitive information.

2. Avoid an atmosphere in which State Department officials would refuse to talk with newsmen.

McCloskey insisted the State Department is the most open foreign office in the world for newsmen.

The White House has made it clear that on all important issues, the President's national security adviser, Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, or the President himself are the only proper spokesmen.

Rogers concurs in this arrangement. After the Pentagon papers were published last summer he is reported to have advised State Department officials not to put anything in writing that might embarrass the White House.

In the closing weeks of the 1968 presidential campaign, Nixon told a Dallas audience:

"Foreign policy is my strong suit. I am going to call the tune. I want a secretary of state that will join me in cleaning house in the State Department. It's going to be a Nixon-oriented State Department."

The department may not be as "Nixon-oriented" as the President wishes. But it increasingly has been reduced to playing second fiddle to Kissinger's operation at the White House.

**YOUTH PRIDE, INC. IS HAILED**

**HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY**

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, Youth Pride, Inc. was conceived for, designed by, and directed towards inner city blacks. The program began in August of 1967, and is now into its fourth contract with the U.S. Department of Labor.

Since its beginning, Pride has begun to create a new kind of life for the 800 dudes in the organization. Its purpose is strengthening lives through effective skills training, positive racial identification and self-awareness, and functional and relevant basic education. Its direction is a total man, a self-sufficient man.

Pride makes the impossible a reality by using a unique hybrid-type concept in management which is composed of the haves and the have-nots. It distinguishes itself by a special blend of double-barreled manpower and economic development; and the knowledge and experience derived therefrom is used to attack "the status quo", "business as usual", and the "self-hate" philosophies of the present bleak moment. It creates a hunch of the future in the present and thereby sets the tone and the style of the future which is so strongly anticipated and desired by the members and friends of the black community.

Pride's offering of constructive alternatives to hatred, violence, and chaos is reaching the truly hard core, the drop-outs, the rejects, the drug addicts, and the jailed. These brothers are learning the value of working and building together. Never before has such responsibility in supervision and consideration in decisionmaking been allowed. Never before has such growth in character and creativity in organization been realized in the inner city.

Pride has not taken the dude off the street, but has brought the street with him. An imaginative use of the equation of an economic development thrust hooked to a manpower base, provides financial independence and social dignity in addition to black ownership.

While blue ribbon commissions, "ghetto" specialists, and urbanologists wearily theorize and grope in frustration, Pride is doing it. Pride treads continually on ground not trod upon before.

Pride has uniquely organized and operated its skills training work in five levels of training, called "multilevel way stations." An unskilled dude who comes to Pride is first put into the neighborhood sanitation unit. The work at this training level is cleaning streets and alleys, vacant

lots, and properties; the training in this level focuses on the development of good work habits. Regular attendance, positive attitudes, the ability to take orders, and the dignity that work and self-sufficiency brings to an individual are some of the things that are taught at this entry level.

From neighborhood sanitation, the trainees graduate into either the rodent control unit or the in-house maintenance unit. At these levels, the trainees have passed the basic orientation and education to the world of work, and are now ready for the learning of some basic skills on their road to employability. In rodent control, the trainees learn the facts and habits of rats and how to bait for them. They also learn to relate to the community as they educate and train the residents of the inner city to prevent the spread of rodents and to recognize and bait the various rodent habitats. In in-house maintenance, the dudes learn the various aspects of interior building maintenance and repair.

From the rodent control and in-house maintenance training units, the trainees graduate into either the public housing maintenance and repair unit or the automotive service and repair unit. These two units are the most advanced levels of training within Pride. In the public housing maintenance and repair unit, the trainees are taught basic property maintenance and repair while working at some of the National Capital Housing Authority properties. Areas covered include plastering, painting, carpentry, roofing, plumbing, electrical repair, gardening and lawn maintenance, and masonry. From this training level, graduated trainees are either placed directly on jobs in the area of property maintenance and repair—which is true in the majority of cases—or placed in apprenticeship programs in a given area of specialty—as a trainee gets interested in a given work area and chooses to concentrate there.

In the automotive service and repair unit, the trainees are taught basic automotive maintenance and repair. One section of this unit concentrates on training men to be service station attendants, and uses an on-the-job training facility which is itself a service station operation. The other section of this unit concentrates on training men to be automotive mechanics and repairmen, and teaches basic automotive repair. From this training level, graduated trainees are placed in jobs where they can use their learned skills, usually as station attendants or automotive mechanics.

As may have been surmised by this point, each training level in addition to being a training unit, is also a service entity. While the dudes are training, they are also providing a service to the community, as in neighborhood sanitation, or rodent control, or public housing maintenance and repair. Pride has effectively combined the training aspect to the service aspect, so that all benefit from its efforts.

While the heart of the Pride program is manpower training and reclaiming, in order to do this job effectively several other jobs must be done at the same time. Since Pride attempts to deal with the

total man, a number of supportive services have been established to relate to the dudes' problems. In order to deal with basic reading and math deficiencies which most dudes have when they come to the organization, Pride has established an elaborate remedial education unit which works with the trainees on a regular basis to improve their academic skills. Beyond that, the education unit has developed a continuing educational program and a higher education program—in conjunction with American University and Catholic University—in order to aid those trainees that have mastered the basics, but want to continue their education beyond functional literacy.

In order to deal with the health problems of the trainees, Pride has established a health unit which has relationships and contacts with a network of doctors throughout the city. There is a full-time nurse employed by Pride to deal with the routine health problems as they arise, and to refer those situations she cannot handle to doctors who can. Due to the magnitude of drug addiction among inner city youth, a large part of the health unit's work is working with Project Reach, a Pride unit established to aid and rehabilitate the dudes that are on drugs and to educate the dudes and their families and friends that are not, as to the demonic qualities of drug addiction. Pride has attacked the problems of drug addiction "head-on" among its trainees, requiring and challenging them to break their habit and aiding and supporting them as they go through the agony of kicking the habit.

Other supportive services provided by Pride include legal services, family counseling and aid, recreational services, and orientation toward self-awareness and community problems. In each of these areas, Pride has organized a network of professionals and community people who can relate on a referral or consultant basis in the area of their specialty, and thus provide the trainees with the kind of services they need to overcome their problems.

A final area of Pride's overall program, which should be spoken to in more detail, is its thrust toward economic development in the black community. For Pride has sought not just to train dudes and place them in jobs throughout the metropolitan area; but rather to establish businesses that are owned and operated by the trainees that have graduated from the Pride training program. Thus, the principals of Pride, Inc., have created and established Pride Economic Enterprises, Inc. (PEE). PEE was incorporated in March of 1968, and is designed to provide an outlet into which some of the graduated trainees move after completion of their training. To date, PEE has established a landscaping and gardening operation, a painting and maintenance operation, three operating service stations, and a housing and real estate operation.

PEE has suffered some setbacks because of the combination of the economic recession which the entire country is going through, and the special set of difficulties caused by Pride's trying to run businesses with trainees who are

themselves still learning and who have not had the experience which most other businessmen have had. But the corporation is alive and doing well—presently in the top 1 percent of black businesses nationally, both in terms of number of employees and gross annual receipts. If present plans for expansion bear fruit, PEE will grow even more in the next year.

In summary, the Pride program is one of the most creative and imaginative programs in the District of Columbia inner city. Community support and enthusiasm for the program has remained high throughout Pride's entire existence. It combines the professionals and the dudes in a manpower training and economic development program which is not outdone in accomplishments throughout the country. Pride is doing it.

#### MARINE PROTECTION RESEARCH AND SANCTUARIES ACT NEEDED

### HON. SAM GIBBONS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to express my support of H.R. 9727, the Marine Protection Research and Sanctuaries Act. I feel that there is a real need for the Congress of the United States to enact strong legislation establishing a national policy on ocean dumping and an effective mechanism for regulating this widespread method of waste disposal. Earlier this year, I was cointroducer of a similar bill, H.R. 4218, which would prohibit the discharge into any navigable waters of the United States or into international waters of any military material or other refuse without a certification by the Environmental Protection Agency approving such discharge. I was also a cosponsor of H.R. 807, a bill to amend the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act to provide for the orderly regulation of dumping in the ocean, coastal, and other waters of the United States.

At present, no standards exist regulating the dumping of waste into our coastal waters. This lack of adequate regulations is extremely detrimental to the ecology of our coastal waters; not only is our marine life threatened, but the recreational areas are destroyed as well. I am a native of Florida and have lived very close to the sea all of my life so I personally know what ocean dumping does to marine life. Because of the extreme pollution of the waters, many of the fish that once were so plentiful are no longer able to survive. In addition to the filthy waters, the beaches themselves have become booby-traps because the people who use the fishing piers litter the land and sea areas. Some action seems needed in this area as well.

Recent reports have left no doubt that our current practice of haphazard disposal of wastes by ocean dumping has seriously damaged certain areas of our coastal zone and is on the verge of causing worldwide, irreversible environ-

mental effects. Mr. Speaker, because the pollution of our waters is very critical and increasing at a rapid rate, I support H.R. 9727, to regulate the indiscriminate dumping of material in the oceans, coastal, and other waters in the United States.

This bill would prohibit the unregulated dumping of waste material into the oceans, coastal waters and Great Lakes, and would specifically ban the transportation and dumping of radiological, chemical or biological warfare agents and high-level radioactive wastes. The dumping of all other waste material would be prohibited unless authorized by a permit issued by the Environmental Protection Agency or the Corps of Engineers. The latter would be authorized to issue permits for dumping dredge and fill material only, provided those operations conform to criteria established by the EPA.

#### RIISING CRIME NOT SOLELY U.S. PROBLEM

### HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, we are not alone in this country as concern mounts over rising criminal conduct. Other nations beset with drugs and permissivism in varying forms also have to act to check rising crime.

Basic to individual assessment of our problem is need for reliance on the principle that there are certain laws that must be obeyed whether or not we agree with them. There is a lawful way to change them and an unlawful way, which is to break them. If the latter course is taken it is up to the courts to make it plain to all citizens that willful deliberate criminal conduct on their part will surely result in the penalty of jail or fine or both.

Ours is a collective responsibility to instill in our young a respect for the law and for the system under which it can be lawfully changed and improved. When this training has been lacking and drugs enter the picture there is chaos in young peoples' lives.

As David Lawrence writes in this week's U.S. News & World Report this is an international tragedy for which the responsibility is a continuing one. It must be faced up to. The article follows: [From U.S. News & World Report, Sept. 6, 1971]

#### WHY IS CRIME NOW A WORLDWIDE EPIDEMIC? (By David Lawrence)

News reports from many countries in the world show that violence and crime are increasing. Americans may think that armed hold-ups and bank robberies and street muggings are peculiar to the United States, but these are occurring also in large cities abroad.

Just a few days ago, the United Press International carried a dispatch from London summarizing the statistics of the substantial rise in crimes of violence in Great Britain over the last five years. Thus, for instance, recently published government data reveal that such crimes went up from 26,716 in 1966 to 41,088 in 1970. Police figures for the first three months of this year show a

16.8 per cent increase over the same period in 1970. In London alone, there were nearly 5,700 crimes of violence in the first six months of 1971, compared with 5,429 for the whole of 1970.

The police as well as the British press are manifesting particular concern over the growing number of assaults on unarmed policemen, including the murder of several. British newspapers are reporting an alarming rise in street and park muggings, and have printed letters from readers that tell of attacks and robberies on the subway trains in London.

"The Times" of London carried on its front page an interview with two police officials who asserted that if violence continues at the present rate, the streets of the British capital will become "as dangerous as those of New York and Washington."

As one reads of happenings in other countries of Europe, the same story is repeated—violent crimes against individuals and a kind of armed warfare against police. Similarly, such acts are commonplace in some of the cities of Latin America.

What is the basic cause of this wave of misbehavior in the world? How can the problem be met? There is a dispute as to whether severe punishment alone will serve as a deterrent. Certainly rehabilitation programs are helping some misguided individuals.

Unquestionably, many persons nowadays are addicted to drugs and will commit any crime to get money with which to buy dope. Narcotics have penetrated community life almost everywhere. Criminal acts have been a tragic by-product of drug abuse.

It is conceivable that, as population has grown, religious influence is not as extensive as it has been heretofore. Parents are perhaps not giving as much time to the training of children in their early years as was the case just a few decades ago.

Today, of course, the atmosphere in which young people find themselves is one that tends to emphasize the right of the individual to do whatever he pleases. The doctrine is that individual "liberty" is supreme.

Pope Paul VI, in a talk to one of his weekly general audiences at his country estate in Italy, provided a significant definition of individual rights. He said:

"If everyone wants to do as he pleases on the pretext of liberty, then we will easily come to the decadence of civil society organized as a state. . . .

"Liberty is extremely precious and delicate. . . .

"It is true that liberty must be able to operate without obstacles, but it must be directed toward good, and this direction is called sense of responsibility, it is called duty.

"It is true also that liberty is a personal right, but it cannot fail to respect the rights of others. It cannot be divorced from charity. . . .

"It is true that conscience must be one's guide, but conscience itself must be guided by the science of things both divine and human."

Government cannot teach morality. This is the function of parents, the church and society. Sectarianism can place an emphasis on the obligation of the individual to love his neighbor and to carry out commandments that are fundamental in all religions—"Thou Shalt Not Steal" and "Thou Shalt Not Kill."

There is much debate going on as to whether children—particularly those away from home attending boarding school or college—get the guidance they need to face up to the duties of good citizenship in the world of today and tomorrow.

Clearly, discipline of young people must have been neglected in many, many cases. Drug addiction would not have reached as far as it has and revolutionary philosophy would not have been idealized to the point of condoning criminal acts if there had been proper training. Parents have a responsibility

to teach morality. So do schools and colleges and adult groups.

Analysis of the tendency to criminality leaves lots of questions open. But the simple fact remains—violence and crime are growing in all parts of the world and drug abuse has helped to generate them.

The crime wave is not confined to any country or to any people. It is an international tragedy.

#### FREEZING OUT FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon has once again singled out the members of our armed services and the civilian employees of the Federal Government to bear the brunt of the fight against inflation. He has asked Congress to abdicate its long-standing policy of comparability and equity for the Federal worker by delaying their long-deserved pay raises for 6 months, until July 1, 1972.

Next week a group of Representatives will introduce a resolution of disapproval negating the President's action and restoring the pay adjustments for January 1, 1972. So that my colleagues will understand the equities of the matter, I attach the following editorials which succinctly outline why our soldiers and civilians should be treated exactly like their private sector counterparts, rather than as pawns of the executive branch:

[From the New York Times]

#### FREEZING OUT FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

The Administration has given repeated signs in recent days of awareness that it must move with all practical speed to evolve a more flexible stabilization program to control wages and prices after the present ninety-day freeze. A major aim of this "Phase Two" program will be to erase manifest inequities of the kind that are inevitable under a total freeze.

Unfortunately, even before the dimmest outlines of this program have emerged, President Nixon has put Federal employees under a much more extended freeze than other Americans will have to suffer. We have little sympathy with the notion that any group of public employees—state, local or Federal—should be exempt from the general freeze. But neither do we see any justification for putting them under special handicaps of the type involved in the President's proposal that Federal workers be denied promised pay increases after the freeze.

Only a few months have passed since the Administration and Congress cooperated to perfect the system under which the wages of all Federal employees are supposed to be kept in balance with those paid for comparable jobs in private industry. That is a proper standard to apply to workers legally deprived of any right to strike, a standard designed to assure equity to taxpayers and public employees alike.

Now the President plans to impose a freeze for at least six months on all the increases scheduled to be paid under that "catch-up" principle—white-collar, blue-collar and military. In addition, he plans to squeeze out 100,000 Federal employees as a budget-cutting measure. And he hints that he may hold up the next round of pay increases when they come due a year from now.

It is all very well for the President to say the Federal Government must set an example in austerity. That example should be in equality of sacrifice. When new rules are worked out for stabilizing future pay policy in line with national needs, those rules should apply to public and private employees on some common basis. No stabilization program can operate with hairline perfection, but no single group of workers should be expected to carry a major share of the sacrifices required for the total good.

[From the Federal Times, Sept. 15, 1971]

#### A PLEA FOR JUSTICE

We fall to see the justice in asking federal employees to serve as an example to the rest of the nation in the matter of delays in wage increases.

If the economic problems of our nation require the imposition of such controls, then they ought to be levied across the board. To place them on selected segments of the economy is discrimination beyond any reasonable level.

It took a long time for government workers to achieve comparability of salary with industry. For most grades that level has been reached. To turn now and destroy the balance between government and industry doesn't make much sense.

The idea that government service should be a career of sacrifice is lacking in logic. The United States can afford to support the kind of government it needs and wants.

If the people who pay the salaries—the taxpayers—want government services to increase, then they have to expect to pay the higher taxes necessary to meet governmental operating expenses.

We need to attract the best qualified people to government service. This is an economy in the long run since the job probably can then be done with fewer people.

To tell a potential employe that he is doomed to life as a second class citizen hardly serves as incentive toward a career in government.

One basic question continues to arise. Why, when the government must economize, does it always hit personnel first? There are other ways to save money.

For example, a recent GAO report to Congress said the Pentagon, despite White House instructions to cut back on its propaganda program, had spent several million dollars more than it was authorized to on such efforts. Unnecessary printing costs alone probably exceed the amount the President can save by delaying pay increases.

Another recent example was the security classification fiasco. Mr. William G. Florence contends that unwarranted classification expenses run to about \$50 million a year.

And, what about the hidden costs of government which the White House refuses to disclose. For example, the recent efforts of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to determine how much foreign aid we send abroad (much of which apparently goes for military hardware) to such dubious allies as West Pakistan, Greece, Spain and other "bastions of democracy."

These programs go on, yet the only area the President can find for sacrifice is in the salary of federal workers.

Too many people still tend to think of government workers as an army of clerks. They fail to realize the complexity of the present structure and the skills needed to operate it.

The President, in insisting that the government worker bear an inordinate share of the burden, is refusing to recognize both the need for special skills and the need to pay to hire and retain them.

We do not believe the government worker should be shielded from the sacrifices demanded of other citizens. Neither do we believe the government worker should be asked to bear more than his fair share.

## ON "PRIOR RESTRAINT"

## HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, in these days of conflict we hear much debate about the proper role of the media. Insofar as it relates to the functioning of Congress and a free society, fair trials and a free press, outtakes and prior restraint, the following article by a foremost student of the U.S. Constitution should be some help. Everyone appeals to the Founding Fathers. It is interesting to know what they really did. The article follows:

[From the New York Times, June 25, 1971]

## ON "PRIOR RESTRAINT"

(By Paul A. Freund)

Everything secret degenerates, was Lord Acton's warning. Sunlight is the most powerful of disinfectants, was Justice Brandeis' admonition. But concrete issues of disclosure and secrecy have a way of making even the most ardent libertarians see that the right to know is not one-dimensional, all warp and no woof. Brandeis himself was the intellectual father of a legal right of privacy.

The press itself has not spruned the shelter of the copyright law or legal protection against the pirating of news stories by competitors; and the media are not insensitive to the value of preserving the confidentiality of their sources of information. In the long run, it is perceived, the business of serving the public boldly and zealously may require some protective shelter along the way.

Surely, however, the position is very different in the business of government? Not entirely. The framers of the Constitution scrupulously maintained the secrecy of their deliberations in the convention of 1787. Madison's notes, the best record, were not published until his death, forty years later. Secrecy, it is fair to suppose, promoted free and candid debate within the convention, and vitally encouraged the shifts in voting, the great compromises, calculated ambiguities and deliberate lacunae that made possible in the end a masterful charter. I sometimes wonder irreverently whether we would have had a Constitution at all if the convention had been reported by daily columnists (affectionately called by Charles Evans Hughes the daily calumnists).

The original Constitution contained no guarantee of freedom of speech, save for members of Congress, and none for the press. When the first Congress proposed the First Amendment, the Senate, it is worth remembering, sat in secrecy. For five years the Senate held its debates behind closed doors. Believing in the liberty of the press, at the same time the members believed it right to shield their own discussions from the public and disclose only the final actions taken.

These early precedents, conscientiously inspired as they were, are not cited as models for our day. The point is, on the contrary, that we cannot find ready-made directions for our particular problems of secrecy and disclosure simply by marching to the uncertain trumpets of the Founding Fathers.

The beginning of wisdom is to recognize that there are honest issues to be resolved, and that the critical questions are who shall decide those issues, by what standards and by what procedures. The original understanding of the First Amendment was probably the Blackstonian view that a publisher was not to be subjected to "previous restraint"—that is, precensorship—but would be liable civilly or criminally for a publication that violated the

law, whether of defamation or incitement to crime or disclosure of state secrets. Although we have long since recognized limits on prosecution as well, our legal tradition has special repugnance toward prior restraint.

At first blush the distinction may seem absurd, even perverse. If a writer can be imprisoned for publishing the unpublishable, why not subject him to the preventive thrust of an injunction, which simply warns him that publication will bring on punishment for contempt of the court's decree? The question is paradoxical only because it assumes the illegal nature of the publication. In a very clear case there would be no reason to withhold an injunction, the most tolerant judge would doubtless restrain the publication of secret troop movements in time of war, or of draft judicial opinions in a pending lawsuit.

But the general rules are made for the marginal, debatable cases, and in this gray area procedural differences become crucial. In an injunction suit the judge sits without a jury, and the right to a jury trial on all the issues was a hard-won victory for the press against the state, going back to Peter Zenger's case in New York in 1735. There is a further procedural point. If a person publishes in violation of an injunction while the case is being tried or appealed, he is automatically guilty of contempt, even though he ultimately succeeds in having the injunction set aside; in a criminal case, on the other hand, the publisher can gamble on his ultimate vindication, for if he is acquitted he escapes all penalty. In the marginal case, prior restraint could amount to an overkill.

Risk for risk, the law has opted for underkill in duels over publication. That is the meaning and the message behind the seeming technicalities of the law on prior restraint.

The law's preoccupation with the procedural aspects of liberty at the litigation stage suggests that some comparable concern be shown at the earlier stages. The drama of the Pentagon papers, regardless of the immediate outcome, could have its greatest impact by stimulating a full-dress examination of our security classification procedures and the scope of executive privilege in relation to Congress. There, too, the central issue is one of overkill protective of the Government.

## LEST WE FORGET

## HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 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.

Sp5c. Ronald Van Stanton, U.S. Army, [redacted] Birmingham, Ala. Single. Graduate of Rosedale High School. Officially listed as missing October 20, 1968. As of today, Sp5c. Stanton has been missing in action in Southeast Asia for 1,055 days.

## BLUE RIDGE POWER PROJECT

## HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise at this time to call the attention of my distinguished colleagues to a matter which is of great concern to the citizens of the Fifth District of North Carolina, especially those in Ashe and Alleghany Counties.

The issue at hand is the proposed Blue Ridge power project, which has been the subject of hearings by the Senate Public Works Committee and which will be discussed at greater length in water quality hearings being conducted by the House Public Works Committee, on which I am privileged to serve.

I have been concerned about the proposed project for quite some time, and have actively participated in the prelicensing procedures throughout my congressional tenure.

I have testified before the Federal Power Commission, made several speeches in this Chamber and elsewhere, and petitioned the Environmental Protection Agency to play an independent and aggressive role in this controversy which the Agency has agreed to do.

Further, I have filed a formal brief with the FPC, in which I listed specific and general objections to this project, as presented to me by the people of Ashe and Alleghany Counties.

I have also called on the Environmental Protection Agency to convene an interstate water quality enforcement conference in an effort to provide the greatest possible degree of environmental protection for areas and residents affected by this project.

All of these actions, and several points of contention, are discussed briefly and simply in the formal brief to which I referred a moment ago.

I believe the Blue Ridge controversy has an important bearing on environmental protection efforts throughout the Nation and thus believe it is well worth careful consideration by my distinguished colleagues.

With this in mind, I insert in the RECORD at this time the text of this formal brief:

The Appalachian Power Company, on Roanoke, Virginia, has filed an application with the Federal Power Commission for a license to construct what is known as the Blue Ridge power project, consisting of an 1,800-megawatt two dam combination pumped storage and hydroelectric installation on the New River in Grayson County, Virginia, with impoundments extending into Ashe and Allegheny Counties, North Carolina.

The very scope of this project is imposing, if not intimidating, and as now proposed, it constitutes a direct threat to the welfare of thousands of residents of Ashe and Allegheny Counties, people whose interests I was elected to represent and protect.

Currently-proposed conditions of this project call for inundation of almost 40,000 acres of land to create two water storage reservoirs containing up to 650,000 acre-feet of water to serve the power plant.

I find the magnitude of this proposed reservoir storage to be extravagant and a

cause for needless destruction of valuable property.

Further, much of this water would be stored for use in implementing a "pollution-dilution" theory which has been generally discredited by leading environmentalists.

This pollution-dilution procedure has been advanced by the Department of Interior in 1968 as a means of flushing out and diluting the industrial pollution emanating from several chemical plants along the Kanawha River in West Virginia.

It was for the purposes of this very procedure, now fallen into widespread disrepute, that the 650,000 acre-footage was originally advanced, with absolutely no proof that it would work, and with a wealth of dissenting opinion holding that it would not work.

I believe it would be infinitely more preferable to the people of Ashe and Alleghany Counties for the size of this reservoir storage to be reduced to the originally-proposed 250,000 acre feet.

I further believe that substantially greater progress can be achieved in pollution abatement by attacking the problem at its source—at the chemical plants along the Kanawha River—than by requiring thousands of acres of valuable farmland to be flooded in what may well be a vain hope that pollution can be abated by dilution.

To this end, I have asked the Environmental Protection Agency to convene an interstate enforcement conference on water quality control, with the aim of requiring full compliance with existing environmental protection guidelines by each of the industries operating on the Kanawha.

This conference should be convened before we even consider implementing this massive flooding proposal, which is destined to send a way of life for thousands of people down the drain in the most literal sense.

This course of action—construction of a substantially smaller reservoir and mandatory compliance with anti-pollution standards at the polluting source—is much preferred by a great many interested and concerned citizens of Ashe and Alleghany Counties, and their preference in these and other matters has been flagrantly and inexcusably ignored by your Staff examiner in charge of this project.

Further evidence of this neglect can be found in the case of proposed "drawdown" limitations, or the amount of water to be allowed to escape from the reservoir to produce power and abate pollution.

The examiner's recommendation of a 12-foot drawdown limitation is totally unacceptable to the residents of this area, since it would severely limit development of some 425 miles of lakefront property.

Environmentalists have warned that this level of drawdown would make the area surrounding the lake little more than a gigantic mudhole, infested with mosquitoes and blighting what is now an area of uncommon beauty.

I leave it to others more technically qualified than I am on this subject to suggest a more acceptable drawdown limitation than that proposed by the FPC staff examiner.

But I would insist that any limitation be set with concern for the welfare of affected citizens, and the potential of property development, playing a prominent role in the decision-making process.

Protecting the rights of the citizens of Ashe and Alleghany Counties is my principal concern, in this brief and in the case at large.

Their rights, as I have mentioned earlier, have been neglected by almost every party to this controversy, and their traditional and future ways of life endangered in the course of that neglect.

I have successfully petitioned the Environmental Protection Agency to take an inde-

pendent and aggressive role in this case, as evidenced by the brief of exceptions the agency is filing with this commission today.

I am hopeful that my request for the aforementioned enforcement conference will be similarly fulfilled since I am convinced that it is in the best interest of all concerned.

The Environmental Protection Agency has begun, and all other parties to this controversy must begin, to show a far greater concern for the welfare of the thousands of people affected by this project.

They have been shamefully shunted aside in the proceedings to date.

The affected citizens of North Carolina will receive absolutely no direct benefit from the increased power-producing capability of the Appalachian Power Company.

These citizens were belatedly, and almost begrudgingly, given the opportunity to develop what is left of their own beautiful property.

They are being made to bear the brunt of a mammoth rearrangement of their homeland, and still they are subjected to callous disregard.

I want to see this insensitivity brought to an end before this project is licensed. I urge the Federal Power Commission to withhold licensing the project until several environmental mysteries surrounding the project are solved, and until the people in the area can be assured full economic and environmental safeguards.

This, the commission must agree, is the most responsible course to be followed.

#### ROUNABOUT ROUTE TO HIS GOAL

### HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, one of the most respected members of the Capitol Press Corps has recently received the Ted Yates Award. In my opinion and in the opinions of all of the Members of Congress I have talked to, no one could deserve this recognition more than does Joseph McCaffrey.

Joe's work as the news commentator for station WMAL is well known. He possesses a knowledge of the workings of Congress which is the envy of most of his colleagues. He has a reputation for being incisive but fair in his reporting. Perhaps, however, his greatest attribute comes from the fact that he likes people—enabling him to translate the complicated workings of the Congress into language which the average individual can understand and appreciate.

The following article appears in the Washington Sunday Star of August 15, 1971, and is entitled "Roundabout Route to His Goal" and written by Ruth Dean, a Star staff writer:

#### ROUNABOUT ROUTE TO HIS GOAL

(By Ruth Dean)

In his teens, veteran news commentator Joseph McCaffrey wanted to study law so he could enter politics, "I guess because I always wanted to help people," he said.

Now the recent recipient of the Ted Yates Award seems to have reached that youthful goal by another route. For his "constituency"

are the thousands of area television viewers to whom his rugged countenance is a daily familiarity.

Off camera, McCaffrey is a tall, gentlemanly man who talks with the same sense of purpose that comes through when he delivers his nightly commentaries on WMAL-TV Channel 7's 6 and 11 o'clock news, and on his ten-minute radio "Today in Congress" spot.

This confidence-inspiring rapport brings him thousands of phone calls and letters from his "constituents" who ask his help on everything from social security to, in one case, where to find a television repairman.

#### M'LEAN HOME

"I feel as if I'm a kind of ombudsman," he said during a recent morning visit with the McCaffreys in the comfortable home in McLean they bought 12 years ago because they wanted to be in the country. They share it with their son Mike, 15, two dogs and a cat. They also have a daughter, Sally Shumaker, married a year ago and living in Fairfax County.

As he rubbed the ears of his pet St. Bernard, Rosebud Michelob, McCaffrey looked back on his career and said: "After being in this business so long, I get letters. Every day people call or write in, some with clippings saying 'what about this', or 'what can we do about that?'"

"I've tried to help a lot of people, a lot of causes . . . but I'm not a crusader. I can't get fanatical and stay with something."

His wife interrupted, "You've been with the aged longer than anything else."

"Yes," he agreed, "I've been with the aged problem for years and years and years. I have been very interested. And I have so many pitiful people who call me."

Added his wife: "The letters he has! They have no one to turn to."

"I think our problem is that we've become so big, and government has become so concentrated in a monolithic structure that these people don't know where to go," McCaffrey added.

#### INTERESTED IN POLITICS

"When I was a boy I knew my parents could go to an alderman in the city and he would be able to do something for them, be able to advise them. And this is one of the reasons I always thought I'd like to get into politics . . . to help people."

"And I think now Congress has become kind of frustrated in what it's trying to do. So many members come in there thinking they're going to change the world and they're not. I think the only satisfaction they actually can get is helping people with veterans' plans and social security. I feel the same way—that so many people have no place to turn to."

McCaffrey's most notable case of helping people was his assistance to the Alexandria Police Dept. in solving the murder of Judge James N. Colasanto of the Alexandria Municipal Court on Nov. 23, 1970.

#### A PHONE CALL

It all began with a telephone call to McCaffrey from a man who identified himself as Colasanto's murderer. The newsman tried to persuade him to give himself up. He even went to the man's house after alerting police, but was dissuaded from going in because they were fearful for his safety. Minutes later the man took his life as police broke in, and the gun found beside him was established as the murder weapon.

"It was very sad," McCaffrey recalled. "I still feel he wouldn't have harmed me if I had gone in. But I think it points up so graphically the helplessness of so many people. Here was a man who in the final hours of his life turns to a complete stranger

in whom to put some confidence merely because he's seen him and listened to him on the air and on television. It's a rather depressing thing."

The newsman said the phone call was like countless others he's received from people in trouble. Many come from widows and retired oldsters trying to make ends meet on social security and welfare—a problem that is a frequent topic on his commentaries.

In one case, a woman told him that after paying rent, phone and electricity, she had \$29 left every month for food and other emergencies. She wondered why welfare cut back its allotment when her social security was raised. McCaffrey found he had to tell her, "after checking with the authorities, that unfortunately it is the law. She gets a cost-of-living raise from social security but it isn't one at all, because welfare takes back with one hand what social security gives with the other."

#### ANTIWAR

The war in Vietnam which he says "I've been against for years," and its effect on the nation's youth ("I think it has catapulted them into the political arena before they're emotionally and intellectually ready for it") are also frequent commentary topics.

Judging from his mail, his commentaries voice the frustrations of a lot of people. "I think I'll get out of the business if I read the morning, or the evening paper and not see something that doesn't provoke me," he observed.

Sometimes the calls he's received have been amusing, like the one from the woman in a public housing development who wanted him to send someone to fix her broken TV set.

#### LONG DAYS

The newsman puts in a 10 a.m. to midnight day that begins with an hour's drive into town in an orange Ford Mustang he says his son Mike refers to as "the pumpkin."

His tall figure is a familiar sight as he walks into the House basement corridor and is greeted left and right by everyone from Congress members to page boys. "This is sort of my second home," he says proudly, as he boards an elevator to the House Radio-TV Gallery where he has a desk overlooking the west front pillars of the U.S. Capitol. He is chairman for the second time of the radio-TV galleries, having first served as chairman in 1956.

He usually spends a few hours at the Capitol interviewing Congress members, "getting grist for my radio and television commentaries" as he puts it. Then about 3 p.m., he's on his way to WMAL to begin his "working day." The long drive home after the 11 o'clock news usually gets him home by midnight.

#### THE FARM

McCaffrey relaxes from his week's labors on a 100-acre farm in Culpeper that he considers "a different world. And I like the people there." His wife Toni has a vegetable garden that produces so abundantly the family can't keep up with its output. And son Mike does most of the ploughing and taking care of the four head of steer and ponies. "When Mike leaves home we'll have to give up the farm," Toni joked.

More seriously she said she felt "Joe wouldn't be alive with his schedule, if he didn't have this place to go to. I think he just makes it through Friday and I think we're fortunate to have it because it keeps him going."

Joe and Toni first met when he was a senior and she a freshman at the State University of Education at New Paltz, N.Y., but didn't marry until the year after he left the Army.

The Poughkeepsie, N.Y., native supported his way through normal school working part time on a Dutchess County Sunday weekly. Upon graduation when he had to make a choice, journalism won out over teaching even though it didn't pay as well.

#### THE START

A military plane crash cut short his World War II service as an infantry information officer, and he spent a year in Canadian and United States Army hospitals. His final hospital stay was at Walter Reed. By happenstance, a visit from an old friend who had been a radio announcer in Poughkeepsie, set him on his career as a broadcaster.

The friend told him about an opening at WTOF, so he applied for the job and got it as soon as he got his Army discharge. "Otherwise I might have gone back home to my old newspaper job," he recalled.

#### ADMIRERS

Now after more than 25 years of covering the national scene and Congress, the five times Washington Emmy award winner and dean of Capitol Hill radio and television correspondents has received the most prestigious Emmy of all—the Ted Yates Award.

The award is given annually by the board of governor of the Washington chapter of the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences to the person whose work best embodies the professional and personal qualities of the late Ted Yates, the NBC producer-journalist who was killed covering fighting in the Mid-East.

McCaffrey is the first single station man to receive it.

In presenting the award to McCaffrey, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield praised him for his "personal and professional integrity, his professional excellence," and cited the esteem with which the newscaster is held by members of Congress on both sides of the aisle.

#### RECOGNITION

Not only do members of Congress hold McCaffrey in high esteem but so do his co-workers at WMAL. One of his greatest admirers "from cub reporter days when we had adjoining desks" is Len Deibert, the station's manager of news and public affairs.

In submitting McCaffrey's name for the Ted Yates Award, he concluded the narrative entry with: "Ted Yates never operated out of an ivory tower—aloof from the pressures and dangers of informing the public. Neither has Joseph McCaffrey—whether it be risking his life in the Colasanto case in Alexander or fighting government intimidation of broadcast journalists. Courageous, personal journalism—putting one's self at the scene of the story—typified Ted Yates. McCaffrey is made of the same fiber."

#### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 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?

#### WHY I AM PROUD TO CALL MYSELF AN AMERICAN

### HON. JOHN WARE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. WARE. Mr. Speaker, it has just come to my attention that earlier this year John N. Nassikas, Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, has singled out for praise one of his agency's employees, a Polish immigrant because "this young man believes in the old virtues which made this Nation great."

The employee, Richard H. Eibel, wrote an award-winning letter as to why he was proud to call himself an American. The George Washington Honor Medal, together with a \$100 prize, was conferred upon Eibel by the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pa., for his letter which was first published in the Washington Star entitled "A Letter to the Class of 1970." The letter read as follows:

"God, I thought, why was I born here?" I was a teenager then, fond of roaming through the drab streets of Gdynia, a war-damaged Harbor in post-war Poland. My future, I knew, would fall into an entirely different league, beyond any comparison with the glamorous futures of the smiling young men in the picture, I could dream of becoming a shipyard technician, a stevedore foreman, perhaps a local school teacher at the best.

"It was realistic to assume that I would have to spend my life confined forever to a specific geographic area the size of Ohio or Nebraska, to a specific assortment of the topics which I had a liberty to discuss, never forgetting to stick to a specific slant with which I had to interpret everything. Even the song . . . 'Will he be pretty, will he be rich' . . . did not fully apply to me. I could dream of being 'pretty' but it was silly to dream of being rich. The ultimate wealth, in my eyes, as far as material things were concerned, was to have one presentable suit and enough change to buy a ticket to a movie. God must have been listening to my laments, or something, for during the past dozen years I overcame the barrier of a carefully-guarded border, wide ocean, English grammar, college tuition and whatever undesirable conditioning rubbed off on me while in Poland.

"Three years ago, I posed for my own graduation picture on an American campus. It was a picture somewhat different from the one that inspired the days of my youth. The times have changed. There were some happy black faces around me, a sign that the injustices of the past were being erased. Not all of the white young men in my picture, though, were well-dressed and neat. Some of them, putting it bluntly, wore weird clothes and were simply filthy. Their shabby appearance, ironically, was not a result of a depression, a foreign occupation, or any other monumental calamity. The GNP, according to the tale my economics teacher told, had doubled and tripled. In the meantime, the astronauts were on their way to the moon and we, the graduates, in the words of my sociology professors, 'just qualified to be among the best-educated 10 per cent of the richest nation in the world.' 'So, we had a reason to look cheerful but we did not. The long-haired ones glanced at me scornfully. In their eyes, I was a freak of nature, a low Polack who invaded what they called 'igno-

rant Middle American'. I felt hurt and insulted. They did not believe that I, too, had a heart and a conscience, compassion, intelligence and a vision. It was not my fault that they did not go through any real hardships in their lives. 'Yet, they hated me for cherishing the things that they discarded.' Well, so much for whining. My message is this: There is only one real basic conflict between the world of totalitarianism and the world of freedom. If your vision is not clear enough to decide which is which, go to where I came from, live there for a while, and you will know. I hate to sound like a zealot at a patriotic rally, but a spade is a spade. Be proud to call yourself an American. Put your best suit on for your graduation picture and look neat. Someday, some boy somewhere might find it and dream an impossible dream."

RICHARD H. EIBEL.

Eibel, a former member of the Polish merchant marine, is an economist with the FPC's Bureau of Natural Gas. He made headlines 13 years ago after he jumped the Polish freighter, *Chopin*, in New York Harbor and asked for political asylum. He was handed back to the Communist ship by the U.S. Immigration Service but later was taken off the Polish ship by U.S. officials after newspaper publicity concerning the case.

#### REACTIONS TO THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC PLAN

### HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues some reactions to the President's economic plan. These comments were compiled and printed in the Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel of August 18:

#### REACTIONS TO THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC PLAN

Newspaper editorials generally have applauded President Nixon's new economic directives, although some criticized certain aspects of the program. A sampling of such comments follows:

Salt Lake City Deseret News: "Something was needed to jolt Americans out of the feeling that prices would keep going up forever so there was no reason for self-restraint. . . . By waiting until after 31 per cent increases were granted in the metals industries before taking bolder action, the Administration has put the rest of the country in the position of paying for the greed of a small minority—and for the unwillingness of the White House to unlimber its jawbone."

Omaha World Herald: "The lack of enforcement machinery and the plea for cooperation make it plain that the freeze can work only if there is an overriding will on the part of the country to make it work. Had the President acted sooner to stem inflation, provide jobs and protect the dollar abroad, he might not have had to use the sweeping measures he invoked Sunday night."

Boston Record American said the announcement "was an act of true leadership" and praised Nixon's courage in going before a world audience and admitting "in effect, that he has been making a big mistake."

Phoenix Gazette: "What Mr. Nixon is seeking to end is a very real danger to the American way of life and to bring the country back to a semblance of economic sanity. The method he has chosen relies heavily upon the understanding and cooperation of the people."

Dallas Times Herald: "Nixon . . . has moved forcefully and pragmatically to counterattack the adverse economic forces which have escalated to such decidedly dangerous proportions. The new presidential measures are regrettable only in that they have been so long in coming."

Los Angeles Times: "Reservations are in order about some elements. There is no question, though, that the President's moves reflect a wholesome new willingness by the Administration to face up to unpleasant realities. As a consequence there is reason to hope that the vital ingredient of confidence—an ingredient missing in recent months—can now be restored at home and abroad."

New York Times: "Although the new policy was too long in coming, Mr. Nixon has demonstrated—as he did with his new China policy—that once he makes up his mind, he is capable of bold action and leadership. . . . We have varying degrees of enthusiasm about the specific approaches Mr. Nixon plans to employ, but we applaud the scope and daring of his effort to bring inflation under control and to get economy off and running."

New York Daily News: "The temporary freeze may be necessary (though we're dubious even of that), but we should resist all efforts to make it everlasting, with a swelling horde of bureaucrats striving to enforce it. For the boldness and thoroughness with which the President acted, we have nothing but admiration. . . . All patriotic Americans, we believe, will cooperate. Falling such cooperation, we'll deserve much more of the economic tough luck we've been having of late."

St. Louis Globe-Democrat: "Without question, President Nixon's bold economic moves have almost overnight given the American people and the world renewed confidence in the United States economy. . . . As with all decisive actions, there is an element of risk in President Nixon's bold steps. But, on balance, we believe that his actions were right on target."

Indianapolis Star: "The success of the effort to cut Government spending is vital to all of the other actions and reactions. And cutting needs to go deeper than just balancing any new cuts in revenue. The hard thing that needs to be done is to take the Government off its binge of deficits."

Atlanta Journal: "Finally, the President has acted with the kind of major, comprehensive economic reform program affecting U.S. activities at home and abroad that this nation needs today. This is the President's credit. It should help immeasurably in restoring confidence in international financial circles that the United States is determined to treat a major problem as a major challenge to its moral and economic resolve."

San Francisco Examiner: "His broad new program is more sweeping and far-reaching in its impact than anything seen in this country since the 1930s. It should prove to be the strong tonic needed to get this country moving again. For our part, we not only approve it, we applaud it with cheers and whistles. . . ."

Washington Post: "The President's program does indeed reflect 'bold leadership ready to take bold action.' . . . With respect to two goals—inflation and the balance of payments—we believe the President has probably chosen the course of action most likely to be effective. With respect to the third—domestic employment—we have grave doubts."

Philadelphia Inquirer termed the plan "an act of courage and statesmanship unparalleled by any U.S. chief executive for at least a third of a century," but said Nixon "should have acted long before this. He has summoned the nation to unprecedented economic opportunity but it is an opportunity to be realized only if the nation has the self-discipline required to make the President's program effective."

Chicago Tribune: "The magnitude of President Nixon's new economic game plan

has been compared with the audacious changes made by Franklin D. Roosevelt when he took over the White House during the Great Depression. . . . Mr. Nixon's price-wage freeze may be compared with Mr. Roosevelt's closing of the banks in boldness; like Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Nixon has devalued the dollar in relation to gold to spur domestic industry and to put it in a better position with competitors abroad. The revitalized stock market scored a 10-strike."

Chicago Tribune: "The boldness of his (Nixon's) economic bombshell Sunday evening lay mainly in shaking the country—and above all his own Administration—loose from traditions and policies which have so far prevented change. What he is doing is buying time in which to draw up new rules governing wages and prices and foreign exchange. The value of the present gold approach is mainly psychological. It offers the hope of many improvements but the certainty of none."

Baltimore Evening Sun: "Where Mr. Nixon now seems headed. . . is toward an activist flexing of Government muscles not seen since the early Roosevelt experiments. . . . For the moment, politics is beside the much larger point that he recognizes the weakness in the economy and that he has unflinchingly put down his own qualms about coming to grips with them."

#### MURPHY AND PUCINSKI URGE UNITED NATIONS INVESTIGATION OF TERROR IN NORTH IRELAND

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week our colleague, Congressman MORGAN F. MURPHY, and I visited Belfast and other troubled spots in North Ireland.

As a result of our personal observations, Congressman MURPHY and I issued the following statement today:

#### MURPHY AND PUCINSKI URGE UNITED NATIONS INVESTIGATION OF TERROR IN NORTH IRELAND

Because of the rising wave of death and terror in North Ireland, we today call upon the United Nations to investigate the strife in that beleaguered nation.

It is obvious Britain either cannot or does not want to find a peaceful solution to the problem.

There is no doubt in our minds Northern Ireland is on the verge of a tragic and bloody civil war.

We express deep disappointment in the failure of talks between Britain's Prime Minister Edward Heath and Ireland's Prime Minister Jack Lynch to reach a tangible agreement for ending the bloodshed in Northern Ireland.

We reject Britain's contention that the strife in Northern Ireland is an internal matter for the British to resolve.

The United States was a major partner in helping save England from Nazi Fascism in World War II. We doubt that this great American sacrifice was made only to see a resurgence of denial of human rights to a half-million minority citizens in Northern Ireland today.

What is happening in Northern Ireland today should be of deep concern to all who respect human dignity.

Moreover, a full-scale civil war in Northern Ireland could seriously impair England's role in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, thus creating new problems and burdens for the United States and our other European allies.

It is our firm conviction that the free world can no longer view with impunity the tragedy unfolding in Northern Ireland.

We disagree with those who dismiss the strife as an historical religious struggle dating back many decades.

The struggle in Northern Ireland is against a government which has shown total and wanton disregard for the basic rights of the minority in the six counties of Ulster and this minority's desperate struggle for survival.

The free world has a right to ask why only Catholics, who constitute one-third of the population of Northern Ireland, were arrested under the Special Powers Act of 1922 when it is a known fact that extremists on both sides have participated in the bombings and sniping.

Of 350 people arrested on August 9, we don't find a single person from the majority but only those carefully selected from among the minority.

We were concerned to see Great Britain permit use of the tyrannical Special Powers Act which denies internees bail, the right of habeas corpus, and the right to know what crimes they are accused of having committed, when it was Great Britain that pioneered concepts of habeas corpus and Magna Carta.

During our visit to Belfast, we were appalled to find the unemployment rate among male breadwinners of the Catholic minority reach as high as 48% in some communities.

We were deeply moved by the sincerity of responsible leaders on both sides who want to avoid armed conflict and have earnestly tried to bring about some degree of dialogue between the warring factions. But it became apparent that the presence of British "trigger-nervous" troops and the continued internment of minority leaders by the Ulster Government only escalates the terror and turmoil.

We found no evidence that the Ulster Government is prepared to make any concessions to the minority of Northern Ireland and were deeply concerned to find that not a single responsible position of government is held by a member of the Catholic minority even though Catholics constitute one third of Ulster's population.

We were deeply disappointed when the Ulster Government refused us permission to talk to the internees and to view the conditions under which they live.

The Ulster Government claims it is detaining only 240 internees, but we have reason to believe that the figure is closer to 2000.

We recall the vigor with which the British Government tried to oust the military junta of Greece from the European Council of Unity for holding political prisoners, but apparently the British Government has a dual standard and is now willing to justify its own denial of human rights to minority citizens in Northern Ireland.

It is our hope that Congress will interest itself in the tragic events unfolding in Northern Ireland and help bring about an awareness by the United Nations that the world can no longer view this tragedy with indifference.

The British have proven themselves incapable of dealing with this highly volatile problem. There is no alternative now but for the United Nations to take a position, with or without the acquiescence of the British Government.

It is also our deep hope that the American people will respond with their historic humanitarian tradition of bringing help to the victims of this tragic conflict, whether they belong to the minority or the majority. Much help is needed by the families of the internees, as well as families being driven out of their homes in the wake of the conflict.

Finally, it would be our hope that Congress would seriously consider approving a special immigration quota for some of the refugees as we have done in bringing help to beleaguered Poles, Hungarians, Cubans and other victims of oppression.

## THE FIFTH DIMENSION

## HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, the opening of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts marks a cultural milestone for the Nation's Capital, and it is gratifying to call your attention to the group of artists that has been selected to project the spirit of contemporary music during this opening week program. The group selected is the Fifth Dimension, five talented black artists from Los Angeles who are a credit to their profession and their race. Persons familiar with contemporary music know that no more outstanding group could have been selected for this honor. Their music has produced five gold albums and five gold singles—a record that firmly establishes them as exceptional artists. Starting with the uplifting "Up, Up and Away" and continuing with their tremendous success, "Aquarius," the group has brought to all the people music of positive enthusiasm that is inspirational.

This same spirit will be projected when the Fifth Dimension perform at the new Cultural Center on Monday, September 13, as part of the Founding Artists series of concerts, the proceeds from which will be used to establish a special ticket subsidy fund which will enable students, senior citizens, and the disadvantaged to buy tickets to all of the Center's attractions at very substantial discounts.

Who are these fine artists? Their names are Marilyn McCoo, Billy Davis, Jr., Florence La Rue Gordon, Ron Townson, and Lamonte McLemore—five young people who had the talent and character needed for the difficult struggle to gain recognition in the highly competitive music world. Starting as a group in 1967, they combined their talents and energies to achieve worldwide fame in a remarkably short time. Such remarkable success is indicative of the group's determination to make a truly significant contribution to the music of today that is so much a part of our national culture.

The honor bestowed upon these artists by the invitation to take part in the J. F. K. Center inauguration is but one of several major honors the group has received. Later this year they will be the first musical group to be honored by the Friar's Club of New York City with the presentation of an award to be made annually to the top musical artist or artists of the year. At the recent 50th anniversary gala for the Motion Picture and Television Relief Fund held at the Los Angeles Music Center, the Fifth Dimension was the group selected to perform with the giants of the entertainment industry.

This outstanding series of honors is called to your attention to emphasize that this country continues to be the land of opportunity for people who seek positive ways to express their energy and talent. The Fifth Dimension's success is a tribute to the five artists, and to the society which made it possible.

## URIL "COMPY" COMPOMIZZO—THE UNOFFICIAL VOICE OF THE CALIFORNIA CAMPER

## HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, as an example of the impact a sincere and diligent citizen can have on our Government, I would like to point out the case of "Compy" Compomizzo from my hometown, Antioch, Calif. His efforts in behalf of California campers have been unremitting and have yielded significant results. Here are two newspaper articles reporting his activities:

[From the Antioch Daily Ledger,  
July 22, 1971]

## COMPOMIZZO, REMARKABLE MAN

One of the happiest "little guys" around this week had to be Uril "Compy" Compomizzo of Antioch.

The "little guy" designation is not ours—that's what Compy calls himself, although another sobriquet, "the unofficial voice of the California camper" is more to the point.

Compy is happy because his appearance on a San Francisco television program this week caused that station's switchboard to be flooded with calls.

He didn't even mind being called "Campy" by some people, who got his nickname tangled up with his outdoor activities.

The points he made were that both the federal and state park systems are pricing enjoyment of the parks out of reach of the little guy.

Yosemite, for instance, now charges a \$3 per day entrance fee for each day spent in the park, plus a camping fee of \$4 per day. The Golden Eagle passport plan, which once cost \$7 a person and entitled the bearer and his carload to enter national parks without additional charge, now costs \$10. Even with that permit, which gets the entrance fee waived, it still costs \$4 per day to camp in Yosemite.

At the state parks, the fee for camping is \$3 per night, with a charge of 50 cents per night per dog, plus charges for marina and parking lot uses. That's with a tent or camper. It's more for a camper or trailer with electrical hookups.

The fee hikes are "just a start," Compy warned viewers.

His solution is what he has done: Keep after park officials, legislators and others involved in operation of the parks.

As a result of his efforts, which were nearly single-handed, he got the state parks' reservation system changed, to make it more convenient for campers to reserve space. He also has fought for better policing of the parks and for fee reductions for senior citizens.

Why does Compomizzo devote much of his free time to the campers' cause? Because he's a concerned "little guy" who has found that politicians will listen to complaints when the cause is just and the complainer is persistent.

Compy, we're sure, will always remain the "little guy" in his own eyes, but to the California camper he is looming larger and larger.

As television interviewer Jim Dunbar (Channel 7) told him, "You'll be back on the air again soon, Compy."

He already writes for five newspapers, including The Ledger, and accepts numerous speaking engagements. He's a remarkable man, who asks nothing for himself, and we're happy to have played a small part in helping make him, and his cause, known.

[From the Pittsburg (Calif.) Post-Dispatch, July 20, 1971]

**CAMPERS UNHAPPY WITH FEES, PHONE IN VIEWS TO 'COMPY'**

The switchboard at KGO-TV Monday was flooded with callers unhappy over the upward trend in camping fees after Uril (Compy) Compomizzo of Antioch voiced complaints about the hike on the Jim Dunbar show there.

Compomizzo, the unofficial voice of the California camper, was Dunbar's guest for about a half hour on the morning program on Channel 7 in San Francisco. The Antioch man answered questions on the air, getting more calls than the station could handle.

Additional calls were waiting for him when he got home, plus a copy of a letter indicating that his campaign against excessive fee hikes may pay off in legislation.

U.S. Senator Alan Cranston wrote William Eichelbaugh of Antioch that he was co-sponsoring legislation, S. 1172, which would exempt persons 65 years of age and older from entrance fees to national parks and recreation areas.

Eichelbaugh had written the California senator after reading one of Compomizzo's columns urging readers to make their feelings known to legislators on the fees.

That message was broadcast further Monday when Dunbar read Compomizzo's column urging a squawk on the fee increases, and Compomizzo warned viewers to "get involved" or face the prospect of being priced out of the parks.

Compomizzo said the fees at campgrounds were "just getting out of hand" and were so high that some persons, especially retired persons could no longer enjoy camping.

He said the fee at improved state campgrounds was \$3 a night and the fee at state camps with trailer hook-ups was \$4.50 a night. The Golden Eagle Pass of the national park service has been raised from \$7 to \$10.

Even with the Golden Eagle permit, the camping fee at Yosemite Valley is still \$4 a day, although \$3 entrance fee is waived for purchasers of the annual Golden Eagle permit, he said.

The fee hikes in recent years, Compomizzo told viewers, were "just a start," with more coming.

Dunbar traced the history of Compomizzo's fight against the state campground reservation policy which previously had tied up campgrounds for months in advance.

After his "little guy" campaign against the policy, it was changed to permit reservations no more than 90 days ahead.

Compomizzo was accompanied to San Francisco by his wife, Anna, and youngest son, Walter. When he got home, James Woods of Antioch, presented him with a tape of the broadcast, promising to write Rep. Jerome Waldie, D-Antioch.

In the letter from Cranston, the senator said those who enjoy and use parks should bear part of the cost of maintaining them but added he felt that recreation should be available to all.

**REPORT TO NINTH DISTRICT CONSTITUENTS**

**HON. LEE H. HAMILTON**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following series of five reports on the Nation's economy, the impact of inflation, and the President's new economic policy:

**WASHINGTON REPORT No. 1**

There is a general feeling in America today that the economy just isn't working right. As I talk to people, I sense an underlying fear of inflation and unemployment and a fervent hope for economic stability and progress.

The average citizen is trying his best to make some headway against taxes and rising prices. He feels he is losing the battle, and he is uneasy about his own—and his country's—well-being. For him, taxes and prices are too high, government expenditures are too great, and wages and salaries are too low.

These economic worries could become the source of real political instability. If enough people become convinced that the poor are cheating on welfare, and the rich are getting special privileges from the government and are exploiting tax loopholes, that the politicians are living high while spending tax money carelessly—all of this while Mr. and Mrs. Average Citizen are paying the bills—then the country could be in for some troubled times.

The people are persuaded that the government can do a better job in dealing with high prices, and in collecting and spending the public money. If improvements are not made, resentment of the system will increase.

A number of events in recent weeks have added to the concern about the economy:

The President's proposed budget for fiscal year 1971 had a small surplus of \$1.3 billion. The actual tally for the year which ended last June 30, however, showed a deficit of \$23.3 billion—the second largest since World War II.

The Nation's imports for June marked the third consecutive month in which imports substantially exceeded our exports. The Secretary of Commerce warned that the Nation might incur its first trade deficit for an entire year for the first time since 1893, suggesting that the United States is losing its competitive position in world trade.

The composite economic index of twelve leading indicators turned downward in June.

The cost of living was still rising sharply as the fight against inflation continued to show meager results. The Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board told a Congressional committee there was still no evidence of any significant moderation in the advance of costs and prices.

The stock market dropped substantially. Consumer confidence continued to slide, as reflected in lower sales volumes and increased savings investments. Consumer attitude surveys showed the American people have lost confidence in the ability of their government to solve the country's economic problems.

The wage settlements of recent weeks foretell further increases in prices for hardware and transportation costs.

The root causes of the anxiety about the economy are, of course, continued inflation and unemployment.

There is some, but not much consolation in knowing that the United States is not alone in having severe economic problems. Some economists refer to this period as the "age of inflation." On the average, prices paid by consumers in the countries of Western Europe, the United States and Japan, rose by about 5% percent in 1970.

There is some hope in the fact that price increases have slowed down in the first half of 1971. But this very modest improvement in the inflation rate has been achieved at the cost of substantial unemployment.

Next: The costs and the victims of inflation.

**WASHINGTON REPORT No. 2**

Inflation ranks as one of the most serious and persistent problems of public policy in most of the countries of the Western World. Although inflation does not fall with equal

impact on all, everyone thinks he is hurt by inflation, and, indeed, many persons are hurt badly by it. It is a chief contributor to the growing dissatisfaction many people feel with the performance of the country.

The impact of inflation is felt with special severity by the aged, by people who live on fixed incomes, the poor, those who invest in savings accounts, and by buyers of insurance policies.

Arthur Okun, economist and a former member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, points out that inflation benefits the "sharpies" at the expense of the "suckers." It redistributes wealth, shrinks the value of savings, increases the value of land, buildings, and shares of stock.

On the other hand, it decreases the burden of debt, gives advantage to the skillful person who can arrange his wealth and debt to gain from inflation. It is a handicap to the wage earner and those less sophisticated in the intricacies of economics.

Conversations I've had with constituents lately point up the costs of inflation in the lives of people. One man told me that he had reached the breaking point on taxes, and simply could not pay any more. Young people have said they didn't go to the movies anymore because they cost so much. Several couples said they both have to work to meet family expenses and educate their children. Another couple told of saving for months to buy a new car, only to learn that the price had jumped so much they couldn't afford it. They deferred the purchase.

Most respond to inflation and high taxes by simple, but painful actions. They cut out the pleasures and rewards from their lives. Their wants are simple and decent, for the most part: a comfortable retirement, higher education for their young, home furnishings or a vacation trip.

Inflation also hurts whole communities, as evidenced by the fact that many state and local governments have found it difficult to sell bonds to finance community improvements. Because of inflation, interest rates are too high.

Inflation has contributed to the financial crisis in the cities, as mayors have repeatedly emphasized in Congressional testimony this year. An enormous portion of local government expenditures goes for wages and salaries. The cities must pay these increases to policemen, firemen, utility employees and others, yet the city's revenues, based in major portion on property taxes, have not increased proportionately.

The Nation, faced with a housing shortage of critical proportions, had a sharp drop in housing construction in 1969, and, although it has improved this year, the threat of another construction drop is present because of inflation's impact on the interest rate.

Businesses, too, are finding it difficult to raise capital for growth and development through the sale of bonds. There is no reason for the lender to purchase bonds if inflation is going to eat up the interest return. If that kind of thinking prevails among lenders, the capital needed to propel the economy will dry up. It has happened elsewhere.

Moreover, the United States, and many other nations, depend upon world trade and the international monetary system. This system, in return, is dependent upon a sound and relatively stable U.S. dollar. Without it, world trade would collapse.

Next: How do we control inflation?

**WASHINGTON REPORT No. 3**

Anti-inflation policy must be given the highest priority by the government. The major obstacle to containing inflation is not a lack of knowledge, or even a lack of tools to deal with it, but a lack of political will and leadership to take the right action at the right time. There is no single approach to the control of inflation. Some are outlined by economist Gardner Ackley in a booklet

entitled "Stemming World Inflation," and the suggestions which follow draw upon his observations.

**Fiscal and Monetary Policy:** Fiscal and monetary policy are the two most important tools we have to control the demand for goods and services in our economy. The objective is to adjust the stimulus or restraint by fiscal and monetary policy to keep demand at a level which promotes high employment and reasonable price stability.

By utilizing fiscal policy, the government can raise or lower the tax rates and increase or reduce government expenditures. By raising taxes and reducing expenditures, demand is decreased. Lowering taxes and raising expenditures expand demand.

The cost and availability of money also influences the rate of inflation. Demand for goods and services is lessened by increases in interest rates and the tightening of credit conditions. By controlling the supply and the cost of money, the independent Federal Reserve System influences the rate at which money is spent. If the rate of growth of the amount of money which is available can be restrained, inflation can be checked. Raising interest rates, restricting the banks' lending authority, and reducing the amount of bank credit restrains the quantity of money and dampens demand.

**Incomes Policy:** This approach takes a variety of forms to maintain price and wage stability. The object is to persuade business and labor to reduce inflationary wage and price increases. It includes face-to-face discussions among business, labor and government officials, focusing the spotlight of public attention on wage and price decisions which are inflationary, and threats of withdrawing privileges the government may have.

Because inflation is such a serious problem that no weapon against it should be left unused, I support the creation of a price-wage review board which would be authorized to require advance notice of wage and price changes, suspend the proposed changes while it investigated their inflationary impact, and report its findings to the public with recommendations. The President should have stand-by authority for compulsory control of wages and prices, but subject to Congressional review and veto rights.

**Structural Policies:** A shortage of trained people, such as exists today in the field of health care, creates inflationary pressures. Improved programs of manpower training and vocational education must be developed and barriers of sex, age, race, and education must be removed to increase the supply of trained labor. Labor mobility must be encouraged so that workers can go where the jobs are, and better information about jobs must be available.

Inflationary aspects of many of the existing labor laws relating to minimum wage and apprenticeship programs, collective bargaining procedures, and labor standards required of government suppliers should be reviewed with special attention given to their inflationary impact. More and better information on products and prices should be made available to the consumer, who is, after all, a front line soldier in the war against inflation.

**Trade:** The barriers to international trade must be minimized to increase our competitive position and correct our trade imbalance. An open, competitive market will encourage domestic manufacturers to become more efficient, increase the quality of their goods, and hold price stable.

**Protection:** The government's support and protection of inefficient industries must be minimized. Special supports, although sometimes justified, can push prices above the real market value. They should be examined in light of their impact on inflation.

**Competition:** Strengthened competition calls for vigorous enforcement of anti-trust laws, re-examination of laws which lead to unfair trade practices, and price discrimina-

tion. The anti-competitive effects of unrealistic licensing provisions, building codes and government procurement policies also should be eliminated.

Next: The President's proposals.

#### WASHINGTON REPORT No. 4

The President's sudden and dramatic steps to correct the economy demonstrate graphically one of the essential characteristics of the American political system—the President has great political power when he chooses to act.

Whether or not his actions are too little or too late, as some suggest, only time will tell. The President is to be commended for taking action, however. Constituents with whom I have talked have been so worried about the state of the economy, almost any action by the President and the Congress would have been welcome. The country obviously was in the mood for drastic steps to correct the economy.

Although I do not approve of every step which the President chose, I applaud the positive action he has taken to halt inflation and protect the dollar and his abandonment of his steady-as-you-go economic program. Not all of our economic worries are over, of course, but I believe the economic outlook is better as a result of the President's action.

The President may well be right when he said that his actions were the most important economic steps taken by an American President since President Roosevelt's efforts during the Great Depression.

As a result of his announcement, the economic world will never be the same again. He has launched the American economy on a drastically altered course. The President has acknowledged that free markets work with less perfection, and that the pricing powers of economic groups are more potent, than he had realized.

The Nation is now launched on a search for some kind of control over the decision-making processes of big companies and big unions—a control which doesn't fit well with our economic theories of the past. Such an approach may be the only alternative towards breaking up these large and economically-powerful groups.

The Congress should give the President complete cooperation in considering his economic recommendations. Hearings should begin immediately, and the program acted upon promptly. These decisions certainly must be made before the Congress adjourns for the year.

There are several parts to the new policy. The success or failure of one may not depend on the success or failure of the others. Taken together, however, they represent a sweeping design to resolve our economic problems of inflation, unemployment, and a weakening dollar.

**The wage-price freeze:** Acting under legislative authority granted by the Congress—authority which he had opposed earlier—the President ordered a 90-day freeze, to expire November 12, 1971, on all wages and prices.

I approve of the wage-price freeze, not because it, in itself, will cure inflation, but because it is a vital first step towards the development of a long range program to achieve price stability. The freeze will be beneficial for its shock value in dampening the inflationary psychology which has gripped the Nation, and in slowing the wage-price spiral.

Even though the 90-day freeze is a very short time in which to develop a program of restraints—and may have to be extended—it gives some breathing time to set up more durable machinery for economic stability. If it does not work, we have probably lost for a long time the opportunity to achieve price stability and full employment.

If we are not able to halt the trend of recent years, where every group tried to get

what every other group had gotten—plus a little more—then the hardships some Americans are asked to bear now will become greater hardships for all Americans in the future.

Hopefully, individuals and groups will accept some hardships and submerge their private interests in the larger public interest in succeeding in the battle against inflation.

Next: What happens after the freeze?

#### WASHINGTON REPORT No. 5

The wage-price freeze is one of the controversial parts of the President's New Economic Policy. The freeze does "seal in" many inequities. At any given moment in the economy, a freeze is arbitrary and produces inequities. No time is a "good time" for a wage and price freeze.

The question now is what happens after the wage-price freeze? It will be difficult to return to the view that wages and prices are none of the government's business. Restraints will be needed which (1.) will not stifle private decision-making, but at the same time recognize the public interest in these decisions, and (2.) will not lift the lid entirely from wage and price levels.

I do not want this country to slip into a period of permanent wage and price controls. I have supported for some time the establishment of a wage-price review board to administer economic guidelines keyed to increases in our national productivity. I hope such a board is established after the freeze expires. We need wage-price standards, backed up by the power of government to recommend, to publicize, and to revoke, if need be, wage and price increases which are inflationary.

Other steps in the President's new economic policy include:

**Strengthening the dollar:** The President suspended the dollar's connection with gold, thus leaving the dollar to find its own level in relation to foreign currencies, and he imposed a temporary 10 percent surcharge on all non-quota imports. Economists have long recognized that the dollar has been an overvalued currency, as indicated by the failure of the American dollar to be competitive in markets abroad. The realignment of the exchange rates will enable American producers to compete on more equitable terms with foreign business.

By "floating" the dollar and breaking its link to our gold reserves, the President is inducing our trading partners to revalue their currencies upward. He has, in effect, devalued the dollar. This move certainly ends the old international monetary order, and our immediate objectives must be, not only a revaluation of currencies, but a revised international monetary system capable of continuing realignments of currency values.

While I applaud the President's move to rescue the dollar in its relationship to world currencies, I am concerned about his move to impose a 10 percent surtax on imported goods. This is a highly protectionist action and could lead to foreign retaliation. This action should be used only as a bargaining tool to achieve devaluation and should be in effect only long enough to realign exchange rates.

**Stimulating the economy:** The President has proposed an accelerated investment tax credit of 10 percent for one year, and a 5 percent permanent credit after that. He has asked for the repeal of the 7 percent excise tax on automobiles, and he wants the Congress to advance to January 1, 1972, the scheduled \$50 increase in personal tax exemptions. He also has announced reductions in Federal spending, a 5 percent cut in Federal employment, and a 6-month freeze on Federal pay increases.

The benefits of this stimulation will be very great, and even though I have reservations about the specifics of the tax pro-

gram, I'm pleased with the thrust of the proposals.

The request for an investment tax credit, together with the accelerated depreciation schedule already granted to industry, produces an \$8 to \$9 billion tax advantage in one year for corporations. This represents a significant shift of benefits to business as compared to other groups. The Congress should examine this double benefit in light of the current rate of business investment, the excess capacity now in parts of the economy, and an appropriate balancing of government help among all economic groups. I am inclined to support the investment tax credit, but with a provision to repeal the depreciation liberalization.

The President's proposal to speed up personal income tax exemptions is commendable and will give relief to taxpayers. Other measures to give relief to low and middle income taxpayers should also be considered by the Congress, including a postponement of the Social Security Tax increase, scheduled to take effect next January.

The President's proposal to repeal the auto excise tax and to cut federal employment by 5 percent also deserves careful scrutiny by the Congress.

#### CREDO STATEMENT ON SEX EDUCATION

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, CREDO is an association of Catholic priests, religious, and laity, located in Buffalo and quite concerned with the sex education of our children. In a recent press release, this highly respected Buffalo religious group points up the different approaches to this question taken by SIECOP and SIECUS.

SIECOP—Sex Information and Education Council of Physicians—has been organized to combat the permissive and destructive type of sex education.

SIECUS—the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States—according to the press release, promotes the publication of categorical falsehoods which mislead the public.

Mr. Speaker, because of the critical nature of this subject, I include the CREDO press release at this point, and call this to the attention of my colleagues:

#### CREDO STATEMENT ON SEX EDUCATION

BUFFALO, N.Y.—CREDO of Buffalo releases the following statement:

The social dilemmas posed by rampant drug abuse, crime, alcoholism, and sexual promiscuity flow from a wholesale failure to respect the nature of man in society. As an orthodox and recognized Roman Catholic organization in the Buffalo Diocese, CREDO would comment that these social disorders reflect the widespread refusal of men in the late twentieth century to accept their role as creatures made in the image and likeness of God and subordinate to His Law in all things for their own good. But the American pragmatic mentality pays little heed to such God-centered thinking in the practical matters of our daily lives. Therefore, the following statement is designed to explore the tragic fallacies of some of the social remedies presently in effect. They share the common Socratic defect of naively believing that "knowledge is virtue," and that all that is

needed to solve our problems is more money spent on more education—appealing ultimately to the individual's own good judgment above any law, whether human or divine. The present case in point is the new permissive sex education.

While many parents appear to accept the public school's assuming the responsibility for the sexual training of their children, CREDO believes these same parents would not so eagerly embrace such programs if they were aware of the impressive and growing number of medical doctors and mental health professionals who strongly oppose the new sex education in our schools, particularly the type of programs which are being implemented under the guidance of the New York State Department of Education.

The Sex Information and Education Council of Physicians (SIECOP) whose membership includes physicians and psychiatrists from all over the United States has been organized to combat the permissive and destructive type of sex education promoted by SIECUS (The Sex Information and Education Council of the United States). The physicians of SIECOP insist that "... many of those who now favor 'sex education' would change their minds immediately if the real facts concerning this issue were aired." This nationwide group of medical doctors points out that World Health Organization figures reveal "... overall statistics for venereal disease [including gonorrhea] in Sweden ... have increased by 175% since 'sex education' was introduced ..." Likewise, the prestigious national Association of American Physicians and Surgeons has publicly repudiated the amoral SIECUS sex education movement and has passed a resolution (April 12, 1969) opposing "... incorporation of instruction in sexual technique or 'Family Living' into the schools of the nation." Among several reasons cited for this action, the AAPS observes that "... compulsory education in sexual permissiveness in Sweden has caused medical leaders there to deplore the results. ..." And while it is true that the American Medical Association's House of Delegates gave qualified endorsement to the new sex education programs, it did so without polling its membership. Subsequently, the Journal of the American Medical Association and its newspaper published numerous letters from members repudiating the Delegates' action.

The new permissive sex education programs opposed by responsible physicians across the nation are of the same type as the SIECUS-inspired sex education which was adopted by the New York State Education Department as its blueprint for those programs presently infiltrating or now entrenched in our own local schools. Planning sessions were held with Dr. Mary Calderone, executive director of SIECUS, and the SIECUS approach was given primary emphasis by our State Education Department.

Writing in the Fall, 1970, issue of the *New York State School Nurse Teacher's Association Journal*, Dr. Rhoda L. Lorand, a clinical psychologist who has practiced psychotherapy and psychoanalysis for twenty years and is presently a graduate professor of guidance and counseling at Long Island University, points out that "Strand III of the New York State Prototype mirrors every SIECUS error, in addition to borrowing a few dangerous concepts from 3M Company's SHES program." Concerning these as well as the New York City program, Dr. Lorand continues "[They] ... all share in fundamental errors. They overwhelm the child with concepts beyond his ability to comprehend, undermine parental authority, invade family privacy, disturb the developmental phases and borrow concepts from psychotherapy which are extremely dangerous for classroom use. They exhibit a lack of understanding of the thoughts, feelings, and interests of children at every level of development, and of the processes by which children learn."

Anyone naive enough to doubt that the Mental Health strand of the New York State Education Department's Health Curriculum is SIECUS influenced, is encouraged to examine the texts in use in his own school district and trace their authors, bibliographies, and "recommended readings" back to their SIECUS origins.

Similar concern is being voiced among many medical and mental health professionals about the widespread introduction in our schools of "sensitivity training"—a psychological device which often accompanies classroom sex education. Sensitivity training is introduced in the New York State recommended syllabus in the form of "role playing" and "group criticism." Though "group therapy" in its more extreme forms is considered potentially dangerous by the AMA's Council on Mental Health because of occurrence of psychotic and/or neurotic sequelae, its more mild expressions still represent objectionable psychic manipulation.

Also alarming is the evidence that these local sex education programs may be contributing to the problem of drug abuse. For these programs undermine parental, church, and community authority while teaching a character-destroying situation ethics. As a typical example, one text used in Western New York tells the students that "No one can make this choice [i.e., whether to have pre-marital relations] but themselves," and that while parents, religious advisors, and society can advise you, "... it is you who must make the final decision." These programs consistently tell the student that he is the ultimate judge of his own actions—not society, not his parents, not God. When legitimate authority at all levels is reduced to a merely advisory capacity, we should not be shocked that our children decide to reject such "mere advice"—not only in sexual matters, but also regarding the use of drugs. How are children supposed to sort out the evident adult confusion when, on the one hand, this same textbook extolls the virtues of "the Pill," yet on the other hand, it solemnly warns against the dangers of powerful drugs? The individualistic morality promoted by the new sex education contributes not only to an intellectual climate receptive to further drug abuse but, by undermining authority at all levels, to crime in general. Thus, there may be more than mere coincidence that Sweden, with twenty years of permissive sex education, has more than twice the United States drug addiction growth rate, as reported by Dr. Nils Bejerot, a Swedish physician and foremost authority on Sweden's drug subculture.

It should be pointed out that the New York State Legislature, responding to public complaints, has removed the entire Mental Health strand (which includes instruction in human sexuality) from those topics mandated by the 1967 Health Education Act. Any school administrator who denies this is either ill-informed or deliberately deceptive. Yet, unless local school boards act to remove sex education from their regular curriculum, New York State education law makes no provision for parents to exempt their children. Therefore, CREDO urges all parents to demand what is, in fact, entirely within the power of local school boards—that is, that (1) they make any such sex education programs purely elective and thus affirm that in our free society children still belong primarily to the parents and not to an all-powerful state, and (2) such dangerous SIECUS-inspired programs be abolished completely in favor of those voluntary, parent-oriented programs which enhance parental confidence, strengthen parent-child relationships, and promote true mental health and well-being of children.

#### SUMMARY

Any attempt to build society without regard for religious and moral principles is

doomed to failure. A case in point is the new permissive-type of secular sex education whose evil effects on society have been, thus far, suppressed from public view. Sex education programs in our local schools have been developed under the guidance of the New York State Education Department. In turn, the State Education Department has developed its sex education curriculum in consultation with Dr. Mary Calderone, head of SIECUS, and through SIECUS influence the sex education programs being implemented throughout New York State are SIECUS-type programs. It is precisely this SIECUS-type of permissive sex education which is denounced as dangerous and destructive both to the individual and to society by impressive and growing numbers of medical doctors and mental health professionals represented in such organizations as the Sex Information and Education Council of Physicians and the prestigious American Association of Physicians and Surgeons. While the American Medical Association's House of Delegates gave qualified endorsement to classroom sex education, its position has been repudiated by many of its knowledgeable members.

CREDO accepts the professional judgment of these physicians across the nation that the character-destroying nature of this permissive sex education will have disastrous medical, moral, and social consequences for our society.

Also alarming is the evidence that these local sex education programs may be contributing to the problem of drug abuse by consistently telling the child that he is the ultimate judge of his own actions—thereby undermining parental, church, and community authority. This, in turn, creates an intellectual climate receptive to the use of illegal and dangerous drugs as well as other forms of anti-social and criminal behavior.

It should be pointed out that sex education is *not state mandated*, but that once local school boards have made it part of the regular curriculum, no child may be legally exempted. Therefore, local school boards should exercise their legal option under present law to make such programs purely elective as befits a free society—or, better, after careful examination of the issues in light of the serious objections of physicians throughout the land, to terminate the new sex education altogether in favor of optional, parent-controlled programs.

#### SOVIET MILITARY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT—PART IX

**HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, the Joint Economic Committee held hearings in August on the Soviet economy and military spending. Yesterday, I placed in the RECORD several of the statements presented at these hearings that most directly examined Soviet defense outlays. Today, I include the remaining statements of the following witnesses: W. Averell Harriman; Richard T. Davies, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs; Prof. Wassily W. Leontief, Harvard University; and John P. Hardt, Research Analysis Corp.

The Joint Economic Committee expects to receive the testimony of officials from the Defense Department in September on Soviet military spending. Hopefully, the DOD officials will present

a comprehensive examination of comparative Soviet and U.S. military R. & D. and address the points of controversy that have arisen this year concerning DOD's estimates and claims. The statements of August 9 and 10 follow at this point in the RECORD:

STATEMENT BY W. AVERELL HARRIMAN BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIORITIES AND ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT OF THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, AUGUST 9, 1971

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Joint Committee: I appreciate your invitation to testify before this Subcommittee on Priorities and Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee. You suggest that I might discuss "the workings of the Soviet system" and "factors shaping their decisions as to the division of resources among competing claims." You also ask about what Soviet reaction might be to alternative lines of action on our part.

These are very broad subjects and can hardly be dealt with adequately in a brief statement but let me say that of prime importance is that we understand that there have been far-reaching changes since the time of Stalin and even of Khrushchev in the character of the Soviet threat, the influences within the Soviet leadership on decision making and indeed the Soviet society itself. It is nonsense and, in fact, dangerous to talk and act in the same manner as we did then.

In the immediate postwar period the possibility of a communist takeover in Western Europe was a real threat. Today, it no longer exists. Western Europeans are our strongest allies. They are more productive, more prosperous and more unified than ever.

Clear evidence of the change in the situation is the current negotiation over West Berlin. Perhaps the most acute and dangerous postwar problem has been our exposed position there.

Stalin's blockade of West Berlin in 1948 was relieved only by the American and British airlift. Khrushchev boasted to me in 1959 that West Berlin was so vulnerable that he could put pressure on us there whenever he wished. He threatened to sign a peace treaty with East Germany which he claimed would end our rights in Berlin. He asserted: "Your generals talk of maintaining your position in Berlin with force. That is bluff. If you send in tanks they will burn and make no mistake about it. If you want war you can have it, but remember it will be your war. Our rockets will fly automatically." In 1961, in the face of Khrushchev's threats against West Berlin, President Kennedy mobilized a part of our reserves and increased our forces in West Berlin.

Now a decade later negotiations are in process between all concerned on an agreement on West Berlin which would end the threat. Uninhibited civilian access would be assured and a compromise reached on the relationship of West Berlin to the Federal Republic of Germany. Encouraging statements have been made by Mr. Brezhnev and Chancellor Brandt has expressed the expectation of an agreement by autumn. In any event, the point I want to emphasize is the fact that serious discussions are taking place with give and take on both sides for an agreement which would remove the hot point of East-West conflict in Europe. Furthermore, the ratification of the treaties which Chancellor Brandt has negotiated with Moscow and Warsaw will follow a satisfactory agreement on West Berlin. The Warsaw Treaty will finally settle the Oder-Neisse line as the German-Polish border. The Poles whose fears of German aggression are thereby reduced will have less reason to cling to Moscow for protection and will feel freer to look to the West.

Also agreement on Berlin would open the way for other potentially constructive moves such as a European Security Conference. With Mr. Brezhnev's recent initiative proposing mutual reduction of forces in Central Europe, negotiations on this subject can now, at last, take place. Agreement on mutual balanced reduction of forces is the soundest way for us to return a substantial number of our men now stationed in Europe.

If these matters are energetically and wisely pursued, there is a real chance of easing tensions in Europe—the very area where the cold war started.

Even though agreement may now be reached on Berlin, on SALT and in other specific areas, we must recognize that there are still certain irreconcilable ideological differences between us and the Kremlin preventing an overall detente. The Kremlin still wants to see the expansion of communist dictatorships wherever possible, whereas we believe our interest and security are best served by governments responsive to the will of the people. This fact, however, should not prevent us from coming to agreements in areas where we find mutual interests. Each agreement makes others easier to reach.

There has been, and I am satisfied there will continue to be, evolution within the Soviet Union. This evolution can be favorably affected by our own attitudes and actions. The changes since Stalin's time are marked. Khrushchev told me that Stalin had become increasingly suspicious, trusted no one and that when the Kremlin leaders were called to his office they did not know whether they would ever see their families again. When Stalin died they were determined not to permit the secret police to be controlled by any one man. To achieve this Beria was shot. He was the last Kremlin leader to be executed. Others including Khrushchev himself have been retired but in a more civilized manner. The Soviet leaders do not want to return to the arbitrary ruthlessness of Stalin which they fear might be used against themselves. While controls of public dissent are still rigid and, in fact, after Czechoslovakia were tightened, they are not as indiscriminate or as arbitrary as they used to be. Individuals are no longer dragged out of their homes at night to disappear without trace. There are hearings, even though inadequate, and sentences are publicized.

Under Stalin, discussion in the Politburo was permitted until he had made a decision; after that, opposition risked a sentence to Siberia if not execution. Now, decisions are made by a group rather than one man and are more subject to continuing review. This review includes allocation of resources in light of the appraisal of any new factors such as American statements and actions.

I believe conditions within the Soviet Union, on balance, are improving. Gradually the pressure by the Russian people for greater freedom will increase and I do not believe the Kremlin will be able permanently to resist them. In spite of the setback in Czechoslovakia and the subsequent tightening of restrictions, there appears to be a continued determination by some intellectuals to resist. While the influence of these intellectuals may not be great, developments are nonetheless significant.

Just last week there were newspaper reports of an unusual article published in the Soviet Union by the distinguished Soviet physicist, Dr. Pyotr Kapitsa, on social decay resulting from wealth, assured income and leisure time in the advanced industrial countries including by implication the Soviet Union. He advocated more liberal education that would produce independent-minded, creative thinkers. From the account, the article sounded as if it might have been written by an American. His colleague, Andre Sakharov, has called for closer cooperation between the United States and the Soviet

Union, particularly in science, to help solve world problems. If we can find more areas in which to cooperate, tendencies towards confrontation and tensions may well recede.

Certainly one of the areas in which the United States and the Soviet Union could cooperate for the betterment of mankind is ecology. This subject came up in a talk with Chairman Kosygin when I accompanied Senator Muskie to Moscow in January. The Senator discussed with him national and international environmental problems. Mr. Kosygin showed detailed knowledge and keen interest in the serious Russian ecological problems, such as the reduced flow of the Volga river and the consequent lowering of the level of the Caspian Sea, and the actions they were taking to overcome them. But he did not appear to have given much consideration to the international problems of the opportunities for useful United States-Soviet cooperation. Since that time, the Soviets have participated in an international conference on ecology in Prague and next year will take part in the major meeting in Stockholm. In his report to the recent Communist Party Conference, Mr. Breshnev announced the readiness of the Soviet Union "to participate together with other states concerned in settling problems like the conservation of the environment."

In my talks with Chairman Kosygin in 1965, the question of our mutual defense expenditures came up and the diversion they caused from other more beneficial uses. He complained bitterly that the increase in our budget had forced them to maintain theirs. Over the years their actions have affected our decisions on military expenditures and it seems clear that our actions have similarly affected theirs.

In this connection it is crucial to recognize that Soviet leadership is not monolithic. The Soviet Union, like the United States, has a spectrum of opinions from hard liners to the more reasonable who believe in devoting more resources to urgent domestic needs rather than for arms or foreign ventures. Our actions should be designed to encourage the more reasonable Soviet attitudes.

Belliose statements and actions in either country give ammunition to the hard liners in the other country. It is important for both sides to deescalate their rhetoric as well as deeds. In this, surely, we should not be afraid to take the lead. We are the more productive, the more mature, the more sophisticated nation. The Soviets have been fearful that an initiative on their part would be construed as a sign of weakness.

Our defense budget obviously plays a major role in Soviet consideration of their budget. They are not going to accept significant nuclear inferiority and will make whatever economic sacrifices are necessary. Thus the United States was correct in superseding the concept that we must have nuclear "superiority" with acceptance of the idea of "sufficiency." It is apparent that while either side can, by increasing its nuclear expenditures, force the other side to respond, neither side can gain any significant advantage.

Although the Soviets are reluctant to take the initiative in public, I have found them quite ready to talk frankly in private. In my talks with Chairman Kosygin in 1965, he stated bluntly that while the United States and the Soviet Union were the preponderant nuclear powers, it was our obligation to come to agreements to reduce the danger of nuclear war. He specifically suggested that the next step should be a nonproliferation treaty (subsequently agreed to); second, a comprehensive test ban including underground testing; thirdly, reduction in nuclear arms; lastly, he emphasized the desirability of mutual reduction in defense budgets. This could be achieved, he thought, by mutual example.

We are now engaged in negotiations for restraint in nuclear arms. Unfortunately, during the period of these lengthy discus-

sions both sides have escalated the arms race at an unusually high rate. The Soviets have increased their deployment of ICBM's including the giant SS9's and have continued the testing of multiple warheads. The United States, for its part, has gone ahead with the development and deployment of its MIRVs. No wonder the talks have taken so long and now only a limited agreement appears in sight and not a comprehensive one.

It is important that we attempt to look at this subject the way it appears to the other side. We emphasize that the Soviets have substantially increased their ICBM capability in numbers and particularly in the weight of their warheads. For their part, I have been told directly that the Soviets consider our MIRV breakthrough as giving us the potential of multiplying our warheads fourfold. Both sides tend to exaggerate the other's increasing efforts in the race. All this at the very moment we are engaged in negotiating restraint.

How much wiser it would have been if President Kennedy's example had been followed before talks were undertaken. You will recall that on June 10, 1963, in a conciliatory speech delivered at American University, President Kennedy announced that we would refrain from all nuclear testing as long as the Soviets would do the same. In spite of the tensions then existing, this lead Khrushchev to respond favorably. The limited test ban was negotiated, ratified by the Senate and subscribed to by over 100 countries before the end of the summer. In the first part of 1969 President Nixon could well have announced, as he was urged to do, that we would not test or deploy any further sophisticated nuclear weapons (MIRVs or ABMs) providing the Soviets exercised parallel restraint. I believe that the Soviets would have responded at that time. Since we now have achieved a MIRV breakthrough it is far more difficult. However, experts in the field still propose that a mutual freeze for a period of time would be beneficial. In any event, let us hope that at least a useful limited first step will come out of the present talks. I would then hope that a thorough exploration of the resulting situation would be made in which Congress would be included. Restraint in nuclear arms not only gives great promise for the saving of vast sums of unnecessary expenditures, but can contribute substantially to the reduction of the danger of nuclear disaster.

In closing, I would like to underline that Soviet military power is not, as some would think, the principal source today of communist expansion.

The monolithic structure of international communism has been shattered not only by the rupture between Peking and Moscow, but by Tito and by the increasing independence of communist parties in different countries. It is noteworthy that both the Italian and French communist parties criticized the Soviet Union for its invasion of Czechoslovakia. There are numerous communist activities in many parts of the world that threaten independent governments.

There is much that we can do in the non-military field to help those governments and peoples that want to resist communist penetration. Certainly we can continue with wise policies to offer a helping hand for social progress through technical and financial assistance, preferably through international organizations. Our influence in the world would be enhanced if the tragic and divisive war in Vietnam is brought to a close. A small fraction of its continuing cost will do much, if appropriately applied, to help in important areas now being neglected such as Latin America.

The road ahead is not easy. The Soviet Union remains a highly suspicious totalitarian state with aggressive influences. Yet if we take the initiative, exercise patience

and good judgment, I am more hopeful now than in the past that constructive agreements can be reached which will reduce the need for vast military expenditures and make progress towards a more stable world.

STATEMENT BY RICHARD T. DAVIES, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, BEFORE THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, AUGUST 10, 1971

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the Joint Economic Committee: I welcome this opportunity to appear before your Committee. Quite apart from the eminent and unique role the Committee plays in the affairs of this country, it performs a notable service by bringing out the series of volumes on the Soviet and other Communist economies and by conducting hearings in this field. Through these publications and hearings, the Committee informs and educates American public opinion—in fact, public opinion in many countries. It contributes greatly to the scholarly study of the Communist world. It even enlightens some Communist officials to whom their governments do not make available the facts and figures Western society takes for granted and who are not permitted freely to debate the economic problems, options, and policies of the societies in which they live. This does not mean that conflicts over resources allocation, reorganization, and reform are absent in the Soviet realm. They do exist, but they are conducted in secret. The muffled voices of dissent reach the public only occasionally in the form of vague rebuttals to unnamed critics.

When we focus on the economic issues facing the Soviet Union, we are far from denying that there are problems in the Western world or in this country in particular. How could we, since those problems are substantiated by facts and figures and are openly discussed from every possible point of view? Thus, as you well know, the US Gross National Product dipped by two-thirds of one percent in 1970. The Soviet GNP, on the other hand, is estimated to have increased by between 7 and 8 percent. This abnormally high Soviet growth rate was the result of a good crop following a bad crop in a country where agriculture still has a large share in GNP statistics. (Incidentally, the GNP of the Chinese People's Republic, rebounding from a decline during the Cultural Revolution, is believed to have increased in 1970 by 12 percent.)

There are several ways to look at last year's Soviet economic performance, as expressed in these GNP data. When you listen to Soviet spokesmen, you will find the American economy depicted as the prototype of "moribund capitalism" in its last phase, fated soon to be overtaken by a triumphant Soviet "socialism". As was the case during the great depression of the 1930's and during the American recessions of the latter 1950's, Soviet ideology has recently stressed the subject of US-Soviet economic competition. This theme will be dropped as soon as the American economy resumes its normal progress. In fact, it is possible to establish an inverse relation between the virulence of the Soviet "challenge" and the Dow-Jones index.

There is another way of looking at the performance of the two economies. This takes a longer view, departing from the fact that during the past decade both economies expanded roughly at the same pace and from the prognostication that, in the 1970's as a whole, the experience of the 1960's is likely to repeat itself. The two nations can be compared with two runners who follow each other at more or less the same distance, one of them maintaining a very considerable lead. Neither moves at a steady speed. Last year, the US happened to stand still and the USSR speeded up. In other years, it is the US that advances faster. But there is an important difference in style. The Soviet style is less

effective. It takes the Soviet runner an effort by far greater than that of his American colleague to cover a specific distance. Not that the Soviet runner lacks stamina; he has plenty of it. The difference is due to his less rational method of running. There is one more feature that must be mentioned. Each runner is carrying a heavy shotgun; both stand to gain if this burden could be reduced. Thus—if you will permit me to stay with the comparison for one more minute—each runner has to make up his mind about two problems. First, given his resources of strength and determination, what does he want to accomplish in the order of his priorities? Second, is he able and willing to improve his style—perhaps even by watching his competitor and learning from him—so that he runs faster and with greater ease and steadiness? The two problems are, of course, interrelated since a better performance increases the available resources.

Let me turn first to the problem of resource allocation in the Soviet economy, keeping in mind the technological aspects in which you are interested. It is appropriate to start with a few short remarks on the Soviet defense burden. I wish to do this not only because of our eminent interest in this issue given the interaction of Soviet and U.S. policies, but also because in Soviet thinking defense has precedence on principle. I would like to stress the words "on principle". While the Soviet leaders are willing and eager to feed the proud superpower they are heading and likewise anxious to keep their military establishment content, they will not necessarily endorse every military and space project submitted to them. In the USSR, as everywhere else, it is the project on the margin that engenders conflict among the military or among the civilian leaders or between the two groups.

Previous hearings have been devoted to the size and composition of Soviet military and space expenditures and to the intricate problems of their measurement. I refer, as one example, to the testimony of Mr. David E. Mark, Deputy Director of the Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, on June 24, 1969. There is, moreover, that excellent volume your Committee published last year under the title *Economic Performance and the Military Burden in the Soviet Union*. I do not wish to repeat what was said and written a year ago or two, nor has there since been a major change in Soviet developments or the way in which they strike a Western observer. (Statistical estimates undergo, needless to add, continual refinement and correction.) What has changed since Mr. Mark's testimony is the trend in American defense spending. In real terms, i.e., after taking account of price increases in this country, U.S. defense outlays have declined, while, if our reading of the USSR's defense expenditures is accurate, appropriations on the Soviet side have increased.

Given the reduction of the American defense effort in the recent past, always keeping price changes in mind, we arrive at the conclusion that, when valued at American prices, the Soviet package of military and space goods and services is probably slightly smaller than the corresponding U.S. figure. The cost of Soviet military R & D and all space programs, when expressed in American prices, appears now to exceed American spending. Finally, when we compare U.S. defense spending with the U.S. GNP, in dollars of course, and Soviet defense spending with the Soviet GNP, both in rubles, we find that the share of defense in the resources available is roughly the same in both nations.

Let me briefly point to the difference between these two measurements.

In the first of the two comparisons, Soviet defense goods and services procured in the course of one year are valued at the cost similar goods and services command in this country. There is much merit in such a com-

parison, provided we are anxious to obtain a rough power ratio of the two military establishments. It rests on the assumption—a rather large one—that costs are a yardstick for the power ratio. There are, of course, other factors, namely plant and equipment and inventories accumulated over the years, and important intangibles which are likely to affect the balance, such as generalship, morale, or inventiveness. But there are enough difficult problems in assessing the goods and services procured in one country in the prices of another. By costing the military personnel of the USSR at American rates of pay and maintenance, we hypothesize that the productivity (or, if you please, the potential destructivity) of the same number of men is equal in the two countries compared.

Quality differences also enter the hardware comparison. This is a particularly ticklish issue in R & D comparisons. Some instrument or procedure may cost relatively much in a technologically backward country—in fact, may not be available because of a lack in sophistication. But unsophisticated equipment is sometimes very effectively used in equally unsophisticated hands.

I mentioned a second comparison, namely, that of the relative shares of defense in the resources of which the two countries avail themselves in a given period. To use two crude examples: if the US with a GNP of \$1 trillion should spend \$80 billion on defense and the USSR with a GNP of 300 billion rubles should appropriate 24 billion rubles (the figures are arbitrary), then the defense burden would be the same in both countries, namely, 8 percent of GNP. But an expenditure of 8 percent for a largely unproductive purpose—even the technological spill-over into civilian industries is weak in the USSR—is more of a nuisance for a country with less than half the national income than for the richer nation. Conversely, it is true that the gains from disarmament would be greater in the less affluent country than in the one that is better off.

Although the percentage comparison may only inadequately measure the relative burden of defense in two countries, it performs the service quite well when we compare two relatively close years in one country. Such a comparison for the Soviet Union appears to show that, in recent years, absolute defense spending has grown, with a substantial increase in the armed might of the USSR, but that, at the same time, the share of defense in the national income has somewhat receded.

This trend may well continue in the foreseeable future. It may continue as long as the international situation remains unchanged. It ought to continue, because other requirements are pressing, chief among them the quest for improved living conditions and for more rapid technological progress in all but the most preferred sectors of the defense establishment. These two very broad requirements were given prominence in the Draft Directives for the Five-Year Plan 1971-75, endorsed by the 24th CPSU Party Congress three months ago. (Even though it has been operative since the beginning of this year, the plan itself has not been put in final form either economically or legally.) The pronouncements of the leaders about the Plan at and about the time of the Party Congress stressed these same priorities for consumer welfare and technological progress. And, indeed, the might and influence of a nation do not rest on armaments alone, but also on the morale of the population (which is likely to be a function of living and working conditions) and on the general level of technology outside the narrow circle of tanks and missiles.

Let me say first a few words on consumer welfare in the context of the issues under discussion. On principle, communism is not ascetic, though, at one time or another, there

have been leaders and parties preaching austerity and preferring selfless enthusiasm to material incentives. Such an attitude is an exception in the latter-day USSR. Almost all the Soviet Leaders have recently expressed concern for the consumer and for the worker in particular. Such expressions of concern have notably increased in intensity in the wake of the Polish strikes and riots of December, 1970. These Polish events have reverberated throughout the USSR and Eastern Europe for two reasons. First, it was the workers who demonstrated against "the workers' state," the proletariat who questioned the dictatorship operated in their own name. Second, the demonstrations showed that, after years of involuntary mass meetings, the workers had acquired an organizational ability which, in case of need, they could use in their own behalf—spontaneously, to use a word Communists dislike intensely.

In discussing Soviet consumption, we should not focus too much on the passenger car. Soviet citizens may dream about a car in their lifetime, but they know that it will remain a dream for all but a small minority. Car sales to the public were in the neighborhood of 100,000 last year and will number only 800,000 by 1975, always assuming that the projections of the planners are actually fulfilled. The Soviet consumer has much more burning problems. There is still a severe scarcity of housing. This, in turn, limits the acquisition of consumer inventories, durable or not, for which you need space and, in the case of appliances, outlets and sufficient electricity. Civic amenities are everywhere a problem; this refers to commuting, shopping, and similar services. Services are hard to obtain and of low quality. Their total value last year—including barber shops, laundries, repair shops, etc.—amounted to roughly 4 billion rubles or 16 rubles per person. This would be enough for a man to have a haircut every other week and nothing else. Among the important inconveniences is, finally, the scarcity of quality foods. Soviet meat consumption per capita, for instance, is 30 percent below that of Poland—where meat shortages contributed to the explosion last December—and 40 percent below Czechoslovakia's. We may recall that, on June 21, 1957, Khrushchev forecast a total meat output of 21 million metric tons by 1960 or 1961. Actual production in 1970 was 10.4 million tons; the meat goal for 1975 is 14 million tons, i.e., two-thirds of the target which was to have been reached a decade ago.

Nevertheless, in the course of the past decade there has been progress for the consumer—for the rural consumer, incidentally, more than for the urban worker. Consumption per capita and per year rose during the 1960's by roughly 3 percent on average, i.e., about as much as in this country. It accelerated in the second half of the decade as compared to the first half, and it is planned to grow at an average 4 percent under the current Five-Year Plan. The question then arises whether this will be enough to satisfy the aspirations of the Soviet population.

I mentioned that, aside from the undisputed preference for defense, consumer-welfare measures and technological progress have been given priority treatment in recent Soviet pronouncements on economic policy. I also spoke briefly about the conditions that explain the current preoccupation with consumption requirements. Consumer-oriented programs run easily into difficulties in the Soviet economy, usually difficulties of a practical type, sometimes those of an ideological kind. But technological progress is not controversial in an ideology that makes the "productive forces" the prime mover of history. In fact, while the advanced industrial countries of the West experience a degree of revulsion against a technology accused of trampling on human values and debasing the

environment, the Soviet system still shows the traditional belief in progress through pure and applied science. (Since nobody nowadays escapes concern for the environment, the Draft Directives for the new Five-Year Plan call upon science "to improve man's natural environment".)

The Soviet pursuit of technological eminence has firm roots in the Tsarist past. On the eve of the First World War, though backward in many respects, Russia was the fourth machinery producer in the world, manufacturing automobiles, diesel engines, turbines, and other sophisticated equipment. Still, this was the time when Lenin devised his famous definition of Communism as Soviet power plus electrification of the entire country (electrification serving as a shorthand sign for technical modernization). His earlier variant of this formula was: "Take with both hands all the good things from abroad: Soviet power plus Prussian railroad discipline plus American technology and organization plus American mass education, etc., etc. . . . equals socialism." Fifty-three years later, "socialism" had been fully built, mass education had been achieved, the railroads run on time (while the Prussian model has gone by the board), but American technology and organization still remain a goal for the future. In fact, while the general crisis of capitalism is said to be deepening (it has been deepening ever since Marx wrote the Communist Manifesto), nevertheless General Secretary Brezhnev, addressing the 24th CPSU Party Congress on March 30, 1971, admonished the Party to "study the new processes in the capitalist economy taking place particularly under the influence of scientific technological development".

This quotation is one of many oblique references to what is believed to be a growing technological gap between the advanced countries of the West and the USSR. Soviet spokesmen acknowledge it by reiterating the need to reach the so-called "world scientific standard." If and when they are able to express themselves, critical spirits in the USSR are more outspoken. The letter of Academician Sakharov, physicist Turchin, and historian Medvedev "to the leaders of Party and Government" (March 19, 1970) puts it as follows:

"The newer and more revolutionary an aspect of an economy is, the greater is the gap between the United States and ourselves. We surpass America in the mining of coal but we lag behind in oil drilling, lag very much behind in gas drilling and in the production of electric power, hopelessly lag behind in chemistry and infinitely lag behind in computer technology. The latter is particularly essential because the introduction of computers in the national economy is of crucial importance for fundamentally changing the whole look of the system of production and of the whole culture. This phenomenon has deservedly been called the second industrial revolution. Incidentally, the capacity of our inventory of computer machines is hundreds of times less than in the United States, and as for the use of computers in the economy, here the gap is so wide that it is impossible to measure it. We simply live in another epoch.

"It is no better in the field of scientific and engineering discoveries. And no increase in our role is in sight. More likely the contrary. At the end of the 1950's our country was the first to launch a sputnik and send a man into space. At the end of the 1960's we lost our lead and the first men to land on the moon were American.

"The fact is just one of many that shows the growing difference in the extent of scientific and technical work in our country and the developed countries of the west."

There exists no simple yardstick for measuring a technological gap, quite apart from the secretiveness shrouding Soviet perform-

ance. Much of the evidence is impressionistic and in the nature of appraising Soviet equipment at intervals and finding it a growing number of years behind, say, similar U.S. equipment. Within limits, the relative level of technology is indicated by longer-range factor productivity comparisons. They show that Soviet output per unit of capital and labor advanced in relation to the—by far superior—U.S. in the 1950's, but declined in the 1960's.

This is the moment to hark back to the comparison of the two runners. Over time, I said, they have been moving at about the same speed but one of them puts in a far greater effort than the other to keep running. Or, discarding the metaphor, the Soviet-type command economy is less efficient than the type or types of economic structure that have evolved in the advanced countries of what is called the West. Let me provide a few significant examples.

If Soviet technology trails behind that of the advanced countries of the West, above all the U.S., but also Western Europe and Japan, it is not because the regime is stinting. Two interrelated methods of using the country's resources for growth and progress are investment and R & D outlays, and they have been amply endowed.

Comparing the change between 1950 and 1970, Soviet new fixed investment increased sixfold, and outlays for "science" thirteenfold, while the GNP tripled. These figures gain perspective in an international context. In the US, new fixed investment, private and public, increased by 75 percent (1969 over 1950; private investment declined in 1970, possibly also public investment). R. & D. and space expenditures went up 14 to 15-fold, whereas the GNP doubled. All these statistics—which are, of course, in real terms—must be taken with a pinch of salt. For instance, there are indications that US investment data have a downward bias.

It would probably be safe to assert that in the long run American investment and GNP grow at roughly the same pace, disregarding cyclical fluctuations and other shorter-term factors. Investment abroad, not included in the investment figures used but rendering yields into the GNP, complicates matters further. Even so, the comparison shows, first, the enormous size of the Soviet effort and, second, its relative inefficiency. The ratio of capital input to GNP growth is by far better in the US than in the USSR (particularly in the 1960's, when a prosperous America increased its GNP by an average annual 4½ percent, with investment increasing by 4¼ percent, as against corresponding Soviet figures of slightly above 5 and 6.7 percent).

Japanese figures for the 1960's show the well-known surge of the GNP, coupled with a moderately steeper increase of gross fixed capital formation and R & D expenditures. In short, given the costs of investment and innovation, Soviet GNP should grow not in the neighborhood of the US growth rate, but closer to the Japanese rate of development. In fact, however, it does not.

Now a few figures which have a direct bearing on the material well-being of the Soviet nation. While the Soviet regime under Khrushchev as well as Brezhnev and Kosygin has greatly strengthened its military potential, it has by no means neglected the consumer. Consumer-oriented programs started long before the commotion during and after the Polish events of December 1970, and they have absorbed and continue to absorb enormous resources.

Nothing sheds more light on the use of resources in the post-Stalinist economy than an analysis of its agricultural measures. Agriculture—which Stalin had ruthlessly exploited—has received increasing attention since Khrushchev changed the course in the mid-1950's.

Let me begin with two quotations: "Agriculture", said Khrushchev on March 5, 1962, "is no joking matter. The entire economy can be wrecked if the lagging of agriculture is not noticed and overcome in time." Brezhnev added nine years later (on March 30, 1971): "Time . . . will not wait . . . we tried other paths to solving agriculture's problems but they did not give the desired results."

To appreciate what has been done and what is planned for the current five-year period, one should compare the USSR with the U.S. Agriculture in this country invested in 1970 \$5.8 billion. The capital stock at the end of 1970 was valued at \$66 billion after depreciation, at \$145 billion undepreciated. These figures include plant and equipment and residential building. Soviet investments in agriculture, using American prices at 1970 purchasing power, exceeded \$50 billion in 1956-60, \$270 billion during the 1960's, and are scheduled to surpass \$260 billion during the current Five-Year Plan. (The rate of exchange includes a 20 percent discount for the inferior quality of Soviet capital goods. If this discount should be on the low side, the dollar figures ought to be reduced, but the disproportion remains enormous in any case.) In other words, if the plan should be fulfilled, agriculture would in the course of 20 years have received an equivalent of close to \$600 billion in capital funds (not counting investments in farm supply industries, such as chemicals, or in highways or central warehouses). Soviet agriculture also uses nine times as much labor and half again as much land to produce roughly three-quarters of what U.S. farms produce.

The vast investments of the past fifteen years have inevitably yielded benefits for Soviet agriculture—and consequently for the consumer—but, compared with the U.S., Soviet farms remain underequipped. This is not only a measure of long years of neglect, it is also a measure of inefficient management of agricultural affairs in the long years thereafter. This inefficiency is deeply ingrained in the basic institutions, procedures, and incentives that constitute the Soviet economic system within its ideological framework. The economic reforms which were introduced in 1965, the year after Khrushchev's ouster, are actually minor adjustments. If they have not produced more than marginal results up to now, they will not change the picture in the years to come, when, in Kosygin's words, "nuances of the reform will need" [and, we guess, will receive] "further, more accurate definition and development."

The predilection for very large plants continues. When General Secretary Brezhnev said, "Better nearly always means bigger", he was referring to machinery, but the proposed introduction of enterprise "amalgamations" expresses the same philosophy. The wastefulness of Soviet agricultural investment is in part due to the gigantic size of the farms.

The command character of the economy also remains undisputed. Chairman Kosygin asserted "that the guiding and determining factor is directive planning and that commodity-money relations can and must be used in the interests of strengthening plan guidance of the economy and the development of initiative of enterprises. . . . We reject various notions substituting steering through the market for the leading role of centralized state planning." The news media followed up with more explicit attacks on the "revisionist model of a so-called market socialism" (thus Prof. V. E. Modzhinskaya, Moscow Domestic Service, June 28, 1971). Even more than it did five years ago, the regime stresses central planning, discipline, and "constant control by the Party" (Brezhnev). The so-called "commodity-money relations" do not refer to fluctuating market prices, but are simply the traditional success indicators that are meant to induce managers

to act in accordance with the wishes of the customers.

The number and character of the indicators may vary but this does not change the system as such. A few years ago, preceding the reforms of 1965 and shortly thereafter, Soviet news media discussed at length the need to reduce what was called "petty tutelage", namely the number and character of indicators enterprise managers are supposed to observe under the constant prodding of Party supervisors. Actually, the managers were and still are smart enough to concentrate on those success indicators that matter from the points of view of their bonuses and their career. The main success indicator used to be size of output, and though the reforms are supposed to have overcome the concentration on plan fulfillment and over-fulfillment in physical terms irrespective of quality and cost, it appears to be still prevalent. Thus, you could read a short while ago in the journal for the building industry (*Stroitel'naya Gazeta*, May 16, 1971) the article of an architect by the name of Munts who explained that, in window-glass production, plan fulfillment is prescribed in square meters with the result that the panes are extremely thin and fragile and that no less than 46 percent of window glass is smashed before final installation.

With the present desire to innovate and increase efficiency, it appears that new and more success indicators are about to be prescribed for enterprise managers. In their speeches before the recent Party Congress, Brezhnev as well as Kosygin suggested that introduction of "the latest product innovations", of the newest equipment, of raw-materials savings, spare-part production, and so forth, should become "important criteria" for plan fulfillment. Not only will this add to the tasks imposed from above upon management and to daily interference by Party and government authorities, but it is likely to lead to a new waste of resources for technocratic fads and further dispersal of funds.

The question then arises of how imports of up-to-date equipment and of new technology in general would help the Soviet Union to solve the twin problems of modernizing the productive facilities outside the highest-priority sectors and "improving the quality of life" in the old-fashioned sense of more and better consumer goods and services. In pondering the consequences of a transfer of Western technology to the USSR, it is understood that strategic goods and strategic technology would be excluded as a matter of principle. The parties concerned are then faced with another set of twin problems, one primarily a Soviet responsibility, the other a matter that requires Soviet and Western action.

The first question—the question for the Soviets to solve—is: will the Soviet economy effectively use equipment and processes that are known to operate effectively in the advanced industrial West? Under the Soviet economic system, the benefits of Western technology and management may be limited; Western methods may be ill-applied and Western equipment underutilized or abused. What I have in mind is best illustrated by a recent Warsaw broadcast (June 22, 1971) on Polish experience with computers. It said:

"Computer technology, which was supposed to liberate us from the counting frames and slide rules and bring order and organization to all fields of endeavor, has also brought with it a lot of trouble. We are told that losses arising from mistaken investment in computers amount to 60 million yearly. Seventy out of every 100 graduate digital computer experts have no jobs. We produce computers which could fully meet the requirements of our laboratories and design bureaus, yet the majority of engineers prefer their own pencils. . . . The great majority of computers installed in Poland

are not used. The large, expensive machines are serviced by inadequately trained employees. A good, comprehensive look at this matter must be taken and follow-up measures implemented."

Even if this account should be exaggerated, it brings out the lesson that it is not sufficient to have new equipment. The spirit and the institutions of the economy must be such that the equipment serves its purpose. Otherwise it does nothing but increase the capital-output ratio.

The second problem concerns both the USSR and the technologically advanced West. First, a few figures, Soviet foreign trade as a whole has grown rapidly in recent years, averaging almost 10 percent annually since 1966; it was valued at \$24.5 billion in 1970. Two-thirds of Soviet trade is conducted with Communist countries and one-third is with the non-Communist world. Trade with the developed Western countries has grown faster since 1966 than that with any other area, and Japan, the UK, and West Germany are the leading Western trading partners of the USSR. Throughout most of the 1960's, the USSR focused on chemical plant, equipment, and technology in its imports from the developed West, but, in the last few years, these have been supplanted to quite a degree by automotive equipment and technology in a drive to modernize and expand this sector of the Soviet economy.

More than 80 percent of Soviet trade with the developed Western countries is conducted in hard currencies. The failure of the USSR to generate sufficient hard-currency earnings through exports, however, has led to persistent deficits in the Soviet hard-currency balance of trade. This deficit reached \$500 million in 1970—exports of \$2,196 million and imports of \$2,696 million—and as in other recent years, has been financed primarily with Western long-term credits.

Here lies a problem for all the partners concerned. Large purchases of Western equipment and technology, with or without credits, presuppose that the USSR will revamp its export policies and export industries with a view to making them better oriented to the needs of foreign markets (at a minimum, along the lines of the Hungarian reform). This in itself would be a great undertaking requiring a change in institutions (a breakup of the hallowed foreign trade monopoly) and attitudes (willingness to cater to customers), a lot of costly experience, and additional investments not without some risk. The notion is current among Communist governments that, for example, a Western shoe-machinery builder would accept shoes in exchange for his machinery, shoes competing with the products of the Western clients of the machinery factory. This is naive.

Moreover, the USSR would have to shift its exports from bulk materials to manufactured products, including the attendant service and spare-parts delivery. The country is in no way prepared to undertake such a reorientation. This is not to say that Soviet industry is not capable of exporting some advanced products at a comparative cost advantage (lasers, surgical instruments, and devices for high-energy physics research may be such articles).

On the one hand, there are Soviet manufactures that, with a comparative cost advantage, ought to be exported to the West, even to the advanced West. On the other hand, the Soviets want to double rice production by the end of the current Five-Year Plan in order "to completely satisfy the country's demand" (speech before the Party Congress, March 30, 1971) by paying rice producers \$480 per ton at a time when the world market price is around \$150 and in disregard of the opportunity to purchase rice from less developed countries in exchange for Soviet capital goods.

There is plenty of irrationality in Western economic affairs. No human institution of activity is perfect and no society conforms to its ideal textbook model. It is all a question of relative merits and relative shortcomings and these relative qualities have been put perfectly by a Yugoslav economist, Professor Alexander Bajt, who said: "Imperfect planners are worse than imperfect markets."

STATEMENT BY PROF. WASSILY LEONTIEF BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIORITIES AND ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT, JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, AUGUST 9, 1971

I accepted the invitation to take part in these hearings neither in the capacity of an expert on the Soviet Union—which I decidedly am not—nor as a person possessing special information on the Soviet Union's present state or future intentions, but rather as an interested and concerned citizen.

Being an economist I have followed with great interest the economic and political development in the second largest power in the world and maintained professional contact with Russian economists and planners as I do with professional colleagues in many parts of the world. As past member of a UN committee on the Social and Economic Consequences of Disarmament and as a member of the American Group at several Pugwash Conferences, I had the opportunity to discuss the economic aspects of the disarmament problem with my Soviet colleagues.

The following observations are addressed to the question of the probable Soviet reaction to a proposed reduction in the U.S. military expenditures.

(1) The Soviet Union Gross National product is about half of that of the United States. As its population is much larger, the per capita income of Soviet citizens, i.e. their standard of living, is less than half of what it is in the United States.

(2) Since it is the total rather than the per capita volume of their respective military expenditures that counts in determining the military balance between the two countries, and since, moreover, the productivity of labor and general productive efficiency is much lower in the Soviet Union than in the United States, the Russians are allocating now, and will have to in the foreseeable future a much higher proportion of their total output of goods and services to military uses in order to be able to maintain proximate military parity with the United States. This means of course that, in per capita terms, the burden of armament expenditure is much heavier in the Soviet Union than in the United States.

(3) Thus, if the United States and the Soviet Union were to reduce their armament expenditure by equal absolute amounts—so that the military balance between the two countries would still be maintained, but at smaller costs to both—the standard of living in the Soviet Union would go up even more—measured in percentage terms—than in the United States. If, for example, a bilateral twenty per cent cut would permit the United States to increase its per capita non military consumption by 2 per cent, the Soviet Union should be able to raise its (much lower) per capita civilian consumption, say by 4 percentage points; and of course it's the percentage change that counts.

(4) Next to maintenance of military parity with the United States, the imperative necessity to increase the civilian per capita consumption (which still apparently is much lower than even, say, in Hungary or Czechoslovakia) seems to be the principal political concern of Soviet leadership. This has recently been confirmed by the fact that the newly inaugurated five year plan gives marked priority to the expanded production of consumers' goods over increased investment; i.e. faster long run economic growth. Con-

sidering last year's trouble in Poland, this is understandable.

(5) Assuming—as the progress of the SALT talks seem to indicate—that the Russian military policies have as their principal aim maintenance of overall equality with the United States rather than attainment of the obviously unobtainable superiority—its reasonable to conclude that a gradual bilateral reduction in armament expenditures (including foreign military and paramilitary aid) would be highly desirable from the Soviet point of view.

Should this country embark on a program of gradual but steady reduction of its military expenditures, the Soviets can be expected to follow suit. On the other hand, if we proceed to yield to the insatiable demands of our military, the Russians will also follow suit. Let us not doubt their capability to do so.

The capability of their centrally planned economy to catch up with us in all-over economic performance can be questioned; the ability of their authoritarian leadership to keep up with us in an armament race, irrespective of the sacrifices that this would impose on the broad masses of the population, should not be doubted.

TESTIMONY BY JOHN P. HARDT TO SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIORITIES AND ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT HEARINGS ON NATIONAL PRIORITIES, AUGUST 9, 1971

#### I. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

Mr. Chairman, I am here in response to your kind invitation to testify on Soviet economic priorities in my private capacity rather than as an official representative of Research Analysis Corporation. With your permission, as a professional economist I shall center my answers to the questions you posed on the Soviet economic policy alternatives and rationale for choice. In this I shall draw especially on the Soviet discussions of their Ninth Five Year Plan for the years 1971-1975 inclusive.<sup>1</sup>

May I summarize my comments by a restatement of several of your questions in your invitation letter with my tentative answers:

1. Is the Soviet leadership reordering its priorities in resource allocation as between military production and manpower and civilian investment and consumption needs?

There is some evidence that the Soviet leaders will or perhaps have decided to return to the pre-Cuban missile crisis, Khrushchevian priority for modernizing their technologically backward, slowly growing civilian economy at the expense of a new round of military buildup and may consider a resumption of military manpower demobilization. Certainly the economic rationale for reordering priorities for improving efficiency may be countered by the Soviet leadership's interpretations of their strategic needs related to their assessment of the progress on the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), the China threat, the Berlin discussions, or other negotiations or perceptions. Still, however pressing the economic requirements become—I single out energy and manpower problems as highlighted in the current plan—Soviet leaders may determine economic problems to be necessary but not sufficient conditions for reordering of priorities. If the current plan is overcommitted, as in the past, industrial and agricultural investment and consumer needs may yet be shortchanged as residual claimants after military needs are met. If this results then the projected improvements in economic efficiency, consumer welfare, and economic growth would all likely suffer.

2. Is the primitive Soviet system of eco-

nomics planning and management likely to be integrated into the system of planning. However, slow the overall progress of reform, it is possible that they will proceed on an *ad hoc* basis to improve efficiency in industry and agriculture, especially to address specific problems such as those illustrated by energy and manpower deficiencies. Two examples are worth particular note: the Shchekino experiment in industry and the link (*Zveno*) in agriculture. Economic logic suggests they may move ahead in these *ad hoc* reforms even if overall changes in the system are postponed. The removal from the top leadership of Mr. Voronov, long an advocate of the *Zveno*, may suggest a set back for this reform instrument, but another variant may nonetheless be found attractive, or his removal may have been independent of his support of the *Zveno*. And of course even *ad hoc* change, once begun, may develop its own momentum.

We have heard calls for reform associated with the names of Liberman, Kosygin, and others for over a decade, and although professionalism has returned to many of the economic institutes and university faculties in the Soviet Union, the rhetoric of change has not been translated into significant planning and management changes. In the continuing struggle between the expanding cadre of professional economic planners and managers and the Party apparatus-oriented bureaucrats, the bureaucracy appears to hold fast. Although the potentiality of change and the rationale for change may be greatly enhanced, the likelihood or evidence of change is not persuasive to date.

Therefore, as economic problems are apparently not enough to bring about a reordering of priorities and change in the economic system, I would have to pose a third question, beyond my economic expertise, seemingly necessary to justify an expectation of any significant shift away from the military priority and continuation of the old command economy system.

3. How may the institutional or bureaucratic rigidity and resistance to change be broken to permit significant changes in resource allocation and economic reform?

Herein I think the answer must be focused on the top leadership, the General Secretary of the Party, Leonid Brezhnev. If Brezhnev now has the power he did not possess before the Party Congress, then he may perceive a need to reorder priorities away from military claimant and initiate reforms reducing direct Party control of the economy. Paradoxically Brezhnev as Party leader might move to change the character and extent of Party involvement in the economy if by so doing the resultant improved economic performance would redound to his credit and solidify his position as top Party leader. A highly speculative parallel between Brezhnev in 1971 and Khrushchev in 1956 might be drawn to illustrate how the unresponsiveness of the Soviet economy to changes in priorities or mechanisms for planning and management might be broken. Nikita Khrushchev appeared to believe in 1956 that improved economic performance would enhance the position of the Soviet Union *vis a vis* the United States and strengthen thereby his position in the Party. Certainly there are important differences between Khrushchev's position in 1956 and Brezhnev in 1971 and history seldom repeats itself. But this appears to be the closest precedent for the kind of political environment necessary for current economic change. And yet I sense that a similar kind of combination of economic and political factors may be present and change is more possible now, in a permissive SALT environment, than in the past. Therefore the Ninth Five Year Plan may well turn out to be not just a rerun of the Eighth Five Year Plan of rising military priority and civilian muddling through, but a turning point in reordering priorities and economic reform.

The desired efficiency of energy, labor and other factors suggest increasing logic for adoption of new institutional mechanisms of efficiency, even if Party and traditional economic bureaucracy control is threatened. Progress has been made on the establishment of the preconditions for change in economic planning (a shift from maximal, Stalinist-type) is optimal planning. The preconditions have not been followed by the adoption of change: More professional economists are available and doing research. Yet they are not directly involved in planning. The Soviets have developed a macroeconomic tool for better planning (their input-output table for 1959, then a much improved table for 1966, and now we understand one is being planned for 1972). Still input-output analysis has not yet been in-

#### II. THE "GAMBLE" ON WESTERN SIBERIAN OIL AND GAS

Many economic problems related to future economic performance might be singled out to illustrate the increasing pressures for change but one of the most persuasive is the plan for the West Siberian oil-gas complex in the current Plan. Petroleum and natural gas is to provide the lion's share of the additional energy for Soviet domestic and export needs. About three quarters of the increased petroleum output is to come from expansion of the West Siberian fields during the Ninth Five Year Plan. The percentage is to be 75-80 percent, according to Soviet Oil Minister Shashin, for the decade as a whole. Although the specific allocation of marginal resources (the annual growth of goods and services) is not clear in the Plan directives, it appears that a large share of *new* investment, industrial production, construction and industrial manpower may be committed to the ambitious, costly, and uncertain development of the West Siberian petroleum-natural gas complex. Natural gas from Siberian fields has a similar pivotal role in development. West Siberian gas output was only 318 billion cu. ft. per year in 1970 and is expected to rise to 4.6 trillion cu. ft. per year in 1975. Tyumen Province will then be the No. 1 gas and oil producer in the USSR.<sup>2</sup> Although investment in other regions (e.g., East Siberia) or other sectors (e.g., electrification, agriculture, non-ferrous metals) is ambitious, none of the planning outlays have the apparent priority, interrelated importance to overall development, cost and uncertainty characterized by the West Siberian development. Perhaps this is the reason Robert Campbell referred to the development as a "desperate gamble" before this Committee in June 1970. Campbell elsewhere noted, "The important issue is how costly it will be to keep oil and gas output in the new areas of Western Siberia growing. On the surface there is complete official optimism on this score, but one can't help having doubts because of the difficult conditions and the fact that the Ministry officials seem always to have been much less enthusiastic about the potential of the region than is the Party."<sup>3</sup> A number of factors highlight this uncertainty:

(1) It should be stressed that the development is not just the drilling of more oil wells or tapping natural gas deposits in Tyumen province, west Siberia, but the *integrated* development of output, refining capacity, transportation or transmission facilities, consuming and joint product producing industries. Although each link in the complex is not necessarily the uniquely critical bottleneck to the effectiveness of all other elements, there is a high degree of indivisibility.

(2) The time required for the new projects listed in the Ninth Five Year Plan, i.e., by 1975, is considerably shorter than comparable Siberian projects by a factor of 1:2 (five as compared to ten years).<sup>4</sup> Although there are high placed academicians and Party people

Footnotes at end of article.

who argue the cost will be less than comparable development in European Russia, their computations appear subject to legitimate question by other Soviet professional economists on grounds that they underestimate transmission costs and social overhead.<sup>5</sup> For example, A. Probst, the dean of Soviet energy economists would appear to differ with view expressed by Academician Aganbegian the senior economist of the Siberian branch of the Academy of Sciences.

(3) Finally the ambitious and costly nature of the development is compounded by geological uncertainty and technological difficulties relating to climatic and technological problems. Underestimation of the effect of permafrost has been especially responsible for major cost overruns and time delays in oil and gas extraction and transmission development. Most of the gas reserves in West Siberia, for example, are within 200 km (124 miles) of the Arctic Circle. Western petroleum authorities call particular attention to the permafrost problem:

"Pravda declared that permafrost was 'obviously guilty' of causing serious discrepancies between data obtained from geophysical work and from drilling in a number of explored areas in northern Tyumen Province.

"We would find that wells drilled within the apparent limits of a gas field turned out to be dry holes, each of which cost us 100,000-200,000 rubles (\$111,000-222,000). Outlines of gas deposits provided by our geophysical personnel were not sufficiently accurate."

"Russian scientists expect permafrost to pose particularly difficult problems when giant western Siberian gas fields near the Arctic Circle are put on production. They admit they don't know what will happen, for example, when large-diameter development wells drilled through thick permafrost in the trans-Arctic."<sup>6</sup>

(4) It appears that the attractiveness of the West Siberian deposits was enhanced in part by the unpleasant realization that the Ural-Volga fields (Tatar, Bashkir, Kubyshev) were peaking out before expected and that new increments would have to come primarily from the Siberian fields.<sup>7</sup>

(5) Also there seems to be some question as to how much of the natural gas in Siberia is "proven" or "explored."<sup>8</sup> An apparent shift in the definition of "proven" to include what in Western and formally in Soviet usage was "probable" has an ominous ring to those familiar with Soviet statistical legerdemain. To paraphrase Nikita Khrushchev's criticism of bloated agricultural statistics, they will not be able to consume statistics. Some Soviet geologists are very bullish about Siberian reserves. Indeed, some of them appear to buttress their arguments with new unproven geological theories—which bring to this observer a reminder of Lysenko and the "solution of the grain problem."<sup>9</sup>

(6) Technological problems also abound as it appears that although the rotary drill worked well for the Ural-Volga fields, it may not do for West Siberia where US-Alaskan technology would be more appropriate in some Soviets' views. As a result the required drilling equipment might have to come from the West.<sup>10</sup> The technological problems do not stop here as drilling in permafrost in temperatures well below freezing require special high test equipment. Then again transmission poses further technical and supply problems.

(7) Possible export advantages are offset by input requirements. Shortages of pipe production capacity and "know-how" alike force use of scarce hard currency or petroleum exports to Germany, Japan, and elsewhere to finance pipe imports on barter arrangements.<sup>11</sup> Thus, part of the expanded output is in effect mortgaged to pay for imported investment goods.

All this is not conclusive of overcommitment necessarily leading to nonfulfillment of the Plan. With high enough priority and willingness to accept high resource costs perhaps performance can significantly rise above past norms and bottlenecks can be overcome. Indeed the number of projects related to the West Siberian development specifically mentioned in the Directives suggest high priority consideration. Whereas in 1970 there are 1243 large or "titled" projects in the new Plan less than 100 are specifically referenced in the Directives, good portion of which are directly related to the West Siberian complex.<sup>12</sup> That these specific references were made may be related to the newness of some of the West Siberian projects or it may reflect their possible high current priority. Certainly the majority of the projects were carried over from the Eighth Five Year Plan. Indeed 901 of the current projects were initiated by 1966 tying up some 54 billion rubles. Some projects have been 12-14 years in progress.<sup>13</sup> To have effective priority, these particular new claims of the Siberian projects would appear to be competitive with military hardware output in capacity for high test metals, sophisticated machines, construction crews, etc. It does not, however, necessarily follow that the military programs have been reduced in the classified military project lists but the necessary priority to meet all the technologically advanced equipment and manpower needs of the Siberian projects would appear to pose direct competition with military claimants.

The potential military competition of this major civilian investment project has a special time dimension to it. The further the Siberian development proceeds in time the greater the logic to put in necessary resources to bring it to full effectiveness. Now if the development of new strategic systems, i.e., the SS-9 and SS-11, were also to involve a long, risky and expensive process—the gestation period for such systems is said to be 8-10 years—then the question would arise as to whether the two patterns of resource allocation could be simultaneously supported. Or a more critical question for Mr. Brezhnev would be, assuming a current readiness to initiate or give priority to both programs, at what point could overcommitment be perceived and resources shifted to bring the effort having the priority to timely completion. The specter of both military and civilian programs being underfunded, delayed, and uncertain of completion would not seem an attractive prospect to the Party or its leader.

Likewise if overcommitment is permitted, the military programs begun, e.g., an additional deployment of SS-9 or SS-11 offensive missiles or another model of a Soviet ICBM or ABM, it may be not only very difficult, indeed technologically impossible, to shift resources to civilian programs. It is not by chance that Soviet planning periodically leads to overcommitment in a large number of partially completed projects. This is the other side of the tautness coin. Overcommitment or tautness may lead to squeezing all the results possible out, but there are both technological and management problems in conversion. To say this has always been true in the past misses qualitative changes, the completion times for either regional investment complexes or major strategic systems is now rather long—approaching a decade. And the conversion of resources committed to either the civilian or military development becomes increasingly limited over time.

There is also the overwhelming impression that the West Siberian regional project had the same shortcomings of the political-engineering approaches to regional development of the Stalinist past. Indeed in the lead article in the post Congress publication of the Academy of Sciences, V. Krasovskiy finds it "unfortunate" that a complex regional plan was not drawn up.<sup>14</sup> He recommends what

appears to be techniques of modeling of regional development common in the West. By direct reference to the Ural-Kuznets Kombinat plan for 1931 seems to confirm our impression that the old production-engineer type planning techniques were used in planning the current Siberian projects. Discussions by S. M. Vishneva on bottlenecks and Academician Aganbegian on the economic effectiveness of the West Siberian oil-gas complex further indicate the existence of an internal planning debate in the Soviet Union on this regional complex.<sup>15</sup>

If increases in petroleum and natural gas output planned for 1975 are not met what then? (1) The energy requirements for the Soviet economy will either be met by more coal output, expensive expansion of oil output in older fields, importation of oil or natural gas, or output and consumption might be allowed to suffer. It is possible to produce more coal in European Russia. Indeed, the Ukrainian Party boss Shelest complained at the Congress that no new coal mines had been opened in his Republic in 5 years.<sup>16</sup> The reasons are clear. Coal produced in European Russia is very expensive and of low quality.<sup>17</sup> More oil could be extracted from the Ural-Volga fields but probably at a ratio of 1:1 with water. Importation from Iran of natural gas or oil in exchange for military or other equipment may be attractive, if possible, but hard currency for Arab oil would not be. And finally, energy deficiencies which lead to shortfalls in fulfilling the Soviet Ninth Five Year Plan are not an attractive prospect.

(2) The burgeoning requirements of Eastern Europe for petroleum and natural gas might be cut back. The Soviet Union appears generally unwilling to reduce deliveries to Eastern Europe or encourage them to seek other sources.<sup>18</sup> The recent Polish agreement with British Petroleum being a notable exception.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps the continued dependence on the USSR for oil, grain, and ore is a political lever of critical importance to Soviet influence. The lack of such a lever may help explain Rumanian independence, for example.

(3) Exports to Western Europe to meet import obligations and earn hard currency may be reduced. Indeed, this is precisely what happened in 1969.<sup>20</sup> But surely this is not attractive to Soviet leaders as underlined by the proceedings of the Eighth World Petroleum Congress held in Moscow in June 1971 in which expansion of Soviet petroleum exports was featured.<sup>21</sup>

Petroleum and natural gas development in West Siberia are singled out because of their importance and because the Soviet Plan highlights them. Other civilian investment is expensive, risky and have balance of payment implications, e.g. the car and truck output plans, electric power expansion (including atomic stations), agricultural investment, etc. Also other regional developments in Bratsk Ust-Ilyme, South Tadzhikistan, Tatar Republic, etc. bear critical examination.<sup>22</sup> But none of them appear to have the pressing need for priority, potentially for cost inflation, or interrelated importance of the Siberian petroleum-natural gas complex.

### III. LABOR AS A CONSTRAINT

From these sketchy directives we may also single out manpower as a problem area with some characteristics similar to the energy problem. Labor productivity is planned to account for 87-90 percent of the total increment in output during the Ninth Five-Year Plan. While the total labor force is to increase at an annual rate of 1.7 percent, the key industrial force is stipulated to grow by only one percent. This modest increase in the industrial labor force is about one-third the rate realized during the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1.0 as compared to 2.8). To be sure in the past overambitious increases in

Footnotes at end of article.

labor productivity were offset by higher than planned expansion of the industrial labor force at the expense of agriculture, services, etc. As noted by Murray Feshbach, "... in most years prior to the 1960's the planned number of workers and employees was met, and in industry the actual number frequently was 200,000-300,000 persons above the plan. In 1965, however, the actual number for industry was barely 25,000 above the plan, and by 1967 there was a shortage of 125,000 industrial-production personnel relative to plan requirements."<sup>23</sup> This graphically measures the end of "buffer" sectors to cover shortfalls in industrial manpower needs.

In the past, labor deficiencies were met by shifts from lower priority sectors (e.g., agriculture) and more intensive use of available labor (e.g. higher participation ratios, longer hours, etc.). Now not only is labor not likely to be released from other sectors to meet industrial needs, but in the current Plan income, investment, and administrative policy is designed to keep skilled workers in agriculture from migrating to urban industrial jobs. Nonetheless, 90 percent of the high school graduates from rural schools still seek urban employment.<sup>24</sup> So likely shortfalls in the improvement in labor productivity will aggravate the labor shortage.

It is well to recall that demobilization of some 3 million members of the armed forces in the late fifties (from 5.8 to 3.0 million in the period 1955-1961) not only eased Khrushchev's labor problem, but coincided with rather good years of economic performance.<sup>25</sup> Although the reduction in military manpower may have been facilitated by technological modernization of the military forces and a reduction of missions such as the withdrawal from Austria after the treaty, the historical reference may have current force. Again in a time when manpower deficiencies are becoming more serious no other ready major source of labor—especially young males to meet civilian needs—is presently available comparable to the military forces. Military demobilization would probably be stoutly resisted but not necessarily with success. Indeed demobilization was apparently quietly revived after 1961 as noted by Nikita Khrushchev in 1963 at the Party Plenum and by 1965 his original target of 2.4 million in military manpower reduction was reached.<sup>26</sup> The military probably did not favor the reduced term of service in the 1967 draft reform yet they were overridden by the Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership. The logic may then have been broader based political indoctrination—a shorter term of service for more Soviet youths. With the China border crisis and the Czech invasion the strength is apparently back above the 1961 level of circa 3 million at 3.5 (including the border guards and internal security forces).<sup>27</sup> The logic for reduction in the size of the military force might now again be improved economic performance, especially if reductions of requirements in Europe may be conducive to a release of say 100-200 thousand men. Certainly the China border holds out little short-run promise for detente.

#### IV. A NEW SOVIET ECONOMIC GAME PLAN?

As I have suggested, the Soviet leadership may change their economic game plan. Let me again indicate that a particular combination of domestic economic, political, as well as international circumstances appear necessary for change. The absence of any one of the aforementioned may engender or strengthen the internal resistance to a point too strong to be overcome by the will of the current leadership. Permit me to restate the difficulty in postulating a reordering of priorities and economic reform.

I am convinced that Soviet resource priorities should be reordered and the economic system modernized, but is Mr. Brezhnev and

the Soviet leadership? Why would Soviet military agree to a diversion of resources from military hardware output to develop projects such as the West Siberian oil and gas complex or stand still for a reduction in military manpower to meet civilian needs—no matter how pressing the economic need? Why should the Party apparatus and their traditional allies in planning and management now in power step aside for new professional economic planners and demand-oriented managers? The only ready answer would seem to be that Mr. Brezhnev is able and willing to convince these entrenched interests to permit a change. Without new power and perception of need of change by Mr. Brezhnev, I fear that my "objective" logic will carry insufficient weight. Therefore I conclude that the stagnation and rigidity of the Soviet system will continue unless Brezhnev has the power and will to break it. For him to do so turns on two assumptions of change:

(1) Leonid Brezhnev has emerged from the recent Party Congress *primus inter pares*, approaching the personal rule of previous First Secretaries, perhaps akin to that of Khrushchev in 1956.<sup>28</sup>

(2) With the new power goes new responsibility for success in the economy, as well as elsewhere, and that Mr. Brezhnev therefore perceives a need to change to reinforce his new position at the Soviet pinnacle.

In this the progress of the SALT talks would seem to have a negative influence, i.e., failure of the talks would strengthen those resisting change, even if Brezhnev indeed opts for change in his own interest.

This kind of scenario is not completely without precedent, although it is not characteristic of the Soviet system or of Brezhnev's style of operation. In 1956, Khrushchev, his Minister of Defense Zhukov, and the Party had agreed to reduce military manpower and modernize the Soviet forces. Zhukov was not only interested in modernization but in reduction of party control in the military. The stimulus to economic growth from the release of resources was a factor in the continued high growth rates and may have led Khrushchev to promise to overtake and surpass the United States. Khrushchev apparently perceived the need to reorder priorities and to temporarily reduce Party control in the armed forces to solidify his power position. It was only later after the first Kennedy budget and the Cuban missile crisis that he apparently reversed these priorities, initiating the buildup of some of the weapons we now see deployed and stopping the progress of military manpower reduction. This reversal and the attendant poor economic performance may have been a factor in his demise.

Even accepting this highly speculative scenario of Khrushchev in 1956, as being relevant to Brezhnev in 1971, it is difficult to expect Brezhnev to opt for change in the three areas simultaneously: a reduction of the military hardware share of industrial output growth; reduction of military manpower, and reduction of Party control and involvement in the economy, military, etc. What then is likely is that all may become issues which may be negatively influenced by external negotiations and foreign developments and positively influenced by Brezhnev's rise in power and perceptions of need to improve economic performance.

Let us leave the subjective leadership speculation and close on a more objective note of the choice between sophisticated civilian investment and military hardware output. There may be a delay in the program for further buildup of the SS-9.<sup>29</sup> Commitments may not yet be made to a new round in strategic weapons buildup. On the other hand, the West Siberian oil-gas complex appears to be moving ahead. If these are viewed as competitive patterns of resource allocation and if at some point in the not too distant future some relatively irreversible decisions on allocations are necessary, this considera-

tion may be so perceived by Mr. Brezhnev and acted upon. That is, to avoid overcommitment to two competitive nonconvertible patterns of resource commitment, Brezhnev may be inclined, by this logic, to direct resources from the potential military program to bring to fruition the civilian investment project. It is also possible he may act to reduce military manpower and to initiate economic reform, but these seem less likely courses of Soviet action in a possible reordering of priorities.

Thus if the options open to the Soviet leadership are reduction of the priority for new strategic weapon systems, a cutback in military manpower, a withdrawal of Party control and involvement in the economy so as to permit economic reform, I would suggest that that is the order of likelihood of change. And even for a downward revision in priority for further military weapons buildup—my most likely candidate for change—not only the economic rationale must be persuasive but also the domestic political and international climate must be favorable to expect a break in the pattern of the past.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> See especially *Pravda*, April 11, 1971 and *Voprosy ekonomiki* (Problems of Economics), No. 6, 1971.

<sup>2</sup> *Oil and Gas Journal*, Aug. 24, 1970, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> *ASTE Bulletin*, Vol. XII, No. 2, Fall 1970, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> G. A. Prudensky (ed.), *Ekonomika stroitel'stva voprosyenykh novykh predpriyatii* (Economics of Construction and Break In of New Enterprises), Moscow: Stroiizdat, Siberian Academy of Sciences, 1966, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> A. Probst, "K prognozi ekonomicheskogo razvitiya proizvodstvennoi spetsializatsii vostochnykh ralonov SSSR (Toward a Prognosis of the Economic Development and Productive Specialization of the Eastern Regions of the USSR) *Seriya ekonomicheskaya*, No. 5, 1970, p. 69; T. Khachaturov, "The Economic Effectiveness of Capital Investments," *Kommunist*, Sep. 1966, pp. 66-67.

<sup>6</sup> *The Oil and Gas Journal*, Aug. 24, 1970, p. 128.

<sup>7</sup> *Neftianoye khoziaistvo*, No. 3, 1971, pp. 1-62.

<sup>8</sup> N. S. L'vov, *Resursy prirodnogo gaza SSSR* (Resources of Natural Gas in the USSR), Moscow: Nedra, 1969, pp. 33, 36.

<sup>9</sup> Academician A. Sidorenko of the Ministry of Geology USSR, "Oil Riches—In Service of the Economy," *Pravda*, Feb. 25, 1971. Cf. E. G. Gurari, "Oil and Gas in West Siberia: Prospects, Problems," *Priroda*, No. 1, 1971, pp. 16-23.

<sup>10</sup> *Neftyanik* (Oil Worker), No. 1, 1971, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Soviet Oil Minister V. C. Shashan, *Oil and Gas Journal*, Aug. 24, 1970, p. 22.

<sup>12</sup> *Voprosy ekonomiki*, No. 6, 1971, p. 3; *Pravda*, April 11, 1971.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> *Voprosy ekonomiki*, No. 6, 1971, p. 8.

<sup>15</sup> *Ekonomika i matematicheskie metody*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1971; A. Agenbegan, *Sbornikh "Neft' i gas Tyumeni"*, No. 5, Tumen, 1970 (cited in *Voprosy ekonomiki*, No. 6, 1971, p. 8).

<sup>16</sup> *Pravda*, April 1971.

<sup>17</sup> Fuel deficit in European Russia was 70 million conventional tons in 1965, 140 million conventional tons in 1970, and is expected to grow to circa 350 million in 1975. A. Probst, *Voprosy ekonomiki*, No. 6, 1971, p. 55.

<sup>18</sup> *Platts Oilgram*, February 13, 1970, p. 1. To meet an East European deficit in 1980, 84 m. tons will have to be imported from the USSR or elsewhere.

<sup>19</sup> *London Economist*, July 10, 1971, p. 90.

<sup>20</sup> "In 1969—for the first time since 1955 when the Soviet Union became a net exporter of oil—exports to the free world declined, by about 3 million tons. . . Oil exports to the free world have been the largest single source of foreign exchange. . . about \$350 million in 1969." J. Richard Lee, "The Fuel Industries," *Economic Performance and the Military Bur-*

den in the Soviet Union, Joint Economic Committee, GPO, 1970, p 35.

<sup>21</sup> *Washington Post*, June 1971; Robert Ebel in *World Petroleum*, June 1971.

<sup>22</sup> *Voprosy ekonomiki*, Krasovskiy, op. cit., p 3.

<sup>23</sup> M. Feshbach, *Manpower Trends in the U.S.S.R.*, Census Bureau, May 1971, pp 1, 18.

<sup>24</sup> Feshbach, p 12.

<sup>25</sup> J. Godaire, "The Claim of the Soviet Military Establishment," *Dimensions of Soviet Economic Power*, Joint Economic Committee, GPO, 1962, p 43.

<sup>26</sup> Confirmed in an interview of Marshal Sokolovsky on February 18, 1965.

<sup>27</sup> Institute of Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 1970-71*, London, p 6.

<sup>28</sup> See Myron Rush, "Brezhnev and the Succession Issue," *Problems of Communism*, July-August 1970, pp 9-15.

<sup>29</sup> *New York Times*, March 8, 1971, p 1 and March 27, 1971, p 1.

#### TOMMY'S TRIP TO THE MOON

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, as we honor the three great astronauts today, I want to join in saluting their remarkable achievement and to share with them a little anecdote connected with their trip to the moon.

I watched the televised lift-off of Apollo 15 with my mother, Mrs. Olive B. Flint, at her home in California. We were, of course, thrilled at the smooth start of the astronauts' journey. As they were well started on their first phase, my mother, with the remarkable recall of more than 80 wonderful years, started to recite a poem she remembered from her youth, back before the days of automobiles, airplanes, or television. It dealt with another moon visit, and I include it as a portion of my remarks:

#### TOMMY'S TRIP TO THE MOON

The crackers cracked and guns went "Bang!"  
Folks they shouted and the bells rang,  
All hearts were filled with joy and pride  
When Tommy took his famous ride.

It wasn't in a big balloon  
That he sallied up to meet the moon,  
But all the money in his pocket  
Was spent upon a single rocket.

He planted it against the wall  
And there it towered, slim and tall  
Then, silly Tommy—Such a trick!  
Must tie himself fast to the stick.

Whizz, went the rocket in the air!  
And people stopped to wildly stare;  
Dogs barked with all their might  
But Tommy soon was out of sight.

The Old Man in the Moon looked out  
To see what it was all about.  
Said he to Tommy, "Is that you?"  
Come in and see me "How do you do?"

Away went Tommy fast and far,  
He tried to catch a pretty star  
He saw the clouds go sailing by  
Like boats of pearl along the sky.

But soon he slower went—and then  
Down, down, he fell to earth, again  
Down, down, the Old Man in the Moon  
Said, "Call again some afternoon,"

Down, down, sweet faces o'er him beam  
How lucky!—this was all a dream;  
Safe in his little crib he lay  
And it was Independence Day.

#### TRIBUTE TO DR. ORVAL PIRTLE

### HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Orval Pirtle, president of Henderson County Junior College for the 25 years of its existence as an institution has retired as president, but will continue service to the school in another capacity. He was a mainspring in the founding of this HCJC, and instrumental in building it to its present place in providing additional fine educational opportunities to the young people of Henderson County and surrounding counties.

I wish to add my commendation to Dr. Pirtle for his outstanding service to our community and to our college.

I request that the two articles and the editorial in the August 27, 1971, issue of the Athens, Tex., Daily Review, which described Dr. Pirtle's splendid work for HCJC.

[From the Athens (Tex.) Daily Review, Aug. 27, 1971]

#### RETIRING PRESIDENT HONORED AT DINNER

Friends and colleagues of Orval Pirtle honored the retiring administrator with an appreciation dinner Thursday night, hailing him as the determination behind the growth of Henderson County Junior College.

Pirtle will end over 25 years as president of HCJC on August 31, when Dr. T. M. Harvey assumes the office.

Woodrow Walker, president, First National Bank, presided as master of ceremonies, saying about Pirtle that "never have so many owed so much to one individual in this area; his life touches everyone, either directly or indirectly."

Frank Ballow, HCJC business manager, called Pirtle the most tolerant man in the country, one dedicated to his job, working evenings, week ends and vacations to promote the welfare of HCJC.

Eugene Spencer, one of the early promoters of the junior college and former HCJC trustee, recalled the selection of Pirtle to sell the idea of the junior college to the voters in 1964. Spencer said that Pirtle had campaigned for the college "and no man ever did a better job." Then Spencer said they had a college, and no one to run it. Again Pirtle was selected, and, again, "no man ever did a better job."

J. R. Lowe, superintendent, Athens Independent School District, told the audience that Pirtle had been eager to begin classes a month after the election established the college. He said that the Athens public school buildings were used as summer classrooms, with records being filed in apple crates and registration papers in shoe boxes.

C. O. Dodson, president of the HCJC board of trustees, said that Pirtle will still be around "to help us with the knowledge he has accumulated in the last 25 years and with the 40,000 students who have passed through this institution."

Dodson presented Pirtle with a plaque engraved "To Orval S. Pirtle, In appreciation for 25 years of faithful and dedicated service as president of Henderson County Junior College, 1946-1971."

Dr. T. M. Harvey, incoming president of HCJC, presented Pirtle with a watch bearing the inscription "Orval S. Pirtle, For dedicated service, HCJC, 1946-1971."

In accepting the watch Pirtle said that it would be useful. The watch he had on had been given to him by Rosco Francis, faculty member, in 1945, so was older than HCJC

He said he had been wondering how long it would last.

Pirtle said he would not accept anything without recognizing the many friends who have contributed to the college, paying a special tribute to his wife, Hallie Mae, and his family.

"The co-operation of the constituents of HCJC, the people who send their children to school here, the people who pay taxes, and the people outside the district who back the college, have built HCJC," he said. "No man does anything by himself."

He named the public school administrators and faculty, the students, and above all, the HCJC board of trustees, which he called the foundation of the building, as prime forces in the growth of the college.

"You built HCJC by your co-operation," he said, "and I ask that you co-operate with Dr. Harvey as you did with me. I have learned to love him. He's a wonderful man, a wonderful school man, and he can do wonderful things if you work with him," Pirtle concluded.

Finalizing the program was the unveiling of a portrait of the first president, Mrs. Wilson Dees, a member of the dinner's planning committee, said that the portrait would be placed in a prominent spot in the administration building.

Approximately 250 persons attended the program which was held in the HCJC student union building. Members of the planning committee for the dinner included Glenn Reynolds, chairman, Colonel Mills, and Mrs. Dees. Others aiding in the preparations were Barney R. Iles, Mrs. Jerry Rogers, Mrs. Clyde Martin and Rosco Francis.

Dinner music was provided by Mrs. Frank R. Dorsey.

#### ORVAL PIRTLE—SELF ANALYSIS: A FOOL'S LIFE

(By Cherie Hopkins)

Orval Pirtle sums up his 46 years in the educational profession by saying that he has led a "fool's life." The retiring president of Henderson County Junior College feels that he's been thought a fool for advocating programs before people were ready to accept them.

Pirtle culminates over 25 years as first and only president of HCJC on August 31, when Dr. T. M. Harvey assumes the title.

Pirtle said that he is a fortunate man in that he has been able to serve in "what I consider the best job to serve the most people" within 25 miles of the town in which he was born, Myrtle Springs.

#### THE BEGINNING

Pirtle received his bachelor of science degree in 1932 from Stephen F. Austin State University, and his master of science degree in 1941 from East Texas State University. He began teaching in the Lockland community when he was 19 years old. He had 48 children in eight grades for two years. He also taught in Little Lot, Shady Grove and Cayuga before going to Cross Roads. He joined the Cross Roads school system in 1931, when it was a newly consolidated school. Between that year and 1946 when he left the system, the school had readied itself for accreditation by the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges, no small feat for the struggling system in depression years.

Pirtle recalls that he was approached concerning the establishment of a county junior college by J. P. Pickens and Eugene Spencer in February, 1946. They asked him if he favored the project, and he replied that he did, emphasizing that the college was to be operated by the county and was to serve the county, providing equal opportunities to all, even to areas of transportation.

Pirtle began to campaign for the approval of the junior college. The voters were asked to approve (1) the establishment of a junior college, (2) a seven man board to head the

program, and (3) a 20 cent tax rate for the college district. The election was held on May 4, 1946. The work of the backers paid off. All three points were approved by a 93 per cent vote, with seven per cent dissenting.

Registration for summer classes began on June 3, 1946, in the Athens High School buildings, with the first enrollment reaching 82.

In preparatory work for the college, Pirtle had accepted a position as co-ordinator of the vocational programs being pushed nationally at that time for veterans. His acceptance of this position was conditional: his resignation from the post was effective the date of the election.

"I did so in order that the board would not have any obligations to anyone," Pirtle said. "They needed a free hand in selecting the college president."

The board named Pirtle to the presidency at the first meeting held following the election, May 6, 1946.

Classes were held throughout the summer in the old coliseum on the fairgrounds, now the site of the HCJC campus.

Pirtle said that by the fall of that year the college officials realized that the county was not large enough to support a comprehensive program, and transportation lines were established to points such as Scurry-Rosser, Elkhart, Seagoville and Frankston.

#### GROWTH

Immediately after the establishment of the school, Pirtle made applications for \$2,700,000 worth of buildings from Camp House near Paris. His application was approved, and the college was to dole out \$27,000, the 10 per cent of salvage cost required. The college didn't have the funds. The election had produced \$36,000 tax revenue for the college to operate on the first year. Pirtle made another application. This time he asked that the buildings be donated to the college. The application was again approved, but all problems were not solved.

The buildings must be moved to the campus, and the college had no money to finance these moves. This problem was solved by selling some of the buildings to the Fort Worth school system, thereby raising the money needed to salvage, move and start to work on the buildings on the HCJC campus.

Thereby begins the tale of the physical building of the facility now valued at almost \$5 million. From the materials allotted to build what is now the women's gym, two carpentry classes almost doubled the size officially indicated for the recreation hall. When the inspector saw the results he had only praise for the ingenuity.

Another salvage purchase of large equipment (\$3,500) netted the college \$50,000 plus an additional \$15,000 after sale of the equipment which could not be used by the college. In the school year 1947-48 the salvaged buildings were in use on the campus. In 1948, a \$200,000 bond issue was voted and the old administration building, (which now serves as liberal arts building) was begun. Another bond election in 1951 netted \$110,000 and finishing touches were added to the building programs. In 1959 portions of the present administration building were built, with construction in 1964. In that same building program the men's gymnasium, the technical-vocational building, two dorms and the student union building were begun. The most recent building program was the 7,400 square foot shop building readied for the summer, 1970 session.

Pirtle said that of the \$2,700,000 building program, local taxpayers paid for only \$1,300,000 worth of it, with the remainder being funded by gifts, local maintenance, grants and donations.

#### ACCREDITATION

The school grew physically and academically. In 1947, HCJC was accredited by the

Texas Education Agency and Texas Association of College and Universities, effective in fall, 1948. In December 1952, HCJC was approved for accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Universities.

The announcement of the accreditation was important to Pirtle. But so was the football game scheduled between HCJC and Navarro Junior College on Thanksgiving Day. He stayed in Athens to see the game, leaving afterward to conduct a program for the Texas State Teacher's Association in El Paso the next day. He left immediately after that meeting for Memphis, Tenn., to accept the accreditation the next morning.

#### VOCATIONAL SUPPORT

Pirtle has a history of being a supporter of vocational and technical education on college levels. He berates anyone for discouraging college attendance for vocational-technical students, saying that the day of "shade-tree mechanics" is past.

He pushed vocational training programs for veterans in 1946, when the public felt the only benefit the veteran was getting was the \$150 check he got from the GI Bill. Pirtle said the veterans knew differently.

He is pleased that vocational-technical education on the college level is now being accepted. He served from 1952-55 as chairman of the Texas Vocational Committee, and was then told by government officials that they would never vote for technical-vocational education in junior colleges. He has been pleased to see their about face.

#### EVALUATIONS

But Pirtle says his satisfaction does not lie in the building program, the 65 acre campus or in the financial proportions of the college he has headed for a quarter of a century.

"My greatest satisfaction is the fact that during the better than 25 years I served as president, I could look any student in the face and tell him that he had never been refused to come and visit with me on any problems he thought I needed to know about.

"I also am proud that HCJC has never turned down any individual student who really had a desire for education but had financial problems. Loans are always made available. Anyone able to go has always been able to find a place at HCJC.

"I now hope that the public will give Dr. Harvey the support that they gave me, and it is my full intention in my next four years at HCJC to back Dr. Harvey and the college 100 per cent," Pirtle said.

Pirtle has always been quick to seek publicity for the college, and as quick to shun it for himself. But his service and position brought the recognition: he has served as president of the County Teacher's Association, president of the State Teachers Association, Junior College Division, he has served 22 years on the Executive Committee of the Texas Public Junior College Association, and 16 years as secretary-treasurer of the Texas Public Junior College Association.

His other awards include an Athens Chamber of Commerce Man of the Year Award, a student body award for outstanding services to the student body, and an award from the Texas Public Junior Colleges. He holds an honorary membership in the Future Farmers of America, and has awards from that group for outstanding services. He has represented junior colleges in the Building Program of Texas, he has served on the advisory committee to the Coordinating Board Staff and he was a member of the two year Study Committee of Districting State in Junior College Districts. He has been the recipient of the HCJC yearbook dedication twice. He has also helped draft bills of legislation and secured passage pertaining to junior college education and districting.

Pirtle will continue with the college at full time salary for a year, and the next three years he will be on a part time basis.

These four years will enable Pirtle to fulfill another of his goals: a half-century of service in education.

The time span over which he's seen other goals fulfilled has covered 25 years—from being named president of a junior college that at the time consisted of an administrative board and tax revenue of \$36,000 to a \$5 million institution with an annual tax revenue of almost \$300,000. He has seen enrollment rise from 82 students to a consistent total of from 1,300 to 1,400 students. He is seeing vocational, technical programs stressed on higher education levels.

Now another goal is in sight. The fifty year mark is just a few years away. And it will surprise few if the man who calls himself a kind of fool reaches this new goal, too.

He has a long record of accomplished goals.

#### AS WE SEE IT—ORVAL PIRTLE

Last week Orval Pirtle was introducing Dr. T. M. Harvey, president-elect of Henderson County Junior College, to the Athens Rotary Club which Harvey was to address.

Pirtle said of the college, "We have a wonderful institution. It has become what it has because of you, the administration, the staff, the support it has gotten . . . all have made it what it has become."

Twenty five years ago Pirtle who was then with the Cross Roads Schools as superintendent was asked to come by J. P. Pickens' office in the First National Bank. He was president of the bank then and he and Eugene Spencer who was owner of Athens Furniture were together. The two men asked Pirtle if he was interested in seeing a junior college established that would serve the entire county.

He was. And he, Pickens, Spencer and others set about to establish it.

On Thursday evening of this week Orval Pirtle was honored at a dinner for his 25 years as president of HCJC. He will remain with the college in another capacity, stepping down from his post as president. Dr. Harvey will assume that position September 1.

Pirtle asked the Rotarians "as friends of mine, give Dr. Harvey, President of HCJC, the backing you've given me for 25 years." Pirtle told the club that it was Rotarians that started HCJC.

Pirtle thinks very highly of Dr. Harvey and we know the retiring president who has served the college as its head administrator since its founding will continue as he always has to do whatever he can in its behalf as long as he is with it . . . and long after he retires.

All of Henderson County is fortunate that far-sighted men like Johnny Pickens had vision enough to realize there would be a great need for a college to serve the young people of this area, and followed through the maze of work to get the school established. They chose an able and energetic man who has dedicated 25 years of his life . . . working night and day . . . to the school. Thursday evening he was honored for this service and many, many well wishers were on hand for the surprise affair to let him know that they appreciate the work he has done.

Pirtle, many others and the community have built an institution that has provided education for many hundreds of young people and adults who would not otherwise have been able to go beyond high school. For many other adults it is where they learned to read and write in basic adult education classes.

People of this county are fortunate to have HCJC. They are also fortunate to have had a dedicated person in Orval Pirtle to work with the other founders of the school and to advance it and build it for many years following.

The community expressed its appreciation Thursday evening in the way that com-

munites do . . . by honoring Orval and his wife, Hallie Mae.

We join them in saying that we've enjoyed working with him over the years and appreciate what he has done and what he has tried to do for the community and for the institution he has served for 25 years.

Our best wishes go with him as he continues to labor in behalf of the college and his community.

**COUGHLIN POLL ON KEY ISSUES  
DRAWS HEAVY RESPONSE FROM  
CONSTITUENTS**

**HON. R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report to my colleagues the results of a poll I conducted of citizens in Pennsylvania's 13th Congressional District. I also will send a copy of the tabulation to President Nixon.

Because of the wide interest in public opinion samplings and the excellent response, I feel the results of this poll will prove valuable and interesting. I think the tabulations are especially useful since my congressional district, adjoining and northwest of Philadelphia, comprises a good cross section of Pennsylvania including heavily urbanized areas, less densely populated suburban and residential sections, and rural communities and farmlands.

As usual since I started the poll in my first year in the Congress, the response to the mailed questionnaires was heavy. Questionnaires were printed—not at Government expense—for mailing to every household, apartment, and post office box in the district. Some 190,000 were mailed so as many constituents as possible could take part in the poll.

Before the August 1, 1971 deadline, 28,859 individual responses were received. Answers were tabulated carefully under statistical procedures to guarantee a minimum of error.

Many of my constituents took the time to write notes on the questionnaires and send me individual letters expanding on their views. Their comments were wide-ranging, but all expressed deep concern over various international and domestic issues.

Although I had included a question on the economy in my 1970 questionnaire, many felt that this still was the overriding domestic issue. The President's announcement of his new economic policy took place after the questionnaire had been printed and mailed, so it was not possible for me to determine the reaction to his new plans.

On the question of domestic spending, five of eight programs I listed drew more than a 50-percent response each for more funding. Constituents were asked to reply "more," "less," or "same."

Environmental protection drew the heaviest response for higher funding with 76 percent. This was followed by crime control, 70 percent; mass transportation,

64 percent; aid to elderly, 60 percent; and education, 57 percent.

Drawing less than 50 percent for more funding were: defense other than Vietnam, 13 percent; space exploration, 15 percent; and aid to poor, 36 percent.

On the key issue of Vietnam, 52 percent favor our withdrawal within a specified time contingent only upon the release of our prisoners and safe return of our personnel.

Twenty-five percent approve of staged withdrawal contingent upon a stable South Vietnamese Government able to defend itself successfully. Five percent wrote "immediate withdrawal" while another 5 percent want resumption of bombing and increased military pressure on North Vietnam. Five percent wrote in varying responses.

Other questions included NATO troop commitments, nuclear generating plants, U.S. defense posture with Russia, the President's approaches to mainland China, Israel, and occupied territories, environmental emphasis, national health insurance, the FBI and its director, revenue sharing, national transportation strides, and Federal legislation to protect police and firemen.

I am pleased to share the results of this poll with my colleagues and I insert them into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The results are:

1. Which best expresses your position on Vietnam? (one only)

Staged withdrawal of our troops contingent upon a stable South Vietnamese government able to defend itself successfully, 25 percent.

Withdraw within a specified time contingent only upon the release of our prisoners and safe withdrawal of our personnel, 52 percent.

Resume bombing and increase military pressure on North Vietnam, 5 percent.

Immediate withdrawal (written in), 13 percent.

None of the above (specify), 5 percent.

2. Which best expresses your feelings about our troop commitment to Western Europe? (one only)

Unilaterally reduce number of our troops, 29 percent.

Reduce troops according to negotiations with NATO allies and Soviet Union, 58 percent.

Maintain present levels, 13 percent.

3. How do you assess the role of nuclear generating plants in meeting our increasing demands for sources of energy? (One only.)

[In percent]

Satisfactory: move ahead as is . . . . . 23

Potentially good: proceed with caution . . . . . 59

Unsatisfactory: stop and call moratorium . . . . . 12

None of above (specify) . . . . . 6

4. Federal spending involves your tax dollars. Should we spend more, less or the same as presently on the following:

More Less Same

Defense (other than Vietnam) . . . . . 13 54 33

Education . . . . . 57 16 27

Space exploration . . . . . 15 54 31

Aid to poor . . . . . 36 29 35

Mass transportation . . . . . 64 13 23

Aid to elderly . . . . . 60 5 35

Crime control . . . . . 70 6 24

Environmental protection . . . . . 76 5 19

5. Do you believe the United States must maintain at least an equal position with the

Soviet Union in defense posture including conventional and nuclear arms?

[In percent]

Yes . . . . . 71

No . . . . . 20

Undecided . . . . . 9

6. Do you favor President Nixon's actions in trying to establish friendlier relations with mainland China?

[In percent]

Yes . . . . . 77

No . . . . . 12

Undecided . . . . . 11

7. Do you believe Israel should withdraw from occupied territories as a precondition to peace negotiations?

[In percent]

Yes . . . . . 27

No . . . . . 57

Undecided . . . . . 16

8. As your Congressman, I have underscored my concern for conservation over the years by introducing a number of bills to abate air, water and land pollution. Do you think enough emphasis is now being placed on environmental protection by the Federal Government?

[In percent]

Yes . . . . . 23

No . . . . . 71

Undecided . . . . . 6

9. Without regard to the relative merits of various proposals, do you feel we need a system of national health insurance?

[In percent]

Yes . . . . . 55

No . . . . . 32

Undecided . . . . . 13

10. The FBI has become the subject of recent controversy.

A. Are you satisfied with the FBI's general performance?

[In percent]

Yes . . . . . 66

No . . . . . 25

Undecided . . . . . 9

B. Do you think the FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover should retire now?

[In percent]

Yes . . . . . 56

No . . . . . 33

Undecided . . . . . 11

11. Do you favor President Nixon's proposal for revenue sharing to return \$5 billion in Federal funds to State and local governments for their use?

[In percent]

Yes . . . . . 60

No . . . . . 24

Undecided . . . . . 16

12. Do you favor compulsory arbitration to control nationwide strikes in the transportation industry?

[In percent]

Yes . . . . . 88

No . . . . . 7

Undecided . . . . . 5

13. Do you think Federal legislation is necessary to protect State and local law enforcement officials, firemen and judicial officers in the performance of their duties?

[In percent]

Yes . . . . . 51

No . . . . . 36

Undecided . . . . . 13

Party Preference of Those Responding

[In percent]

Republican . . . . . 63

Democrat . . . . . 19

Nonpartisan . . . . . 17

Other . . . . . 1

## Ages of Those Responding

18 to 21.....	2
21 to 35.....	25
35 to 50.....	36
50 to 65.....	26
65 and over.....	11

ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT  
OF THE UNITED STATES

## HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Vice President AGNEW before the International Conference on Urban Transportation in Pittsburgh, Pa., on September 8, 1971:

ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES

Two thousand years ago Julius Caesar found it necessary to ban chariots and other wheeled vehicles from the streets of Rome, during the daytime, because of traffic congestion.

Outside the city, the Romans had constructed the greatest system of highways the world had ever known. Parts of these roads are in use today. Yet they did not solve the urban snarl of ancient Rome.

Two thousand years later we too take great pride in our highways. The Interstate system now nearing completion in this country is the world's finest. But we, like the Romans, still haven't solved the traffic problem on our city streets.

We can fly men to the moon and back without a hitch or a delay, but they don't have to pass through any cities.

We can cross this continent by air in 5½ hours, but then we encounter delays of up to half that time getting from the airport to our office or home.

And going from downtown to the suburbs at rush hour on any week day is a nightmare in traffic dodging that a Caesar could not imagine.

But at least we're working on the problem—your presence here is an indication of that—and I believe we're closer to the answer than we would dare hope.

The answer is not to ban automobiles from the streets—like the chariots of Rome—but to come up with attractive alternatives to do-it-yourself commuting—alternatives that will encourage the citizen to leave his car at home or at least at some way station outside of town.

The alternative is efficient, dependable, low cost public transportation. Not only would this lure commuters off the streets, it would provide an essential service to the one-quarter of our population who don't own or can't drive cars. They include many of our older citizens and those unable to afford private transportation.

The lack of good public transportation is as much a part of the urban dilemma today as housing, schools and jobs. It ties in with all of them and, in fact, may be the key that unlocks the overall problem and revitalizes our cities.

So it is time we stop thinking of transportation as an end in itself and approach it as a part of the whole—a most vital part of the overall urban problem.

I shall have more to say about this in a few minutes, but first I want to extend a word of welcome to those of you who have come from foreign countries to assist in this Fifth International Conference on Urban

Transportation. And I would like to congratulate those of you from the transportation and related industries in America who are devoting your time to helping us solve what has become our most visible urban problem. Your know-how is on the drawing boards and available, and it is up to us in government and private industry, in the vernacular, to "put it all together."

I am convinced we are on the threshold of a major breakthrough in the solution of our urban transportation problems in this country. There is a new attitude of determination, a national will, to end this strangulation of our cities that has grown progressively worse for several decades now.

We have seen it reflected in the higher priority assigned to urban transportation problems by the Nixon Administration. Prior to this Administration, Federal funding for public transit never exceeded \$200 million a year. Last year, under the Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1970, it more than doubled to \$435 million, and this year it will be \$900 million. This funding for capital equipment grants and research and development will continue to grow as we move forward on projects conceived and implemented at the local level. It is the President's purpose to supply long-term, continuing financial aid for urban transportation projects as fully as it can be effectively applied.

This substantially larger funding—\$10 billion authorized over 12 years—serves as assurance to State and local governments and private investors that the Federal government recognizes the importance of the mass transit problem. It will be, hopefully, the catalyst that will bring about long deferred action on transit systems too long delayed.

A good transit system is a solid investment in the community. Properly planned, it will pay rich dividends—in increased business, employment, land values, tax base and general urban renewal. It will generate prosperity where it is most needed—in the hard-pressed cities—and, in doing so, it can be of great assistance in meeting other urban problems.

There will be many completely new transit systems starting up in this country within the next 10 years—in San Francisco next year, in Washington in the mid-70's and perhaps in my native city of Baltimore very soon. Other major metropolitan areas are also planning new mass transit systems now that they know Federal funding will be available for their plans to proceed to construction.

Extensions of present systems are planned in New York, in Philadelphia, in Boston and in Chicago.

Involved in these new systems—and extensions of existing major systems—will be hundreds of new rapid transit stations. Many of them will be located in critical poverty areas. Their potential for revitalizing those communities is enormous. They should be thought of in terms of their potential to renew the whole urban environment not just as transit stations. They can become vital parts of planned community centers if sufficient land is acquired to permit such development.

Let's look, for example, at what Sweden has done with this concept. The Taby Center Station outside of Stockholm incorporates in it 14 separate functions—schools, apartments, a shopping center, a medical center, churches, a gymnasium, sports centers. It has become a community within itself, but not one strictly dependent on the automobile. Located along a main transit route, the residents are only 30 minutes away from downtown Stockholm.

Taby is but one of 18 satellite cities that ring Stockholm, all with a population of 10,000 to 50,000 and all of them planned communities on transit lines with easy access to downtown. Some of them are only 5 to 10 minutes away. Although Sweden has

the world's highest per capita ownership of automobiles outside the United States, it is estimated that 90 percent of its people travel into Stockholm by the transit system.

What a wonderful opportunity this exciting concept offers for solving the problems of overcrowding people as well as automobiles in our own American cities. I believe the creation of new towns and satellite cities is our best hope for planned urban expansion and relief of many of the problems we now face in the impacted areas of our central cities. I have consistently advocated such development even before I was Governor of Maryland. The successful Swedish experience in planning these new communities around a transit system reaffirms the validity of the proposal. The Nixon Administration has included new town development as a vital part of its national urban policy, and I believe new towns and satellite cities will play an important role in our future urban growth, especially when coupled with the sound planning of transit systems.

Such multi-purpose use of transit stations as the Taby Center does not have to be extended outside the borders of the city to be effective. There will be many instances when it can be adapted to the central city, with regard to housing, health services, educational facilities, recreation, and other aspects of everyday living—to the great benefit of its citizens.

It has been well established that a good transit system will provide a stimulus to development of a new area or revitalization of an old one. I am convinced that New York's extensive rapid transit system played a major role over a period of many years in the development of Manhattan Island as one of the world's great hubs of commerce.

In Canada, Toronto's old, declining central business district underwent a phenomenal spurt of new growth after the construction of a relatively short 4.5 mile stretch of subway, the city's first. Within a five-year period over five million square feet of new high-rise apartments sprang up in areas that had been formerly occupied by old single-family dwellings. And in the first 10 years of subway operation, the 4.5 mile line attracted over two billion dollars of new construction for every mile of the system. Land values along the right-of-way tripled in two to five years, and went up as much as 10 to 12 times in the vicinity of transit stations.

So we can see the value of a transit system to the economic life of a community, whether the community is new and planned or old and declining. And the location and functions of station areas are of particular importance.

Some station areas will have a high development potential; others will offer little more opportunity than to serve as a transit stop. The important thing is to make the maximum possible use of their potential. And the key to this is good planning. It cannot involve just the local government and the transit officials; it must involve the whole community. At the Federal level it is not just a problem for the Department of Transportation; it also must involve the Department of Housing and Urban Development to explore the potential for housing projects, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in the planning of schools and health facilities, and the expansion projections of the private sector. The same broad approach should be taken locally, with private enterprise heavily involved to capitalize on the business opportunities in such a center.

If there is one major lesson that I learned as the head of a metropolitan county government some years ago, it is that there is no substitute for sound, comprehensive, long-range planning. And the more divergent views and broader field of expertise you can bring together, the better will be your planning. Instead of being a rival with Baltimore

City, we in Baltimore County should continue to learn to work in partnership with the City and other suburban counties on mutual problems. As plans evolve for the Baltimore area transit system I feel confident that you are going to see a product of local officials working with State and Federal officials to bring about a mutual benefit to their communities. Traffic problems certainly don't stop at the city line. Neither do those of housing and employment. And we have learned that our solutions to these problems must also know no artificial boundaries.

I believe we have now learned in this country that transportation is not a matter of either good highways or a good urban transit system. We need both, one tying in with the other, if it is to be an effective system and really move people. And moving people is what it is all about—mobility, the theme of your conference. We should concentrate on the individual and how to best get him from his home to school or to work or to the store or to the sports stadium or theater—at a price he can afford and without taking all day—whether he drives his own car or rides a bus or train.

For too long we thought in terms of having either rapid transit or automobiles and trucks as the backbone of a city's transportation. We now know, as our friends overseas have accepted all along, that it is a combination of both. We cannot eliminate the motor vehicle. But we can reduce the dependence on it by enhancing the attractiveness of other forms of transportation.

I am sure that many helpful ideas in a conference of this type will come from those of you from other countries which have developed excellent transportation systems. We, who regard our interstate highway system as second to none in the world, acknowledge you have taken many strides ahead of us in the field of urban transportation.

We are aware, for example, that more new rapid transit systems are being built in West Germany than in any other single country in the world. Lines are being built or extended in Berlin, Cologne, Frankfurt and Munich. And Hamburg's integrated subway, commuter, rail, bus and ferry system—all functioning under a single authority—offers an example of good coordination in public transportation.

Japan's Tokaido Line, with its high-speed train service from Tokyo to Osaka, is coordinated with Tokyo's expanding rapid transit system. Seventy miles of subways are in service in Tokyo with an additional seventy miles under construction. In Osaka the bus and subway system serves 2 million 700 thousand passengers daily.

On our own continent, Toronto, Montreal and Mexico City have all developed outstanding subway systems.

So there is much that we can learn in an international conference of this type.

But the most important change that has come about in this country is the need for better public transportation in our cities—a growing awareness that we are no longer a rural nation and that subways and rapid surface transit are as essential to the healthy growth of all our metropolitan areas as they have been to New York and Chicago.

Ten years ago there were only 16 urban areas in America with populations of more than one million. Today there are 25. By the year 2000 we expect to have 50 cities with a million or more residents. Eight of every ten Americans already qualify as city dwellers, living on less than three per cent of the Nation's land and their numbers multiply daily. So do their motor vehicles.

Last year there were more than 108 million motor vehicles registered in the United States—89.3 million automobiles, 18.7 million trucks and 379,021 buses. Their numbers increase by about 8,000 a day. At 5 p.m. on almost any working day, it seems, you will

find most of them gathered on Main Street, U.S.A. starting, stopping, honking and overheating as they creep homeward through a pall of gasoline fumes.

The automobile is still man's best method of personalized transportation, and it can continue to serve that purpose for many years to come if we lick the pollution problem and if we keep our highways and streets open. But there are better ways of commuting in urban areas and we must establish them. Otherwise we will reach a saturation point, as did the Romans with their chariots.

I wish you good luck in your deliberations at this conference, and I look forward with interest to the reports and thoughts that will come out of it. We have the opportunity to bring a new vitality to our beleaguered, impacted and dependent cities if we in government and you in industry have the imagination and foresight to conceive bold solutions to our age-old problems and the courage to put them into effect.

President Nixon put the challenge this way when he signed the Urban Mass Transportation Bill committing the Nation to a larger, sustained effort:

"As we look into the history of this country," he said, "we recall the development of the Western Frontier. It was made possible because of a massive program of transportation which enabled us to develop that new frontier in the West.

"Now we have the challenge of the urban frontier. And it is through this bill and the support that it will provide for new programs in the field of mass urban transportation that we are going to be able to meet the challenge of the urban frontier. Just as the Western Frontier was the challenge of America in the 19th Century, the urban frontier is the challenge of America in the last third of the 20th Century."

#### DORIS MILLER: AN AMERICAN HERO

##### HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, Doris Miller was born in Waco, but reportedly he claimed Austin, Tex., as his home. And Austin is proud to claim him as well.

This young man only lived to be 24. But young Miller packed so much shining example into his short years that the Navy recently proposed to enshrine the message of his life by naming a new destroyer escort in his memory.

It is a fitting memorial. I know his mother and brother are proud. I know Austin, Tex., is proud.

The Austin Statesman tells us the story of Mr. Miller—and that story follows:

DORIS MILLER: NAVY NAMING SHIP FOR HERO

A destroyer escort now under construction at a shipyard in Louisiana will be named for World War II hero Doris Miller, a Negro sailor from Austin who earned the Navy Cross for the heroism he displayed at Pearl Harbor.

According to the Associated Press, the Navy announced the ship is being built at the Avondale Shipyard, Westwego, La.

Miller, who was the ship's cook aboard the U.S.S. West Virginia when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941 aided his wounded commanding officer to cover, and returning to the battleship's deck, manned a machine gun shooting down four enemy planes. He had never been trained in the use of the weapon.

For his bravery he was awarded the Navy's highest honor, and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz commended him for "distinguished devotion to duty, extraordinary courage and disregard of his personal safety during an attack."

On Nov. 24, 1943, at the age of 24, Miller was killed in the western Pacific when his ship, the U.S.S. Liscombe Bay, was torpedoed and sunk.

Austin named the Doris Miller Auditorium in Rosewood Park in honor of the hero, who called the capital city home.

He was born the son of a sharecropper in Waco in 1919, and attended Moore High School there distinguishing himself as star fullback on the school football team. At 19, he enlisted in the Navy.

Miller's mother and his brother, Arthur Miller, now reside in Waco.

On the 29th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor, a painting of Miller was presented to Austin.

FLY AND PHONE NOW, PAY NEVER

#### HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 8, page 30877, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. DEVINE) gave the details of a loophole in present law regulating political campaigning that is big enough, one might say, to fly a 707 or DC-8 through.

In the other body, due to the diligence of the minority leader, Senator SCOTT, an election reform bill has been passed which would close the loophole by which federally regulated companies, such as airlines and telephone companies, have in effect made illegal contributions to candidates who fail to pay their bills for services charged on credit cards, or who only pay them in part.

I certainly hope that the House committees considering this area of legislation will take similar steps to stop the practice, aptly described by the Wall Street Journal in an August 13 editorial entitled "Fly and Phone Now, Pay Never."

The text of the editorial follows:

FLY AND PHONE NOW, PAY NEVER

Existing law forbids corporations to make loans or advances to individuals campaigning for federal office but this statute, as Senator Hugh Scott said the other day, is widely circumvented.

What especially concerned Mr. Scott was that airlines and telephone companies, both regulated by the federal government, extend large amounts of credit to candidates for federal office and the candidates, to put it mildly, don't always pay their bills.

Reports collected for Mr. Scott by the General Accounting Office showed more than \$2 million in outstanding debts for airline and communications service, with many of the debts dating from 1968. "I think it is about time," the Senator said, "that we political candidates adhered to the fiscal responsibility and accountability standards which we set for others."

Mr. Scott proposes to forbid the extension of unsecured credit to candidates by such companies, but would permit normal credit-card transactions as long as routine safeguards are observed. No one wants to keep candidates out of the air or off the phone, but it would be nice if they paid their bills.

**THEODORE ROOSEVELT ONCE  
MARCHED UP HERE**

**HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday, September 14, marks the 70th anniversary of the oath taking by Theodore Roosevelt as President following the assassination of William McKinley.

The oath was administered in the Ansley Wilcox mansion on Delaware Avenue, in Buffalo, N.Y. On the forthcoming anniversary, the National Parks Service will dedicate the refurbished mansion as a national historic site.

It was my privilege to obtain the backing of Congress and then President Johnson for the enabling legislation. The role of the Federal Government is vital to the project, but the enthusiastic participation and contributions of our local citizenry has been a real inspiration.

The fruits of the labors of the Federal consultants and the local committee will become public on Tuesday. I am proud to have been able to get the project underway with Federal legislation and I am delighted with the tremendous help and response which has been forthcoming as the restoration of the site progressed—a real community project.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I include the text of a related story published by the Buffalo Evening News:

**WILCOX MANSION WILL SERVE AS MONUMENT  
TO ROOSEVELT AND CONCERNED CITIZENS**  
(By Kal Wagenheim)

While a visitor explored the front lawn of the Ansley Wilcox mansion, a silver-haired passerby stopped long enough to smile and remark: "Theodore Roosevelt marched up there once."

For those who lack the elder gentleman's sense of history, the mansion at 614 Delaware Ave. will serve as a reminder starting Sept. 14, when it is reopened as the Theodore Roosevelt National Inaugural Historic Site.

Opening of the restored mansion climaxes more than three decades of community effort; it also marks the 70th anniversary of the day Mr. Roosevelt was sworn in as President of the United States, following William McKinley's assassination.

Major contributors to the historic building's revival will be invited to a special preview the night of Sept. 11.

**TO BE OPEN EVERY DAY**

After the Sept. 14 Inaugural, the Roosevelt Site will be open to the public six days a week, from 9 AM to 5 PM, and from 2 to 5 PM on Sunday. An admittance fee of 50 cents for adults and 25 cents for children will be charged, to help cover maintenance costs.

William W. Kimmins Jr., president of the Theodore Roosevelt Inaugural Site Foundation, today said that Vice President Agnew's planned visit to Buffalo on Oct. 7 "would be a wonderful supplement to the official opening ceremonies of the Wilcox House which are scheduled for Sept. 14."

The official opening ceremonies, beginning at 10 AM on Sept. 14, will include Mayor Sedita, County Executive Tutuska, Representative Thaddeus J. Dulski and representatives of the National Park Service and the New York State Historic Trust.

The three front rooms of the first floor will comprise the historic site. The rear and upstairs rooms have been leased to private tenants.

**SLIDE FILM ORIENTATION**

Visitors will enter through a side door near the parking lot, and be directed to the spacious "morning room" of the mansion, which has been converted into a 40-seat auditorium. There, a rear-screen projector will provide a slide-film orientation on the building's history.

At the front of the mansion—in what was the living room—display exhibits will depict life as it was in Buffalo at the turn of the century.

Across the hallway, an entire wall of the library has been replaced with tinted glass, offering a panoramic view of the room where Roosevelt was sworn in.

The library has been restored to its original condition, with massive polished wood bookcases, and the "elegant clutter" so typical of affluent homes during that period.

Restoration of the former Wilcox mansion is the fruit of teamwork by many persons, spanning several years.

A faded newspaper clipping from January 1935 notes a luncheon meeting of the Theodore Roosevelt-Spanish War Veterans Memorial Association in the Statler Hilton, where they announced "plans to simulate the campaign to acquire the Wilcox mansion . . . for a memorial to Theodore Roosevelt."

**HEAD FOR AUCTION BLOCK**

Four months later, it was announced that 1000 pieces of furniture and other items from the Wilcox home "will go to the auction block."

But it noted, hopefully, "furnishings of the bedroom in which Mr. Roosevelt slept on his stay here . . . will not go under the auctioneer's hammer. They are being preserved in case the home becomes a Theodore Roosevelt memorial."

Charity funds were exceedingly scarce during the Great Depression, however, and the drive to preserve the mansion fizzled.

There was a rebirth of interest in the early 1960s but progress was slow.

The darkest moment, perhaps, came in 1964, when a bill sponsored by Mr. Dulski to preserve the house as a national historic site was killed.

A local real estate company, which held a 33-year lease on the property and had been paying substantial rent and taxes, threatened to demolish the structure and turn the space into a parking lot.

**MANSION APPEARED DOOMED**

The shock of losing the mansion forever seems to have sent adrenalin coursing through the community.

The Liberty National Bank saved the property from the wrecker's ball, purchasing it for \$150,000 and offering to hold it for one year, thus allowing citizen groups to marshal their forces.

Mr. Dulski was the chief sponsor of another bill in Washington, and in November 1966 President Lyndon B. Johnson signed enabling legislation, which permitted federal acquisition of the Wilcox house, providing that local interests put up their share of restoration and maintenance funds.

In December 1969, the U.S. National Parks Service formally purchased the site for \$250,000 and gave an additional grant of \$50,000 for restoration to the Theodore Roosevelt Inaugural Site Foundation.

Substantial amounts were also received from the New York State Legislature's Historic Trust, Junior League of Buffalo Inc., Erie County Legislature, and via contributions from local companies and individuals.

**FUNDS ARE RAISED**

With the money assured, there began the task of restoring the building, and the painstaking search for furniture and other items that were in the library when Roosevelt took the presidential oath.

Two of the most persistent "detectives" are Mrs. Richard C. Wagner and Mrs. Fred Eder of the Junior League's Wilcox Committee.

During the past four years they have assisted Walter S. Dunn Jr., director of the Buffalo & Erie County Historical Society, in tracking down objects from the mansion.

They have written letters, made phone calls, and visited homes, antique shops and flea markets in their quest for lamps, chairs, tables, picture frames and other items.

Via interviews with elder citizens and research in newspaper and government files, they have also gathered a treasure of historical data about the mansion.

They have enjoyed every minute of it. As workmen applied finishing touches of paint to the mansion's interior, preparing for the inaugural, Mrs. Wagner said wistfully: "We look forward to finishing the job, but we're going to miss all this."

She and Mrs. Eder got to know the Wilcox family so well after their research, that they both refer to Mr. Wilcox as "Ansley" in their conversations.

**ASHTRAYS OR NOT?**

Among other things they found out that "Ansley was a chain smoker, so it was proper to have ashtrays in the restored library," says Mrs. Wagner.

"One item we're still missing," says Mr. Dunn, "is the pair of pants Roosevelt wore when he was sworn in."

"He rushed to Buffalo for the ceremony without formal attire and borrowed a coat from one person and a pair of pants from another. We've found the coat, but the pants are still at large," he says.

"Residents of the area have been very helpful in volunteering antiques from the library," says Mr. Dunn.

"Sometimes too helpful," claims one official, who says that a few people have tried to donate antiques that never belonged in the Wilcox Library.

"They claim they bought the items at the Wilcox auction in the 1930s, and they insist they belong in the library."

"In a few cases, the items belong in other rooms of the mansion."

"Also, we must remember that at the auction, items from four other estates were put up for sale. The auctioneer, in his enthusiasm, may have sold the authentic lamp from the room where Teddy Roosevelt became president—five times," he said.

**HILL-BURTON COMMENDATION**

**HON. ANCHER NELSEN**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, while the health scene is in a state of flux, and we are working to improve care for the people of this country, it is a pleasure to reflect on a successful program which celebrated its 25th anniversary last month.

I refer to the Hill-Burton program which has helped communities throughout the Nation build or modernize more than 6,200 hospitals and other health care facilities; has provided to these and many others consultative and technical assistance through conferences, personal consultation, and guidelines; and has led the way to productive cooperation between Federal, State, and local governments and voluntary organizations.

Over its 25 years, the Hill-Burton program has been responsive to the Nation's health needs, adopting its program tools as necessary to meet changing needs and resources. When hospitals in rural areas were so badly needed 25 years ago, Hill-Burton concentrated on building them and is still doing so. In the sixties, when urban health facilities cried for modernization, the program added a modernization category and shifted emphasis to remodeling and replacement of these outmoded buildings. And today, when ambulatory care is the foremost need, Hill-Burton is again responding by giving priority to grants for outpatient facilities, and has moved on to loan and loan guarantee programs to assist in construction and modernization of hospitals and other inpatient facilities.

I am proud to be able to say that this program has had bipartisan support in Congress from its inception. I know that many of my colleagues will join me in paying tribute to Hill-Burton's silver anniversary with a "thank you" for a job well done.

#### MODERN AGRICULTURE, ENVIRONMENTAL FRIEND OR FOE?

### HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, since the current concern over our environment began a few years ago we have seen a lot of fingerpointing by many groups interested in cleaning things up. The Nation's industrial giants have become a symbol for editorial cartoonists intent on showing environmental problems. Farmers have been accused of making a major contribution to dirty water and air through their livestock operations and the use of chemicals so necessary for efficient food production.

The House Committee on Agriculture has completed 17 days of hearings on a bill to more effectively control pesticides. During the hearings the problems created by the use of pesticides on agricultural land were repeated many times.

In an attempt to illustrate the constructive contribution by modern day agriculture to our environment, I am attaching as part of my remarks an editorial by E. V. Stevenson, executive vice president and general manager of FS Services, Inc. published in his firm's publication. His point that agriculture is a true friend of the environment needs to be fully understood by all citizens of our Nation. I encourage my colleagues in the House to read the following carefully:

#### MODERN AGRICULTURE, ENVIRONMENTAL FRIEND OR FOE?

Thanks to modern agriculture, our nation is the envy of most of the world for the quantity and quality of its food. And, in addition to feeding our own people, we send abroad the production of one acre out of five to feed less fortunate nations.

In spite of this record of human service, agriculture is being sharply criticized by some as a major villain in environmental pol-

lution. There is the implication that if we could somehow return to the "natural" agriculture of old, most of the environmental problems would disappear.

We in agriculture should not expect to be immune from criticism. We have some faults, as does everyone else. In a number of ways we can, and should, do better than we are doing. We may need to accept some additional rules and regulations, to insure that everyone does his fair share to protect our environment.

But agriculture has a positive story to tell. Modern agriculture is already doing more than most to help clean up the environment. Let's look at a few examples.

Long before the current wave of concern, farmers were leaders in promoting the cause of conservation. Starting in the early 30's, more than 3000 local soil and water conservation districts have been organized. More than 15,000 locally-elected directors, mostly farmers, serve without pay, in the interests of better soil and water management. A flight over the Midwest in a small plane permits a person to see the thousands of grass waterways, contour plantings, terraces, and other erosion-control practices initiated by farmers.

What about cleaner air? People and factories and vehicles are using up our oxygen and creating an ever-increasing amount of carbon dioxide. Modern agriculture helps to clean up this air, by converting carbon dioxide back to oxygen. Each acre of 100 bushel corn removes tons of carbon dioxide from the air, and replaces it with 7 tons of oxygen . . . vital to our daily breath. Who else can claim a comparable contribution to cleaner air?

What about cleaner streams? Modern agriculture minimizes the number of acres which need to be cultivated. It has been estimated that without fertilizers and chemicals we would need 50 per cent more acres of cropland. This would mean exposing many millions of additional acres to wind and water erosion. Much of this acreage would be of lower quality and have steeper slopes than present farmlands. The problems of sedimentation of streams and lakes would be greatly aggravated.

What about improving the quality of our land . . . the priceless resource? For more than 200 years the "old" agriculture was depleting our soils. It is only in the last 30 years that we have reached the stage where we are putting more into the soil than we are taking out. Modern agriculture is a soil-builder, rather than a soil-miner.

What about improving the quality of life itself? Modern agriculture makes it possible for our nation's population to eat, at prices they can afford. A return to the "old" agriculture would substantially increase the cost of food. The burden would fall primarily on those who can least afford it . . . the disadvantaged and underprivileged. The efficiency of modern agriculture is making a significant contribution to the quality of life, by keeping the cost of food within reach of the maximum number of people.

On balance, modern agriculture is much more friend than foe to our environment, and to the people in it.

#### INTEREST RATES

### HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, in today's talk before our joint meeting, the President said:

Let us join together in placing the national interest above special interests.

Surely, then, the President will want to reconsider whether there should be anything special about interest rates which justifies their special treatment during the current freeze.

Is it unreasonable to suggest that we place the national interest above special interest rates?

#### AMERICAN NEARS WORLD CHESS CHAMPIONSHIP

### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the United States is on the threshold of a great victory in international chess competition. Robert J. Fischer of Los Angeles, formerly of New York City, has defeated two of the world's leading grandmasters, Mark Taimanov of the Soviet Union and Bent Larsen of Denmark, by unprecedented 6-to-0 shutouts in knockout matches to determine a challenger for the world championship. The title is now held by Boris Spassky, a Russian.

All that stands between Fischer and the match with Spassky is Tigran Petrosian, a former world champion, whom Fischer decisively defeated in a match last year.

No American player has been world champion in this century. The Russians have held the title continuously since 1948, exchanging it among themselves, and until now no Western player has come close to ending this monopoly.

Mr. Fischer first won the U.S. chess championship at age 14, and has won it a total of eight times—on each occasion that he competed. Since returning to active play in 1970 after a 2-year absence, he has astonished the world by finishing far ahead of other famous grandmasters in the interzonal tournament preliminaries for the world championship; by decisively beating Petrosian, who almost never loses, by a 3-to-1 margin in last year's U.S.S.R. versus the world match; and by establishing a 19-game tournament winning streak, unbroken since last year, with not even a draw to blemish his record.

A world championship match between Fischer and Boris Spassky would be the biggest chess event of the century. It might also significantly affect East-West relations. In this era of ping-pong diplomacy, Mr. Fischer has become a hero in the Soviet Union, where chess is a national craze. His unprecedented string of victories and vigorous attacking style of play have captured the imagination of the public there.

Chess in the Soviet Union is subsidized by the Government with chess clinics and even "universities" designed to promote chess as a way of increasing the nation's prestige. But the Russians are at present bemoaning the lack of a new generation of young players to challenge the up-and-coming Western grandmasters. Thus, Russian domination of inter-

national chess is seriously threatened for the first time in a generation.

Mr. Fischer had in the past refused to play the Russians, accusing them of rigging games to benefit their own players in tournaments, and of exercising undue influence on the World Chess Federation—FIDE. But his recent change of attitude, and determination to compete directly against the Russians for the championship within the framework of current world chess regulations, has enhanced his stature, and may open the way for a healthy cultural exchange between the American and Russian chess communities.

In the United States, chess is not held in any great esteem by the public, largely because of its undeserved reputation as a stodgy, intellectual game. But Fischer's popularization of an aggressive attacking style, which is a world away from the usual short dull draws which characterize most international tournaments, has begun to revive interest in chess across the country. Membership in the U.S. Chess Federation has been increasing at a rapid rate. And chess competition has spread outside of the east coast and New York City to high schools, college, and local town clubs across the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the prospect of an American holding the world championship would stimulate international chess competition by proving that the Russian Government's—subsidized chess monopoly can be broken by Western players relying solely on their own resources, and the Russians in turn would have to struggle harder to try to regain their old position. The chess player, exemplified by Bobby Fischer, may start to give the traditional football or baseball hero some competition in providing excitement and competitive drama for the public.

MR. THIEU'S TEST IS A SHAM, TOO

### HON. RICHARD H. FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, there appeared on Monday, September 6, an editorial in the Nashville Tennessean which I believe pertinent regarding our support of a "democratic" South Vietnamese ruling regime. I include in the RECORD:

MR. THIEU'S TEST IS A SHAM, TOO

President Thieu's declaration that he will consider the October 3 voting as a referendum on his administration would be amusing if it were not so serious.

The South Vietnamese President did not specify what percentage of the vote he would consider to be a vote of confidence or how that percentage would be determined.

In the second place, since Mr. Thieu's soldiers make it pretty clear to the voters that they must go to the polls or face harassment if not arrest, obviously a sizable number will go.

But if there is only one candidate for which to vote, the problem of the voter is obvious. If he takes a ballot marked with President Thieu's symbol, he will be expected to deposit it in the ballot box.

Presumably there are those who will find ways in which to boycott the election, but out in the provinces with the provincial leaders looking on and the army insisting everybody exercise their franchise, the outcome is clear.

And President Thieu can assert, whatever the vote, that it is one of confidence. That is called self-determination—his.

PLEASE LET THE BAND PLAY  
"DIXIE"

### HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, it seems that the Federal courts in this Nation are not content to rewrite the Constitution of the United States. Now, they have set about rewriting history.

The scourge of Reconstruction should have been removed from the South before the dawning of this century. It simply has not happened, of course, as evidenced by the recent ruling of a Federal judge that Butler High School in Huntsville, Ala., could no longer use the Confederate flag as its school banner and the song, "Dixie," as its fight song.

One does not have to defend the Stars and Bars as having represented a great and noble cause, if one is so disposed, but one should feel obligated to support another's right to fly the flag, which represents a very important part of American history.

The action by District Judge H. H. Grooms is outrageous, and I find the whole episode sickening. In this respect, I certainly do not stand alone. Dr. Max Rafferty, formerly the top education official in California and now dean of Troy State University in Troy, Ala., has provided some excellent comments on the situation.

The following is one of Dr. Rafferty's widely read syndicated columns. I highly recommend it to all of my colleagues, and I especially remind those colleagues of mine who represent regions outside the South that this kind of judicial abuse will not be confined to Alabama. This is just the beginning.

The column follows:

[From the St. Louis Globe-Democrat,  
Aug. 19, 1971]

PLEASE LET THE BAND PLAY "DIXIE"

(By Dr. Max Rafferty)

The boys and girls of Butler High School in Huntsville, Ala., are a little uptight this month. It seems that the United States District Judge H. H. Grooms, showing that unerring eye for grave and weighty issues of national importance which so distinguishes our judiciary these days, has outlawed their school banner and their fight song.

No, I'm not putting you on. Their flag for 10! these many years has been the same Stars and Bars under which so many thousands of their great-great-grandfathers fought, and their song—no surprise considering their school's geographical location—is "Dixie."

A few black students out of the school's enrollment of 2,000 found the old flag and song "racist" and "offensive," so naturally the judge fell all over himself to take away from the great majority of the children their

right to enjoy and to honor the symbols of their ancestors' gallant struggle.

This isn't the first time judges have tried to stamp out the popular symbols of a vanquished cause. The Irish fought for 500 years to save their harp and shamrock from this kind of tyranny. The Scottish Highlanders had to hide their clan tartans after the Battle of Culloden. And the Jews down the centuries have seen in almost every state in Europe the sacred emblems of their faith confiscated and destroyed by court orders.

Now we are watching this ancient evil thing operating in our own land, casting its long shadow over our own children. In the past decade, we Americans have been told by judges where our children must go to school, what they may wear in class, how they may behave and even what they may or may not read there. And from here on, it appears, even the school songs they sing are to be controlled by the courts.

In California, the Bear Flag flies. It represents the overthrow by the pioneers of Mexican rule in that state. Are Californians now to be forbidden to fly their state flag if some citizen of Mexican descent informs a judge somewhere that he finds it "offensive"?

For that matter, and following the same slack-jawed line of reasoning, may not some court find even the Stars and Stripes "objectionable" to some complaining descendant of a long-dead but stubbornly unreconstructed Tory?

My own great-grandfather was a Union major. He fought grimly against secession. But never in his most belligerent moments would he have dreamed of trying to suppress Dan Emmett's grand old song. "Dixie," you see, has brought joy to so many over the years.

Tinkling from the lazy levee banjos in the summer twilight, soaring across great moonlit rivers from the bright windows of paddle-wheel steamboats, hummed slowly and nostalgically around 10,000 open campfires as the wagon trains fought their long way westward across a raw and savage continent, it cheered and soled a whole people.

It floated blithely on the morning breeze at first Antietam. It rang through Shiloh's gloomy woods and Chickamauga's solitudes. It burst from hoarse throats and laboring lungs at Cold Harbor and at Chancellorsville.

And when at last the "high tide" crested bloodily on the roaring heights of Gettysburg that fateful July morning so long ago, it echoed like a solemn requiem over the dashed and vanished hopes of the greatest "lost cause" in all the annals of our nation.

Ban "Dixie"? As well outlaw joy—fornibid courage—censor love. Aye, as well ban the vast and sweeping panorama of our country's past. Ban history herself! For this little song is part and parcel, warp and woof of the great tapestry which is the American story.

REVEREND BREDA

### HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, the Reverend William C. Breda, pastor at Mount Calvary Lutheran Church, has recently retired after a long and distinguished career at the pulpit.

I have known him as a friend for many years. He is a rare man, a devoted pastor, and a gifted judge of character. That is why I have asked him to help me select candidates to attend West Point from the 20th Congressional District.

During his 44 years in the ministry

Reverend Breda has given of himself with unreserved generosity to his parishioners and the people of Cleveland. His outlook on life remains as enthusiastic as in his youth and strengthened with the wisdom of his 70 years.

When asked how he plans to spend his retirement years, Reverend Breda said he hopes it will allow him more time to serve as a board member at the Lutheran Home for the Aged and to interview candidates for appointment to West Point.

May he have many more years to serve the people of Cleveland with all the dedication of a true man of God.

#### RECOMMENDS IMPORTED CHEESE QUOTA

### HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago the U.S. Tariff Commission sent to the President recommendations to establish absolute quotas for imported cheese selling for over 47 cents per pound and to use 1963-65 for the base period for establishing these quotas.

These recommendations came in a report on an investigation the Tariff Commission made of a price-break feature in present tariff regulations which allow certain cheese selling for over 47 cents to enter the country under no quota restrictions.

For the most part, Mr. Speaker, I consider the recommendations of the Tariff Commission to be very sound ones, and I have sent the following letter to the President asking that he follow these recommendations:

President RICHARD M. NIXON,  
White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Two days ago the U.S. Tariff Commission sent to you a report on its investigation of various imported cheeses selling for over 47 cents per pound, imports which accounted for over 24.7% of all dairy imports in 1970.

In that report the Commission recommended that absolute quotas be established for imported cheese selling for over 47 cents per pound and that 1963-65 be used as the "representative period" to serve as the base for computing quotas as provided in the law.

I strongly urge you to follow these recommendations of the Tariff Commission and to promptly issue a proclamation implementing them.

#### END THE PRICE-BREAK FEATURE

In your request to the Tariff Commission to study whether these imported cheeses adversely affect our domestic price-support programs, you indicated that perhaps the 47 cent price-break feature ought to be retained but at a different price level.

All members of the Tariff Commission have rejected this alternative. I would seriously question, therefore, any attempt to continue any longer the price-break feature now a part of our quota regulations.

The members of the Tariff Commission were unanimous in their feeling that the price-break feature ought to be eliminated and overall quotas established. In fact at

least two Commissioners indicated that we have had an increase in imports of certain cheese because of the price-break feature and the fact that it can so easily be evaded through price manipulations and other forms of subterfuge.

I am convinced that if a price-break feature is continued as part of our quota regulations, at whatever price it may be established, we will continue to suffer increased dairy imports which are designed solely to avoid existing quotas.

#### MAKE 1963-65 THE "REPRESENTATIVE PERIOD"

As you know under the law you cannot establish quotas for imports at less than 50% of imports during a "representative period" which you determine.

The report of the Tariff Commission was unanimous in its belief that the years 1963-65, when imports of the cheeses under investigation were "fairly stable," should be used as the representative period for establishing quotas for these cheeses.

I sincerely hope you follow their unanimous recommendation.

In my opinion it makes little sense to establish quotas based on years, like 1968 or 1969, when imports are already expanding, especially if they are doing so mainly to evade existing quotas. This would make a mockery of the whole idea of a representative period, and would surely decrease the effectiveness of any efforts to tighten our dairy quota regulations.

I am aware of the fact that while all members of the Commission agreed that the new quota restrictions on Swiss, Gruyere-process and the other cheeses in question ought to be combined for quota purposes with existing quotas on these cheeses, they disagreed as to the absolute quotas which ought to be established.

I urge you to accept the recommendations of Commissioners Sutton and Moore. They certainly have not recommended quotas which are unreasonably low. In fact, as these gentlemen pointed out in their findings:

"The overall annual quota quantities we recommended for the cheeses in question exceed the total largest annual imports of each of the cheeses in the representative period by 37% in the case of Swiss cheese, 62% in the case of Gruyere-process cheese, and 28% in the case of 'other cheese.'

Furthermore, they state that:

"A larger quota than recommended for any of the individual cheeses and substitutes for cheese in this investigation would tend to destabilize the domestic market and add to the costs and burdens of (our domestic price support) programs."

Mr. President, for many years those involved in the American dairy industry have been plagued with evasions of our dairy import quotas which interfered with the U.S. Department of Agriculture's domestic milk price support programs. The recent investigation by the Tariff Commission of imported cheese selling for over 47 cents per pound marks the third time in three years that a President has found it necessary to order such an investigation. In each case we have found that our domestic price support program was being adversely affected, and as a result, government costs for maintaining that program through the purchase of domestic dairy products kept increasing.

I believe it is in the best interests of the dairy farmer and the American taxpayer that we put a halt once and for all to imported dairy products which are designed to evade our import quotas. Cheese selling for over 47 cents per pound is such a product. I am hopeful that you will halt the importation of this "evasion product" by following the recommendations of the Tariff Commission which have just been sent to you.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID R. OBEY,  
Member of Congress.

I do want to make it clear, Mr. Speaker, that when I recommended to the President that he accept the lower quotas recommended by Commissioners Sutton and Moore, I meant certainly no higher than those recommended by these two Commissioners. As I noted in my letter, their recommended quotas exceed annual imports for 1963-65, and anything higher would disrupt our domestic price support program. If the President were persuaded to recommend quotas lower than those recommended by these gentlemen, however, I would welcome his actions.

Frankly, recent history in this regard indicates that the President is more likely to recommend quotas higher rather than lower than those recommended by the Tariff Commission. The President did this last December, when he established quotas for several kinds of dairy products at levels far higher than those proposed by the Tariff Commission. I strongly objected to his action then. I would strongly object now if he established quotas for Swiss, Gruyere-process, and other cheeses if they were any higher than those which Commissioners Sutton and Moore recommended.

#### SLOVENIANS DEDICATE CHAPEL AT NATIONAL SHRINE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

### HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, August 15, at the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception here in Washington, D.C., two Slovenian bishops dedicated the new Chapel of Our Lady of Brezje and celebrated a solemn pontifical Mass with 35 American priests of Slovenian descent participating.

It was indeed a great day for more than 350,000 Americans of Slovenian descent and marked the culmination of a 4-year drive to raise funds for completion of the chapel in honor of the Slovenian National Madonna, the patroness of Slovenia.

More than 3,000 Slovenian-Americans, as well as Slovenians from Europe and Canada, convened in Washington in mid-August to participate in the ceremony and the festivities connected with the dedication of the Chapel of our Lady of Brezje.

Slovenia forms one of the six South-Slavic groups, known as People's Republics, which make up today's Yugoslavia. The impressive history of the Slovenians goes back more than 1,000 years, and their spiritual and intellectual accomplishments are notable. Although surrounded by other larger nations, the Slovenians have always courageously maintained their national identity and traditions.

As Congressman for the Seventh District of Illinois, where hundreds of Slovenians reside. I take great pride in congratulating the Slovenian-Americans on the dedication of their new chapel in

our Nation's Capital. Hon. Vito Marzullo, alderman and committeeman of the 25th Ward, which is part of the seventh district where many Slovenians reside, joins me in extending his greetings to the Slovenian people on this memorable occasion.

A press release and pertinent information on the dedication ceremony follows:

**CHICAGO SLOVENIANS OFF TO WASHINGTON THIS WEEK**

Chicago Slovenians will head for Washington, D.C. Thursday to take part in the weekend festivities connected with the Dedication of the Slovenian Chapel at the National Shrine of Immaculate Conception. The Chapel Dedication will be attended by some 3,000 American Slovenians from around the country, Canada and Europe.

The event is the culmination of the work of the past four years as the fund drive was conducted among societies, parishes and individuals of Slovenian descent. A great amount was collected under the direction of the Slovenian Women's Union of America whose Home Office is at 1937 W. Cermak Rd. In Chicago, societies and individuals affiliated with St. Stephen's Slovenian Catholic Parish at 1852 W. 22nd Place have contributed heavily.

The group of Chicagoans will include members of the Slovenian Women's Union headed by National Officers, Elizabeth Zefran, Nat'l Treasurer, 1941 W. Cermak Rd., and Corinne Leskover, Editor of the monthly publication, *Zarja—The Dawn*, 2032 W. Cermak Rd. Mrs. Zefran is in charge of the local excursion which also includes three days of sightseeing and other events in Washington. They will leave Chicago Thursday at 1 p.m. from Midway Airport and return Sunday evening. The Park Sheraton Hotel in Washington, D.C. will be the headquarters for the entire gathering that will include the most prominent American-Slovenians in fields of religion, government science, arts, education and entertainment. The climax will be the blessing Ceremony itself on the religious holiday of the Assumption of Our Lady, Aug. 15th at the National Shrine when the crowd will be led by hundreds of men and women in Slovenian national costume and carrying banners into the mammoth church. At that time, all voices will blend then in the singing of Slovenian marian hymns in honor of the Slovenian patroness, Our Lady of Brezje, known also as Marija Pomačaj. Devotion to a painting of this Madonna and Child, kept at the original shrine at Brezje in Slovenia, is a long-standing tradition among all Slovenians who have named many churches and chapels for her.

Among four focal points in the Slovenian Chapel at Washington will be a relief by American-Slovenian sculptor France Gorse, depicting the blessing of the Indians by Slovenian missionary bishop Frederic Baraga. Bishop Baraga labored to convert the Indians of the Upper Michigan region from 1832 until his death in 1868. He was named the first Bishop of Marquette and authored the first Indian language dictionary. In his writings are also found references to travel through Chicago then the main supply source for explorers and hunters.

Slovenian historian, Prof. Edi Gobec of Kent University in Ohio recently uncovered another interesting fact pertaining to the great Bishop known as the "Apostle of the Chippawas". In 1915, when the national organization Kiwanis was formed and they were searching for an appropriate name, a Detroit historian C. M. Burton suggested Keewanis, taken from Bishop Baraga's word in Indian for: to announce, to make known or to leave knowledge behind. The 270,000 members of Keewanis thus have a direct reference to the Slovenian Bishop whose work

with the American Indians is now being cataloged in line with the Catholic Church's process to gain for him sainthood.

During the Dedication ceremonies, the group will welcome a large contingent of Slovenians from the homeland, Slovenia, headed by Bishops Drzecnik of Maribor and Jenko of Koper. Bishop Drzecnik visited Chicago two years ago and was named honorary Chicagoan by Mayor Daley. Sermons by the two Slovenian Bishops will highlight the dedication, given in the Slovenian language.

In the month of August, visitors to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington are viewing a special exhibition entitled: *Slovenes in America: An Instance of Cultural Impact*, showing the household objects, folk costumes, religious items and other examples of Slovenian life in America.

In a special message, President Richard M. Nixon has expressed the thought that "this Slovenian Chapel, dedication to our Lady of Brezje, the National Madonna of Slovenia is a monument to the twelve centuries of Slovenian Christianity and to the lasting impression which this proud legacy has made on your lives and on the American Experience."

**SLOVENIAN CHAPEL IN THE NATIONAL SHRINE**

On Sunday, August 15, at 1:00 p.m. the new Chapel of Our Lady of Brezje will be dedicated in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington. The dedication will be followed by a solemn pontifical mass in the main church of the Shrine. The mass will be said in Slovenian by two bishops from Slovenia, the northwestern republic in Yugoslavia, in concelebration with American priests of Slovenian descent.

The new chapel was built from donations by American Slovenes in honor of the Slovenian National Madonna, the Patroness of Slovenia. A magnificent church to her honor stands in a renewed pilgrimage site at Brezje, near Bled in Slovenia.

The Chapel of Our Lady of Brezje is located in the west (left) side of the Shrine's lower-church Memorial Hall. The basic floor plan of the chapel is patterned after an octagon stub-armed Latin cross, and reminds one of numerous baroque churches and chapels of Slovenia. Thus, the shape of the chapel not only compensates for the starkness of the small, closed-in space but also lends itself artistically to an attractive and harmonious arrangement of its main decorative features.

The focal point of the chapel is the painting of Madonna and Child, a faithful reproduction of Leopold Layer's baroque original in the national pilgrimage shrine of Brezje in Slovenia.

The four diagonal walls of the new chapel in beige marble contain relief panels portraying four prominent events in the more than twelve hundred years of the history of Slovenes as a Christian people. The reliefs are original works by the well-known Slovenian-American sculptor France Gorse.

The panel to the left of the altar represents the beginnings of the Christianity among the Slovenes and depicts the baptism of the Slovenian Prince Gorazd about 745 A.D.

The panel located to the left of the entrance in the rear of the chapel symbolizes the gifts of faith and enlightenment which Christianity has bestowed upon the Slovenes. It portrays Bishop Slomsek, a saintly shepherd, eloquent teacher and zealous enlightener, teaching the Slovenian young and old.

Immediately to the right of the altar, the panel depicting Bishop Frederic Irenaeus Baraga blessing the Indians, represents the great contribution that the Slovenes made to the American continent through Bishop Baraga and other Slovenian missionaries.

The fourth panel, located to the right of the entrance, is an allegorical portrayal of

the gifts and talents that the Slovenian immigrants brought to America, their new homeland.

Inside the chapel above the entrance there is carved an English translation of a prayerful thought expressed by the Slovenian writer and poet Ivan Cankar: "The merciful eyes of our Mother of Brezje will look upon you and you will be consoled." This spontaneous expression of faith in Our Lady of Brezje by one of the greatest Slovenian secular writers of all times vividly illustrates how deeply rooted in Christianity is all Slovenian culture and civilization.

The painted ceiling is decorated with a Latin cross and an octagonal medallion, using traditional Slovenia colors and folk motifs. The main decorative light in bronze is centered in the medallion and a smaller light is placed over the entrance in the base of the ornamental cross in the ceiling, darker than the rest of the chapel yet lively, unifies the central altar painting and the lighter chapel walls with their historical panels and inscriptions into a harmonious whole.

**TWELVE CENTURIES OF CHRISTIAN HISTORY**

Twelve Hundred Years elapsed since the time when Hotimir, the Slovenian Prince of Carantania requested the Bishop of Salzburg, Vergilius, to send missionaries to his people to instruct them in the Christian faith. Hotimir himself had become a Christian several years earlier when he and his cousin Gorazd were baptized as Christians. The missionaries sent by Virgilius were led by Modestus, probably an Irishman like his superior, and the first Bishop of Slovenes. At Gospa Sveta in Carinthia he consecrated the first church in Slovenian lands, and chose it as his episcopal see, thus laying the foundation for a Christian Slovenia. The Church of Gospa Sveta, the Mother Church and cradle of Christianity in Slovenia, also became the final resting place of Bishop Modestus.

Thus the Slovenes became the first Slav people to accept the Christian faith.

Having received the Christian faith, the Slovenes also helped to spread it among other Slavs as a few assisted St. Methodius, a Greek from Salonica, in his 9th century missionary work among the Pannonian and Moravian Slavs. Thus the Slovenes were also the first of the Slav missionary nations, scarcely one hundred years after their own Christianization.

Another Slovenian first was the preservation of a democratic government amidst the feudal Middle Ages. Slovenian Princes of Carantania were enthroned by the people's consent and the solemn and meaningful right of installation near the Church of Gospa Sveta persisted well into the 15th century, even after the Dukes to be installed were no longer Slovenes.

When Protestantism spread across Europe, Slovenia remained one with Rome. But the Reformation left as its legacy the Slovenian printed book and the Bible in the Slovenian language (1584), and thereby set the beginnings of Slovenian literature.

Eastern Orthodoxy which had been adopted by many Slav peoples as their national religion did not sway the Slovenes from their faithfulness to Catholic Christianity. Even more, the Slovenian Bishop Anton Martin Slomsek started the Society of Sts. Cyril and Methodius to promote Christian unity and to work for the reunification with Eastern Christianity. In recognition for his work as a precursor of the new ecumenism, 500 Bishops gathered at the recent Ecumenical Council asked that he be beatified.

**CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICA**

While Bishop Slomsek looked eastward, our Western continent became the field of missionary work for Slomsek's contemporary, Frederic Baraga. As a man of Christian zeal and piety, he too, has been started on

his way toward being proclaimed a Saint of the Church.

After 1856, larger groups of Slovenes began to emigrate to the United States. By 1873 large Slovenian settlements had grown in several Midwestern cities: Brockway, Minnesota; Calumet, Michigan; Cleveland, Ohio; Joliet, Illinois, as well as in California. However, the first great wave of Slovenes that came to the United States began in the last decade of the nineteenth century, when over 30,000 of them settled in America. The high rate of Slovenian migration continued until the new United States immigration laws in 1920's severely restricted the inflow of immigrants. The 1940 United States Census showed 273,000 persons claiming Slovenian parentage. After World War II, under the new legislation which greatly facilitated the immigration of Displaced Persons, a new wave of Slovenian immigrants landed on American shores. American Slovenes live today in almost every state and territory of the United States of America, with Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania and New York having the largest number.

The Slovenes' fundamental pattern of life and behavior paralleled that of the architects of the American way of life. The Slovenes who migrated to America brought along aspirations compatible with the early American dream and have always supported the American concept of human rights. They came to America imbued with a dedication to freedom and the democratic way of life, with physical courage to effectively surmount difficulties, with moral courage to adhere to their moral values and principles and with a desire to improve themselves and to realize their aspirations. They possess strong inclinations toward those fields of human endeavor which encompass humanism, the arts, literature, and music. Portitude and tenacity, industry and integrity are their characteristics regardless of position or occupation.

While a great number of Slovenian Americans have achieved distinction in their fields of endeavor (e.g., Frank J. Lausche, former senior U.S. senator from Ohio and five-time governor of the state, and three current U.S. Congressmen (Hon. John Blatnik of Minnesota, Hon. Phillip E. Ruppe of Michigan, and Hon. Joe Skubitz of Kansas) are of Slovenian descent) and in the process have contributed to the progress and variety of the United States of America, the great majority of Slovenian Americans have been people engaged in everyday work, patiently laboring for a better life in this country. And these are the ones, who have vastly contributed to the industrial greatness of America.

It is, therefore, quite fitting that both of these be honored in the Slovenian chapel in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D.C. They are so honored in the relief dedicated to the Slovenian people in the United States.

The dedication events which also include a representative dedication banquet and several cultural programs and exhibits have been prepared by a special committee in Washington chaired by Professor Cyril A. Zebot of Georgetown University who initiated the idea and work for the new chapel.

The Fund Campaign for the Slovenian Chapel officially began during the National Convention of Slovenian Women's Union held in Washington, D.C. in May, 1967, on the appeal of the late Nat'l Secretary of S.W.U., Mrs. Albina Novak and the subsequent National Committee was headed by Joseph Nemanich, President of American Slovenian Catholic Union headquartered in Joliet, Illinois and Mrs. Antonia Turek, President of Slovenian Women's Union, John Susnik, President of American Mutual Life Ass'n and Secretary of the Committee was Frank Turek of Ohio.

## IS THE PUBLIC PROTECTED FROM AMBULANCE HUSTLERS?

HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, as part of my effort to draw attention to the deplorably inadequate treatment generally provided by ambulance services across the Nation, I wish to submit five articles which appeared in the Chicago Tribune last year. The articles represent months of undercover investigation by Tribune reporter William Jones and a member of a civic betterment organization in the city.

The men discovered shocking abuses and atrocities committed by ambulance attendants against critically ill or injured persons.

As my colleagues read these articles, I urge them to ask themselves if such atrocities are being committed in their own States. After months of investigation and study in this area I feel I can answer that question. In all but a handful of States, there is no assurance that the atrocities committed in Chicago are not repeated every day.

Furthermore, countless numbers of persons are dying at the hands of unskilled attendants.

The reason why the Chicago abuses are probably being repeated is that there are no laws licensing and regulating ambulance service in most of the States.

The articles follow:

[From the Chicago Tribune, June 8, 1970]

SADISM RIDES AN AMBULANCE

(By William Jones)

(A Tribune reporter spent two months uncovering police payoffs, sadism, and other mistreatment of the ill and injured in Chicago's private ambulance business. This is his second report.)

The ambulance siren gave a final growl as we arrived in front of the blighted south side building.

I leaped from the vehicle, my heart pounding. It was my first day on the job as an ambulance attendant and my first emergency call.

I had a good reason to be nervous. Reporting for work less than an hour before, I was immediately assigned to an ambulance. Now, with no training in the handling of a stretcher or the use of oxygen, I was to be confronted with a reported heart attack victim who could be fighting for her life. The city code requires only first aid training to be licensed as an attendant.

### FIRST OF HORROR STORIES

It was the first in what would quickly become a long list of horror stories involving the misery merchants who operate some of Chicago's private ambulance companies. The two-month investigation, conducted in cooperation with the Better Government association, revealed wide-spread mismanagement, welfare fraud, sadism, and payoffs to police in the multimillion-dollar-a-year private ambulance business.

Before this 24-hour shift was over, I would witness some of this mistreatment of the ill and injured. I would also be threatened with a beating when one of my employers suspected I was a private investigator.

On this day, I was working for Mid-America Ambulance company, 5651 W. Madison st., a company that billed the state for

more than \$130,000 in welfare ambulance fees during the first four months of 1970. The company also operates a subsidiary, A-Alamo Ambulance company, from the same address.

I WAS WARNED, BUT . . .

My partner was David Kuhn, a former cab driver. Earlier after Kuhn learned it was my first ambulance job, he had warned me I would learn things "you never dreamed happened in the ambulance business."

Now, as we prepared to enter the apartment to answer the heart attack call, I learned what he meant.

"We won't need the stretcher," Kuhn said. "I always try to walk these welfare cases out to the ambulance. Some of them are so heavy and you have to watch your back on this job."

The middle-aged black woman was in a rear bedroom of the second floor apartment, moaning and complaining of severe chest pains. Two Chicago firemen were already on the scene. Kuhn immediately took charge.

### PATIENT FORCED TO CRAWL

"Do you think you can walk down to the ambulance?" Kuhn inquired. "We'll get you to the hospital a lot quicker that way."

The woman responded with a moan.

"She's faking. I know she's faking," said Kuhn, whose credentials consist of seven months as an ambulance driver and attendant. "But it doesn't look like we can talk her into walking. Go down and get the stretcher out of the ambulance."

I told him I didn't know how to remove the stretcher. "Then go down and open the door and wait for me," Kuhn said. He returned to the bedroom to speak with the firemen. A short time later, with the assistance of the firemen, we carried the victim to the vehicle. Kuhn had won a bizarre victory of sorts, however. He persuaded the woman to crawl from her bed to the stretcher in the hallway.

### NO PREPARATION

Before we departed for the hospital, Kuhn inquired if I knew how to operate the oxygen tanks. I told him I had received no training in the operation of anything in the ambulance. He opened the oxygen valve briefly and told me to hold the mask over the woman's face.

Kuhn later explained that he had turned the oxygen on for a few seconds and then closed the valve in order to make the woman think she was getting oxygen. This practice permits the company to charge an additional fee of \$10. As he filled out the admitting form at County hospital, Kuhn joked about the oxygen and asked if the patient had indicated it had helped her breathing.

Several days later, after I had quit Mid-America and sought employment with another ambulance company, William Recktenwald, an undercover B. G. A. investigator, rode in the same seat and observed the same horrifying treatment of the ill and injured.

### WALKED OFF JOB

Recktenwald became so sickened by what he saw during a 31-hour shift with the firm that he walked off the job. Some of the faces of the victims are still vivid in his memory.

"I remember one call where a very old woman was bedridden with blood clots on her legs," Recktenwald said. "The driver made sure we collected the \$44 for the trip; then he said, 'She can walk to the ambulance.' I knew she couldn't make it; so I carried her out to the vehicle in my arms. We never took the stretcher out of the ambulance."

A short time later, Recktenwald recalled, they answered a call regarding a victim with a possible fractured foot in a third floor apartment in Indiana avenue.

### VICTIM WALKS DOWN

"The driver told me to wait in the ambulance while he went upstairs," Recktenwald reported. "He came down about 15 minutes later and told me, 'I got the s.o.b. . . to walk down the three flights of stairs; so

we just have to take him from here.' The victim, a man in his forties, was being helped by a sister and a neighbor.

"Next we transported a blind woman in her seventies, who was having a problem with her left foot, from County hospital to her south side home. While tucking in a blanket around her feet, it became evident that [the ambulance driver] was causing some pain to the patient.

"I told him to be careful, that was her bad foot. He replied: 'These damn welfare cases are lying most of the time anyway.' Then he gave the foot another twist."

#### RIDICULES MOTHER

Responding to another call, for a young woman who needed emergency transportation after an apparent miscarriage, Recktenwald watched the driver hurl insults at the patient's mother for "not having the patient ready."

"The daughter was screaming in the bedroom," Recktenwald recalled. "After insulting the mother, the driver walked into the bedroom and announced: 'She looks all right. She can walk down the stairs.'"

"The apartment was on the third floor and I helped her walk down. It was raining outside and the driver ordered her to crawl in a side door of the ambulance. After this call, I didn't know how much more I could take."

#### CRAWLS ON FLOOR

As I left County hospital with Kuhn that first day on the job, I also wondered how long my nerves would last. Before the day was over, I watched a cancer victim, so weak he couldn't move from his bed, crawl around the bedroom floor on his hands and knees searching for his welfare card while Kuhn ogled a photo of a female relative of the patient.

I also incurred Kuhn's wrath after we arrived in front of a south side tenement in response to an apparent heart attack call. Kuhn sent me inside the building to "take a look" at the victim. The middle-aged woman was slumped across a bed and was having obvious difficulty breathing.

#### A DRESSING DOWN

I dashed outside and told Kuhn she appeared to be in bad shape.

"I know all that," he barked. "But I sent you in there to see if she would walk out here." He reluctantly removed the stretcher from the ambulance. Once inside the building, Kuhn convinced the woman we would save time if she walked from her apartment to the stretcher in the hallway.

During the day we also were assigned to stand-by for calls at a north side substation of Mid-America. The location, only slightly filthier than the firm's main office, is in a small garage once used as an auto transmission repair shop. I dozed on a discarded auto seat while Kuhn read comic books.

During such breaks, Kuhn also decided I needed about 5 minutes' training in the use of the stretcher and oxygen equipment. While showing me how to operate the oxygen, he exploded a regulator bag.

#### CAN'T USE SPLINT

I was also shown an inflatable splint, but Kuhn noted he could tell me nothing about it "because I don't know what it is myself."

Late that night, as I waited in the Madison office of the company to begin working the overnight shift with another driver, I was confronted by an owner and the general manager in a small rear office of the building.

The owner demanded to see my "hard card," the laminated ambulance attendant's license issued by the city Public Vehicle Commission.

#### DISCUSSES 'CRACKDOWN'

Moments before he asked me for the license, he had been discussing the "crack-

down" by the commission following a 1-million-dollar damage suit filed against Mid-America. The suit charges that while en route to a hospital with a heart attack victim, the ambulance crew was ordered by the dispatcher to make another stop to pick up a pregnant woman.

The suit was filed by the widow of the heart attack victim, who was dead on arrival at the hospital.

"Well, well," said the owner as he looked at my license. "Mr. William Jones—private investigator." The private investigator statement was an apparent attempt to catch me off guard.

#### 'I'M JAMES BOND'

I laughed off the statement and said I was really James Bond.

"I had you pegged for a reliable, long-term man when I hired you," the owner said. "But if you're a private investigator you're going to wind up with a rap in the head. You understand what I'm saying?"

I laughed off the threat and then was ordered to produce my driver's license. They compared it with the ambulance permit and seemed satisfied.

#### 'NO BREAD, NO BED'

Recktenwald and I also received instructions on ambulance fees while we worked for the firm. If the patient is a welfare recipient, we were told, the company was assured of payment from the state. On a cash call, however, the policy was "no bread, no bed."

When I asked what we were to do if a family had no cash, I was told: "Turn around and leave."

Another driver put it this way:

"They [the victim] can go in a blue star ambulance. That's the police. If they're bad enough the police will take them. And if they don't move them while they are sick, they do remove stiffs."

[From the Chicago Tribune, June 9, 1970]

HEART VICTIM IS LEFT IN FLAT; HAD ONLY \$2

(By William Jones)

(A Tribune reporter spent two months uncovering police payoffs, sadism, and other mistreatment of the ill and injured in Chicago's private ambulance business. This is his third report.)

The two-man private ambulance crew stood over the gasping middle-age man in his north side apartment, arguing with a friend of the victim.

"That's all he's got is two bucks?" asked one of the attendants. "He's gotta have at least \$38 or we can't take him. Ain't he on welfare or medicare or something? We ain't got a chance of collecting on something like this."

The friend shook his head and pointed to the \$2 on the kitchen table.

"That two bucks is all I could find," said the friend. "But he's got a job so he'd be good for the money."

Both attendants shook their heads and shrugged. One of them called his office, Mid-America Ambulance company, 5651 Madison st., and said the crew had been ordered to leave the premises without the victim. Then they dragged the victim of an apparent heart attack to a kitchen chair where he slumped over the table.

#### LEAVE WITHOUT VICTIM

Before leaving the apartment, one of the attendants committed the final indignity. He pocketed the victim's last \$2.

The misery merchants were at work. They are the hustlers among the city's private ambulance companies and they have decided there is a price tag on your life.

A two-month investigation by The Tribune and Better Government association revealed widespread mistreatment and sadistic acts toward the ill and injured.

Working within the business, this reporter and William Recktenwald, a B. G. A. under-

cover investigator, were sickened at what we saw.

As this ambulance crew was ordered to walk out on a man who may have been fighting for his life, the company was confident that its actions would never be known to the public or the city vehicle commission which permits them to operate.

#### VICTIM WAS INVESTIGATOR

But this apparent victim was different from the thousands of others who are at the mercy of the misery merchants in Chicago each year. This victim was George Bliss, chief investigator for the B. G. A., and his friend was Roland Restle, another B. G. A. undercover agent.

In another room off the kitchen, behind a glass paneled door covered with a venetian blind, William Yates, a TRIBUNE photographer, and this reporter observed and photographed the bizarre event.

The first words uttered by one of the attendants to his companion were, "All he's got is two bucks."

After the ambulance crew received its instructions to desert the victim, they asked Restle if he had any way to get Bliss to a hospital by himself.

"Well, my sister has a car, but I don't know how long it will take to get it," said Restle, who had called the ambulance 10 minutes earlier.

#### MEANT A CASH CALL

"We got a 1010 call on this and that means it's a cash call," said an attendant. "We could call him some kind of wagon or hold him here in the chair until you get a car."

This grotesque incident is what is known among Mid-America crews as "no bread, no bed." It means, as one driver explained to me when I worked for the company, that if the victims don't have the money or a welfare card, the crew is supposed to leave immediately.

This policy is not unique to Mid-America. At Alert Ambulance company, 3109 N. Cicero av., which also operates Berz and Aero ambulance companies, the code for a cash call is GTM. Recktenwald, my partner in the undercover investigation, explains the code in this report:

"We received a code 3 [lights and siren] call. We found a white male about 75 years old named Joseph, who was blind, doubled up in a chair and screaming about the pains in his left side. We immediately transferred him to Mother Cabrini hospital.

#### TELLS ABOUT PAYOFF

"When we arrived at the hospital, we received payment for the call from the man's daughter-in-law. As we left the hospital [the driver] remarked to me: 'Can you imagine that s.o.b. [his employer] wanted me to GTM.' I inquired as what GTM stood for and he replied: 'Get the money before you put the patient in the ambulance. Can you imagine me asking for the money with the old man screaming the way he was.'"

Recktenwald said such attendants run the risk of having the ambulance fee deducted from their salaries if the victim fails to pay.

Recktenwald also reported this incident of fee gouging while working for Mid-America.

Responding to a call involving an old man in a west side public housing project for the elderly, the ambulance driver first ordered the victim to get up and move himself onto the stretcher. After watching a Chicago policeman accepting a payoff for referring the call to Mid-America, the man was taken to a hospital.

#### TAKES LAST \$2

"Upon arrival, an old lady, in her eighties, who had come along with us to pay the bill, was asked for the money," said Recktenwald. "She was told the cost was \$35. She was quite elderly and her hands shook as she paid the money to us. She was confused and only gave us \$31, but thought it was \$36.

"The driver counted the money and said

'I need 5 more dollars.' The lady became very nervous and opened her purse again. You could see she only had \$2 left. The driver said he could reduce the fee to \$33 because of the short distance and the woman responded: 'If I give you these two dollars I won't have any money at all, not even car fare to get back home.'

"The driver grabbed the \$2 and told the woman: 'Your house is only about a mile and a half away. You could almost walk it. I'm sure they'll help you out here at the hospital.'"

#### DRAGS CANCER PATIENT

At Scully-Walton Ambulance company, 15 N. Laramie av., an ambulance crew refused to take a cancer patient to the hospital until they were assured that a relative was waiting there with the cash. The patient, whose body was so wracked with the disease that he pleaded to be handled gently, was asked if he could walk from his bed to the stretcher.

"I'm sorry, I don't think I can," he said. "Well then we're just going to have to move you," said the ambulance driver, who claims to be the south side manager for Scully-Walton. He grabbed the patient under the arms and dragged him to the stretcher where the man was dropped. As the victim's face contorted in pain, the driver said to Recktenwald:

"Next time the guy will walk to the stretcher. We didn't use a sheet on this patient either. I wasn't sure if that nigger was going to pay."

[From the Chicago Tribune, June 10, 1970]  
TEN DOLLARS IS COMMON FEE: POLICE SELL AMBULANCE CASES  
(By William Jones)

(A Tribune reporter spent two months uncovering police payoffs, sadism, and other mistreatment of the ill and injured in Chicago's private ambulance industry. This fourth report focuses on police payoffs.)

Sometime on the afternoon of May 11, on Chicago's south side, a black man named William James suffered a fractured hip.

The cause of the accident is not known and even James may not remember where it happened because he is subject to epileptic seizures.

But the story of what happened to this 40-year-old Chicagoan is the story of the hustlers among the city's private ambulance industry who buy and sell human beings. It also is the story of their partners in this grisly business—a group of Chicago policemen who are willing to sell people like James for \$10.

#### BIZARRE PARTNERSHIP

The bizarre partnership, which flourishes in all sections of the city, was uncovered during a two-month investigation of the private ambulance industry by THE TRIBUNE and the Better Government Association.

The probe uncovered wide-spread mistreatment of the ill and injured, welfare fraud and a police payoff system so sophisticated that ambulance attendants at some companies receive "drop" (payoff) money before they begin work.

My partner in the undercover probe was William Recktenwald, a B. G. A. investigator who also worked as a licensed ambulance attendant.

The disclosures already have sparked an investigation by the internal inspections division of the police department and all reports were turned over yesterday to Lt. John Harris and Sgt. Morton Lowy of the division.

#### A DOCUMENTED CASE

William James' case is not unusual. What is unusual is that his horrifying experience has been documented from beginning to end. For James, the end is a bed in Cook county hospital where last week he couldn't remember his name.

After James suffered the fractured hip May 11, he was picked up by police squadrol 273. Instead of transporting the victim to County Hospital, a phone call was made to Mid-America Ambulance company, 5651 W. Madison st., a company that has billed the state for more than \$130,000 in welfare ambulance fees during the first four months of this year.

Recktenwald was the attendant on the ambulance that responded to the call. Here is his report:

"We drove with lights and siren to the location (39th street and Indiana avenue), arriving at approximately 3 p.m. There was a Chicago police squadrol, No. 273, parked on Indiana avenue in front of the Brown Funeral home. We pulled up next to the unit and the officers got out and opened the back of their squadrol.

"There was a male Negro in the back of the squadrol. He was complaining of a broken hip. We wheeled our stretcher behind the squadrol and the patient was told to get down on the stretcher.

"The driver then walked to the sidewalk side of the squadrol and handed money to one of the officers. The officer placed his hand in his pocket immediately, smiled, and got in his squadrol.

#### WAITED TWO HOURS

"On the way to the hospital the patient said he had been in the rear of the squadrol for almost two hours waiting for the ambulance. He also related that he was an epileptic."

Upon arriving at County hospital, Recktenwald noted, the Mid-America driver instructed his attendant how to falsify admission forms when the victim is received from the rear of a police squadrol.

The drive then informed Recktenwald that the report would be falsified to indicate that the victim was picked up in a neighbor's house [he spelled it "nabor"] and was never in police custody. Since James is a welfare recipient, the ambulance fee of approximately \$40 will be paid by the state.

James was not an isolated case this day, Recktenwald recalls. At one point, the driver ran out of \$10 bills for welfare case bribes and borrowed the money from Recktenwald. The driver later replenished his supply when the main office sent out more money with another driver.

#### JUBILANT OVER PAYOFF

At Scully-Walton Ambulance company, 15 N. Laramie av., the south side manager of the firm was jubilant over the opportunity to pay \$10 to a policeman named Jordan driving squad car No. 716 in the 5900 block of Emerald avenue.

"This is a milestone for us," the manager noted. "The 7th [police] district has been completely tied up with Mid-America. Maybe we can start to get some of their business."

Another welfare patient payoff, also transacted at the rear of a squadrol, involved an apparent mental patient known only as "Jimmy." The Mid-America Ambulance driver was observed handing a \$10 bill to a policeman named Murphy at the corner of 63d street and Vernon avenue.

The patient, who babbled about two large dogs chasing the ambulance, was taken to the mental section of County hospital. As Recktenwald waited for the driver to return to the ambulance, he saw "Jimmy" leave the hospital and crawl under the ambulance. The patient was ordered out from under the ambulance, and then crawled under a car.

When the driver returned to the ambulance he said the hospital had indicated "Jimmy" was "all right," and should not be admitted.

#### HANDS OVER NOTEBOOK

Still another payoff occurred at a nursing home operated in the basement at 6951 Ellis av. In this case, the ambulance driver passed

a notebook with an aluminum cover to a policeman in squadrol No. 722 after the driver was observed inserting a \$10 in the notebook.

A payoff to police also was witnessed when an elderly hernia victim was picked up in a north side home for the elderly. Recktenwald reported:

"After having the patient get up and move himself onto the stretcher, we wheeled him into the hall. I turned around and saw Dave [the ambulance driver] pass something to Officer Browner, Star No. 3405. I could see it was a folded-up piece of United States currency. I was about 8 to 9 feet away. The officer said, 'Thanks'."

A Scully-Walton driver was ridiculed by his fellow workers for his enthusiasm in making payoffs to obtain welfare clients.

#### MAKES A "DOUBLE DROP"

After giving a fire department ambulance crew \$10, he also paid an emergency room nurse \$5 in what his companions termed a "double drop."

During a shift change at Scully-Walton, the crews were mustered in a room and told the payoff system was being expanded.

"Now listen up you guys," said a company executive, "if any of you get a call from [a north side hotel], it's a \$10 drop to the room clerk."

The executive also told the attendants they would be receiving all industrial accident calls from a north side factory, but that there were to be no on-the-spot payoffs because "I take care of that myself."

This same company executive regaled his employes the next day with this story about a competitor:

"A couple of guys [from another ambulance company] just brought a fellow into the hospital and just as they're about to collect, the doctor comes out and says he's dead and the wife went into hysterics and won't pay them now."

[From the Chicago Tribune, June 11, 1970]  
EX-STATE OFFICIAL INFLATES COSTS FOR AMBULANCES' WELFARE CLIENTS

#### (By William Jones)

(A Tribune reporter spent two months uncovering police payoffs, sadism, and other mistreatment of the ill and injured in Chicago's private ambulance industry. The fifth report deals with inflated welfare fees.)

Two years ago the director of all welfare payments for the state of Illinois decided "welfare business is good business."

He was so convinced that there was a profit to be reaped from the state's multi-million dollar public aid budget that he quit his post in Springfield, formed a company named Welfare Billing Service, and began advertising among Chicago area ambulance operators, doctors and medical clinics.

#### "YOU AND I KNOW"

"You and I know welfare business is good business," the circulars proclaimed. "Increase your income from welfare and medicare. Be represented [in the Chicago public aid office] by someone who knows ALL the ins and outs of welfare."

His name is Frank Andrew and his Springfield company, now called Illinois Medical Payment Systems, is inflating ambulance welfare bills as much as 40 per cent.

Andrew then charges his clients a 15 per cent fee for this "collection" service. Last year, two of his approximately 25 clients collected more than \$150,000 in welfare ambulance fees from the state.

The firm's scheme to charge phony fees and inflate other costs was uncovered during a two-month investigation of the private ambulance industry by THE TRIBUNE and the Better Government Association. Leonard Roth, who operates Acorn Ambulance company in Chicago, cooperated in the probe by enrolling as one of the company's clients.

Within weeks after Illinois Medical Payments Systems accepted the Acorn account, the state was being billed for extra charges never listed by Roth.

#### ASKS FBI PROBE

The state department of public aid responded to the disclosures yesterday by signing a complaint against Andrew and his firm with Atty. Gen. William Scott's consumer fraud and complaint division.

Gershom Hurwitz, deputy director of the department of public aid, said he also has asked the Illinois Bureau of Investigation to enter the case since it involves a former state employee receiving funds from a state department.

David Thomas, Illinois auditor general, has ordered Andrew to produce all of his books and records.

Andrew explained during an interview in Springfield that he does increase the bills submitted by ambulance operators "because I know public aid will pay for it."

"I'm like a counselor. I spent five years working for the state. I have a duty to my clients to get as much as I can. I tell them to leave their bills blank and I fill in the amounts. Believe me, a lot of these guys [ambulance operators] don't know what the hell they're doing."

#### CALLS ROTH IN CHICAGO

Andrew, who was not aware that Acorn Ambulance was cooperating in the probe, insisted on phoning Roth in Chicago while this reporter listened on an extension. Roth did not disclose during this conversation that he was cooperating in the fee gouging investigation.

Andrew: "Say, old boy, aren't you aware that your basic rate of these calls is \$36?"

Roth: "No. I charge \$35."

Andrew: "How about oxygen?"

Roth: "I charged \$6 until a few months ago when I went up to \$8. But I sent you some of the bills charging \$6."

#### "I BILL AT \$10"

Andrew: "I bill that at \$10, you know. We automatically put that down. It could easily be that you put down an erroneous figure."

Roth: "No. I never charged \$10 for oxygen and you never told me you would charge \$10."

Andrew: "Now Leonard, you know about the night service charge, don't you? I've added an extra \$2 on your night calls."

Roth: "I charge a flat \$35 rate 24 hours a day."

Andrew: "Well then, maybe you don't want me to make an extra charge for night service. I've been billing at the same rate I bill for Mid-America."

#### "NOTHING WRONG HERE"

At the conclusion of the phone conversation, Andrew returned to his office and said: "When you're talking about a dollar, you're not talking about much money, my friend. I just took it upon myself to raise it. It looks bad I agree, but there's nothing wrong here."

"It may seem like I increase the costs of welfare, but this is just not true. You see, since I know how to fill out the forms correctly, it actually saves the state money because the computers don't reject them and create a lot of extra bookkeeping."

Andrew also managed to collect \$41 from the state for a welfare ambulance trip that Roth never made.

One of Andrew's top clients is Mid-America Ambulance company, 5651 W. Madison st., a firm exposed this week for its sadistic treatment of welfare patients. A random survey of 200 Mid-America bills in Springfield showed that a \$2 night service charge was paid for 181 of the trips.

#### CHECK HOSPITAL RECORDS

Some of the 200 bills surveyed later were compared with admitting forms at Cook

county hospital and show the night service fee is charged for patients arriving at such times as 10:25 a.m., 11:37 a.m., 2:07 p.m., and 2:52 p.m.

The times are recorded at the hospital by inserting the admitting form in a time clock when the patient is wheeled into the emergency room.

Public aid officials indicated yesterday that they will order Andrew to produce a list of his clients and former clients and that all of their bills will be "thoroughly checked" by the state auditor's office.

#### [From the Chicago Tribune, June 12, 1971] AMBULANCES' CREWS PILFER HOSPITAL GOODS FOR THEIR SUPPLIES

(By William Jones)

(A TRIBUNE reporter spent two months uncovering police payoffs and the sadistic treatment of patients in Chicago's private ambulance industry. The sixth and final report exposes hospital thefts, vehicle code violations, and cost-cutting schemes that jeopardize the well being of the ill and injured.)

The 79-year-old man had just been pronounced dead in the hospital emergency room, but that was not what was worrying the ambulance driver.

A disposable oxygen mask that sells for 60 cents had been used by the Mid-America Ambulance company crew in an unsuccessful effort to revive the victim and now the mask was missing.

"What happened to that mask?" the driver asked a nurse.

#### "THREW THAT AWAY"

"We threw that away," the nurse replied, pointing to an emergency room waste pail.

"We take and sterilize them sometimes and use them again," the driver told the nurse as he began rummaging thru the waste container. He located the mask and the crew returned to their ambulance. Then, without even wiping the dead man's perspiration from the vinyl mask, the driver connected it to an oxygen tank to be used by the next patient.

Callous disregard for even the most basic sanitary practices is not unusual among the misery merchants in the city's private ambulance industry. They are hustling 24 hours a day and the public is the victim.

#### WORKED WITH THEM

The details of their operations were uncovered during a two-month undercover probe by THE TRIBUNE and the Better Government association. My partner was William Recktenwald, a B. G. A. investigator. We worked as ambulance attendants with the misery merchants and saw how they worried more about recovering disposable oxygen masks and stealing hospital linen than dispensing proper care to the ill and injured.

While working for Mid-America, I asked a driver how often we would be changing the sheets.

"Well, it all depends," I was told. "We're supposed to change them for every patient, but I don't. Of course, if you get one that vomits or bleeds you don't have much choice."

#### USED EIGHT TIMES

Recktenwald recalls that while working for Alert Ambulance company, which also operates Aero and Berz Ambulance companies, the same sheets were used for eight consecutive patients. After delivering a patient to a hospital as an Alert attendant, Recktenwald reported this incident:

"After we dropped the patient off we were driving away from the area and I said to the driver, 'Son of a gun, I think I picked up an extra pillow case at the hospital by accident.' He answered, 'Great, I grabbed some towels. That's the way we get most of our stuff.'"

Then the driver reached under the seat and proudly displayed a stethoscope.

"How do you think I got this," he said.

#### HAVE HOSPITALS' BRANDS

Pillow cases in the ambulances frequently carry the stenciled name of a Chicago area hospital. A former driver for a north side ambulance company told me that at one time the owners ran a weekly contest among their ambulance crews to see who could steal the most from hospital emergency rooms. The weekly prize for the best thief was \$25.

The same day they were taking hospital linen, Recktenwald recalled, the company displayed its attitude about city regulations governing emergency vehicles. The use of the red lights and siren on an ambulance are banned by city ordinance unless the case is an emergency.

On this particular trip, however, the ambulance, its lights flashing and siren wailing, was delivering a stretcher to another crew that had forgotten their stretcher.

#### "WE'LL BE IN TROUBLE"

As the ambulance roared thru the city, the driver told Recktenwald:

"Boy, you know, if we ever get caught using the lights and siren to deliver a stretcher we'll be in trouble."

While I worked for Mid-America, Toby Tindle, the general manager and vice president of the company, ordered me to drive an ambulance to a south side new car dealer where Tindle was taking his personal car for repairs. When I told him I couldn't drive an ambulance with only a city attendant's license, Tindle told me:

"Don't worry about it. The vehicle commissioner's office doesn't come this far south."

#### FORGET THEIR SPLINTS

A Scully-Walton Ambulance crew arrived at a home on South Woodlawn avenue to transport a victim with an apparent broken ankle, only to find there were no splints in the vehicle. In order to give the victim first aid, they had to ask the family for some old magazines which the ambulance crew folded to serve as a makeshift splint.

Both Mid-America and Scully Walton were banned from transporting public aid recipients Wednesday by David L. Daniel, county director of public aid. Daniel said the order will remain in effect until his office completes an investigation of the sadistic treatment of patients disclosed by THE TRIBUNE.

Mid-America and its president, Victor Ferrara, also were charged with having unsanitary premises and emergency equipment yesterday by the board of health.

#### OPERATED FOOD SERVICE

In 1963, Ferrara and his brother, Leonard, operated Mid-America Food Service, Inc., in River Forest, a company that promised reduced food prices with the purchase of a home freezer. The Chicago Better Business bureau reported at the time that it had received more than 50 complaints against the company during its single year of existence.

A salesman for the firm was found guilty of deceptive practices and fined \$500 the same year after a Homewood family alleged they had signed a contract calling for total payments of \$392. They later were told by the company that they owed \$1,218.

#### A FINAL NOTE

A final note on the condition of Mid-America's equipment was made while a teenage victim of a street gang shooting was being transported from a hospital to his home.

"While transporting the patient, we hit a bad bump about a block away from County hospital," Recktenwald reported. "The shocks and springs in the rear of the ambulance are very bad. We had hit this same bump several times earlier in the day."

"On this particular occasion, the jolt caused the patient to flinch and the bandages immediately became reddened with blood from the wound which reopened."

COMMISSIONER MARLAND URGES  
INCREASED CAREER EDUCATION

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Sidney P. Marland, Jr., Commissioner of Education, discussed the pressing need for the redirection of the Nation's educational objectives in an interview that appeared in the August 8, 1971 New York Times. Dr. Marland's remarks stress the importance of the development of a comprehensive system of "career education" to replace the traditional vocational and general education curriculums that all too often leave the high school graduate unprepared to compete in the labor market. He also points out the fact that the college degree has been oversold to point that it has become a "national fetish." The Commissioner makes a strong case that career education could bring about the necessary change so that "a first-rate artisan who works with his hands is held in as high esteem as the graduate of a liberal arts college."

Dr. Marland's observations on the revitalization of our Nation's education process were indeed penetrating and deserve to be brought to the attention of the Members of Congress.

The observations follows:

EDUCATION CHIEF URGES MORE CAREER  
TRAINING

(By Gene I. Maeroff)

Vocational education, far more broadly based than at present, figures prominently in the blueprint that the United States Commissioner of Education is drawing up for the future of American education.

At the same time, he is putting less emphasis than his predecessors did on the importance of a four-year college education, which the nation has considered the most valuable kind of schooling and the principal route to success.

Dr. Sidney P. Marland Jr., the commissioner, discussed his educational philosophy in an interview in Washington last week.

While he does not have the authority to impose his views on local school districts, Dr. Marland can influence local decisions through the power of persuasion and the manner in which the Office of Education allocates approximately \$5-billion it has available for primary and secondary schools and for colleges.

"We have hypnotized ourselves," the commissioner said. "We are so preoccupied with higher education that it has become a national fetish. High schools measure their success by the number of their students who go on to college. People view vocational education as a great thing for the neighbor's children."

Dr. Marland, who is completing his eighth month in office, stressed the following points:

The notion that someone who goes to college is better than someone who does not go must be changed so that "a first-rate artisan who works with his hands is held in as high esteem as the graduate of a liberal arts college."

Opportunities for vocational or "career" education, as he calls the more broadly based kind that he envisions, must be increased, especially at the secondary and community college levels, "because the nation no longer

has a place for a person who is not going on to college and doesn't possess a salable skill."

Minority children must be given "the chance to flourish through education" and educators must "solve the mystery of how to bring effective learning to the poor."

The Office of Education "at this point in history" should not make a major commitment to busing as a means of desegregating school because it "would be an imposition contrary to the intent of the Administration."

Dr. Marland, a former superintendent of schools in Darien, Conn., Winnetka, Ill., and Pittsburgh, will be 57 years old on Aug. 19.

50 PERCENT SET AS GOAL

When asked how he would like his term as commissioner to be remembered, he responded:

"If in the time I am here I can bring about a change in the public attitude so that at least 50 per cent of young people choose career education and if that abomination we call general education were forever dissolved and if every child upon completing high school were ready for a job or for higher education, then I will have felt that I made a difference."

Youngsters who are in neither college preparatory nor vocational education programs often are put in general education courses. The course titles and the content are similar to the college-bound curriculums, but less is expected of the students. The youngsters complete general education with a weak version of the precollege program and a lack of practical knowledge that would help them get jobs.

"General education must be closed out," Dr. Marland said with anger in his voice. "It is a put-on, a watered-down program with nothing at the end of the line—neither college nor a job."

Career education, which Dr. Marland considers the only acceptable alternative to a precollege program, would replace the traditional vocational education. It "would be undergirded with liberal arts courses" related to the student's job interests, he explained.

"For instance, why not offer a high school physics course that would be tailored to the student's interest in electronics?" he asked. "The same could be done in mathematics, history, English and other courses."

START IN FIRST GRADE

In Dr. Marland's plan of education, the career orientation could begin as early as first grade "but would always remain flexible enough that the student who changes interests could spin out of one area and into another."

Currently, according to the commissioner, 12 per cent of the country's high school students are in vocational education programs, 35 to 40 per cent are in precollege programs and 30 to 50 per cent are in general education.

More of this time as commissioner has been given to matters pertaining to career education than to any other area, said Dr. Marland. He has earmarked \$50-million in discretionary funds for research and development projects in career education.

An area in which Dr. Marland indicated less willingness to spend Federal funds is busing for the purpose of school desegregation.

"Busing should be paid for out of local and state monies," he said.

The commissioner's position coincided with that of President Nixon, who reasserted in a statement Tuesday his opposition to busing "to achieve racial balance," despite an April 20 ruling by the Supreme Court that upheld busing as a means to "dismantle the dual school systems of the South."

"I do expect," said Dr. Marland, who as superintendent in Pittsburgh was an advocate of busing, "that there are other ways

that Federal funds can be used creatively to bring about integration."

Dr. Marland's aspirations have not gone unrecognized. For instance, when Representative Roman C. Pucinski, the Chicago Democrat who is chairman of the House's general education subcommittee, gave a copy of his recently published book, "The Courage to Change," to the commissioner, Mr. Pucinski inscribed the flyleaf:

"To Sid Marland—The architect of the new education."

U.S. TECHNOLOGY IS THREATENED—  
CURBING R. & D. PROGRESS

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the research and development concept is being deprecated, and when the American commitment to R. & D. is being reduced, it is heartening to find a man of stature point out the peril to which this trend could lead.

The following articles from the New York Times describes how our nationally unfavorable attitude toward science and technology is resulting in a diminished emphasis on and support for the process of research and development. If R. & D. should cease to be a feasible tool for government and the private sector, many of our national goals will not be realized. If Americans are going to be able to continue the standard of living to which they have been accustomed and if our multitude of social ills such as pollution, population, and urban problems, are to be resolved, R. & D. must be fostered. The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Aug. 22, 1971]

U.S. TECHNOLOGY IS THREATENED—CURBING  
R. & D. CRIPPLES PROGRESS

(By Charles A. Anderson)

The United States must soon face the fact that it is living on its research and development capital and the account is beginning to run low. If we fail to acknowledge this, our technological affluence will be lost.

The assault on America's leadership in science and technology is both external and internal. Externally, Western Europe, Japan and the Soviet Union are making rapid strides in areas that have traditionally been controlled by the United States. In radio astronomy, high energy physics and conventional energy research we have already been surpassed. Internally, a new national distaste for science and technology is undermining the national research and development effort.

The external challenge is beyond our control. But we must correct negative attitudes toward science and technology at home.

To be sure, technology assessment is necessary if individual freedom and the quality of life are to be maintained. Our concern, however, should be with the end-product of technology and its use, not with the research and development process itself. To attack the value of this process is to discard our best tool in achieving whatever goals we might formulate for the nation.

Our technological society is the product of past research and development efforts. We have inherited both the benefits and problems of technology, and one's point of view determines which of those two elements is dominant. One thing does seem clear, however. The solution to our present environmental, population, urban housing and other

problems lies primarily with more technology not less. A romantic retreat to cottage industries in a pastoral setting is both undesirable and impossible with a population of over 200 million people.

Our supply of natural resources is shrinking while our demands for such materials are growing. Only research and development can produce the advances in recycling, transportation systems, oceanographic research and nuclear fusion for clean electricity that must be made in the remaining years of this century.

At the same time, we are moving steadily toward a service-dominated economy. By 1980, nine of every 10 new jobs will be in the service area. Service functions have traditionally been resistant to productivity increases. We are still early in the learning process of applying technology to the service industries in order to yield productivity growth. We must succeed in this task if we hope to have the healthy economy necessary to pay for social programs.

The source from which advances will be drawn is not a cornucopia but a pipeline in time. Research and development funds and manpower must be added at this end if new technology is to be produced at the other end 10 years hence. By constricting the flow of funds and manpower into the pipeline now, we are crippling future progress.

A major source of our current problems in R. & D. undoubtedly lies in the financial and spiritual disruptions caused by Vietnam. In addition to aggravating the general inflationary picture and dislocating both the civilian and military R. & D. effort, it has among many people stamped science and technology as a war machine that produces such things as defoliants and napalm. This view is perhaps predominant among the young, which further imperils the future of technology.

In a military sense, the war has been most kind to the Soviet Union. While we have been forced to divert substantial portions of our defense budget from research and development into tactical hardware, the U.S.S.R. has been free to move forward in the development of the next generation of missiles, aircraft and naval vessels. The Soviet military R. & D. input is growing by 10 to 13 per cent annually. If present trends continue, the U.S.S.R. could assume technological superiority over the United States within a few years. Congress is now facing this situation. The cost of military R. & D. and procurement deferred by the war will probably negate and exceed any "peace dividend" generated by the end of our major commitment in Southeast Asia.

The effect of insufficient government funding for high-technology programs, research and development has been predictable; program cancellations, professional unemployment, disbanding of research teams.

While trained scientists and engineers are being forced out of their fields, young professionals are entering at a diminished rate due to the uncertain occupational future and declining reputation of the scientific professions. In aerospace, the hardest hit area, the scientific and engineering labor force is down from 223,000 in 1968 to 154,000 today.

The Stanford Research Institute, a non-profit contract research organization, has moved against the tide and its 1970 projected revenues of \$65-million marked a record high.

Another significant problem is funding continuity. Important programs have been cut back or canceled in mid-point. As a result, budget-wise scientists are now lowering their sights and submitting proposals for shorter-term projects that have a better chance of maintaining funding to completion. Thus, scientists are becoming responsive to finances rather than need, and many worthwhile projects are being shelved in the process.

We've long since passed the time when the individual scientist, working with little

equipment, could produce the significant discovery. Research today requires the assembly of men and equipment and the development of programs pointed toward long-term goals. Funding continuity becomes a vitally important element in such an environment.

Basic research is particularly vulnerable in the budget-pruning process. Increasingly, it is considered "irrelevant" and a low-priority item by critics and legislators more concerned with the immediate solution of social problems through infusion of Federal funds.

We cannot go on attempting to judge basic research in physics or biology on the same scale with social programs and determine that one is more relevant than the other. It is not "either-or." All have value, but they must be considered independently. Basic research must be justified first as part of the continuing search for knowledge. At the same time, there is a need for balance between basic and applied scientific work. They are interdependent since knowledge without application is useless and application without knowledge is impossible.

Inevitably, the Federal Government must continue to play the biggest role in supporting basic research in the United States. There are definite limits to the amount of R. & D. risk that can be assumed by the private sector. Only the Federal Government, for example, can afford the immense investment necessary to sponsor research in space travel or astronomy. Government-sponsored research has, over the years, produced the discoveries that have triggered the development of computers, lasers, atomic power and many others. We all benefit from such advances.

Despite our position as the world's leader in science and technology, we are still unsure of their place in our society. How shall they be programed? How shall they be financed? Who shall judge the priorities for research funding allocations?

These questions need to be answered so that a rational science policy can be developed that will avoid the erratic expansions and contractions of recent Federal research and development budgets and the manpower dislocations that accompany them. Like it or not, this country's future is tied to science and technology, and it is time to give that fact its just due.

#### DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE SOUTH CONTINUES

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I have always defended the rights of local school officials to determine what their pupils should or should not wear; however, when such policies are discriminatory and destructive to a central part of American culture, I feel that it is a time to take a second look.

Various American groups across this country have made appeals for courses in their so-called culture. This is well and good, but not at the cost of the destruction of the southern heritage. If every American has the right to perpetuate his culture, then the southern people have the right to play "Dixie" and display the Confederate flag proudly and wear it with honor.

Discrimination cannot be cured by discrimination; two wrongs do not make a right. The southern heritage is a basic part of our American culture; it should not be destroyed because some people claim to be offended by its symbols.

When school officials allow our liberal leftwing leaders to be successful in eliminating all symbols and traditions of the South, they are discriminating against the children and grandchildren of men who fought and died for a noble cause. They are denying the children of the South their precious birthright.

Such an illustration of the destruction of one culture, the southern heritage, so that another might prevail occurred recently in Chattanooga, Tenn., when a young man, a fine student, a leader, was denied the right to wear the emblem of the Confederate flag on the sleeve of his jacket because the Chattanooga Board of Education had adopted a policy that stated that the Confederate flag could not be used as the official symbol of any school nor could "Dixie" be played at any school function.

Unfortunately, these leaders of the school system in Chattanooga have not realized the truth of their mothers' teaching—you cannot suppress a culture—a birthright—by discrimination. "Dixie," a song written by a northerner, was proclaimed by President Lincoln as a war prize belonging to the American people.

I include the related material in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Chattanooga Times, July 22, 1971]

MELTONS PLAN TO APPEAL CONFEDERATE FLAG RULING

(By Margaret Leonard)

The parents of Rod Melton, suspended from Brainerd High School last September for wearing a Confederate flag on his jacket, announced Wednesday they will appeal the decision of the U.S. District Court upholding the school's right to suspend him.

Judge Frank Wilson ruled last month that the schools' dress code provision barring "provocative symbols" was too vague but that Brainerd principal Dr. Billy von Schaaf had reason to believe display of the emblem bearing the flag would cause disruption of the school.

Wilson said restriction of the use of the Confederate symbol, "under the circumstances existing within Brainerd High School" at the time of the suspension did not violate the student's First and 14th Amendment rights.

Melton's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Bryan Melton, said Wednesday that Wilson's findings that the code was too vague but the suspension was justified are "contradictory."

They also said that Wilson "ignored" the fact that their son had worn the Confederate emblem to school "the entire previous school year."

Their statement follows:

"We intend to appeal the decision of Judge Frank Wilson, in our case filed last September here in federal district court to protect the constitutional rights of our son, Rod Melton, when he was sent home from school for wearing a jacket bearing a small insignia of the Confederate flag in a peaceful manner.

"Our attorney, Mr. Jack Kershaw of Nashville, will file the appeal at once in the federal court.

"The appeal is based on our belief that Judge Wilson's order ignores both law and fact in this case. He further ignores in the several pages of opinion the "time" element,

in that Rod Melton wore this same shoulder patch the entire previous school year of 1969-70 and not for the first time on Sept. 8, 1970.

"We feel, too, that items 1 and 2 of Judge Wilson's order are in direct contradiction in that item 1 states the sentence, 'provocative symbols on clothing are prohibited' in the dress code at Brainerd High School is too broad and vague and must be removed from said dress code, and further that such prohibition is a violation of the students' rights under the First and 14th Amendments.

"In item 2, the order simply says that regarding the suspension of Rod Melton from Brainerd High on Sept. 8 and 9, the court held his constitutional rights under the First and 14th Amendments were not violated nor under any other provision. Inasmuch as he was removed from school by the principal under authority of the dress code, we find this contradictory.

"The appeal is further imperative because of two recent Supreme Court decisions involving and upholding freedom of speech and constitutional rights under the First and 14th Amendments.

"On June 7, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of a young man in California who had worn an obscene slogan relating to the draft on a jacket and it is difficult to understand what's happening to our standards of justice today when that can be tolerated and yet the peaceful continued display of a small Confederate flag on clothing cannot be worn.

"Probably the widest latitude of right of freedom of speech ever to be will be in the case of the court recently holding in favor of The New York Times' right to print the Pentagon papers, which were stolen, secret documents of our federal government.

"This, too, should certainly support the right of any American to display anything as much a part of American history as the Confederate flag.

#### CALLS RECEIVED

"We have received countless calls and mail regarding the shock at the decision rendered by Judge Wilson, particularly the fact that we did not know of it until we read it in the local papers on Sunday morning, June 20.

"Our attorney, Mr. Kershaw, did not receive copies of the order and opinion until several days after the press received it. We were, indeed, shocked and stunned at such treatment.

"The case was originally filed because we believed a principle was involved in preserving every American freedom we can retain. We feel we did not only lose the court case, but that every American lost another freedom—the right to peacefully wear or display a symbol of American history.

"Needless to say, we have made a sacrifice in many ways and many things have happened to us and to our son, just because others did not agree with our right to take it to a court.

"We have borne all the financial costs with the exception of a small sum given by friends and interested persons from Chattanooga to Dallas, Tex. We have had the support of no organization and have solicited no funds.

"However, because we feel the appeal should be made on behalf of freedom of speech for everyone, we humbly solicit your contributions for appeals costs and your prayers also."

**THIS SHOULD NOT HAPPEN IN AMERICAN—IT COULD HAVE BEEN YOU!**

On Constitution Day, Thursday, September 17, 1970, there was filed in District Federal Court in Chattanooga, Tennessee, action by Mr. and Mrs. Bryan U. Melton, on behalf of their 16 year old son, Rod Melton, to defend his Constitutional right to peacefully wear a small Confederate flag emblem on his jacket to Brainerd High School where he is a Senior this year.

When Rod went to school on Tuesday, Sept. 8, for his first day of school he wore a very light weight white nylon jacket with a small embroidered shoulder patch of the Confederate flag at the top shoulder of the left sleeve. By noon that day, the principal asked him to remove the jacket or go home, stating there had been complaints registered about the jacket. Rod had been to classes that morning and throughout the building changing classes and no one said anything to him! He had caused no visible trouble! Rod chose to come home, bringing a letter the principal sent. It stated that on July 8, 1970 the Board of Education for Chattanooga Public Schools voted that the Confederate flag could not be used as an official symbol for any school. The board had at the same time ruled that the song "Dixie" (the school pep song for many years) could only be played as often as other songs of like kind. The letter further stated that Brainerd High had a dress code this year which stated that "provocative symbols" could not be worn on clothing. No detailed clarification of "provocative symbols" had been given students, and so the Confederate flag was considered "provocative" and Rod was sent home. It is understood that on that very same day at school a new Negro male teacher wore a tie throughout the day bearing the anti-Christ "peace" symbol!

Brainerd High School was the scene last school year of constant disruption allegedly caused by approximately 170 Negro students out of a total student body of about 1,370. During some disorders and fighting damage was sustained to the building and property at one time, and in another incident a group of some 70 Negro students barricaded themselves in the Auditorium and set fire. School authorities stated there was no way to discipline 70 students in a group and Chattanooga newspapers carried press releases of such statements. There is much evidence which can be documented as to the outside agitation received by the black students from groups and organizations throughout the Chattanooga area. The school was closed for several days at a time on more than one occasion and there are printed public statements made by PTA officials, newspaper editors, city officials and other citizens deploring the failure of school authorities to administer discipline.

In court evidence presented in a preliminary hearing on Wednesday, September 23, 1970, it was told that Rod Melton was only identified in two incidents last year defending white girls being attacked. In one instance he was the first to arrive on the scene of a Negro girl and white girl fighting and a teacher was unable to break it up alone. In the second instance the principal stated Rod and another white boy came upon two white girls in a room being attacked by a group of Negro girls and they broke up the attack until the principal arrived.

Brainerd High School was founded in 1960 in a predominantly white area of Chattanooga. Negroes in Chattanooga had a newly built superior large school plant several years before Brainerd was opened. Senior high school students in Chattanooga are allowed the "freedom of choice" to attend any of the several high schools in the city school system. The flag and Dixie had been used "unofficially" at the school for several years before the school was integrated; however, the name "Rebels" had been voted for the school athletic teams early in the school's operation. Last fall when it became apparent that suddenly a few black students objected to the flag and Dixie (which existed before they came to Brainerd!), the students asked to vote on a song and flag officially. The principal, in all good faith, had promised the vote would be held; however, the Superintendent took away the vote before it could be held, stating "a vote by every student would not be an accurate reflection of student opinion,"

and that the School Board would make the decision!

Rod Melton was deeply moved by the end of the school year because of the things he saw, the failure to enforce discipline of those who, occasionally in roving bands in the school corridors refused to attend class, and disrupted the education of all other students in the school. Teachers and students were injured by black students, and in nearly every instance, they were afraid or refused to identify their assailants in attacks which took place in plain view of large groups of students, so no corrective or legal action was taken in nearly every instance.

Testimony was also presented in the preliminary court hearing on Wednesday, Sept. 23rd, that Rod Melton is a good student! He has always made good grades, has had four summer enrichment courses in electronics which added to his winning Sweepstakes in the annual Science Fair two years ago at the University of Chattanooga out of some 300 exhibits. That same year and the next he was also awarded the United States Air Force Achievement of Merit Certificate for the most outstanding exhibit in Electronics and Communications in the entire Fair. He went out for football in his Sophomore and Junior years at Brainerd and in his Sophomore year he made the honor roll every six weeks that year. His grades suffered some last year as a Junior, as those of hundreds others, because of the many disruptions to the school. He has worked, in the last couple of years, after school and on Saturdays for an electronic wholesale supply company, and this summer he worked full time in a hosiery mill.

Rod felt then, as he does now, that Confederate symbols are not the real reason for all that happened in his school last year. He had his eyes opened to what's happening to America, and did much reading and research on his own last year. He feels that we are simply giving up our Constitutional rights little by little to appease the revolutionary element that is gradually destroying this country. Rod has been reared in a Christian home and the prophecy of the Scriptures became more real to him last year than ever before. He has been out of school nearly three weeks now and even though he has had his textbooks at home to study, he will have some catching-up to do. It will not be easy for him to accept the derogatory remarks when he returns to school temporarily without the jacket at the suggestion of the judge and his attorney until a formal hearing date can be set very soon.

#### THE SHOOTING OF KENYON BALLEW

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the RECORD an excellent editorial in the Washington Post of August 7, 1971 entitled "The Shooting of Kenyon Ballew."

One must wonder at the state of the Nation when Federal agencies may so calmly raid the home of an innocent citizen, shoot him in the head, dishonor his wife, and then pass the whole thing off as rather unimportant.

Secretary John Connally of the Treasury Department must demand clear explanations of the circumstances involved and take appropriate steps to prevent repetition.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 7, 1971]

#### THE SHOOTING OF KENYON BALLEW

A man lying for two months in a hospital bed, semi-paralyzed, incapable of speech and with a bullet in his brain is a personal tragedy but not necessarily a national issue. And so it may well be possible to read too much into the case of Kenyon F. Ballew. But because U.S. Treasury Department agents joined Montgomery County police in the raid on the Ballew apartment in Silver Spring last June 7, the federal government and, by implication, the Nixon administration, became a part of what might otherwise have been a routine raid and a part of the controversy over the methods and the manner of carrying it out. Not only have county authorities and a grand jury reported on the incident, but the Treasury Department and Secretary Connally have both weighed in with their judgments. So have Mrs. Ballew, who bitterly disputes the police version of events, and her husband's attorney, Mr. John F. Bonner, who has put down the Treasury report as a "complete white-wash."

Under the circumstances it is difficult even now to reconstruct the raid with certainty; although nine shots were fired inside the apartment (only one of them by Mr. Ballew) not even the police and the Treasury men agree on who fired first, and one account has it that Mr. Ballew's pistol discharged accidentally after he was hit. But the bare facts, not in dispute, are enough for our purpose, which is simply to try to find some humanity and some sense in this affair, to reconcile the performance of the law enforcers with the real threat to law and order presented by the Ballews.

The first fact, beyond any questioning, is that Mr. Ballew had an extraordinary collection of guns, hand grenades and other explosive weapons. And there is reason to think that he had assembled some part of his arsenal for practical purposes; the multiple locks on his front door confirmed his and his wife's anxiety about the security of the neighborhood. So it was not surprising, whether justified or not, that the Ballews should react with alarm and suspicion to any suspected intruder. And the commando force of police and Treasury agents which appeared at the Ballew back door was not such as to set one's mind at ease. Although armed with a search warrant, the T-men were in mufti and some of the police, sporting sideburns and mustaches, were dressed in shirts and dungarees; to Mrs. Ballew they looked like "racketeers" or "hippies" and while they observed the formalities of a command to open up, they waited no more than a minute before addressing themselves to the door with a battering ram.

For their part, Mr. Ballew was in the bathtub and his wife had on only underpants; neither, in other words, was in a position, let alone of a mind, to rush to the door. Whether either one clearly heard the shouted identification of the authorities through the door is uncertain in any case; so Mr. Ballew went for the nearest of his guns. Perhaps he shouldn't have—it is hard to say. What is clear is that the raid was conducted largely on a tip from an unidentified informant whose reliability can only be attested to by the police and that it was carried out in a manner almost calculated to terrorize and thus to increase enormously the opportunity for mishap.

Or so it seems to us Montgomery County Executive James Gleason saw it "otherwise"; he couldn't think of "anything that could have been done differently." The grand jury did find some fault with the "search and seizure" procedures employed and recommended some specific tightening up. And the Treasury Department's report, somewhat more dispassionate, pointed to "several administrative and supervisory deficiencies" in

the conduct of the raid and promised to correct them.

But Secretary Connally stoutly defended the raid as "legally proper under the circumstances" and the department, as if to back up the judgment that led it to act in the first place, was at pains to itemize the weapons haul from the raid and to report its recommendation that Mr. Ballew be prosecuted "should his physical condition permit."

Well, the doctors are not very optimistic on that last count; the odds are that Kenyon Ballew will not go to court—or to jail. The odds are, in fact, that he will be lucky to recover from the paralysis that now very nearly immobilizes him. Meanwhile, the medical bills have piled up to more than \$10,000 and though his Pressmen's Union will pay up to \$20,000, its resources are hardly limitless—and there is no end in sight.

But it was all "legally proper" and that is all that seems to matter to this administration, whether it is the Vietnam Veterans' right to camp on the Capitol grounds, or the holding of war protesters without charges, or the welfare entitlement of the poor, or the busing of black schoolchildren, or a paralyzed 28-year-old gun buff who was a little slow answering the door.

#### ADATH ZION SYNAGOGUE—75TH ANNIVERSARY

#### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, in the times we live where our traditional values are under attack from left and right, we look far and wide for those who hold high those ideals which have made this country of ours great. I am talking about commitments to brotherhood, to social justice, to love of one's country, to a commitment to eradicate the blights of pollution, slums and dope addiction. I am talking about a belief in God, in moral values, in justice for all men. I am talking about a belief in our "Nation, under God," an acceptance of the motto "In God We Trust" and practice of the "Golden Rule."

Where do we find institutions which espouse the causes I mentioned above? Where do we find hands, not clenched in a fist but outstretched to help one's neighbors? Where do we find voices, not raised in protest, but in praise to the Father of us all? Where do we find the inspiration, the determination, the will to follow through, no matter how difficult the task or seemingly insurmountable the problem? Nowhere else but in the churches and synagogues of our country.

It is for this reason, Mr. Speaker, that I wish to draw the attention of this body to the significant milestone in the life of just such an institution mentioned above—Adath Zion Synagogue, located in northeast Philadelphia. It is presently celebrating its diamond anniversary. For 75 years, this Jewish institution has served the entire community through educational, social, religious, cultural, and civic activities.

Beside a religious school which has an enrollment of 150 youngsters, the congregation has a very active and challenging adult education program which is

open to the entire membership of over 450 affiliated families as well as to the general community at large. This past season, courses were given on Talmud, Hebrew language, the Biblical Book of Proverbs, Jewish philosophy, and ethics. Guest lecturers, such as David Cohen, Thatcher Longstreth, and Paul D'Ortona, spoke about various civic problems. Representatives of SANE and the Bridge spoke about social ills. The sessions were provocative, entertaining, stimulating, and productive.

The congregation has sponsored dances, movies, fashion shows, teas, and parties for the general community. Just a week or two ago, some 40 soldiers from Fort Dix were invited for dinner and an evening of delightful entertainment under the auspices of the Sisterhood. The boys had a well-deserved break from routine and the event will be repeated later in the fall.

An active social action committee is working hard to be effective in helping to alleviate the drug problem in the community. Literature has been distributed, lecturers and films have been heard and seen, and support has been mustered for passage of some legislation and for the raising of funds for worthwhile projects.

This committee is also concerned about pornography, ecology, the women's lib movement, and getting out the vote during elections. It should be noted that the synagogue has served as a polling place for the past 6 or 7 years.

Through its spiritual leader, Rabbi Sheldon C. Freedman, the synagogue membership has learned of the importance of deeds, not just words. He has emphasized the importance of putting into action the values which his flock profess to adhere to. Thus the Friday evening and Sabbath services are geared toward understanding what our roles should be as positively oriented people whose desire it is to create a better society and a better world. Words such as charity, friendliness, compassion, honesty, and commitment are given new meaning through the Rabbi's application of these concepts in everyday terminology into real life situations.

The reason that I listed this aspect of the synagogue's activities in the middle between educational and social, and cultural and civic, is because of the belief that the religious life is really central to all of the other congregational activities.

Cultural activities of the synagogue have included artist exhibitions of painting and sculpture, the cantorial music of world-renowned Cantor David Kusevitsky, the viewing of the latest in fashions from Hess of Allentown, the listening to outstanding lecturers, such as Al Julius of radio station WCAU and Mark Forrest of station KYW. We also heard Rev. John Stanley Grauel and we featured the performance of the Har Zion Youth Group on an original prayer cantata entitled "Chants for Peace." In the foyer of the synagogue, there stands an original commissioned sculptured work of art entitled "The Heritage." It weighs 1 ton and is 12 feet high and 24 feet wide. It has gained wide attention.

Civic activities include the congregation's active role in the Red Cross blood-

mobile drive every year. In this way, by acting as host, the synagogue has been able to encourage hundreds of people to help their fellow men buy that which money cannot buy—namely, through contributions of blood.

Adath Zion has opened up its facilities to local schools for school parties and plays. The Sisterhood has entertained inmates at Byberry State Hospital and at convalescent and nursing homes. The congregation has received awards from the Kelkey VFW post and many members are recipients for meritorious service from the Chapel of the Four Chaplains.

So we can truly see that Adath Zion has served all facets of the Philadelphia community and thereby our country. We wish them every success in the years ahead and a Mazel Tov on their anniversary.

#### THE "DIRTY FARCE" IN SOUTH VIETNAM

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the political situation in South Vietnam has been described by General Duong Van "Big" Minh as a "dirty farce". His assessment hits the mark. We have been treated to the spectacle of President Thieu's repressive regime manipulating and rigging the law and the political scene to insure its survival. As the August 23 editorial in the St. Louis Post Dispatch states:

What has been created, of course, is not so much the semblance of the democratic process as a caricature of it.

That caricature is the product of a regime which the administration continues to buttress with arms, money, materiel, and political support. That caricature has been drawn while the American Ambassador has scurried from potential candidate to potential candidate, attempting to create the semblance of a legitimate election. The Washington Post, in an editorial in the September 7 edition, has aptly identified "the seemingly demonic compulsion of American officials, first, to try to manipulate Vietnamese affairs and second, to try to disguise that effort in front of the American people."

If this situation is not refutation of the administration's barren continuation of this war, I do not know what more is needed to demonstrate the folly of perpetuating the war. Death, deceit, and corruption pervade this Nation's presence in South Vietnam. The only reasonable chance for the hapless peoples of Southeast Asia is an end to the war, not the continuation of it and of the dictatorship whose very existence is dependent upon that war's continuation.

At this point, I should like to include several editorials in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, one from the August 23 edition of the St. Louis Post Dispatch entitled "The Dirty Farce" in Vietnam; another from the August 31 edition of the Phila-

delphia Inquirer, entitled "Election in South Vietnam: The Emperor's Threads;" a third from the September 7 edition of the Washington Post, entitled "Ripeness in Saigon;" and finally the New York Times' editorial of September 4 entitled "The Thieu-Bunker Tragedy."

The articles follow:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Aug. 23, 1971]

#### THE "DIRTY FARCE" IN VIETNAM

The withdrawal of Gen. Duong Van (Big) Minh from the South Vietnamese presidential race and the refusal of Vice President Ky to run—despite his sudden reinstatement as a candidate by the country's supreme court—can only reflect a galloping political deterioration in Saigon.

Understandably, neither the general nor Ky was willing to participate in an election—if that is the word for it—that President Thieu had patently rigged in favor of himself. Now that the incumbent is without an active challenger, the possibility of a coup d'etat must be seriously considered. Ky, despite a recent dovish turn, still commands substantial backing within the military, and now speaks ominously of "dark days in the history of the nation"; and it was Gen. Minh who led the move to overthrow the Diem regime nearly eight years ago.

Gen. Minh has never been considered brilliant, but in this instance he showed either courage or acumen. He could hardly have hoped to defeat Thieu in the Oct. 3 election, but by playing along with the Americans and providing the facade of a contest where none existed he could have won enough favor with Washington to merit support if fate should look kindly upon him in the future. He killed that possibility, but was applauded by anti-American Vietnamese.

Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, after a trip to Washington a few days ago, tried to persuade or pressure Gen. Minh into remaining in the race. Gen. Minh refused to be a party to what he termed "a dirty farce that can only make the people disbelieve in a democratic regime." He dropped out, leaving the Americans and Thieu in a "humiliating position," as one of Gen. Minh's supporters put it.

Thieu at once sought to repair the embarrassing situation by instructing the court to rescind a previous ruling that had disqualified Ky. The court dutifully obeyed but Ky was not prepared to let either Thieu or Mr. Bunker off the hook so easily. He waited more than 24 hours to announce he would not run and Mr. Bunker, in a desperate effort to inject at least the appearance of the democratic process into the race, urged the Vice President to campaign because "it would be in the best interests of the country."

What has been created, of course, is not so much the semblance of the democratic process as a caricature of it. While Thieu can scarcely be expected to agree to it, we think there is something to be said for Ky's proposal that both the president and vice-president resign and that a new election be held. That would, at least, give the South Vietnamese people the "reasonable chance" to select their own leaders to which President Nixon has so often pledged his support.

What brought this about? Some time back Thieu, the great and good friend of Mr. Bunker, cleverly contrived to obtain a law which enabled him to rig the election. He used it to prevent Vice President Ky from getting on the ballot, but apparently decided for the sake of appearances to let Gen. Minh, a candidate without much chance, qualify. Gen. Minh, playing his own game, upset the applecart.

We attribute this contretemps in considerable measure to Ambassador Bunker, who, by his unwavering support of Thieu, was a party to the election rigging that now has had such a disastrous outcome. Mr. Bunker failed to

foresee the consequences of his policy; furthermore, he failed to leave himself a way of escape, a serious diplomatic blunder. We have urged for a long time that Mr. Bunker be recalled to facilitate the formation of a more democratic regime in Saigon than that of Mr. Thieu; now it may be too late to obtain the desired benefits from such a course.

Gen. Minh said that by withdrawing he hoped to give the South Vietnamese "a chance to wake up and create an atmosphere for the people to rebuild democracy and bring peace." We hope that is the result, but no one can be sure. It is certain that so long as Thieu remains in power there will be no negotiated settlement of the war, for he stands opposed to coalition with the Viet Cong. If he is forced out in a coup the situation could hardly be worse than it is now, and might be better.

We see nothing for the United States to do at the moment except be prepared to give its support to such democratic and constructive forces, if any, as may emerge from the current confusion. It is tragic that United States policy has been so ill-conceived that there are no reasonable options.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Aug. 31, 1971]

#### ELECTION IN SOUTH VIETNAM: THE EMPEROR'S NEW THREADS

Five and a half million South Vietnamese have voted, almost 80 percent of the eligible electorate. A new, 159-member lower house of the National Assembly has emerged from a field of 1,242 candidates.

Democracy? No.

There were endless incidents of repression of minority candidates' campaigns. There were heated charges of polling-place fraud. Vote stealing and short counts were bitterly alleged.

That sounds like the song of democracy the day after an election in Chicago or Boston or Philadelphia—or Brown County, wherever. And there, we are firmly convinced, democracy does—for all its failings—work.

So why not in South Vietnam?

Indeed, even to distant observers convinced that President Nguyen Van Thieu is an anti-democratic demagogue, there seemed to be encouraging signs. On-the-spot analysts speculated his Assembly majority would be cut significantly. Among the winners, more than 40 were political unknowns and some could be expected to join the opposition when they convene on Nov. 1 and form party coalitions.

But democracy is not. Not in any sense of the word in America—or Britain or France or any other country with political foundations of which the working truth is the ultimate power of government is a conditional license lent by the governed.

For the Thieu government has orchestrated and choreographed the Assembly election, just as it has manipulated the Presidential plebiscite scheduled for Oct. 3. Methodically, every potential candidate who represented effective opposition was weeded out: jailed, beaten, disqualified or bought off. In a relatively effortless series of ukases to the Assembly itself, laws were pushed through foreclosing every imaginable threat to the government. Anti-government political expression—including even the pretense of free press—was crushed.

Out of it all comes a new lower house. In a month will come the re-election of President Thieu. And to quibble about polling-place indiscretions is to count the threads in the Emperor's New Clothes.

To Americans of good will, tortured by the war that failed, it is painful almost beyond bearing now to see the emperor naked. The premise had to be that the United States—some time, somehow—had just reason for interfering in South Vietnam. That just reason had to do with democracy—its maintenance, its extension or its defense. If the premise is sound, the latest election and the

next one represent a tragic failure. The premise remains contestable. The conclusion does not.

For all of Americans' traditional condemnation about European colonialism, the United States too has a heritage of such interference. The Nixon Administration's recent efforts to drape a cloak of democratic appearance on South Vietnam—and particularly the manipulations by Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker—evoke that unfortunate heritage.

We pretend to have outgrown the sense of righteousness in using Marines to make equatorial America safe for the banana trust. No one could prove the point by watching the United States in action in Saigon today.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 7, 1971]

#### RIPENESS IN SAIGON

When President Thieu euchred his two opponents, Big Minh and Vice President Ky, out of the South Vietnamese presidential contest, it seemed plain that the bottom had dropped out of the decade-long American effort to assure self-determination to South Vietnam. Frankly, it did not immediately occur to us that things could get much worse. We confess, however, that we had not properly calculated the seemingly demonic compulsion of American officials (1) to try to manipulate Vietnamese affairs and (2) to try to disguise that effort in front of the American people.

Consider the report from Big Minh's honchos that, the night before he withdrew from the election in disgust at his lack of a fair chance in it, Ambassador Bunker offered him "financial assistance" to stay in and campaign. The rationale for the offer was supposedly to compensate him for the very great advantages which were already in President Thieu's hands by virtue of his office. We don't doubt that, had Big Minh stayed in, the election would have been, as they say, the fairest that money could buy. But it would not have been a fair contest by any other measure, as Big Minh for one knew.

Consider, too, the remarkable clairvoyance demonstrated by Ambassador Bunker in his effort to induce Vice President Ky to run. (Mr. Ky is the one who's just publicly threatened a coup.) The South Vietnamese Supreme Court had ruled General Ky off the ballot. So, according to "sources close to Ky," Mr. Bunker visited the good general at 11:30 a.m. on Aug. 21 to tell him, among other things, that the Supreme Court would reverse itself and reinstate him on the ballot. Lo and behold! at noon on Aug. 21, the Supreme Court did exactly that. This is the very same Supreme Court Mr. Bunker has described as "highly respected for its impartiality and integrity."

Let us turn now to the explanations of these events offered by Secretary of State Rogers, in his news conference of Sept. 3. Incredibly, he put the onus for their withdrawal on General Minh and General Ky, setting the United States off not by an inch from President Thieu's intrigues. He made a little joke to the effect that Vietnamese elections are really no less "pristine and pure" than American elections, ignoring the central fact that in American elections *there is a choice*. Condescendingly, the Secretary noted that "democracies are not easy to develop in these countries." In a non sequitur which deserves a high place in the annals of vacuous Vietnam rhetoric, he concluded: "In any event, we want to give the people of South Vietnam the right to solve these problems, so we intend to continue our policy and intend to continue to give them support." The operative phrase, "in any event," can best be translated as: regardless of what President Thieu does.

But take heart. Yesterday President Thieu was right out there campaigning doggedly, as though his political life depended on it. He received Mr. Bunker for the ninth known

time since the current phase of the crisis ripened. And for the seventh time in a week he bestowed a major general's stars on a favored officer. This time the promotion went to General Ngo Dzu, the man currently under investigation for drug-running as a result of charges made by Rep. Robert H. Steele.

Our own conclusion is not that Mr. Bunker and Mr. Rogers lack the skill or dedication to do what they are doing, but that what they are doing—seeking to arrange, secretly, an election in another country—is an impossible and an inappropriate mission, replete with the risks which are blossoming into realities now. The appropriate remaining mission is to liquidate the unilateral American political-military role in Vietnam and then, if and as requested, to join with others to help rebuild that unhappy land.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 4, 1971]

#### THE THIEU-BUNKER TRAGEDY

The promise of South Vietnam's President Thieu to resign if his political police, military governors and bureaucratic minions fail to stuff the ballot boxes adequately Oct. 3 in the one-man plebiscite he has substituted for a presidential election would be laughable if it were less tragic.

For Americans, who have given 45,000 lives in a war that has as one of its principal justifications protection for the right of the South Vietnamese to choose their own government, there is additional tragedy in the role played by Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker in this latest effort to throw sand in the eyes of public opinion both in Vietnam and overseas. Mr. Bunker has been meeting almost daily with Mr. Thieu and urging Washington to be patient pending a statement from South Vietnam's President that would save the situation. But no one can possibly be fooled by this pretense that political cancer is curable with cosmetics.

One shameful sequel to the election travesty has been Mr. Bunker's attempt at a background press briefing last weekend to shield Mr. Thieu by placing equal blame on the two former opposition candidates, General Duong Van Minh and Vice President Ky, whose only fault was insistence on a fair three-way election. That kind of an election can still be brought about, but only if President Thieu will negotiate agreed conditions for it with these ex-rivals, or resign now and let a caretaker government run the balloting.

Instead of more face-saving excuses of the Bunker variety, the wise course for President Nixon now would be to dispatch a special envoy to Saigon instructed to insist on change in a way that could not be disregarded. Unfortunately—and incomprehensibly—the President's disposition seems to be to acquiesce meekly in the Thieu force. A White House statement even lauds the Saigon chief for introducing "an element of popular choice" into the non-election by saying he will treat it as a test of confidence. And Secretary of State Rogers shrugs off all the reports of political chicanery filed by American intelligence officers with the callous assertion that elections in this country aren't "pristine and pure" either.

It is evident now that General Thieu has been seeking since the turn of the year to arrange a riskless two-man race that would have the appearance rather than the reality of a genuine contest. His first move was to force through a restrictive electoral law and then sign up so many of the national legislators and local councilmen that other candidates found it virtually impossible to obtain the required endorsements.

Meanwhile, the presidential palace sent out a secret directive to province chiefs instructing them to slander, harass and arrest the opposition and assure the election of pro-government candidates. The end result was that General Minh, the one candidate

able to qualify, decided the cards were stacked against him and pulled out. Air Marshal Ky refused to act as cat's paw in a last-minute effort to give the election a camouflage air of legitimacy by putting him back on the ballot.

After all these switches, it is plain that a final reversal to restore a three-man race and give the Vietnamese people a real choice requires nothing more than a Thieu decision to do so. Several legal means exist to achieve a fair and full contest if President Nixon abandons the helpless stand taken by Secretary Rogers and impresses the necessity for change upon Mr. Thieu.

There might be some loss of face for him and even some political instability if he found it necessary to reverse himself now. But the tears now being shed in Washington and in the American Embassy in Saigon over the supposed risks for South Vietnam in these circumstances ignore the much greater risks involved in the present course. The non-election now under way guarantees instability later on—and perhaps much sooner. The worst course President Nixon can adopt is to keep walking hand-in-hand with Mr. Bunker and acting as if nothing serious has happened to alter the whole moral base for American involvement in Vietnam.

#### THE POISONING OF THE WEST

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article appearing in the Reader's Digest of August 1971 entitled "The Poisoning of the West."

Hopefully, the frightening characters of the article will generate pressure for reform.

#### THE POISONING OF THE WEST

(By Jack Olsen)

Just after dawn on a recent November morning west of Fort Stockton, Texas, a surveyor, looking for a boundary marker, tugged at a mysterious gray pipe protruding from the chalky soil. There was a sharp report, and something tore into the fleshy part of his hand. A doctor in Fort Stockton administered first aid, but an hour later the surveyor was dead. Investigation showed that the pipe was a "coyote getter," a deadly device set to shoot cyanide into the mouth of any animal that pulled at its aromatic wick.

A few miles east of Craig, Colo., hunting guide Bill Miles came upon several dozen sheep carcasses. By asking around, he discovered that the sheep had been laced with sodium fluoroacetate, or "1080," one of the most dangerous poisons known to man. The carcasses were to be used by government trappers to kill predators said to be harassing sheep. Noticing that a stream which fed Craig's water supply ran near the poisoned meat, Miles protested. Twice in two weeks he saw snow cover the carcasses, then melt into the watershed. He began taking pictures, and shortly thereafter local sheepmen told him to mind his own business or suffer the consequences. When he continued photographing, three of his hunting dogs died on his doorstep, poisoned.

Straddling the border of Colorado and Utah is Dinosaur National Monument. Like all national parks, it is administered strictly in accordance with nature, and the poisoning of animals within its borders is considered

the ultimate offense against park law and order. In the spring of 1970, a group of cowhands were searching for strays in the park. Suddenly, in quick succession, two of their dogs stiffened and died. The dogs were four miles inside the park, but Dinosaur officials weren't surprised. Said one: "We've plenty of other evidence that the poisoners come right across our borders."

These three incidents, multiplied *ad nauseam*, characterize the programs of wildlife extermination in full swing throughout the entire Western half of the United States. Mounted by sheepmen and government trappers to protect the sheep industry from predators, especially coyotes, the programs have already brought whole animal species to the edge of extinction, and they threaten still others. They also threaten *Homo sapiens*, that poor creature who lately has begun driving six miles out of his way to buy phosphate-free laundry soap, all the while turning his back on a practice that is directly and specifically contaminating millions of acres of his country (and which is funded, ultimately, with dollars from his own pocket).

The poisons being used include the cyanide in coyote getters, arsenic, the thallium in bait carcasses, the strychnine encased in sugar-pill coatings, and 1080, a single ounce of which is toxic enough to send 200 adult humans, or 20,000 coyotes, into writhing, convulsive death.

Flickering Out. At one time the West was protected by its very limitlessness. No longer. To add to the efficiency of miracle poisons like 1080, the poisoners work from planes, trail bikes, snowmobiles and pickup trucks—vehicles that carry them to every corner of the range in a few easy hours. "The whole sheep range out there, why, that whole country's plastered with poison," says Paul Maxwell, former trapper and now president of the National Council of Public Land Users. Adds an equally perturbed Wyoming trapper, "Private poisoning is strictly forbidden on public land, but many sheepmen who use the national forest for grazing go in with sacks and sacks of strychnine pellets and throw 'em around like seed. They kill everything in the area before they bring their sheep in."

The results of such "efficiency" are increasingly clear. There are broad areas of California where the coyote has been completely eliminated. A trapper in southwest Texas was asked when he saw his last wild badger. He shrugged his shoulders and said, "I can't even remember." Black bears and foxes are gone in some areas. The kit fox, a master controller of rodents, has vanished from thousands of square miles of the prairie. The black-footed ferret, never common, is about to flicker out as a species. One of the very few surviving California condors fell to 1080-treated grain. Even the mountain lion, officially listed as an endangered species, is specifically and mercilessly being killed.

Says retired government trapper Charles Orlosky, who lives high in a remote area of the Rocky Mountains: "Even here the poisoners are at work. They've wiped out weasel, marten, mink, fox, badger. And it's not true that 1080 is dangerous only to canine species, as the poisoners claim. I've found all kinds of birds feeding on 1080 stations. Last winter was the first time in years that we didn't have a pair of eagles feeding up here. They just disappeared."

Political Pigeonhole. Such observations are backed up by the government's own figures. Each year, to supplement the frenzied poisoning by ranchers, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service fields many of its own "trappers," who distribute tons of 1080-baited meat and bang coyote getters into the earth by the tens of thousands. In 1963—to cite the last year for which such figures are available to "the general public"—these professional poisoners reported a kill of 90,000 coyotes, 300 mountain

lions, 21,000 bobcats and lynx, 2800 "red wolves," 800 bears, 24,000 foxes, 7000 badgers, 19,000 skunks, 10,000 raccoons, 1200 beavers, 7600 opossums and 670 porcupines. These figures do not include many animals—and birds—who ate poison and staggered away to die untabulated.

Despite repeated warnings about the dangers of such widespread slaughter—from scientists, conservationists, even some ranchers—hardly a legislative body has paid the slightest attention. This includes the U.S. Congress, where a session is not complete without the introduction of anti-poisoning legislation, a few chuckles and a prompt pigeonholing of the matter.

Arnold Rieder, a former Montana state senator who is now a member of that state's Fish and Game Commission, tells why: "The wool-growers are the best-organized livestock group of all. To a great degree they control the stockgrowers' associations, and that means control of the Western-state capitals and the delegations that are sent to Washington. Invariably, sheepmen get their way."

Consider what happened in Montana while Rieder was still a senator. To prove that neither government nor private poisoners had the slightest intention of following the few anti-poisoning rules written into law, Rieder introduced legislation that superficially seemed absurd. It simply required the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to obey its own poisoning regulations. Immediately, a bulletin went out from the Montana Wool Growers Association to all members: "Senator Rieder of Jefferson County has introduced Senate Bill 196, which places an unnecessary restriction on the use of poison for the control of predatory animals. We need the support of your senator to kill the bill. Would you please wire him immediately. . . ." Rieder's bill lost. With the Wool Growers Association working against him, he was defeated in the next election.

Deliberate Distortion. To prove the need for its "trappers," the Fish and Wildlife Service calls on sheepmen for "statistics" on stock losses caused by predators. Not surprisingly, the figures come in by the mile. Sheepman compile horrifying lists of losses, anticipated losses, possible losses. The Fish and Wildlife Service feeds the statistics into its computers and works up programs accordingly. The result is a galloping Parkinsonism that would drive a privately financed organization out of business within months. Every year the reported stock losses rise, the Wildlife Service poisoning budget climbs proportionately, and the population of wild animals sinks to a new low.

The situation brings to mind a statement made by Charles Orlosky a few years ago: "When I was trapping for the government, the Service decided once to prove how many bears and coyotes were taking sheep. They sent out instructions to take out the stomachs of some of the animals we trapped, tie them up, soak them in formaldehyde and send them to headquarters. Our instructions were to put some wool in the stomachs before we sealed them up. In that way there wouldn't be any doubt about what bears and coyotes ate. It wasn't surprising that all the reports came out showing that a high percentage of bears and coyotes were sheep killers."

The end result of such deliberate distortion is fiscal irresponsibility on an imposing scale. In Colorado, for example, the annual Wildlife Service kill dropped from 10,200 wild animals in 1967 to 8200 in 1970—but even while there were fewer creatures to kill, the poisoning budget rose by \$30,000. In 18 national forests in California, the value of sheep lost in one year—1962—was \$3500; in that same year, the cost of federal predator-control programs was a whopping \$90,000.

Checks and Balances. What is to be done about the drenching of the West with poison? Those closest to the problem—men like cru-

sading Colorado naturalist Alfred Etter and politician-conservationist Arnold Rieder—agree that the first step must be to eliminate certain myths central to the poisoning establishment's rationale.

One such myth is voiced typically by an official of the Fish and Wildlife Service. "Look," he says "we know what the stock loss was before we began poisoning. If we eliminate poisons like 1080, the loss would be more than 20 percent of the herd, maybe 35 or even 50 percent. Coyotes would run the country and put sheepmen out of business." In reply, Etter points out that coyotes did not "run the country" in all the centuries before the invention of cyanide guns and 1080.

A second, and perhaps most crucial, myth is that predator control actually controls predators. The poisoners say it does. Etter says that the poisoners keep themselves in business by aggravating the very problems they are hired to solve, that there would actually be far less destructive predation if nature were freer to operate within its own system of checks and balances. "Where we have starved the coyote," he says, "where we have poisoned indiscriminately, killing the coyote's food supply, there we have uniformly encountered increasing reports of predation."

The most perfunctory investigation of sheep-country losses seems to substantiate Etter's conclusion. Consider, for example, two northwestern Colorado counties, Rio Blanco and Moffet, where it is likely that more predators have been put to death than in any area of similar size in the world. What has been the result? A local sheepman named Hugh Seely speaks at a public meeting: "The thing that disturbs me about this control problem is that our losses the last few years have been greater than ever."

Etter explains: "The coyote is normally an animal with a highly developed territorial imperative. By keeping the coyote population harassed and in a constant state of flux, we disrupt his territorial habits and make him, in effect, into a different animal. This different animal—desperate, itinerant—may become a sheep killer. But if he had been left undisturbed, we would probably never have heard from him. The same thing applies to other predators."

Final Darkness. On the whole, concerned Westerners are pessimistic about bringing scientific rhyme and reason into the predator-control programs. "We're in a stranglehold," says Paul Maxwell of the National Council of Public Land Users. "If we talk a legislator into speaking out, the stockman's lobbies climb all over him in the next election and get him out of there. If we take a complaint to a governor or a commissioner of agriculture, we find him trembling in his socks about the sheepmen, and then he yesses us to death and does nothing."

If there is a logical point of attack, it would seem to be at the poisoning programs on government land. American land in the public domain is more than four times the size of the state of Texas, and every acre of it belongs as much to each citizen as it does to the stockman who runs his thousands of close-cropping, plant-destroying sheep on them.

If these lands are not to be transformed into American Saharas, concerned citizens—especially Westerners—must begin to demand answers to certain basic questions: Is it in the national interest to bring whole species to the brink of extinction? Is the sheep industry as it is presently organized worth it? Or is there perhaps a way to retain both sheep and wildlife?

Unless there are massive changes, the day must come when the last sickened coyote will lift his voice to the skies, and there will be no answer. We animals of the earth are a single family, and the death of one only hurries the others toward the final patch of darkness.

**BUSING: A REGIMENTED DESTRUCTION OF CULTURE**

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, I called attention to the principal objection to the busing of schoolchildren—that it is a direct attempt to commit genocide against both the white and black people of this country; that it is a vehicle whereby our liberal leaders seek to destroy the different cultures that make up our society and eliminate the individual character that has been the very basis of the greatest Nation of Western culture.

Recent articles in newspapers across the country have attempted to point out to our leftwing liberal leaders that the opposition to busing is not a question of racism; it is a question of economics and good commonsense and a strong desire on the part of the people to maintain in some manner the heritage of their ancestors. Many people who object to busing of schoolchildren do so instinctively without realizing their reaction is to the threat of genocide.

Busing destroys cultures; it cannot build them. As President Nixon said today in his speech to the joint session of Congress:

Regimentation and government coercion must never become a way of life in the United States.

I include a series of related news articles in the RECORD at this point and specifically call the attention of my colleagues to the editorial of the Manchester Union Leader of September 7, 1971, that sets out in rational terms the true opposition to busing and calls the attention of the American people to the fact that "the social planning know-it-alls have decided that future humanity must have a complete racial and color mix." The absurdity of such thinking is both astounding and terrifying, but the threat is a clear and present danger.

[From the Montgomery Advertiser, Aug. 18, 1971]

**BUSING ASSAILED BY CHINESE SUIT: CULTURE CITED**

WASHINGTON.—A group of Chinese parents appealed Tuesday to the Supreme Court to block the massive transfer of Chinese children away from their neighborhood schools in San Francisco.

They said the reassignment ordered by a federal district court for the new term, are unconstitutional and would destroy the cultural and educational life of the Chinese community in the city.

About 23 per cent of San Francisco's elementary school population is of Chinese or other oriental ancestry. The student-transfer order grew out of a suit brought by blacks claiming children of their race were segregated.

The Chinese parents, Guey Heung Lee, Yung Ngoi Toy and Foon Sit Yee, said they spoke city. They contended the massive reassignments are against the wishes of the Chinese and are illegal because they are based solely on race.

About 6,500 Chinese-Americans are among approximately 48,000 pupils who would be bused to schools outside their neighborhoods

under the court order. About 13,700 blacks also are affected.

The Chinese said the neighborhood school system gives their children the opportunity to obtain an education in Chinese language, art and culture in additional facilities maintained by the Chinese community with classes beginning at the end of the public-school day.

If the Chinese children are forced to travel long distances to schools, their own community schools would have to shut down because pupils could not get to them in time, the petition said.

The appeal argued that no court has ever required the racial balancing of Chinese with whites or Chinese with blacks in the schools and that racial balancing itself was disapproved by the Supreme Court in its school decisions last April.

The Chinese said they are victims of discrimination and that no Chinese ever have served on the school board, and there is no provision for Chinese holidays comparable to the observance of Martin Luther King Jr. Day on Jan. 14.

The San Francisco case is the first Northern school desegregation dispute to reach the court since massive busing and other technique were upheld last April in cases from Charlotte, N.C., Mobile, Ala., and Athens, Ga.

On Monday the court received its first Southern school case since then, an appeal by school officials in Corpus Christi, Tex., challenging the ordered massive busing of Mexican-American children.

Later in the day, Thomas M. O'Connor, the San Francisco city attorney, sought a delay from the high court. Like that of the Chinese-Americans, his request was directed at Justice William O. Douglas who has jurisdiction over cases from California.

O'Connor said the district court seeks to compel the racial balancing that has yet to be approved by the Supreme Court.

Moreover, the city official contended, the desegregation order strikes at de facto, or neighborhood segregation, a subject still not expressly covered by the court's school ruling.

[From the Washington Post, Aug. 19, 1971]  
**CHINATOWN PARENTS FILE APPEAL TO BLOCK SCHOOL BUSING PLAN**

SAN FRANCISCO.—Some parents in San Francisco's Chinatown, determined to preserve their Chinese cultural heritage, are in the vanguard of a campaign to boycott schools this fall if their children are forced to comply with court-ordered busing.

Chinese leaders agree that the busing issue has mobilized unprecedented support in San Francisco's normally reticent Chinatown, the largest Chinese community outside Asia.

Every organization in the densely populated 17-block area has taken a strong anti-busing stand. Every school board and community meeting on the issue is crowded with vocal Chinese parents.

One group, saying it speaks for all Chinese families in the city, appealed Tuesday to Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas for temporary delay of a desegregation order by federal Judge Stanley A. Weigel.

At the heart of the San Francisco dispute is de facto segregation—concentration of blacks, whites, or, in this case, Chinese, in certain schools because families in the neighborhood are predominantly of that race.

About 23 per cent of the elementary school students in San Francisco are Chinese or of other Oriental ancestry. Weigel's order would put about 48,000 elementary pupils, among them 6,250 Chinese children, on buses.

The ruling grew out of a suit brought by blacks.

The Chinese contend that the massive reassignments are illegal because they are

based solely on race—and that racial balancing itself was disapproved by the Supreme Court in its decision last April.

Quentin Kopp, attorney for the Chinese-American Citizens Alliance which is appealing to the high court, added: "The court order only involved a plan that balanced the number of black children and white children. The school district went far beyond that and included other non-black and non-white children."

Shortly after the appeal to Douglas, a city-wide coalition called WALK (We All Love Kids) announced a boycott for Sept. 13, when the city's 97 elementary schools open on an integrated basis.

"I don't feel the city of San Francisco can provide enough jail cells for all of us who plan to boycott the public schools this fall," said Dr. Dennis Wong, representing the Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

"We (the Chinese) place education on the uppermost of priorities," Wong said in explaining the legal maneuver. We want the children to have the best of Chinese and American education. This means going to public schools and coming back to their Chinese schools in the afternoon and evenings."

If Chinese youngsters are bused out of Chinatown, Wong said, they would be unable to attend afternoon classes in Chinese language, history and art which are operated and paid for by the Chinese community.

It is the culture—the cultural value of the Chinese tradition—that has kept most of us going to obtain as high an education as we can, to be as good a citizen as we can, to do as much for society as we can," he said.

Thomas Hsieh of the Citizens Alliance added: "The people in Chinatown believe busing will change their entire pattern of life and culture."

[From the Manchester Union Leader, Sept. 7, 1971]

**THE "FRISCO" CHINESE ARE RIGHT!**

The large Chinese colony in San Francisco does not dislike whites but it is objecting strongly to a busing program which would break up the all-Chinese schools and force their children to be bused many miles into strange neighborhoods to associate with strange children. On this point all the various groups in San Francisco's Chinatown are united and they carried the battle against busing as far as Supreme Court Justice Douglas, who nevertheless said the busing plan must go through.

In other parts of the nation, black parents are objecting to their children being bused out of their neighborhoods.

The busing problem, in short, is not a matter of race or color. It is simply a question of parents wanting children to go to school in their own neighborhood, instead of spending wasted hours on buses. Parents want their children to associate with the children of their own neighborhood and with their own friends.

The basic objection to busing is not based on race, color or creed. Almost everyone in the United States agrees with the idea that no child should be barred from attending school simply because he is of a specific race, color or creed.

Now, however, parents find that their children are being forced to go to a given school precisely because of their color! In other words, the social planning know-it-alls have decided that future humanity must have a complete racial and color mix.

Therefore, they find something inherently wrong in Chinese students all going to the same school because they like to be with each other and because they just happen to live in the same neighborhood. This, you understand—at least according to these know-it-alls, who really have no common sense at all—is all wrong.

Of course, it isn't wrong!

Even if forced balancing of school populations between the races really achieved a proven good, there still might be objections to busing on the grounds of its arbitrary, dictatorial, anti-American nature. But an argument could at least be made that the benefit outweighed the inconvenience.

But no one except a small group of theorists has ever believed that dragging children from a distant neighborhood to a new school and forcing them to associate with children with whom they have nothing in common and who don't even live in the same neighborhood—and who don't have the same interests—is beneficial. No one has ever proved that this really improves education. As a matter of fact, there are many indications that it does not. On the one hand it frustrates those from poorer neighborhoods, who have not had an opportunity to have the intellectual advantages the other children have had, and it keeps back the children who have had the advantages.

Good education should be the prime goal for all children. In the case of poor schools and poor neighborhoods, the answer is not to bus the children out of those neighborhoods. Rather, is it to improve the schools in those neighborhoods by spending the necessary money and adding the necessary number of teachers.

The entire concept of busing is un-American. It smacks of Soviet Russia and Hitler's Germany. It makes absolutely no sense whatsoever.

However, busing will go on, at great cost to taxpayers and at great damage to the children, until the parents of the United States unite in one great organization in favor of neighborhood schools.

Until the parents—in the North, South, East and West and in the Midlands, raise enough uproar and non-violent protest against busing, the politicians will continue a program of busing, regardless of the damage done to the children.

If all parents unite and form an organization and make enough to an outcry, you can be sure the politicians will listen.

#### THE FREEZE AND REACTION

### HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, while we are in the midst of the wage-price freeze, I would like to place in the RECORD a very good statement from the Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel on this subject. This item comes from the August 18, 1971, edition of the paper:

#### THE FREEZE AND THE REACTION

President Nixon faces two tough problems as a result of the wage-price freeze he clamped on the economy this week.

One is making it stick, across the board, despite grips from those who got pinched by the timing—such as labor unions which have not negotiated, or not ratified, new contracts.

The other problem is: What does he do after Nov. 12, when the 90-day freeze expires?

Nixon said Sunday night he would not set up a "huge price-control bureaucracy" to police the freeze. Treasury Secretary John B. Connally Jr. said there would be no exceptions except in rare cases of "extreme hardship." How much bureaucracy will it take to handle such appeals? Human nature being what it is, there may be a flood.

Despite some hardships, it seems quite clear that unless the freeze covers everybody and everything, it won't work. One leak in the roof usually encourages many more. If he gets his, I want mine.

This is the trouble with a freeze, as Nixon frequently pointed out when he was resisting such action. It tends to "lock in unfairness and stifle expansion."

The solace to those who will have to forgo that raise they were expecting or the price boost they were planning is that if the President's action puts the brakes on inflation they won't need it so badly. Any time he chose for the freeze had to be arbitrary, and was bound to catch some of us reaching.

Unless the 90-day freeze has a profound effect on prices, the Administration will have to follow up after Nov. 12 with something new. This is what the new Cost of Living Council, headed by Connally, is supposed to figure out.

If, come Nov. 12, a 90-day period of stability is succeeded by an outburst of new price and wage boosts, we will have gained nothing.

"I am relying on the voluntary cooperation of all Americans—workers, employers, consumers—to make this freeze work," the President said.

What happens next will depend on how well that voluntary cooperation performs. If everybody demands an exception for himself, or finds a gimmick for evading the rules, it won't work.

Inflation has been a costly experience. The question is whether the overwhelming majority of us are willing to tolerate a little more self-sacrifice to abate it.

#### HOMEOWNERS' TAX DEDUCTION

### HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, I am honored today to be serving as a cosponsor of legislation to provide yearly tax deductions of up to \$1,000 on costs incurred in the repair and improvement of American homes.

This homeowners' tax deduction is a worthwhile development for many reasons, not the least of which is the fact that it gives the hard-working, wage-earning, taxpaying American—the man who is the bulwark of our society—some much-needed financial relief.

This man, who has always borne the major share of the financial burden for this Nation's military preparedness and for our efforts in education and health care, the man who has patiently paid the cost of a burgeoning welfare clientele—this man needs and deserves our assistance.

Repairs and improvements authorized under this legislation could include painting, papering, carpentry work, electrical work, roofing, and many similar projects.

This is practical legislation, reflecting the practical nature of the people it is designed to assist.

And these people have already responded with overwhelming support for the initial efforts that have been made to secure passage of this legislation.

Hundreds of people from the Fifth District of North Carolina have ex-

pressed their strong support for this legislation through petitions and individual letters. Thousands more like them throughout the country have demonstrated the same enthusiasm for this bill being introduced today.

The bill should prove itself to be an instrument of powerful economic stimulation for the Nation as a whole. There are now approximately 39 million homeowners in the United States, and it is not difficult to foresee a great and welcomed increase in private spending generated by this legislation.

Assistance for our homeowners, widespread popular support, and a much-needed economic stimulus—all of these are characteristic of this bill being introduced today by my distinguished colleague (Mr. HALPERN). And all of these characteristics will hopefully assure swift passage of this legislation.

#### HAVE MEDIA BURIED AGNEW?—I THINK NOT

### HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, one of the most revealing and spectacular letters to the editor was buried at the bottom of the column in the September 8, 1971, issue of the Washington Evening Star. This action certainly betrays what is more and more becoming an obvious conspiracy in the media to keep Vice President AGNEW off the ticket in 1972. I include the letter at this point.

#### DID NOT CRITICIZE AGNEW

SIR: The Star recently carried the headline, "4 Reporters Criticize Agnew Tactics on Tour."

The story dealt with talks to the Washington Press Club by four newsmen who covered the vice president on his recent trip around the world. I was one of them.

The Star headline was erroneous with respect to my own talk. I did not criticize Mr. Agnew or his tactics.

Contrary to the headline and a possible implication in The Star story, I told the audience I believed that Mr. Agnew in his meetings with foreign leaders represented the United States government very ably.

Unfortunately, my statement was not included in The Star story.

EDWARD W. O'BRIEN,  
St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

Mr. Speaker, here is a case not just involving a distortion, but an outright falsehood. The damage has already been done. What does the media do to correct it? If it had not been for the high character of Mr. O'Brien, probably nothing. But even in printing the letter, the Star gave it as little play as possible.

In seeing this, the comments of Bill Buckley concerning the Vice President are well taken. Paradoxically, Buckley's column, printed in the same issue of the Star, emphasized:

Inevitably, the engines of retaliation went to work on Agnew, and before long, the editorials and the columnists and the caricaturists had done their work. It was quite a job, by the way.

At this point I include the Buckley editorial.

**HAVE MEDIA BARRED AGNEW IN 1972?**

(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

An organization is aborning the purpose of which is to put pressure on Richard Nixon to name Spiro Agnew, once again in 1972, as the vice presidential candidate. I have been asked to subscribe to the committee, have declined to do so, and am constrained to say why.

The Agnew Story, to begin with, is exhaustively fascinating. The rudimentary background is well known. He was considered a liberal Republican during the two years before his nomination as vice president. A liberal in domestic policies, who had fought and won a gubernatorial contest against a rather unambiguous segregationist.

On the other hand, Gov. Agnew had acted with galvanizing directness when the civil rights militants began to turn to civil disobedience as the imperative liturgy. But the public impression was that here was a pro-civil rights "progressive" Republican governor who was adamant on the subject of law and order. Far from offending the liberals in Miami, Spiro Agnew was accepted as excellently qualified to balance the ticket.

Agnew, on becoming vice president, became suddenly conspicuous in the fall of 1969 when he lashed out at several enemies, successively the network television media, the unruly students, the latitudinarian faculty, and so on. His rhetoric was altogether heterodox.

Spiro Agnew spoke sentiments which cannot reasonably be suspected as being his own exclusively. That is to say, it is unrealistic to suppose that he spoke thoughts which lay athwart presidential conclusions. A president needs to choose his rhetoric rather more carefully than other people. The role of the vice president, on certain occasions, is to give robust expression to a president's point of view.

Inevitably, the engines of retaliation went to work on Agnew, and before long, the editorials and the columnists and the caricaturists had done their work. It was quite a job, by the way.

The recent trip around the world by Agnew is an extraordinary example of the kind of thing the press can do to somebody. Newsweek magazine probably won the Gold Cup by a series of animadversions upon his performance so strikingly unjust as to cause at least one ambassador to write in protest against the distortions.

In any event, what the opinion-press decides about you becomes hardened political fact, and before long the verdict seeps down into the opinion polls. And then you have—or, rather, the president has—a problem. What to do? The President of the United States, if he decides to run for reelection, desires a running-mate who will help the ticket. Always assuming that the president is responsible, and will not designate an unqualified running-mate, the question he faces is: Who will increase my votes in the critical states?

If the President is absolutely certain to carry Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan, he will not find it particularly important to nominate a vice president whose appeal is primarily in Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan. The question Richard Nixon is facing is: Is Spiro Agnew mortally wounded by the same bull he had a hand in killing (to use a metaphor I confess to having used before)?

The pressure from American conservatives is, actually, designed to awaken pressure from the millions of Americans who feel profoundly grateful to Agnew for having taken on a lot of giants, and made a lot of solid points. But the committee that seeks explicitly to intimidate Richard Nixon into re-nominating Agnew goes about its business with undifferentiated goals.

The question is not whether Agnew is popular with American conservatives; the question is whether the media whose power he has described, have in fact exercised that power successfully to discredit him. Assuming 20 Americans know with the force of certitude that Jones is innocent of the crime of which the majority thinks him guilty, it is an exercise in justice, not in politics, to insist on projecting Jones as qualified.

I hope Nixon selects Agnew, because I admire him greatly. But it is utterly unrealistic to suppose that on such a matter as this, Nixon would be guided other than by the political situation. The obligation Nixon has is to spend the next six months in giving Agnew ample public opportunity to reingratiate himself with those Americans who fear and distrust and condemn him for quite the wrong reasons. That yes; but surely not ultimatums.

Mr. Speaker, the Buckley editorial was quite timely. He points out that the President can play a key role in providing the Vice President with an opportunity to "reingratiate himself."

On the same day, the New York Times News Service ran a story showing the President has indeed adopted a positive position with respect to the Vice President. At this point, I include that story.

**APPLAUD RECORD OF AGNEW, NIXON URGES  
REPUBLICANS**

President Nixon is urging members of his administration and party to speak out in defense of Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's performance in office.

The day after he announced his new economic policy in a nationwide telecast, the President startled some subcabinet officials gathered at the State Department for a private briefing on the policy by grasping the vice president's arm and raising it in the air—a gesture identical to the one Nixon made at the 1968 Republican convention.

In public, Nixon's praise of Agnew has been more restrained.

"... A FINE JOB"

When the Vice President returned in July from a month-long tour of the world amid speculation that he had been kept out of the way during negotiations on Nixon's diplomatic initiative toward China, the President said only, "Welcome back. You did a fine job."

But at a private meeting on Aug. 9 with officials of the Republican National Committee, Nixon urged them to "support the vice president. Do what you can to help the vice president. He's got a tough job and he's doing it well. He's been attacked and maligned unfairly."

Officials who are leaking details of the two incidents are quick to note that they do not represent a guarantee that Agnew will be the President's running mate again next year.

**CONSERVATIVES WOOD**

There is one school of thought that the White House is merely trying to reassure conservative Republicans, among whom Agnew is a current hero, that the President is not unmindful of their support as his policies appear to be moving leftward on China and the economy.

One group of Republicans, calling itself "Americans for Agnew," is petitioning conservative campaign contributors to let the White House know "we will not accept the elimination of Spiro Agnew from the GOP ticket in 1972." Among them is Lee Edwards, who was the deputy public relations director for the party's national committee in 1964 and 1965.

**COOL TO CONNALLY**

One member of the group said that its members would not accept Treasury Secre-

tary John B. Connally, a Texas Democrat, as a replacement for Agnew on the Republican ticket.

At the subcabinet briefing on the economic measures, Agnew reportedly rose to commend Connally on his "masterful handling" of questions that morning at a televised news conference.

Agnew added that he was referring "especially to the questions, some pertinent and some not so pertinent, concerning inflation and unemployment—specifically, the inflation of the egos of certain economic prophets and the much-discussed possible unemployment of the vice president."

The President beamed.

Mr. Speaker, some think that the press has done irreparable harm to the chances for the Vice President to be re-nominated in 1972. I do not think so. I am confident that the Vice President can impress upon the American public, prior to the Republican Convention, that he is a man of wisdom, ability, and courage.

I consider myself very fortunate indeed to have the Vice President for the principal speaker at a fund raising dinner which is being given by friends in my behalf in Buffalo on October 7. This is the first time the Vice President has been a fund raising speaker for any Member of the House and I am sure the Republicans and Conservatives of Erie County will give him a terrific welcome.

Although the Vice President may be down—he is not out. I hope the October 7 speech will be the beginning of a concerted effort on the part of the Vice President to gain full recognition of his sound and realistic policies.

**MIDEAST PEACE MUST BE NEGOTIATED,  
NOT IMPOSED**

**HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, peace in the highly volatile Middle East can only be achieved through direct negotiations between the Arabs and Israelis and not by the imposition of one-sided concessions.

I have, therefore, called upon the Secretary of State to ease up on apparent U.S. pressures to impose a Middle East peace settlement on Israel. I also have urged prompt U.S. approval of Israeli requests for additional military aid at a time when the Soviets, demonstrating no visible interest in a peace agreement, are stepping up arms shipments to their Arab clients.

My experience and view are that no durable, meaningful or lasting peace settlement can be arrived at in the Middle East unless and until the governments of the states there sit down with each other and negotiate directly rather than through big power patrons.

The quest for peace must not be made blindly, overlooking the importance of maintaining the power balance among the nations involved.

I have made these thoughts known to the Secretary of State in a recent letter to him which I am inserting in the Record at this point:

WASHINGTON, D.C., August 25, 1971.

HON. WILLIAM P. ROGERS,  
Secretary of State,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: United States efforts to help bring about peace in the Middle East are highly commendable. I know you are sincerely dedicated to a just solution for all involved. It is with that in mind that I wish to suggest that the single most important consideration here is that it is up to the parties themselves—the Arabs and the Israelis—to decide their own future.

A third party acting as an honest broker, with a preconceived plan, no matter how altruistic and noble his intentions, is still an outsider and, therefore, unable to achieve a lasting settlement. Should the big powers, such as the United States, seek to impose their own solutions, the results would, at best, be a very fragile peace.

A fragile ceasefire, for which you deserve great credit, is all we have now. We are all thankful that the shooting and the killing have stopped for the moment; but the long-range outlook is poor because this cease-fire has been imposed from outside and was not mutually agreed upon in direct negotiation by the participants.

My experience and view is that no durable, meaningful or lasting peace settlement can be arrived at in the Middle East unless and until the governments of the states there sit down with each other and negotiate directly rather than through big power patrons.

The quest for peace must not be made blindly, overlooking the importance of maintaining the power balance among the nations involved. Yet there is some feeling that may be happening.

While the United States is faithfully discharging its commitments to send Israel all the aircraft already purchased, there apparently has been no decision with regard to Israel's pending request for additional aid, now about a year old. There are those who interpret this as a form of pressure on Israel to accede to U.S. views on a settlement in the Mideast.

An anti-Israel propaganda campaign is underway which holds that any hope for Arab friendship and goodwill will depend on weakening the U.S. arms policy toward Israel. We have seen over and over again, Mr. Secretary, that while the United States withholds approval of Israel's arms requests, the Soviets continue and even step up arms shipments to their Arab clients.

The Soviet Union is providing the Egyptians highly advanced missiles and aircraft that it has not committed elsewhere outside its own borders, plus the personnel to operate this sophisticated equipment while they are teaching the Egyptians to handle it themselves.

There are those who would tell you that Israel does not need additional aircraft. A look at the statistics shows that this is not so. Egypt now has twice as many aircraft as Israel, including three times as many supersonic planes. It has one-and-a-half times as many tanks as Israel, and the Egyptian advantage in missiles is 20-to-1.

Israel's quantitative disadvantage will grow, not only because the Russians will maintain the supply, but because Israeli aircraft and other equipment will suffer from obsolescence and attrition. Meaningful negotiations depend on Israel's ability to at least maintain parity with those who almost daily threaten to destroy her. Further delay in U.S. approval for additional aid can too easily be seen as eroding Israel's defense posture and weakening the American commitment to her.

It is apparent that because of Israel's dependence on U.S. military and economic assistance, our government is in a strong position to influence the policies of the Israeli government. Such is not the case with the Arab governments in the Mideast.

I am fearful that because it may appear that the U.S. government can exercise considerable influence over the Israeli government, it has become our policy to bear down on Israel in an effort to evoke concessions. If the Soviet government was attempting to force similar concessions from their Arab clients, this policy might bear constructive fruit. But it is clear that the Soviets are not interested, at this time, in putting similar pressures on the Arab nations.

Accordingly, Israel is really being asked to make most of the sacrifices necessary for a permanent settlement, while the Soviets and their Arab clients remain intransigent.

It is my strong hope that the U.S. government will recognize that our ability to influence Israeli policy and our inability to influence Arab policy will not result in an imposition of one-sided concessions.

The world's best hope for peace in the Middle East lies in direct negotiations between the Arabs and the Israelis. I urge you to work toward that goal.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL,  
Member of Congress.

#### QUESTIONNAIRE

### HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I submit by unanimous consent as official business, the letter and questionnaire I am sending to the homes of the citizens of our congressional district. The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain the opinions of our citizens and their recommendations for, and opposition to, Federal legislation by the U.S. Congress. These questions are mainly based on the President's executive order of August 15, 1971, and policies relating to our U.S. economy, Federal budget, and taxes.

The material follows:

JAMES G. FULTON,

U.S. Representative in Congress.

Washington Office: House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

Pittsburgh Office: New Federal Building,  
Government System Phone Number 644-2876.

Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 8 Sept. 1971.

Not Gov't expense.

DEAR FRIENDS: We are now at a time of historic decision—Congress is now convening. The Fall Session opens today. I am writing to give you recent important developments.

On 15 August 1971, the President has instituted a 90-day freeze on prices, rents and wages in the United States, to stop inflation, expand jobs and stabilize the US economy. Congress must approve or make changes in these policies, regulations, and exceptions to the Executive Order, so hearings and legislation are now beginning.

The President, acting under authority provided by Congress in the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, established ceilings on all rents, prices, salaries and wages at the level which prevailed during the month ending 14 August 1971. The freeze on prices covers all commodities, rents and services, excepting raw farm products. Even with freeze, runaway inflation caused August wholesale prices to climb most in 6 months.

The US Internal Revenue Service (IRS) will handle complaints and answer questions about the price-rents-wage freeze. If you have any questions on this Executive Order, you can contact IRS in person or by letter at the local Pittsburgh office—Address: New Federal Building, 1000 Liberty Avenue.

Pittsburgh Internal Revenue Service employees will answer inquiries telephoned to 644-5755. You can also call the Pittsburgh Federal Information Center, 644-3456, and the Center will screen and refer your call to the appropriate Internal Revenue Service (IRS) office. On major questions on this Executive Order, you can write to Office of Emergency Preparedness, Washington, D.C., asking for general rulings, new regulations, or exceptions. I hope this will be helpful to you.

Cordially,

JIM FULTON.

We citizens of our District want to have our opinions considered when our Government is facing basic issues on vital questions that will affect each of us and our families for years in the future. I am writing to you to ask your advice as to what policies Congress should adopt or change. I have been spending many hours in serious study on these decisions, that affect every one of us so basically.

Because it is not possible for me to write to every citizen of our District, I have prepared this questionnaire to be sent to a cross-section of the homes of the almost 500,000 people living in our South County Congressional District. So your opinions are important, as they represent 100 people, and will be read carefully. You can really be helpful to me in giving good service and intelligent representation.

Questionnaire.—Please show you favor by "✓," or oppose: "x."

After completing, tear on above dotted line & mail to me in Washington, D.C., at once.

Favor 90 day price-rent-wage freeze order? ...Extend freeze after 90 days? ...How long?...

Favor permitting increases: merit pay-- fringe benefits-- shorter work hours--same pay-- Social Security benefits-- pensions-- unemployment benefits-- relief payments-- Favor stopping tax increases: Federal-- State-- County-- City-- Boro-- Township-- School Tax--

Favor proposal for excess profits tax?--of 25%-- 50%-- 75%-- or 100%--

Continue 10% import tax after 90 day period?--Favor repeal of 7% Federal automobile tax?--

Favor immediate increase personal income tax exemption from \$650 to \$700 per person?--

Favor tax credit of 10% for one year on cost of new machinery & equipment to expand jobs and modernize U.S. plants? (In 1971, private business plant investment is reduced) --

Approve dropping of gold standard for U.S. dollar abroad? (U.S. dollar already taken off gold standard for U.S. domestic purposes in 1930's by President Franklin D. Roosevelt) --

Favor my vote against rigid high price supports that push up cost of U.S. agricultural products which increases cost of family food?--

Turn over page for remaining questions. Remaining questions: Limit interest rates?-- Limit all profits?-- or just corporations?--

Favor President's recommendation to cut U.S. foreign aid by 10%?--

Favor proposal for \$5 billion cut in Federal budget for next year?-- (\$30 billion Federal deficit expected—chief cause of runaway inflation)

Favor Administration proposed plan increasing present Federal relief costs by \$7 to \$9 billion and adding 12 to 15 million more people to relief rolls?-- Or do you favor en-

larging technical Federal & State training programs?—

Favor Administration releasing almost \$6 billion Congress has already appropriated (I voted for) for construction of necessary public works—water supplies, sewers, flood & pollution control?—

Do you favor working out a new program for Federal aid to parochial & private schools to save presently necessary closing of many schools?—

8 SEPTEMBER 1971.

DEAR FRIENDS: The bigger the problems & the sharper the issues, the more important it is that your views be made known in Washington. To give you the opportunity to make your views and opinions count, I am asking your comments on really serious problems that America faces.

It is a pleasure for my office to be of service to you personally. For your convenience we maintain our Pgh office, as well as our Washington Rayburn Bldg office. If there is any way you feel we can be of assistance, write me at Pgh or Washington, & we will be glad to cooperate.

Sincerely,

JIM FULTON.

House of Representatives, U.S. Public Document, Official Business.

(Not printed at Government expense.)

JAMES G. FULTON, M.C.

Postal Patron-local, 27th Congressional District, South Hills, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

P.S.—Thank you for your civic & patriotic interest—in giving me the benefit of your judgment, which I really appreciate, & will study carefully.

I will see that the White House is given the results, and will place them in the Congressional Record, and will send you a copy. Your own answers are confidential.

JIM.

How am I doing? Bad...OK...Fair...

To return, just fold with my name and address on outside, stamp and mail.

All your individual answers are confidential.

Please print or type.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Ward, Boro or Township \_\_\_\_\_

Check here if 18 to 21 year old new voter.

Place regular stamp here.

To U.S. Representative James G. Fulton,

Rayburn Bldg., Washington, D.C., 20515.

Not printed at Government expense.

GLEESON E. HUPP, COUNSELOR  
TO VETERANS, RETIRES

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the end of August marked the end of a distinguished career for a dedicated public servant, Gleeson E. Hupp, senior veterans' counselor for the State Division of Veterans' Affairs at Buffalo, N.Y.

Before World War II, he was a teacher on Long Island. But after his discharge from the Navy in 1946, he stopped to see friends in the State veterans office and was offered a job. He has been there since.

During the years since World War II, Gleeson Hupp has aided untold numbers of veterans and enjoyed especially the continuing battle to protect the reemployment rights of veterans.

Buffalo and western New York will

miss the wise leadership and counsel of Mr. Hupp in his retirement, but the list is long of those who are indebted to him for his counsel over the years.

As part of my remarks, I include an article from the Buffalo, N.Y., Evening News:

A 25-YEAR VETERAN IN VA OFFICE NEARS END OF COUNSELING CAREER

A frayed and graying folder bulging with papers—letters, case histories, infrequent thank you notes and his own Navy discharge papers—forms a capsule souvenir of his career for Gleeson E. Hupp, senior veterans' counselor for the State Division of Veterans Affairs.

"I've made a few friends throughout the area," Mr. Hupp said, summing up a 25-year career with obvious understatement. "A couple of old ladies still call me for help."

Beginning Sept. 1, they'll be calling someone else in the Gen. Donovan Bldg. office. Mr. Hupp, who has supervised 10 counties of Western New York since 1969, retires at the end of this month.

The opportunity to help people and the variety of their problems were the key incentives that kept the former teacher in veterans counseling, he said.

One couple, a World War II veteran and his wife, have been visiting Mr. Hupp since 1949 for advice on schooling, jobs, and hospitalization—or just for reassurance.

"They even brought us their paychecks at times and we paid their bills," Mr. Hupp recalled with a smile.

#### PLEASANT RECOLLECTIONS

The smile appeared frequently as case after case came to mind.

"You never know who's going to sit in that chair next," Mr. Hupp said, pointing to a seat near his. "It's nice to know when a person gets up and leaves that you've done something for him."

Mr. Hupp's favorite work was "the battle for re-employment rights" for returning veterans. He remembered a meeting with the personnel director of a local company that had been reluctant to rehire discharged servicemen.

"There were 10 lawyers in his office and me with my little pamphlet," Mr. Hupp recalled, laughing. That particular battle was lost, he said, but the division eventually scored a victory on the issue.

#### OWN REEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

A re-employing problem of his own led Mr. Hupp to the State Division of Veterans Affairs in 1946. A graduate of Buffalo State University College, he had been teaching at a Long Island high school before World War II.

He still had a job there after his discharge as a lieutenant commander and training superintendent with the Navy—but no housing was available on Long Island.

During a visit home, he stopped to see friends in the state veterans office here and the former senior counselor offered him a job.

On Aug. 28, new friends in the division will honor him with a party. After a six-week trip to Europe, Mr. Hupp, and his wife Rose will spend the winter in their new apartment in North Palm Beach, Fla. But they'll be back in Buffalo with their friends come springtime.

#### SCHOOL BUSING

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today for the purpose of introducing a House joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the

United States which would prevent the assignment of pupils in public education to any particular school because of their race, color, or creed.

I have hesitated to introduce such a resolution previously, Mr. Speaker, because of a continuing hope that the Federal Courts would see the fallacy of their decisions which have forced massive busing in many school districts across the Nation, including Amarillo, Tex., in my district.

It is now obvious that the courts have refused to recognize the actions of the Congress in the form of numerous laws forbidding the use of busing as an instrument to achieve racial balance. For this reason I feel compelled to introduce this proposed amendment and urge its prompt adoption by the Congress and the States.

Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this resolution is not to promote segregation or prevent integration. Its purpose is to promote neighborhood schools and to prevent massive busing with its inherent disruptive effects.

In every debate we have had in this body since I have been here, the Congress has maintained its opposition to achieving racial balance simply for the sake of achieving racial balance, as well as adopting numerous laws forbidding busing. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court has refused to recognize our action and has gone ahead with its busing edicts.

This constitutional amendment will go a long way toward reestablishing the policy that public schools are primarily the concern of the local school boards and parents of the community and that the courts should confine themselves to actual legal questions rather than becoming the school board itself.

WILDERNESS AREAS MUST BE  
REMOTE FROM ACCESS

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, the following letter is one of the truly fine statements I have had the privilege of reading. Mr. Kruger's letter is at once eloquent and descriptive and worth the attention of all those interested in preserving the remaining wild areas of our Nation:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: With the understanding that you are currently engaged in probing into, or reviewing the Trill Peak roadway situation into the Cottonwood Basin near Lone Pine, California, (also SIRC ski development project etc.) I would like to comment "briefly" on this subject. My name is David Kruger and I live in Lone Pine, working for the L.P. Unified School District teaching junior and senior high school band and chorus. Realizing that there are many viewpoints involved in any question as large as this one, I nevertheless feel it necessary to bring this particular one to your attention. It is simply the viewpoint of one who turns to the mountains for a lot of spiritual joy, whatever that means. First, I do believe that wilderness can be for everyone. But it should be understood that wilderness per se means different things to different people: to

a child, for example, just a backyard camp-out at night could represent wilderness. To most adults, a wilderness can be a road-head campground, isolated but often not without substantial accommodations, e.g. toilets, tables, stoves, water etc. And these people undoubtedly receive a gratification from their experiences which align with their particular concept of wilderness, and presumably greatly enjoy it. This is as it should be. For others however, a wilderness means quite something else. Among other things it means a certain solitude as well as isolation. It acknowledges an absence of roads and stores, and tables, and stoves, and restrooms, and showers, and ultimately of signs and even of trails. It means a total commitment to one's own resources. And unless an area is actually as wild and primitive as this, the elemental joy of traveling through the "wilderness" would not be as complete for some, as would be the child's joy at experiencing his first close-to-home campout.

In other words the Trail Peak area which was once, even recently, very close to a true wilderness in the latter sense, is now just another tourist area.

And the problem is this: a great deal of the Sierra Nevada is already heavily used. True wild areas are becoming fewer and fewer. One hates to see this quiet and lovely basin become so fouled with garbage and paint and litter, used and cast-off.

It is sad to realize that these people feel no commitment to this land, when it has given so much. So they come and they go, perhaps not to return, while those of us who live in this part of the country by choice are bound to watch its ruination at the hands of others. This is the point: Cottonwood Basin is a delicate region with regard to ground cover and animal life, as is much of the eastern Sierra. The Cottonwood Lakes there represent the sole spawning and breeding ground for the native California Golden Trout. I guess the argument ends there; it is a plea for a bit of wilderness and a vanishing fish.

I would like to suggest that the Trail Peak Road into the Cottonwood Basin be closed permanently at Carroll Creek, and that the great scar of this road be allowed to heal. It should be sealed and abandoned. Even as a fire road it serves no purpose.

If fishermen and hikers, and packers, wish to use the basin it is a beautiful ten mile hike from Cottonwood Canyon on a good trail. If it is not worth a ten mile walk, then the people involved do not appear sincerely interested, and perhaps do not belong there.

There is much more to be said of course, and certainly other points of view. However, it is enough at this point to ask that you please look into this situation carefully and give it your best judgment.

If I may be of help in any way please feel free to contact me, any time at all. I shall return to Lone Pine from South Dakota/Wyoming about the 20th of August. Thanks for listening.

#### THE SOVIET UNION—THE REAL AGGRESSOR

**HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN**

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, behind the Vietnam war, the tensions in the Middle East and almost anywhere else you look in the world, you find the Soviet Union primarily responsible for provoking war. This has been continuing while the Communist press has charged the United States with aggression—in the teeth of

the truth, which is that the Soviets have been furnishing guns, ammunition, artillery, and the whole package to Communists in North Vietnam to help them invade and destroy South Vietnam.

I think these facts make all the difference between right and wrong. In this connection the recent column by Hon. David Lawrence, appearing in the Washington Star, merits thoughtful consideration:

#### SETTING FACTS STRAIGHT ON VIETNAM (By David Lawrence)

For the first time, the Soviet Union has publicly admitted that it has furnished money and military weapons as well as advisers to North Vietnam since 1955.

It has been generally known, of course, in the last few years that the Soviets were backing the Hanoi government and that the aid given has run into billions of dollars. But the United States government had never said anything about it nor have the American people recognized that their troops have been, in effect, fighting an army trained by the Soviets.

Pravda, the Communist party newspaper in Moscow, has just listed the categories of Soviet war aid and the number of its personnel involved. Hitherto, the Soviets have not revealed any details as to the nature of their assistance to North Vietnam, although there have been news dispatches indicating that large sums were being spent to help Hanoi, Pravda says:

"During the war years, the Soviet Union was sending to the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam the arms, ammunition and other military equipment that became the foundation of the republic's antiaircraft defense system . . .

"The support of the Soviet Union was one of the most important factors in helping North Vietnam to survive difficult years and in forcing the United States to stop the war of devastation."

The article adds that about 7,000 North Vietnamese personnel had been trained in the Soviet Union from 1955 on, including 4,000 "specialists."

American military officials have been aware of the assistance given by the Soviets and also the aid furnished by the Red Chinese. The United States intervened in Indochina because South Vietnam was about to be taken over by the Communists in North Vietnam.

Most Americans, however, have never realized that our real opponents in the Vietnam war have been the major Communist countries in Asia and Europe, and that huge sums have been spent by them not only for military supplies and weapons but for the training of armies.

In a sense, American troops have been fighting against the Soviets and Red Chinese, but nobody in our government here or in Asia has said so openly. Today, as American participation in the Vietnam war is being brought to a close, the facts are coming out and the Russians are beginning to claim credit for what they say is a defeat for the United States.

The Soviets are engaged in supplying military aid in different parts of the world, and it is known that they are an active ally of Egypt in the Middle East. Israel has sought help from the United States. Again, the adversaries are not really Egypt and Israel but Washington and Moscow.

Peace can be attained only if an understanding is reached by the diplomats in the United States and the Soviet Union.

Just what has been the purpose of the Russians in playing such a role to strengthen North Vietnam? It is assumed here that the objective has been not so much to thwart the United States as it has been to make sure that Red China would not take over Indochina.

Indeed, some experts believe that the Vietnam war can be brought to an end through the influence of Moscow today only because there is little likelihood that Red China will continue to spend huge sums to aid North Vietnam.

The United States, of course, has built up in South Vietnam a government with a large army and plenty of military supplies. There is every intention to continue military assistance even though American troops may not be present in South Vietnam.

The amazing thing about the Soviet disclosures is that the Communist press has repeatedly charged the United States with committing aggression when actually North Vietnam has been trying to grab South Vietnam while the Soviet Union has been assisting in the process.

Now that the war is almost over and the American government has been denounced by many members of Congress and other critics inside the country, the Communists feel they can continue to argue that their objective was to help North Vietnam repel aggression by Americans.

The facts, however, are clear. South Vietnam was invaded by North Vietnamese aided by the Soviets and were it not for the military help supplied by the Soviet Union and Red China, North Vietnam could never have maintained the military operations of the last several years against both South Vietnam and the United States.

#### ABANDONING ANTI-COMMUNIST FOREIGN POLICY

**HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, like the spreading ripples that cover the whole surface of a pond when a large stone is dropped into it, the consequences of the fundamental shift of policy dramatized by President Nixon's decision to visit Peking and "normalize" relations with Red China are making themselves felt in every part of the world. Most of what remained of our anti-Communist position in the world is being swept away. Surely, it is one of history's greatest ironies that this is occurring during the administration of the President who first came to public notice as the Congressman who exposed Alger Hiss, and proceeded to build a reputation as one of the strongest anti-Communists in America.

Yet, now we find the administration of this President, through its spokesmen in Congress, passing the word that it is satisfied with a Senate change in the bill providing for continued operation of the Export-Import Bank, so as to allow the Bank to make loans to countries known to be supplying North Vietnam. Earlier, under the impression that the administration wanted such loans prohibited, the House had voted 207 to 153 against them. By August 5, informed by the administration that it had no objection, the House voted 219 to 140 in favor of accepting the Senate amendment.

The first vote was taken before the President's Red China announcement; the second after it. The message was clear.

No better comment on this particular action could be made than to quote the

scathing words of my colleague, Congressman BLACKBURN, of Georgia, on the House floor that day:

Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I recall a famous old statement that was attributed to a Communist leader some years ago in which he defined a capitalist as being a man who will sell you the rope that you are going to use to hang him.

Under the conference report not only are we proposing to sell the rope, but we are going to do it on credit. We are going to finance its purchase, which is a pretty sweet arrangement for your planned executioner when you get right down to it.

Furthermore, within the last few weeks the State Department has confirmed that approximately \$5 million in American taxpayers' money is now going to the Communist Government of Chile, most of it to be used for the purchase of a large transport aircraft—the C-130—of the type used to carry paratroopers. And the administration has approved, over the strong objections of the Department of Defense, the sale of two highly sophisticated model 1906A English computers to the Soviet Institute of High Energy Physics at Serpukhev. These computers, which can be used as prototypes to manufacture others like them, have a magnetic disc memory and a high speed rate which Soviet computer technology has so far been unable to achieve on its own.

While we extend aid to the Communists, we are restricting it to our allies. In debate on the House floor August 3 on the military aid bill, it was explained that the administration was no longer seeking congressional approval of aid to Greece, but was willing to accept a legal prohibition on military aid to this friendly, strongly anti-Communist country, except insofar as the President should decide to grant it under special circumstances. The administration is now in a position, without further action by Congress, to make any further military assistance to Greece contingent on that nation's willingness to go along with our new, no longer anti-Communist foreign policy stance.

Finally, it has been reliably reported in West Germany that in a recent secret meeting, West Germany's Secretary of State Egon Bahr, after consultation with Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's closest foreign policy adviser, agreed to sweeping concessions to satisfy longstanding Soviet demands about the status of West Berlin which have been firmly resisted ever since the days of the Berlin blockade.

The picture emerging from this sequence of events is one of the darkest in the history of our country. A massive sellout of free world interests—including our own—which we have defended for a quarter of a century at the cost of thousands of American lives and vast American treasure, seems to be in the making. That sellout will in all probability continue unless and until the American people let it be known unmistakably that they will not tolerate this kind of trucking to the most dangerous foe we have ever faced—no matter what the past reputation and presently alleged motives of the people who are doing it may be.

## PUBLIC INTEREST GROUPS

## HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, today I am joining with more than 70 of my colleagues in cosponsoring with Mr. SYMINGTON a bill that will amend the Internal Revenue Code to allow certain tax-exempt charitable organizations to lobby for the public interest in the Congress on a basis equal to that of private business.

In a society that is as technologically complex and legally oriented as ours, it seems to me to be inherently unfair that organizations whose interest is the public good and welfare are prohibited from becoming involved in the legislative process when the views they express can have the equalizing effect so necessary to counter the efforts of well-orchestrated private business associations. It has been argued that the Congress cannot operate effectively without lobbying groups. Lobbying activities, however, must not be a one-way street in which the articulated interest are those who are backed by well-heeled money persons.

The credibility of our legislative process must not be impaired by a failure to seek all views of those who are potentially affected by the laws we pass and the hearings we hold. Most of the organizations that this bill will affect are civil rights and civil liberty groups, consumer, and environmental organizations.

Whether or not we agree with the individual beliefs of any of these organizations is immaterial. It is contradictory to our constitutional processes to decide that an organization deserves a tax exemption because it serves the public good and yet silence it by taxation when they attempt to speak to that public good in communicating to their legislators. A fundamental function of a legislative process that operates through its committee system is the acquisition and analysis of information supplied by all sources. The issues that come before us today are increasingly complex and possess ramifications far beyond anything that our forefathers, though prescient in their wisdom, could have ever imagined.

This bill does not affect private foundations and their activities, as they are defined in the 1969 Tax Reform Act, nor would it provide an exemption for any organization which participates in political campaigning on behalf of a candidate for public office. Yet, those organizations which are charitable and rely on public support will be able to communicate to Congress without fear of losing their exemptions which are important to their ability to secure gifts for their continued life.

As legislation becomes more complex, the average Congressman becomes further removed from the individual constituent because he must rely on the views of the alleged expert. We must reverse that trend. It is imperative that the views of each individual be effectively heard through their support of the vari-

ous public interest groups to which they contribute. Their contribution must be effectively articulated in the fields of ecology, health, welfare, civil rights, and civil liberties. The communications that these groups can bring to us is immeasurable. Removal of the impediment of taxation will not only secure the input of a wider constituency, it will make the democratic process more viable and credible.

## NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART CALENDAR FOR SEPTEMBER 1971

## HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 9, 1971

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

## NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART—CALENDAR OF EVENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1971

MONDAY, AUG. 30, THROUGH SUNDAY, SEPT. 5

\* PAINTING OF THE WEEK—Renoir. *A Girl with a Water Can*. (Chester Dale Collection) Gallery 90. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

TOUR—*Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00, 1:00 & 3:00; Sun. 2:30 & 5:00.

SUNDAY FILM—*The Rise of Louis XIV*; Auditorium 3:30 & 6:30.

FILMS—"Civilisation," XII—*The Fallacies of Hope*, Mon., Wed. & Fri. 6:00 & 7:15. "Civilisation," XIII—*Heroic Materialism*, Tues., Thurs. & Sat. 6:00 & 7:15.

\* 11" x 14" reproductions with texts for sale this week—25c each. If mailed, 35c each.

MONDAY, SEPT. 6, THROUGH SUNDAY, SEPT. 12

LABOR DAY FILM—*The Rise of Louis XIV*; Auditorium, Monday 3:30.

\* PAINTING OF THE WEEK—Memling. *Madonna and Child with Angels*. (Andrew Mellon Collection) Gallery 39. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

TOUR OF THE WEEK—*The Architecture of the National Gallery of Art*. Rotunda Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

TOUR—*Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00, Mon. (Labor Day) 1:00; Sun. 5:00.

SUNDAY LECTURE—*Footlights and Fantasy—Italian Stage Design* Speaker: Elaine Evans Dee, Curator of Drawings and Prints Cooper-Hewitt Museum, Smithsonian Institution, New York Auditorium 4:00.

For reproductions and slides of the collection, books, and other related publications, self-service rooms are open daily near the Constitution Avenue entrance.

MONDAY, SEPT. 13, THROUGH SUNDAY, SEPT. 19

\* Painting of the Week—Canaletto. *View in Venice* (Widener Collection). West Stair Hall—Main Floor; Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour of the Week—*Theater and Festival in Art*. Rotunda. Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour—*Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday Lecture—*The Human Comedy of John Sloan*, Speaker: David W. Scott, Consultant, National Gallery of Art, Auditorium, 4:00.

Inquiries concerning the Gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office or telephoned to (202) 737-4215, ext. 272.

MONDAY, SEPT. 20, THROUGH SUNDAY, SEPT. 26

\*Painting of the Week—De Hooch. A Dutch Courtyard (Andrew Mellon Collection). Gallery 47, Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour of the Week—Theater Designs from La Scala Opera House. Central Lobby, Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour—Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday Lecture—My Reminiscences of John Sloan. Speaker: Mrs. John Sloan, Teacher, Artist, and Author. New York, N.Y., Auditorium, 4:00.

Sunday Concert—National Gallery Orchestra. Richard Bales, Conductor. East Garden Court, 7:00.

All concerts, with intermission talks by members of the National Gallery Staff, are broadcast by Station WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5).

JOHN SLOAN 1871-1951

The National Gallery of Art will mark the centennial of the birth of John Sloan (1871-1951) with the most comprehensive exhibition ever held of paintings and graphics by this important American realist. The exhibition, on view September 18 through October 31 in the central gallery, is the seventh in a series organized by the National Gallery honoring major American artists.

The 176 works in the exhibition represent all periods of Sloan's career, including his little known art nouveau work of the 1890s, the city pictures of 1900-1912, and the later Gloucester, Santa Fe and figurative paintings. Among the paintings is *The Wake of the Ferry* (The Phillips Collection), which has been reproduced as a U.S. commemorative stamp honoring the Sloan centennial.

The exhibition catalog, a major publication on Sloan, will illustrate all works in the exhibition, including 14 in full color. Essays on the artist's life and paintings by David W. Scott, and on his graphics by E. John Bullard, both of the National Gallery staff, will be featured, as well as a personal remembrance by the artist's widow, Helen Farr Sloan.

After the initial showing in Washington, the exhibition will travel to museums in Athens, Georgia, San Francisco, St. Louis, Columbus, Ohio, and Philadelphia.

#### LABOR DAY WEEKEND FILM

Roberto Rossellini's *The Rise of Louis XIV*, a film that vividly recreates the way of life in 17th-century France, will be shown in the auditorium at 3:30 and 6:30 Sunday and 3:30 Monday of Labor Day weekend; the running time is 1 hour and 40 minutes.

#### SUNDAY EVENING CONCERTS

The Gallery's 30th Season of Sunday evening concerts will begin on Sunday, September 26. The program will be given by the National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, Conductor, and will take place in the East Garden Court at 7 o'clock. The concerts will continue each Sunday through June 1972.

LA SCALA: 400 YEARS OF STAGE DESIGN FROM THE MUSEO TEATRALE ALLA SCALA, MILAN

To coincide with the opening of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, the National Gallery of Art has scheduled an exhibition of stage designs, miniature stage sets and posters from the Museo Teatrale alla Scala in Milan. These prints, watercolors, drawings and models, on view for the first time in the U.S., are being circulated by the International Exhibitions

Foundation and will remain at the Gallery from September 10 through October 17.

The exhibition, depicting the evolution in theater design from the 16th to the 20th century, includes works reflecting the baroque, rococo, neoclassic, romantic and art nouveau styles. An illustrated catalog, with an introduction by the distinguished theater art scholar Mario Monteverdi, will be available in the Publication Rooms. On Sunday, September 12 in the Gallery's Auditorium, Elaine Evans Dee, Curator of Drawings at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum will speak on "Footlights and Fantasy—Italian Stage Design."

#### THE ANNUAL REPORT

For the first time the Gallery's *Annual Report* will be published separately from *Studies in the History of Art*. Scheduled to be distributed early in September, the *Report* will cover all of the many activities of the Gallery through the fiscal year of 1970. The *Report* will be illustrated with photographs and includes a foreword by the Gallery's President Paul Mellon and a personal report by the Director, J. Carter Brown. Copies may be obtained from the Gallery's Publication Rooms.

#### CHANGE OF GALLERY & CAFETERIA HOURS AFTER SEPTEMBER 6

Regular hours begin September 7: weekdays and Saturdays 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., and Sundays noon to 9 p.m.

Cafeteria hours after September 6: weekdays 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.; luncheon service 11 a.m. to 2:30 p.m.; Sundays, dinner service 1 to 7 p.m.

Summer hours (weekdays and Saturdays 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.; Sundays noon to 9 p.m.) will be in effect through Labor Day, September 6.

## SENATE—Friday, September 10, 1971

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. ELLENDER).

#### PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, Thou knowest that in our highest and best moments we deeply desire to be the true servants of Thy will. Impart to us now the grace and strength so needful for our solemn responsibilities.

Turn our minds backward that we may learn what the past has to say to the present to guide us in the future. Turn our minds inward that we may discern the clear voice of conscience. Turn our minds outward that we may understand the tragic needs of our time. Turn our minds upward to the vision of Mount Sinai and the divine law and to Mount Calvary and the law of love.

May the larger vision make us more adequate, wise, and strong.

We ask it in the name that is above every name. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, September 9, 1971, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States, submitting nominations, were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the President pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of Senate proceedings.)

#### COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order the distinguished Senator from Washington (Mr. JACKSON) is now recognized for 15 minutes.

#### THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ELECTIONS

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, like so many Americans, I am deeply concerned over the election developments in South Vietnam. The administration should not sanction the one-man referendum President Thieu wishes to hold in October. If necessary to assure a genuine contest, the October "election" should be postponed.

The United States still has a strong presence and significant influence in Vietnam that should be used to permit the South Vietnamese people a choice in a meaningful presidential election. It should be made clear to President Thieu that the commitment of the United States has been to the people of South Vietnam—to "give the South Vietnamese people a chance to determine their own future" as four Presidents from Eisenhower to Nixon have pledged—and not to President Thieu or to any other particular politician.

I consider the failure to have a competitive presidential election in Vietnam a serious and fundamental matter. Should such an election fail to take place, I must reserve my position regarding future U.S. military and economic aid to the South Vietnamese Government.

It is ironic that the sabotage of this presidential election is not by the Vietcong—who no longer seem able to do it—but by the Thieu regime itself.

Unfortunately, the U.S. administration has not only allowed the election situa-