

## ALASKAN OIL AND TANKER TRAFFIC—A CANADIAN VIEW

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE  
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, the heated debate regarding the proposed Trans-Alaskan pipeline has mainly centered on the environmental impact of the pipeline on Alaska.

While some consideration has been given to the potential impact of increased tanker traffic from Alaska to west coast refineries, little attention has been given the Canadian viewpoint of this matter.

I recently received a communication from the Honorable David Anderson, M.P., chairman of the Special Committee on Environmental Pollution of the Canadian House of Commons, on this most important facet of the North Shelf oil situation.

Mr. Anderson enclosed a copy of his committee's report on the problems of tanker traffic in the Strait of Georgia and the Strait of Juan de Fuca. I believe it is vital that we in Congress familiarize ourselves with the Canadian viewpoint.

The letter and report follow:

OCTOBER 18, 1971.

HON. JEROME WALDIE,  
Cannon House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. WALDIE: Recently the Special Committee on Environmental Pollution of the House of Commons, which I have the honour to chair, presented a report to the House on the problems of tanker traffic in the Strait of Georgia and the Strait of Juan de Fuca. On Wednesday, 23 June, 1971, after a short debate, the report was concurred in without a dissenting vote.

Knowing of your interest in environmental matters, I enclose a copy of the report. I trust that you will find it to be of interest.

Yours sincerely,

DAVID ANDERSON, M.P.,  
Esquimalt-Saanich.

[From House of Commons Issue No. 21,  
June 17, 1971]

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION

REPORT TO THE HOUSE  
Monday, June 21, 1971

The Special Committee on Environmental Pollution has the honour to present its

## Third Report

In accordance with its Order of Reference of Tuesday, October 13, 1970, to investigate generally the problem of pollution in the waters, soil and air of Canada and the plans of the federal government in relation thereto, your Committee has examined the impact on the Canadian Southwest Coast of the proposed tanker route between Alaska and Washington State.

Accordingly, your Committee called before it a number of expert witnesses including ship and towboat captains, members of the public service, oceanographers, professors and a lawyer, from both the United States and Canada. A full list of witnesses will be found in Appendix A. In addition, the Committee reviewed evidence given previously

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this session when it was examining Bill C-2, an amendment to the Shipping Act concerning oil pollution at sea, in particular testimony on the "Arrow" spill in Chedabucto Bay.

The Committee regrets that as yet it has been unable to hear testimony from officers of the Alyeska Corporation. Twice tentative dates for such testimony were arranged (May 22 and June 8, 1971), but because of negotiations between the Corporation and the U.S. Coast Guard, Alyeska officials requested that the meeting be postponed. It is hoped that a meeting can be arranged in the near future. However, because the House will soon recess for the summer, the Committee submits this report on its findings to date. The Committee plans to submit further reports after hearing additional witnesses including witnesses on the ecological impact of alternative systems of transportation.

At the outset of the hearings it had been hoped that the Committee would be able to make a quantitative analysis of probable risk and damage due to tanker traffic in this area, but this has not proved possible for a number of reasons, the most important being that the Committee has as yet no reliable statistics on the amount of Alaskan oil which is likely to be carried to the ports along the Strait of Georgia and Puget Sound. Estimates vary widely.

The Committee notes that Canadian government officials who travelled to Washington on May 3, 1971, to discuss problems related to establishing the tanker route with U.S. officials stated on their return that they were unable to obtain an accurate estimate of the expected increase of oil to be shipped in these waters. The Committee finds it hard to understand why more precise information is not available.

That the proposed tanker route will increase oil shipments manifold, however, is established. According to Robert Clark and John S. Finley of the Seattle Biological Laboratory of the U.S. National Marine Fisheries Service, "the volume of petroleum and its products moved over Puget Sound waters could also increase as much as ten times if the trans-Alaska and trans-U.S. pipelines are built." (Proceedings of Joint Conference on Prevention of Oil Spills, June 1971—American Petroleum Institute, p. 139).

It must be borne in mind that the waters in this region are more confined and hazardous than those where the "Torrey Canyon" or the "Arrow" met disaster. (Appendix B). For this reason, the threat of damage to the environment and also to the tourist and fishing industries is grave.

Your Committee wishes to emphasize the fact that the area most likely to be the scene of an oil spill is an important feeding area for many of the commercial and sport fish of the West Coast. Developing fish and the plankton fauna which is their main food source, are particularly vulnerable to the effects of oil pollution.

Once such a spill occurs, your Committee is of the opinion that the very best of clean up procedures are likely to be only partially effective, due to the pronounced current and tidal effects in the area. On this point, Dr. Paul LeBlond of the University of British Columbia Department of Oceanography, testified that: "Because of the strong dependence of currents on wind, tidal phase and river discharge, which all vary with time, no area of the shore of the Strait of Georgia is safe from a major uncontained oil spill." (Committee Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence No. 18, pages 48, May 12, 1971.) In this regard it appears likely that proportionate to the tonnage of oil spilled, damage will be far greater than that which resulted from accidents in the Santa Barbara Channel, in

Chedabucto Bay or in the English and Bristol Channels.

On the basis of evidence and testimony heard, the Committee is unanimous in its conclusions that if the proposed tanker route is established: (1) serious oil spills in Canadian waters and on Canadian shores are inevitable; and (2) these spills will result in substantial damage to Canadians. Further, your Committee notes that such oil shipments will offer no compensating benefit to Canadians in this area or elsewhere. Consequently, your Committee concludes that the proposed tanker route is detrimental to the Canadian national interest, and unanimously recommends that it be vigorously opposed by the Canadian government.

Your Committee found that the two areas most likely to be the scene of accidents are the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and the passages through the San Juan and Gulf Islands between the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Strait of Georgia. (See Appendix B) Some of the suggestions made to the Committee to reduce the risk of accidents in this area are:

(a) that a shore-based navigation control system be established;

(b) that a system of compulsory one-way shipping lanes with adequate separation in the Strait of Juan de Fuca and a one-way lane system in Rosario Strait, Haro Strait and Boundary Pass be established;

(c) that a system of certification similar to that in use for civil aircraft be instituted to ensure the correct functioning of radar, radio telephones and similar equipment prior to entry into the Strait; and

(d) that ships carrying hazardous cargoes such as oil be provided with an escort vessel whenever east of Cape Flattery.

It was pointed out to the Committee that the general flow of currents and tides in the Southern Strait of Georgia and between the San Juan Islands is northwards; it appears likely therefore that an oil spill, even in U.S. territorial waters, would have a greater effect and do greater damage on the Canadian side of the line than on the American. (See Appendix C)

Your Committee heard testimony on modern design and construction features which would reduce—but not eliminate—oil spills after collisions or groundings occur.

In this area, some of the suggestions made to the Committee are:

(a) that such ships make maximum effective use of double skins and compartmentalization;

(b) that the newly developed high strength steels be used in hull construction, and

(c) that such features as split rudders, bell flaps or even sea anchors be investigated to determine their effectiveness in reducing the stopping distance and increasing the maneuverability of such vessels.

Your Committee was told that the above proposals could increase the cost of shipping oil by such vessels by up to twenty-five per cent, which the Committee considers to be cheap in relation to the added security such features provide.

Time after time in its investigation, your Committee discovered that Members' questions could not be answered due to inadequate research. Your Committee, therefore, further recommends that the government consider the advisability of increasing resources devoted to:

(a) research on the effects of oil at sea and its effect on marine organisms;

(b) oceanographic research in the area in question;

(c) research into bacterial degradation of petroleum products; and

(d) environmental research in the MacKenzie Valley, a possible route for a pipeline.

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Your Committee is fully aware that such research is expensive and realizes that it is all too easy to recommend such studies. Nevertheless, in view of the enormous sums which would be involved in establishing a system of transportation of northern oil, and in view of the enormous sums which are being spent on research on the engineering and economic side of moving northern oil (the cost of the S.S. Manhattan experiment, for example, was reportedly \$39 million) the Committee believes that these recommendations should be carefully considered by the government.

In summary, your Committee concludes that the establishment of the proposed oil tanker route would result in severe environmental damage and substantial economic loss to Canadians. The Committee notes with approval the current discussions between the United States and Canadian governments on this subject and urges the Canadian government to oppose vigorously the establishment of the proposed tanker route between Alaska and Washington State.

A copy of the relevant Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence (Issues Nos 16 to 21)

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID ANDERSON,  
Chairman.

## APPENDIX A

Witnesses appearing before the Committee during Hearings on the Problems of Pollution in the Waters of the West Coast of Canada:

Captain Fred Collins, Vancouver Tug Co., Vancouver.

Mr. Derek Cove, Naval Architect, Vancouver.

Captain W. Davenport, Pilot, Victoria.

Mr. M. E. A. Dighton, Master Mariner, Victoria.

Dr. Alyn Duxbury, Division Marine Resources, University of Washington.

Dr. John Edwards, Professor of Zoology, University of Washington.

Dr. William Fuller, Professor of Zoology, University of Alberta.

Mr. R. D. Harris, Canadian Wildlife Service, Vancouver.

Dr. James Harrison, Assistant Deputy Minister, Energy, Mines & Resources.

Dr. J. D. H. Lambert, Professor of Botany, Carleton University.

Dr. Paul LeBlond, Institute of Oceanography, University of British Columbia.

Mr. Richard C. Passmore, Executive Director, Canadian Wildlife Federation.

Dr. Philip Townsley, Department of Agriculture, University of British Columbia.

Mr. Herbert Winokur, Lawyer, Washington, D.C.

## APPENDIX B

Juan de Fuca Strait—B.C. Pilot, page 55: "Navigation is simple in clear weather; the aids to navigation are numerous and the chart is a good guide. In thick weather, however, owing to the irregularity of the currents and tidal streams, every precaution must be taken. The Strait is liable to all those vicissitudes of weather common in these latitudes, and in few parts of the world is the caution and vigilance of the navigator more called into action than when entering it from the Pacific Ocean."

"The southeasterly gales of winter, blowing out of the straits, cause a heavy cross sea at the entrance on meeting the southwesterly swell of the open ocean. The weather off the entrance as a rule is exceptionally severe and the heavy broken seas are probably due to the shoaling off the entrance, the irregularity and velocity of the currents, and the meeting of the wind drawing out of the strait and that along the outer coast."

Rosario Strait—B.C. Pilot, page 123: "At its narrowest, it is about 1½ miles wide, and the depths in the fairway are considerable. Rosario Strait is in constant use by vessels

bound to and from Bellingham and Anacortes, or the various ports in the San Juan Archipelago, and to some extent also by vessels bound to or through the Strait of Georgia, when by doing so greater advantage can be taken of the tidal streams.

"The tidal streams attain maximum rates of from 3 to 7 knots in the narrower parts of this strait, and from 2 to 5 knots in the wider parts; they should, therefore, be specially guarded against at night or in thick weather. Special caution should be observed when passing the entrances of the various channels leading out of the strait. Heavy tide rips and eddies are formed in the vicinity of Black Rock, Obstruction and Peavine Passes, Peapod Rocks, and Lawrence Point."

Haro Strait and Boundary Pass—B.C. Pilot, page 152: "Haro Strait and Boundary Pass are deep and for the most part broad; but on account of the reefs which exist in certain parts, the scarcity of anchorages, and, above all, the rate and varying directions of the tidal streams, see below, great caution and vigilance are necessary for their navigation."

"Tidal streams: Heavy tide rips are formed round Discovery Island, between Henry Island and Turn Point, and on the south-going stream round Turn Point. In bad weather, there are heavy tide rips on the small banks lying in mid-channel eastward and northeastward of Fulford Reef."

## APPENDIX C

Testimony of Dr. Paul LeBlond, Department of Oceanography, University of British Columbia. (Committee Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence No. 18, Page 48):

(a) In the absence of wind effects, one would expect the surface currents to carry waters (and surface contaminants) Northwards from the Cherry Point area at a rate of about 1 kn, when averaged over a tidal cycle. Which way the water would first go would of course depend on the phases of the tide: flooding, northwards, ebbing, southwards.

(b) Winds from the southeast, as occur typically from mid-September to mid-April, would accelerate this northwards flow; winds from the northwest would slow it down or even reverse its direction, depending on their strength.

(c) Once near the mouth of the Fraser River, any surface contaminant would be advected away from shore by the jet of water issuing from the South Arm of the river. Depending on wind, tidal phase and discharge rate of the Fraser, subsequent water transport may be in almost any direction in the Strait, although it is on the average northwards towards Point Grey and Howe Sound.

(d) It seems that the Boundary Bay, Semiahmoo Bay area would be contaminated most likely within a day of an oil spill near Cherry Point.

(e) It is unlikely that the Vancouver area would be reached before at least two days.

(f) Because of the strong dependence of currents on wind, tidal phase, and river discharge, which all vary with time, NO area of the shore of the Strait of Georgia is safe from the major uncontained oil spill.

There has been a large refinery at Anacortes for years; what differences in effluent diffusion are to be expected between this refinery and the one at Cherry Point? The Anacortes refinery is in more protected waters, to the east of Rosario St., where tidal currents are weaker. The average trend there will also be northwards, but slower. In a recent oil spill, it was reported that oil was advected to the shores of Lummi Is., a few miles to the north. The town of Bellingham would be exposed to damages from spills at Anacortes.

As emphasized earlier, the direction of surface drift is strongly dependent on the

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wind speed and direction and on the phase of the tide . . . Even Victoria is not immune from oil spills in the vicinity of the Cherry Point area.

## APPENDIX D

Estimated revenues from tourism in British Columbia in 1970: \$473,465,000—from Annual Report B.C. Department of Tourism.

Estimated value of commercial fishing in B.C. in 1970: \$123,000,000—from Department of Fisheries and Forestry.

Estimated value of revenues of salt-water sport fishing activities in 1970: \$30,000,000—from Department of Fisheries and Forestry.

Whole sale value of commercial fish landings in the State of Washington was U.S. \$40,709,568. The value of the landings in Puget Sound was U.S. \$17,000,000, from *Plan for Washington State Food Fisheries*. Washington Department of Fisheries.

Estimated earnings from tourism in Washington State in 1969 was U.S. \$355,000,000, and it is estimated that half of this was in the immediate area of Puget Sound from *Impact of non-resident Travel on the Washington State Economy*, by Batelle-Northwest Institute.

## MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Thursday, June 17, 1971

(Text)

The Special Committee on Environmental Pollution met *in camera* at 9:47 a.m. this day, the Chairman, Mr. Anderson, presiding.

Members present: Messrs. Anderson, Barnett, Beaudois, Goode, Murta, Otto, Rock and Whiting—(8).

Other member present: Mr. Knowles (Norfolk-Haldimand).

The Committee proceeded to the consideration of a draft report to the House.

On motion of Mr. Murta, seconded by Mr. Otto.

*Resolved*—That reasonable travelling and living expenses be paid to Mr. Robert D. Harris, of the Canadian Wildlife Service, Vancouver, who appeared before the Committee on May 18, 1971.

After further discussion of the draft report, at 10:47 a.m. the Committee adjourned at 3:00 p.m. this day.

## Afternoon meeting

The Committee reconvened *in camera* at 3:42 p.m. The Chairman, Mr. David Anderson, presided.

Members present: Messrs. Anderson, Barnett, Corbin, Goode, Givens, Otto, Rock and Whiting—(8).

On motion of Mr. Givens,

*Agreed*.—That an extract from a paper entitled "Puget Sound Fisheries and Oil Pollution" by Robert C. Clark, Jr. and John S. Finley and Figure 1 accompanying such paper be printed as an Appendix to this day's proceedings. (See Appendix P)

The Committee considered a second draft of a report to the House which was adopted unanimously.

*Ordered*.—That the Chairman present the said report to the House.

At 4:22 p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

GABRIELLE SAVARD,  
Clerk of the Committee.

## APPENDIX P

(Taken from *Proceedings of Joint Conference on Prevention and Control of Oil Spills*, June 15-17, 1971—American Petroleum Institute, Washington, D.C.)

Extract From Puget Sound Fisheries and Oil Pollution.—A Status Report, Robert C. Clark, Jr. and John S. Finley, Biological Laboratory, National Marine Fisheries Service, Seattle, Washington 98102

The Greater Puget Sound Basin has all the natural resources necessary to make it one of

the most productive estuaries in all of North America. This basin is that portion of the Pacific Northwest containing all the inside waters from Cape Flattery to north of Vancouver, British Columbia. See Figure 1. With a shoreline equal in length to the entire coastline of Washington, Oregon and California and a surface area of 2,500 square miles, the Washington State portion of the basin has the advantage of providing protected deep water ports as well as a natural setting for marine aquaculture. Today this area is becoming one of the major oil handling centers on the West Coast of the United States. Can the area meet the challenge of protecting its natural environment while permitting an orderly development of the petroleum industry?

**Existing Fisheries and the Potential for Aquaculture—The Renewable Resource:**

Deforestation, flood control, hydroelectric dams, industrial and municipal pollution have severely depleted many of the nursery areas for Puget Sound fisheries. Further urbanization and industrialization threaten their complete destruction. Since it is unlikely that this process will be reversed, it is becoming apparent that conventional fishing methods will have to be supplemented by aquacultural technology to maintain fishery yields at satisfactory levels.

Today the rich and productive waters of Puget Sound directly support a commercial and sport fisheries valued at 75 to 85 million dollars annually. Two-thirds of this value is derived from sport fishing. Intensive aquacultural activities, developed over the next decade or two, could add an additional 100 million dollars annually. During the same period of time, the volume of petroleum and its products moved over Puget Sound waters could also increase as much as ten times if the trans-Alaska and trans-U.S. pipelines are built. Properly developed and managed, aquaculture and the petroleum industry should be able to exist side by side in the estuaries. While it would be difficult for properly planned aquaculture to exclude the petroleum industry, and oil pollution caused by a single large accident inside Puget Sound could destroy the area's entire aquaculture industry.

Aquaculture is just beginning to emerge as an industry in Puget Sound. One of the most ambitious projects is being developed by the Lummi Indians on land situated between two major oil refinery complexes in north Puget Sound: Cherry Point-Ferndale a few miles to the north and Anacortes to the south. The Lummi Indians have an investment worth four million dollars in four aquacultural activities: (1) an oyster-spawning hatchery, which is being used to establish and perpetuate their stocks of seed oysters—an excess of which they plan to sell to other Puget Sound oyster growers who are now dependent upon imported Japanese seed oysters; (2) a series of diked ponds on the tide-flats for rearing salmon, trout and rafted oysters; (3) a commercial algae-harvesting operation which provides raw materials for East Coast reduction plants; and (4) a bait worm industry in the intertidal zone.

At Manchester, Washington, Ocean Systems Inc. has undertaken a pilot salmon rearing project based on salt-water rearing methods developed by the National Marine Fisheries Service. Salmon are grown from eggs to marketable fishes of 34 pounds in one year. In Europe and Japan mussels, clams and shrimp have proved amenable to rearing under controlled conditions.

**The Petroleum Industry—The Unintentional Competitor:**

While aquaculture may represent the future for Puget Sound, the present demands more than 400,000 barrels each day (bd—42 U.S. gallons per barrel) of refined petroleum

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products to keep the factories, furnaces and motor vehicles fueled in the coastal portions of Washington, Oregon and British Columbia. The refining capacity of the area is considerably less than the demand; so additional oil is supplied by tanker from California. The demand for petroleum products is expected to increase by approximately 4.5 per cent annually for the western United States, and the petroleum industry has started to build additional refining facilities locally. There are already four refineries near Vancouver, one at Ferndale, two at Anacortes, and two small refineries in Tacoma.

A new Atlantic-Richfield Company (ARCO) refinery is nearing completion at Cherry Point, and though it will increase the area's production by 26 per cent, it will still not meet local demands. Standard Oil Company of California has a large block of land adjacent to the ARCO refinery site and Union Oil Company of California has actively sought a Puget Sound refinery site in the past.

Additional local refineries will have to be built if the present inflow of refined products from California is to be reduced. The Trans-Mountain Pipeline supplies low-sulfur crude from Alberta and British Columbia oil fields to the existing refineries in Vancouver, Ferndale and Anacortes. This supply of pipeline-delivered crude oil is essentially limited to these refineries which are producing near their design capacity now. Therefore, any new refinery will probably be dependent on crude oil supplied by tanker. ARCO will require up to 100,000 bd, and each additional facility will only add to this amount resulting in an abrupt jump from 17,000 to several hundred thousand barrels of crude oil shipped into Puget Sound daily.

When the Trans-Alaska Pipeline boosts its pumping rate to the projected 2,000,000 bd, the amount of crude oil available at the Valdez terminal will exceed the western United States petroleum requirements. The demands for petroleum products are becoming critical in the Midwest and East Coast, especially for low-sulfur crude oil such as that from Alaska's North Slope. One plan under active consideration is to transport from California is to be reduced. The Trans-Alaska Pipeline, load it aboard super-tankers at Valdez, ship it to a Puget Sound terminal of a trans-U.S. pipeline and then pump it to eastern markets. A feasibility study has been undertaken by ARCO, British Petroleum, Humble, Marathon and Mobil for this 2,600-mile, big-inch pipeline. Depending on the size of such a trans-U.S. pipeline, up to 1,000,000 bd of North Slope crude oil have been predicted to enter Puget Sound.

The transportation of refined products in western Washington and Oregon is by products pipeline (26 per cent), tanker and barge (69 per cent) and tank and railcar (5 per cent). On the average, one finds approximately 28,000 barrels of crude oil and nearly 220,000 barrels of refined products being transported daily on water of the Greater Puget Sound Basin. Early 45 tankers (usually 15,000-30,000 dwt vessels) call each month in Puget Sound ports to bring in crude oil or products and to ship out locally-produced products, and a small amount of crude oil.

The mammoth tanker has become the most economical and feasible method for the transportation of bulk petroleum on a worldwide basis. Unless exception is made to the Jones Act requiring U.S. built and manned vessels on domestic runs, the crude oil shipments from Valdez to local refineries will be in U.S. tankers. Figures on United States and world tanker construction are presented in Table 1. The conclusion that can be drawn from these facts and figures is that more and more petroleum will be moving in Puget Sound—and in larger and larger vessels.

## EXCELLENT INSIGHTS INTO THE NATIVE GERMAN PERSPECTIVE ON CURRENT GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

**Mr. SCHERLE.** Mr. Speaker, on October 16, Dietrich Bahner, a respected German industrialist, addressed the Second National All-German-American Heritage Group Conference in Washington, D.C. Mr. Bahner focused on the need for close cooperation between our countries, and his speech offers excellent insights into the native German perspective on current German foreign policy. Mr. Bahner's remarks are well worth reading and are therefore included in the RECORD in full, with your permission:

#### MR. BAHNER'S REMARKS

Mr. President, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: Before I turn my attention to political matters, let me express my appreciation and thanks for the invitation to address this distinguished audience. It certainly is a great honor and privilege for any German. (My youngest son suggested to me that I learn this speech by heart. But I hope you will forgive me for not following his advice—a foreign language is apt to cause embarrassing moments for the audience as well as the orator.)

Let me point out some of the problems and developments, that are of great importance for the Federal Republic and its role in the Western Alliance—developments that may influence the balance of power between East and West and the relationship between the United States of America and the Federal Republic.

Let me pronounce a maybe shocking thesis:

A foreign policy of the Federal Republic that is based on pragmatism alone must lead to an reproachment to the USSR. The Soviet Union is geographically close and very active—the United States is far away and limited in its actions.

It is a regrettable fact, that only the conservative and conservative liberal forces in the Federal Republic recognize the dangerous ideological element and the power motives in Soviet foreign policies.

The second no less disturbing thesis is:

Only a foreign policy based on a common ideology can keep the alliance of the free world alive.

On the recent Ostpolitik of the Federal Republic has left the hitherto common line of German foreign policy. With the attempt of legalizing the status quo, that means legalizing the separation of Germany, it traded the hitherto existing confrontation with the Soviet Union for a confrontation of Germans among each other. To the political and geographical split between East and West Germany, a split within the Federal Republic population has been added. The new Ostpolitik succeeded in turning the so far stable Federal Republic into an emotionally and ideologically torn state.

It is possible, that the Federal Republic will continue to play a certain economical role in the foreseeable future. Yet, if the treaties of Moscow, Warsaw and Berlin are ratified, its moral and its defensive powers will only be of hypothetical value.

Will the United States of America be able to fill the coming vacuum, or will not it be

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more likely, that the Soviet Union would feel called upon?

1. The Federal Republic may and can only pursue an Ostpolitik that is based on justice and freedom. The submission to force or power means the legalization of the enslavement of 17 million Germans under communist dictatorship, and means the legislation of enslavement of the East European Nations.

2. The democratic free world must understand itself as a unit. It must pursue a Common Ostpolitik with the goal of self-determination for all nations. This fundamental principle of the United Nations Charter must not be given up. If we don't preserve and pursue this principle, we betray the basic idea of Democracy. For Democracy cannot be without self-determination and self-determination is the essence of Democracy.

3. Parallel to the expansion and function of the Common Market, the idea of NATO has to be strengthened and given new spirit and life. Under the leadership of the United States of America we must establish common directives for economic, current and defense policies. The free Europe needs the free America and vice versa.

All nations of the free world are sitting in the same boat. No one can get out without endangering freedom and justice of its citizens.

Advantages for one part, that are disadvantageous for the other is an expression of poor policy.

A policy, that will work on the long run and will ensure gains for the individual states as well as for the Alliance, has to be based on true partnership. The condition for such a partnership requires the highest degree of confidence and trust. This confidence in turn can only exist on the basis of complete honesty, of renunciation of eccentricity and isolationism, of permanent mutual information. The policy of "fait accompli" has to be displaced by a policy of mutual agreement.

As a German I would like to use this opportunity to confirm the partnership between the Federal Republic and the United States of America.

There must be no rappalo again!

Germany and Europe need a strong America. We need and wish an America, that consciously take over the leadership of the free world.

The statue of freedom was a symbol and promise to all oppressed people. Only a policy, that sees all democratic nations with linked arms, will lend this Statue new shine and efficacy.

Thank you.

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MRS. SPAIN IS SPEAKER AT  
PULASKI DAY BANQUET

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Jayne B. Spain, Vice Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, was the principal speaker at the annual Pulaski Memorial Committee banquet held recently in New York City.

By tradition, the banquet was held several days following the colorful Pulaski Day parade. The grand marshal was Mrs. Catherine Green.

The host at the banquet was the president of the Pulaski Day Committee, Joseph E. Swierzbinski. Participating

from the Nation's Capital were Walter Zachariasiewicz, president, and Carl Sharek, vice president, of the Polish-American Arts Association of Washington, D.C.

More than 400 persons attended the banquet and heard the eloquent address by Mrs. Spain in her role as official representative of the President of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I include the text of Mrs. Spain's address:

ADDRESS BY MRS. JAYNE B. SPAIN, VICE CHAIRMAN, U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION, AT PULASKI MEMORIAL BANQUET, NEW YORK CITY, OCT. 9, 1971

I am most happy and deeply honored to participate in this General Pulaski Memorial Day celebration. I am doubly proud to appear here on behalf of the President of the United States. I have here a letter from President Richard Nixon which I would like to read to you:

DEAR JAYNE: It is good to know that you will be representing me at this year's traditional Pulaski Memorial Day festivities. You will be bringing to all who participate my warmest greetings and my continuing admiration for their unceasing dedication to the legacy of this great son of Poland who by adoption became a foremost patriot of America.

Casimir Pulaski symbolizes a contribution to the cause of human freedom which has been a source of inspiration and strength for our citizens long after his celebrated sacrifice on freedom's battlefields. To perpetuate his memory is to honor the heritage all of us cherish as Americans.

Sincerely,

(s) RICHARD NIXON.

My only regret is that I did not have the opportunity to observe your famous annual Pulaski Day Parade on Fifth Avenue last Sunday. From the accounts I have heard and the reports in the press it was a truly patriotic manifestation.

All too often these days we are witness to manifestations of another sort. Our military men and our leaders are maligned, our national anthem ridiculed and the American flag trampled upon. I am therefore very happy that all of those who participated in last Sunday's parade and those of you who are here this evening are proud to be patriots. You know, as I do, that American patriotism, America's devotion and dedication to freedom are not dead but very much alive.

FAITHFUL TO HERITAGE

You are also to be commended for remaining faithful to the heritage of which every Pole and every Polish-American should be proud. I admire groups such as yours that cultivate their beautiful languages, their century-old traditions, and the cultural ties with the countries of their ancestors.

America is a colorful fabric of different ethnic, religious, and cultural components. The right to be different is firmly established in our laws. But it is that love of America which all of these groups have shared which has made America great. And Polish-Americans have been second to none in their loyalty to this land.

The Polish American Arts Association of Washington, D.C., has recently put out a pamphlet announcing its program for the coming season. The pamphlet is most appropriately titled "The Excitement of Being Polish."

While I am neither Polish born nor of Polish ethnic heritage, I wholeheartedly agree that it is exciting to be Polish.

And, because I believe this, I too am a member of the Polish American Arts Association.

I am happy to note that our president, Mr. Walter Zachariasiewicz, is here this evening. Mr. Zachariasiewicz, I assure you that I am always ready to advance the causes for which our organization stands.

My connections with the Polish people . . . my respect and admiration for the Polish spirit . . . go back a number of years. The Americans of Polish ethnic origin who I had met in my work in a variety of humanitarian causes were among the most concerned for the welfare of others.

ASSOCIATIONS WITH POLES

The Americans of Polish ancestry whom I employed were among the most hardworking, loyal, and dependable.

The Polish-Americans whom I met socially were among the most friendly and fun loving . . . yet sensitive and cultured.

I first visited Poland some 10 years ago at the request of the United States Secretary of Commerce. Automated conveyor equipment produced by my company was to be exhibited at the Poznan International Trade Fair. I was asked to demonstrate how we utilized the skills of the blind on the production lines in my plants.

I was asked, and wanted to prove, that the blind—as well as other handicapped—were as competent as the nonhandicapped as long as the job matched their capabilities.

I personally trained 20 Polish blind men and women in assembling our conveyor machinery. The exhibit in which they participated was the most impressive of all those at the Poznan Trade Fair.

More important, from my personal viewpoint, was the contact which this visit made possible with some truly exceptional people. Among these were the saintly nuns who operate the amazing home for the blind at Laski.

CLOTH TO REPLACE HABITS

When I revisited Poland in 1966 to participate once again in the Poznan International Trade Fair I brought with me enough material to replace all of the threadbare habits of these remarkable and selfless nuns. I was told by our Embassy that I might be violating the laws—both Polish and American—by not declaring this material. I replied that if need be I would personally smuggle the cloth to Laski. The materials got to Laski.

I am very pleased to note that Mrs. Halina Rodzinsky, the widow of the renowned Maestro Artur Rodzinsky, is here this evening. Her work on behalf of Laski is well known to all of you, as it is to me. I commend your support for her worthy efforts.

One of the most satisfying accomplishments of my life has been that of being named Vice Chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped and Chairman of the President's Women's Committee. I was first appointed to these positions by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1966 and reappointed by President Richard Nixon in 1970.

It has always been my conviction that all of us who are not handicapped ourselves should do everything in our power to alleviate the problems faced by our handicapped brethren.

Out of this conviction has come Project Volunteer Power, a special project approved personally by the Secretary of Labor, James Hodgson.

I am very pleased that the newly designated Executive Director of this project, Mr. Carl Sharek, is here on the podium with me this evening.

PROJECT VOLUNTEER POWER

I sincerely hope that the Polish-American community will lend its full support to Project Volunteer Power and its efforts on behalf of the handicapped. Polonia is well organized and the contribution of the many Polish-American organizations would

be a real asset in erasing the problems which the handicapped still face.

Polish women and Polish-American Women's organizations are especially qualified to play a major role in such an effort. Witness what you have seen here these past few days.

For the first time in the long history of your Pulaski observances you have selected as your Grand Marshal a woman. You have thus paid tribute to the thousands of devoted, hard-working women, who in addition to taking care of their homes and families also find time to serve their communities. Mrs. Green, on whom you bestowed this great honor, typifies all those precious virtues of a family woman and a dedicated and respected worker in her community.

I too am proud to be the first woman ever designated by the President of the United States to be his personal representative at this auspicious event.

#### MANY CAPABLE POLISH WOMEN

Polish women have never been known to take a back seat. The history of Poland is filled with capable women. Queen Jadwiga not only firmly tied Poland's lot with Western Christianity but brought Poland to the heights of its power. Maria Skłodowska Curie remains known today as a front rank genius in the sciences. And who can forget Wanda Landowska whose very name is synonymous with the piano and the clavichord?

Polish women need not be told of the suffering they have endured throughout Poland's anguished history. They preserved the Polish spirit during the long tormented years of partition. They were on the barricades in the heroic Warsaw uprising. They accompanied and fought with Polish soldiers on all allied fronts during World War II. The women of America can well adopt the example set by Poland's women. The really important causes are not won by demonstrations and bra-burning parties.

The Polish-American mother has learned well the lessons of her proud ancestors. They teach not only love and compassion but loyalty and pursuit of excellence.

A new term has been added to our American-English Glossary: high W.A.S.P. ethnic. While I can appreciate that this appellation was meant by its inventor to be complimentary, I consider it superfluous.

According to such definitions, I am a W.A.S.P.—White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant. As far as I am concerned however, this is no compliment. I consider myself no better an individual—and no better an American—simply because of the fact that I happened to have been born white, to Scotch-Irish-English parentage and raised a Protestant.

#### PULASKI'S TRIP TO AMERICA

Two hundred years ago a Polish nobleman came to these shores to fight for the same freedom which he and his fellow Poles were denied in their own country. Kazimierz Pulaski could well have isolated himself in a life of luxury and convenience in his native land. He could have accommodated himself comfortably to foreign oppressors. But the Polish people were not, are not, and never will be slaves to any foreign masters.

Pulaski made the long pilgrimage to the New World to continue the battles against despotism which were denied him at home. He came to help free Americans from the shackles they too were fighting to overthrow. In the process he hoped to hone further his sword of Polish defiance and develop a new ally for Poland's freedom.

Pulaski was not a W.A.S.P. He was, however, no less a champion of freedom—as brave a man—and as dedicated to America's future as any man then living, fighting, and dying in this New World. His untimely death on the battlefield near Savannah, Georgia, sealed

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Poland's lasting pact with the United States. I say this with personal conviction because three of my own ancestors fought and died with him at Savannah.

#### POLISH PEOPLE ARE SENTINELS

The 35 million brave people of Poland remain today, as they have for over 1000 years, the sentinels of Western civilization. The blunders made after World War II deprived them, however, of formal membership in the alliance of democratic Western states for whose preservation they were the first to fight.

The slogans which you carried in your parade last Sunday reflected your own frustrations with this situation. They reflected also your hope, your faith, and determination. The people of Poland also have faith—a faith that all of us Americans will not forget them. The people of Poland need not only our material support, but our moral support.

I have long been an advocate and supporter of ever greater trade and cultural contact with the people of Poland. This trade—these exchanges—can, must, and will be increased.

We are witness today to a new phenomenon. We are told that in order to be fully accepted, in order to be members of the American fraternity, we must first be able to laugh at ourselves. And to endure with a smile having others laugh at us.

I maintain, however, that "Polish jokes" are no joke.

Why, I ask, is it necessary to demean oneself to be accepted? It is not necessary.

Why should it be necessary to listen patiently and smilingly while fools satisfy their own inadequacies by laughing at proven virtues of valor, pride, honesty and patriotism?

It is not necessary—and it should not be condoned by silence on the part of those who value these virtues.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE POLES

I am grateful for what Poland has given the world. I am grateful for what those of Polish blood have done for the United States. I am proud to be associated with Polonia.

The United States Congress has recently legislated a program aimed at facilitating and encouraging ethnic studies in this country. I am happy to note that this program has the full support of President Nixon and all of the Congressmen of Polish ancestry.

America is strong because of the culture and the values which migrants of various ethnic backgrounds brought here with them. America needs these values. They must not only be preserved but encouraged to flourish.

As Vice Chairman of the Civil Service Commission I am particularly aware of the needs for specialists skilled in languages, history, and culture of the world at large—the United States is today the leader of the world—America needs leaders who are conversant with the world.

I must admit to you that I am also disappointed that the number of Polish-Americans among the 2-plus million employees in the Federal service for which I am now responsible is relatively small. Americans of Polish ancestry should be better represented at all levels of our government. They should be encouraged to seek Federal career employment.

I suggest—I appeal to you—do not allow Polish idealism, the Polish virtues of integrity, honesty, loyalty, and valor to be lost. Educate your youth in these noble traditions. Train them in the Polish language. Do not let them forget the proud history of Poland.

If you do, the sacrifice of Pulaski and the millions of other Polish heroes will not have been in vain.

Jeszcze Polska nie zginela,  
Poki my zyjemy! . . .

## TOWN HALL AND ROLLAND D. HEADLEE HONORED

### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 2, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, recently the California Legislature honored Mr. Rolland D. Headlee for his distinguished service as executive director of Town Hall of Los Angeles.

The legislature called attention to the outstanding service Town Hall has provided the entire State during the past 35 years of its existence.

Town Hall has served to bring in varying viewpoints on important issues of the day for discussion and study. As a guest of Town Hall, I can attest to the open and frank discussion of the issues. I found my participation in Town Hall to be one of the high points of my public life.

I join the State Legislature of California in commanding Town Hall and Mr. Headlee.

Mr. Speaker, I include the text of the resolution in the RECORD:

#### ASSEMBLY RULES COMMITTEE—CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE RESOLUTION

(By the Honorable Walter Karabian, Assembly Majority Leader, relative to commanding Town Hall of California and Rolland D. Headlee for outstanding public service)

Whereas, The Members of the Assembly have learned that in 1972 Town Hall will celebrate its 35th anniversary and Executive Director Rolland D. Headlee will complete five years of dedicated service to Town Hall and to the southern California community; and

Whereas, Town Hall was founded in 1937 by a group of civic-minded men for the purpose of realizing through study and education the ideals of democracy and aiding through civic education in the accomplishment of an enlightened and harmonious community; and

Whereas, Town Hall has maintained an impartial position as an open forum for examining questions of public interest by developing the relevant facts and diligently reporting them in a nonpartisan and unbiased manner; and

Whereas, Town Hall has grown from its initial organizing group of 150 persons to its unique position in southern California as a diversified body of almost 6000 community leaders and concerned citizens of diversified backgrounds and persuasions providing a regular forum for more than 250 meetings per year; and

Whereas, Rolland D. Headlee, financial and management consultant, lecturer, and writer, has zealously served since January 1, 1967, as executive director of Town Hall, providing the organization with untiring and distinguished leadership; now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Assembly Rules Committee, That the Members commend Town Hall and Rolland D. Headlee for outstanding public service in promoting civic education in Los Angeles and Orange County; and be it further*

*Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit suitable prepared copies of this resolution to Town Hall and Rolland D. Headlee.*

Resolution No. 510, approved by the Assembly Rules Committee.

JOHN L. BURTON, Chairman.

MACOMB COLLEGE—EDUCATION  
FOR THE TOTAL COMMUNITY

## HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, at a time when so many of our colleges and universities are coming under attack by student activists as well as taxpayers, it is particularly encouraging to take note of the Macomb County Community College in my home State.

During the past 10 years there has been a phenomenal growth in the number and enrollment of 2-year colleges. In the early 1960's about 15 percent of the students attending Michigan colleges were enrolled in community colleges. This year that figure is 40 percent.

The Macomb Community College has more than 20,000 students, which makes it the largest 2-year college in Michigan and one of the largest in the country. Two decades ago the real estate where it is situated was farmland.

This dramatic growth and the overall success of the institution have been possible because Macomb College and its administrators have been strongly supported by the citizens of Macomb County.

Dr. John R. Dimitry, president of the college since 1967, has spearheaded development of many new and innovative educational programs. His leadership is providing a splendid example for other community college administrators throughout the country.

Dr. Dimitry looks upon a community college as an institution to help individuals in every sector of life. According to Dr. Dimitry:

We should provide a janitor as well as an engineer with the same quality of instruction, so they both perform accurately.

Providing education for the total community—young and old—is the objective of the Macomb College effort. While the college offers a full range of the usual academic subjects, courses are also available in bricklaying, firefighting tactics and industrial security, to name a few. Workshop courses are available which take students to Europe or to other parts of the world. In fact, this community college stands ready to offer and make available any reasonable course for people in its community who have a special need.

I am particularly pleased to note that Macomb College is paying special attention to the education needs of returning Vietnam veterans. The school's effort on behalf of the veteran is a total program, beginning with predischarge education and continuing through a range of assistance at every step from admission to graduation from college.

On September 23, the Detroit News published an excellent article entitled "MCCC—Big Hit With Students and Community," written by John E. Peterson. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

[From the Detroit News, Sept. 24, 1971]

## MCCC—Big Hit With Students and Community

(By John E. Peterson)

Going to Macomb County Community College (also known as MCS and 12 Mile High) is like going to a regular job.

Between 8 and 9 a.m. each weekday hundreds of cars form holding patterns on 12 Mile Road, impatiently waiting a chance to dart into the acres of black-topped parking that surround the school's South Campus.

The scene is repeated again at 6 p.m., when the school's night shift starts to arrive.

More than 20,000 students are taking courses ranging from arc-welding to Elizabethan literature at Macomb this fall, making it the largest two-year college in Michigan and one of the largest in the world. Two decades ago it was farmland.

About three-quarters of the students are enrolled at the burgeoning South Campus, a 140-acre tract on the south side of 12 Mile between Schoenherr and Groesbeck in Warren.

The rest are enrolled at the school's building Center Campus in Mt. Clemens and at 10 other sites including a Baptist church and partially phased out Selfridge Air Force Base (now Selfridge Air National Guard Base).

North campus is planned for 280 wooded acres at Romeo. When all three campuses reach full development they will serve a projected 45,000 students.

The South Campus, where most of the action is now, consists of a cluster of modern buildings set down in a bland jam of tract housing, light industry, apartment complexes and fast food franchises.

Its architecture is pleasing to the layman's eye, but has drawn some criticism from professionals.

"It looks," said a University of Michigan professor, "like the latest thing in industrial parks or a high-toned shopping center of the Somerset Mall type."

That may be a biased view. There is no doubt that many at Michigan's four-year schools still consider community colleges a bit gauche.

This in part may be a leftover from the days when community colleges were referred to by some as "kiddie colleges," "high school extensions," and "schleck techs."

But there are strong indications that the remaining disdain may derive more from snobbery than sober evaluation—"professional jealousy" was the way one Wayne State University professor of education put it.

Community colleges, indeed, must be doing something right—perhaps many things.

At the start of the '60's, about 15 percent of the state's college students were in community colleges. This year the total is nearly 40 percent—about 145,000 out of 423,000.

Of all forms of higher education, community colleges have come under the least amount of public attack.

"We have very few problems here," said Macomb's president, Dr. John Dimitry. "Oh, our campuses are a bit overcrowded and we could always use more money . . . but the main thing I'm concerned about is the public's apparent distrust of higher education rubbing off on us."

There are problems in the life of John Dimitry, but few crises.

Seriously concerned about his school's future and its relation to society at large, Dimitry is rare among college presidents in today's troubled world.

"I'm not so worried about us," he tells you, "because we relate well to our community."

"But some four-year schools like Michigan and others have been misconstrued by the public . . . given the reputation of being elitist. Some others have simply lost faith in themselves, in their relevance."

Dimitry is another college administrator who feels that the well-publicized campus

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unrest of the late '60's hurt the faith of a large segment of Middle America toward education in general.

"The reaction didn't just hit the schools that had the riots, it hit community colleges and even high school and the lower grades," he said. "There were some public school districts that hadn't turned down school millage proposals in 20 or 30 years that did so for no apparent reason . . . except general distrust."

Dimitry believes community colleges were generally spared disorder because they are primarily commuter colleges.

"The fact that we're not a dormitory college means social dissent is channeled back into community action . . . many times in the form of constructive action."

"What can students at a dormitory college do to express their dissent . . . get together and beat up the dean of students? . . . Dormitory colleges have really become youth ghettos where kids are isolated from the rest of society for four years or more."

Having a good mix of society represented on campus is a vital adjunct to the learning processes, Dimitry believes.

"The average age of our student body is about 24, so we really have no generation gap," he said. About 55 percent of our students are in one or more of our 80 vocational-tech programs, but they are required to take humanities courses, too.

Half of what is learned at Macomb, Dimitry feels, is not so much taught as caught.

"More than half the policemen in the county—about 550—took courses here last year," he said. "The percentage of firemen is about the same."

"It's really an ideal learning situation when you have police mingling with self-styled young radicals, registered nurses with women's lib types . . . It produces an atmosphere where ideas are challenged and can be explored openly."

Dimitry believes the community colleges have taken over the roles originally intended for the four-year schools under the Morrill land grant act of the 1860's.

"Those colleges, you'll remember, were designated A&M's . . . agricultural and mechanical . . . they were meant to help people at the grass roots level . . . they had no social pretenses, they went out and grabbed people," he said.

"Well, that's what we're trying to do here and I think we're doing it."

"We know we're helping people because more and more are coming to us. They have to pay us, they have to expend more than a little mental elbow grease and in many cases they have to fit us into already cramped schedules that often include a full-time job as a wage earner or housewife."

Nearly 75 percent of the students at Macomb hold outside jobs, in part because of the school's cooperative training program.

Under it, students in vocational-tech courses learn both in the classroom and by working part-time at a related job. The program is almost too successful, Dimitry says jokingly.

"More than half of our students are hired full-time by their training employer before they have completed the first year," he said. "That's because they're so intensely motivated that they make better workers . . . many are of lower middle class origin and really want to improve their status."

Because of its extensive cooperative program, Macomb has more part-time than full-time instructors.

But administrative-faculty relations have usually been good, Dimitry claims. The claim is backed up by Glenn Lahti, an assistant professor of humanities, who heads up the faculty association.

"Our teachers are young, assertive, well-educated, reasonable and above all optimistic," Dimitry said. "There's a general feeling of accomplishment here that carries over into all aspects of school life."

Dimitry foresees a time when an overwhelming majority of the states college students will spend their first two years at a community college near their home before going on to specialize in their last two years at a school like Michigan or MSU.

"That trend is under way across the country already, although Michigan seems to be lagging," he said. "The University of Michigan at Dearborn, which is right next door to Henry Ford CC, for instance, is adding freshman and sophomore classes to its junior and senior classes this year."

But a poll of educators and administrators at Michigan's four-year schools shows that the community college concept has the support of most.

"A good 50 percent of the kids on your campus would probably have been better off attending a community college for the first two years," said a MSU official.

"It would be better for everyone involved. The student would have a chance to find himself, the faculty wouldn't have to waste time on deadwood, the university could specialize and concentrate its expertise in certain fields to a far greater extent and the taxpayer wouldn't have to pay increasing school taxes.

"Right now, I think some of the community colleges in our state are doing a better job of educating a well-rounded citizen who is job marketable than a good many of our universities."

#### FORESTRY PROGRAM IN GEORGIA

#### HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Seaboard Coast Line Railroad Co. 27-year sponsorship of forestry competition among high school students is indeed commendable. A winner is selected from each State in the area served by Seaboard and this year's winner from Georgia was Mike H. Buckner of Junction City, Ga. His remarks prepared for delivery at the SCL-FFA Forestry Luncheon at the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio, Monday, October 11, 1971, is a good lesson for parent and youth alike. The key theme is industriousness and I know the House will applaud this young man's success story.

The article follows:

#### MY FORESTRY PROGRAM IN GEORGIA

(By Mike Buckner)

Mr. Rice, Distinguished Guests and Fellow Future Farmer Forestry Winners:

Forestry has affected me as well as many of my neighbors and friends. Talbot County, where I come from, is one of the leading pulpwood producing counties in Georgia—a state where nearly 7 million cords are cut every year to lead the nation in pulpwood production. This industry employs many citizens of our county.

I became interested in forestry at a very early age with considerable help from my father. Since he was the County Forest Ranger, he seemed to come home every day with a new adventure story to tell—about catching small animals, seeing deer, and most often about snakes he had encountered. Each time I would beg him to bring a snake home, but he always knew better!!! A lot of times he would bring home some of the left-over pine seedlings and tell me to go plant them somewhere. They usually didn't live because they were dead to start with—my father was just giving me something to do! But this

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something to do caught on and soon I had some of the seedlings living and growing. As a side occupation my father planted seedlings for other farmers in the county, so you can see he had ready-made arrangements for me. As soon as I could see over the steering wheel of the tractor, I was driving it while a man sat behind on a planter and planted trees. And many times I was that someone planting and someone else was driving.

In the years before I enrolled in vocational agriculture I planted in the neighborhood of 10,000 slash pine and about 2,000 Christmas trees. I planted the pines with a tractor and the Christmas trees with a hand tool called a dibble.

After enrolling in agriculture and studying some of the jobs and phases of forestry, I became more interested and that year I cut 50 sassafras posts and plowed 3,000 feet of fire break which protected 8 acres of forest land.

In the second year I salvaged 2.84 cords of pulpwood after a wind storm, cut 60 posts, and plowed 5,000 feet of fire break. That year I was also president of my class, president of my 4-H Club, and vice president of my Sunday School Class.

With the coming of each new school year I learned many new things about forestry and many new aspects of leadership under the guidance of Mr. Dewey Turner, my VoAg teacher and FFA Adviser. During the years 1968-69, I salvaged 3.3 cords of slash pine damaged by insects and disease, cut 75 fence posts, and planted 500 Arizona cypress for Christmas trees. I also planted about 50,000 slash pine seedlings—and maintained my interest in several different organizations! I was the FFA treasurer, chairman of the earnings and savings committee, 4-H president class favorite, class vice president, Sunday School treasurer, and vice president of Training Union at church.

The next school term brought on even more jobs and opportunities. I did hardwood control to release pines on 35 acres using dybar and 2,4-D. This was a hand operation mainly using a device called a tree-ject which resembles a long-handled chisel with chemical inside the handle—the point is jabbed into the base of the tree and the poison in the handle is exerted forth. I also cut 50 more posts plowed 6,000 feet of fire break, planted 1,200 red cedar Christmas trees and another 50,000 slash pines. By the way, I have sold 512 Christmas trees yielding me \$1,024. Again that year I was involved in many club and social activities. I was FFA vice president, chairman of the program committee, Star Georgia Planter from the North West District, 4-H vice president, class vice president, Sunday School treasurer and a member of the Taylor County Swine Club.

This past year I was a senior. I was president of my FFA and 4-H Clubs, a member of the annual staff where I was Editor-in-Chief, and among the top 12 outstanding seniors. In the field of forestry I planted 1,000 red cedar and cruised and marked 80 acres of pulpwood for a thinning operation.

In addition to my forestry work, I have carried out many supervised FFA agricultural projects. Each year for the last five years I have had a home garden, plus at least 5 acres of corn, 5 acres of cotton, and 20 acres of peas, which were for the farmer's market. I have also raised a litter or more pigs each year and cut 10,000 bales of hay. These activities are all my own responsibility. I have won medals and awards in the FFA in the fields of Forestry, Soil and Water Management, Crop Farming, Swine and Beef Cattle. I was named Star Chapter Farmer and a member of the Forestry Field Day team.

So you can see forestry and agriculture have really shaped my spare time and thoughts. This year I am attending Abraham Baldwin College at Tifton, Ga. I am planning to pursue an occupation in forestry or agriculture.

Thank you!

ADDRESS BY HAMILTON FISH, JR., BEFORE NEW YORK COLONY, NATIONAL SOCIETY OF NEW ENGLAND WOMEN

#### HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, the eminent Hamilton Fish, Jr., has prepared a very interesting speech to be delivered to the New York City Colony, National Society of New England Women, on October 28.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the extensions of remarks.

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

SPEECH OF HON. HAMILTON FISH BEFORE THE MEETING OF THE NEW YORK CITY COLONY, NATIONAL SOCIETY OF NEW ENGLAND WOMEN

The United Nations has been tried in the balance for a quarter of a century and has been found tragically wanting. Its main purpose in its charter was to promote peace and goodwill in the world and unfortunately its record in that direction is sadly lacking. Instead, it has become a Communist, Socialist complex in the heart of America, spreading hateful propaganda against our free institutions, our free enterprise system and indirectly, and almost openly, advocating Communism, Socialism, and Radicalism in most of its extensive operations.

Our Ambassador to the United Nations, George Bush, was right when he said the vote to admit Red China in the United Nations and ousting Free Nationalist China was a base, shameful act of betrayal and appeasement and a moment of infamy. The American people are asking, why a number of the free nations; virtually all of the NATO nations except Greece and Portugal (Belgium, Italy, Netherlands and Turkey abstained), voted with the Communist Socialist bloc to oust Free China, a charter member which has fulfilled all of its obligations and controlled a population greater than over half the members of the U.N. The Scandinavian countries generally Socialistic, and appeasers of Communism and this includes Iceland. England appeased Communism at Yalta reluctantly but tragically and continues to appease Communism because of its fear that Red China will take over Hong Kong a source of revenue to Britain. France with 25 percent of its population Communist, has been a consistent appeaser of Communism. The time has come to find out whether the NATO nations and even including France, are with us or with the Communists. Why should we spend a billion dollars or more, defending the NATO nations against Communist aggression and find that most of them behind our backs are playing the Internationale? Of course the support by Canada our long time friend and neighbor, of the ousting of Free China, is just another example of the actions of Socialist government in that country.

The ousting of Free China by a four vote majority was not only a serious blow to the prestige of the United States, but far more important, to the preservation of freedom throughout the world. Freedom and peace are the main objectives of the United Nations. Peace without freedom is tyranny and tyranny is Communism. The ousting of Free China was the greatest victory of world Communism since the Yalta Conference. How long will the patience of the American people endure having in its midst a so-called United Nations which from now on should be called the dis-united nations, spreading un-American propaganda of hate against our free in-

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stitutions, form of government and inciting violence and revolutionary activities.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the F.B.I., has already made it clear that 75 percent of the Communist members of the U.N. are spies and revolutionaries and now there will be double the number by the advent of Red China. I am not asking for the liquidation of the United Nations, although its record for peace has been very disappointing. I favor its existence because it has some constructive humanitarian activities, but I believe that the American people and the Congress favor Senator James Buckley's suggestion that from now on we will pay our share of our quota in the U.N. and nothing more. Second, that we request the F.B.I. to make a survey of the un-American and revolutionary propaganda emanating from members of the U.N. and if that proves that the U.N. is a sanctuary of immunity for revolutionary propaganda in the United States, the Congress shall request the removal of the United Nations to Switzerland or to some other small nation. It never should have been in the United States or in any of the larger nations. The main reason for the existence of any government is to protect its own people and the security of the nation.

FREE FUNDS IN POSSESSION OF STOCK EXCHANGE BROKERS SHOULD BE SEGREGATED

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter I addressed to the Honorable William J. Casey, Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, on October 29, 1971.

The text of the letter follows:

OCTOBER 29, 1971.

Hon. WILLIAM J. CASEY,  
Chairman, Securities and Exchange Commission, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: During the debates on the Securities Investor Protection Act, as a result of prodding by Members of Congress, the Honorable Hugh F. Owens, then senior member of the Securities and Exchange Commission, pledged the promulgation of rules and regulations by the Commission governing the segregation of securities of customers of New York Stock Exchange members, and the treatment of customers' free credit balances.

This solemn pledge was made almost a year ago on December 22, 1970, in a letter written by Commissioner Owens, then the Acting Chairman of the SEC, to Senator John Sparkman, Chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. The letter promised that the regulations would be implemented "at the earliest possible date" under the authority of the Securities Investor Protection Act (SIPC).

Acting upon this assurance, Congress deliberately omitted restriction provisions from the Act.

To date, no action by the SEC has been taken. By further delay, the SEC raises the serious question whether it is carrying out its responsibilities to the public as mandated by the Congress.

The issues of segregation of customer funds, and treatment of free credit balances are of great concern to the public. As of January 1970, New York Stock Exchange members held approximately three billion dollars of customers' free balances, funds for withdrawal on demand.

According to the September 21, 1970, Report of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, these balances are used by member firms "to maintain positions in securities, to finance margin purchases of other customers, and for other general purposes". It has also been estimated that the total of cash and securities held in the custody of brokers for customer accounts was approximately 50 billion dollars. These assets and cash are "trust" property, and should be segregated and protected. In many cases, however, they can be reached by creditors of the brokerage firms, particularly when segregation practices have not been followed.

If any lawyer, trustee, or anyone in a fiduciary capacity mixed his own funds and those of the trust beneficiary, he would be brought to book. An indefensible opportunity for immoral or unlawful practices arises when brokerage firms are exempt from equitable rules of conduct, and are not required to segregate customers fully paid and excess margin securities.

I am requesting the Honorable Lewis J. Lefkowitz, Attorney General of the State of New York, to make inquiry into this matter to determine whether laws of fiduciary responsibility are being violated.

Finally the time for palliation on the part of the SEC has long since passed. The Commission's duty is forthwith to issue regulations forbidding these practices.

Sincerely yours,  
EMANUEL CELLER, Chairman.

MOBIL OIL WINS ENVIRONMENTAL CONTROL AWARD

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, our country is very much concerned with progress in environmental control. The petroleum industry is leading the way in improved methods and efficiency for better ecology. The Petroleum Engineering Publishing Co. reviewed the outstanding programs of environmental control and is presenting its first Meritorious Awards program for engineering innovation. Mobil Oil placed first in the vital drilling-production category of this international competition. I wanted to congratulate the petroleum industry for all of their innovations. The research and development on environmental control will benefit our country from coast to coast.

Texas is especially proud that the first place award was for pollution control in Mobil's West Ranch field north of Corpus Christi, Tex.

Mobil will be recognized along with other winners during a meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers on November 11 in Washington, D.C. Environmental Protection Agency Deputy Administrator Robert Fri will preside with Abbott Sparks, president of Petroleum Engineer Publishing Co.

The statement of award to Mobil Oil is as follows:

AWARD TO MOBIL OIL

Mobil Oil Corp.'s West Ranch field 100 miles north of Corpus Christi, Tex., was modernized and computerized to achieve two goals: 1) realize substantial economies and increased production and 2) minimize possible pollution from oil spills during opera-

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tions. Producing facilities were completely revamped for a 700-well, 40,000 b/d field; liquid handling systems were centralized, and the entire operation was placed under computer control.

Possibility of a spill has been dramatically lessened by reducing the number of oil conditioning sites from 21 to 1, by replacing outdated equipment, by installing monitoring and alarm devices to spot equipment failures immediately, by automating selected control functions and by controlling surface drainage at the treating site.

The master computer located in Corpus Christi gives orders. The West Ranch-based slave computer continuously gathers information from remote field units and relays necessary data back to the master computer. The computers gather data at 9600 points in the field and perform at least 100 functions, including operations, monitoring, status and alarm, and report-making. Computer control provides continuous testing of wells and regulation of critical flow rates and artificial lift.

Modernization and automation of the field cost approximately \$5.8 million. It has enabled West Ranch to become a model producing field and significantly reduced possibility of environmental pollution.

MORE ON PRAYER AMENDMENT

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, the following letter to the editor of the Washington Post, written by Charles L. Black, Jr., of the Yale Law School, is the one to which I referred in my 1-minute speech today:

THE PRAYER AMENDMENT

A number of teachers of constitutional law have attacked the proposed Amendment on "Prayer in Public Buildings" on the ground that it constitutes the first encroachment in our history on the Bill of Rights as interpreted by the Supreme Court, and hence sets a most dangerous general precedent. I fully concur in this objection. There is, however, another crucial objection to the amendment which goes specifically to its own substance.

This special objection cannot be made clear unless one quotes the substantive text of the amendment: "Section I. Nothing contained in this Constitution shall abridge the right of persons lawfully assembled, in any public building which is supported in whole or in part through the expenditure of public funds, to participate in nondenominational prayer."

The astounding thing about this text is that it addresses itself only by indirection, if at all, to the problem which actually interests its sponsors, and which actually concerned the Supreme Court in the cases it is designed to overrule or weaken—the problem of official prayer in the public schools. The question in the school prayer cases was not whether people might sometimes lawfully pray in buildings supported in whole or in part by public funds. The question was whether children not so much "lawfully assembled" in public buildings as coerced into assembling in public buildings by the truancy laws, could lawfully be forced either to pray, or to stand silent during a prayer conducted in their coerced presence, or to be sent into the hall or in some other way marked as deviants, with all that means to a child. Of this proposed amendment as it stands, therefore, one of two things must be true. Either it does not touch the practice

of school prayer at all (in which case it is a triviality, addressing itself to peripheral problems which interest no one) or it will be held to overrule the school prayer cases, without doing so in candid language that addresses itself fairly to the problem of official coercion, or shaming, operating upon children in connection with religious matters. If the first of these things is true, then it is preposterous to go through the constitutional amendment process to achieve so trivial a result. If the second should turn out to be true, then a real outrage will have been committed, because a coercion of children in religious concerns, or a pressure upon them in regard to such concerns, will turn out to have been made permissible, by language which does not in any way make clear this drastic purpose.

**IT IS TIME TO BUILD THE ALASKA OIL PIPELINE**

**HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, nearly 4 years ago, one of the greatest oil strikes in history was made on the north coast of Alaska, which borders on the Arctic Ocean. The amount of oil in this field is estimated to be at least 10 billion barrels and possibly 15 billion—as much as all the oil in Louisiana, Oklahoma, Kansas, and half of Texas combined. It is high-grade oil, low in sulfur, and therefore will cause less air pollution when burned as gasoline.

This discovery of so vast a new source of high-grade oil on American soil came at a time when our dependence on foreign oil was steadily growing, to the point that now about one quarter of all our oil comes from abroad.

Because the Arctic Ocean north of Alaska is thickly frozen for most of the year, transportation of the oil from the new field to the rest of the United States requires a 600-mile-long pipeline from the closed north to the open south coast of Alaska. Two years ago the oil companies which had found the new field and were ready for drilling applied to the Federal Government for permission to build this pipeline.

Incredibly, that permission has not yet been granted.

The growing abuses of the "ecology" crusade—of which I have warned in the past, while at the same time making clear my commitment to cleaning up our air and water—have reached a veritable summit of irresponsibility in the attack on the Alaska oil pipeline. Commonsense should tell us that of all the construction works of man, a pipeline is one of the least harmful to the environment, since its contents are entirely enclosed and are not allowed to escape at any point, and since so little land is affected. The Alaska oil pipeline will require only a 50-foot right-of-way for its 600 miles of length, using therefore just 8.2 square miles of land in all—which is approximately 1/73,000 of the total area of Alaska.

Nevertheless, in view of the shrill and persistent outcries against the pipeline, careful studies have been made of every

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

possibility—even the most remote—of environmental damage. By every available test, there would be no significant damage and scarcely any effect at all, outside the 50-foot strip. The oil companies have even agreed to build overpasses for caribou, whose possible plight seems to have particularly caught the public fancy, even though substantial parts of the pipeline will be underground, offering no barrier whatsoever to the caribou in those areas.

Yet the opposition continues. Several court suits are expected as soon as the Secretary of the Interior finally gives permission for construction of the pipeline to begin. They could tie up that construction indefinitely.

After prolonged debate October 19 and 20, the House of Representatives passed a bill to settle Alaskan Native land claims, and to specify the status of hundreds of millions of acres of Alaskan public lands, after defeating an attempt to set aside up to 50 million acres primarily—according to some of its advocates—for the sake of about a thousand grizzly bears, which amounts to 50,000 acres per bear. Even the 40 million acres set aside for the Alaskan Natives was a much larger amount of land than it appears they ever actually used.

This Alaskan land bill, however, overgenerous, removed the last legal obstacles to the construction of the pipeline except the objections of those who, in the words of one of Alaska's U.S. Senators, "urge that all Alaska be reserved for future animal herds, who have determined that the only acceptable development is no development at all."

It is time to build the Alaska oil pipeline. Nothing will be hurt by it but the dreams of a few romantics who in all probability could not survive more than a few days in the Arctic. The Nation and the economy will be helped, since we are going to continue using oil regardless of where it comes from, and it is obviously better to have it coming from our own territory, without the necessity of more offshore oil drilling in areas like southern California, and in the process making substantial areas of our "last frontier" more fit for human habitation—which, after all, has at least as much claim on our concern as habitation by caribou and grizzly bears.

In the words of the Wrangell, Alaska, Sentinel:

We think it is time for the preservationists to wake up and consider the future—all of it. People, too, are a natural resource.

**STATEMENT ON RALPH NADER**

**HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, Ralph Nader's testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Government Operations regarding phase II of President Nixon's economic program ought to wake the American people up to his thoughtless irresponsibility. In that testimony, Mr. Na-

der characterized the President's program as unconstitutional, and called the President, the Nation's most radical in history. While this type of public mudslinging might appeal to the liberal leftists around Harvard Square, it ought to cause the vast majority of right-thinking Americans to ponder the credibility of this crusader turned demagogue.

Each and every action announced by the President in revealing the specifics of phase II, is fully within the scope of the authority given to him by the Congress in the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970. The Pay Board, which is made up of representatives of labor, management, and the public; and the Price Commission which is made up entirely of public representatives clearly were within the contemplation of the Congress in passing the act and were carefully designed to afford maximum representation to all Americans. Mr. Nader's charge that the President has developed an unconstitutional assumption of power to the detriment of the public is pure hogwash.

His further assertions that the Board and Commission will operate "without congressional guidelines, without due process, without safeguards, and without appeal," is wholly without foundation. There will be guidelines, there will be due process, there will be safeguards, and there will be appeals. It is bad enough that Mr. Nader delivered his broadside before the details of the President's program were forthcoming, but it is even more onerous that he did it for the express purpose of frustrating its implementation. Public support is the cornerstone of the President's program and that is exactly what Ralph Nader seeks to destroy. The impatience of this self-appointed guardian of the public interest, is only exceeded by his insolence.

Nader appears to be in competition with another outspoken American radical—Attorney William Kunstler. Between the two lawyers, more smoke has been generated in the last 5 years than by any two previous Americans in the Nation's history. It is hard to believe that very many Americans take comfort in the knowledge that these two men are in the forefront of civil libertarianism.

The overwhelming majority of Americans are willing to give the President's economic program a chance. The goal of revitalizing the Nation's economy is too important to allow the doubts of a few to interfere. The Congress passed the Economic Stabilization Act with its eyes open and the President has implemented it in the same manner. Let us give it a chance to work, and leave it to the appropriate tribunal to determine its legality.

The knee-jerk response of Ralph Nader is lamentable yet fully expected. He is demonstrating his well-known penchant for sour grapes and in my view is beginning to fall into disrepute with more and more Americans. One can only cry wolf so many times before his true motives are discovered. The American people can use a break from Nader and his Ivy League ideologues. He and his consumer storm troopers should retire to the academic life of Cambridge and New Haven and leave the rest of us alone.

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## IMPORTS AND ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE—PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the October 9 edition of the *National Journal* an illuminating article, "Promise and Performance—The Story of a Federal Program That Missed Its Mark." The article focuses on adjustment assistance for American industries and workers adversely affected by U.S. tariff agreements. This program was authorized in the 1962 Trade Expansion Act.

Frank V. Fowlkes' assessment that the adjustment assistance program "has been little more than a broken promise to the firms and workers it was intended to benefit" does not mean that this sort of program cannot be made to work. I am pleased that the Nixon administration is addressing this issue. An effective adjustment assistance program will help alleviate pressures for restrictive trade measures.

The article follows:

## PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE—THE STORY OF A FEDERAL PROGRAM THAT MISSED ITS MARK

Adjustment assistance, approved by Congress in 1962 as the answer to import competition, has been little more than a broken promise to the firms and workers it was intended to benefit.

Authorized by the Trade Expansion Act (76 Stat. 872), adjustment assistance was designed to provide aid in a variety of forms to domestic industry injured by U.S. tariff concessions.

It has not worked well. For seven years, until 1969, it did not work at all.

Workers and firms, who were reluctant to accept the assistance program as a substitute for protection to start with, have been frustrated by delay, red tape and rejection.

Even where they have received assistance, most benefits have been in cash rather than the forms of adjustment aid which distinguish the program in concept from simple income maintenance.

The relocation and retraining provisions of the act, designed to effect long-term solutions by taking workers out of dead or moribund sectors of the economy, have been largely unused.

Federal officials agree that this failure has made adjustment assistance a backdoor form of supplemental unemployment insurance.

During its first seven years, the problem with adjustment assistance was simple: The Tariff Commission rejected every petition it received.

Today, however, the problem is conceptual rather than administrative. Simply stated, it is that, except for the cash benefits, few potential beneficiaries want what the program has to offer.

Aware of this problem, the Nixon Administration currently is planning revisions in the program. The new proposals will be drafted by the Council on International Economic Policy, under Executive Director Peter G. Peterson. A council spokesman acknowledged, however, that little progress has been made, despite the fact that the matter has been under advisement since early this year.

Peterson has assigned Brandon W. Switzer, a special assistant, as his delegate to an interagency task force which, when fully staffed, will do the preliminary research on the program revisions.

## COMPLEX PROCEDURES

The adjustment assistance program offers different forms of relief to different types of applicants. Every applicant, however, must pass the same test to establish his eligibility: he must demonstrate to the satisfaction of the Tariff Commission that he has suffered injury due in major part to imports caused by tariff concessions.

Firms which meet this test are eligible to ask the Commerce Department for technical assistance, loans or loan guarantees. They may also seek extended tax loss carry-back privileges from the Internal Revenue Service.

Worker groups and unions which meet the test may ask the Labor Department for cash benefits of up to 52 weeks (longer periods are prescribed for persons over 60 years of age or persons enrolled in training programs) for retraining or for relocation.

The law provides two additional avenues by which firms and workers not meeting the above tests may establish eligibility. In cases where the Tariff Commission divides evenly on an adjustment assistance petition, the President is authorized to declare the applicant eligible. And, on industry (escape clause) petitions where the commission either divides evenly or finds in the affirmative, the President may authorize firms and workers within the industry to apply directly to Commerce or Labor for adjustment assistance.

Routinely, however, the departments impose bounds on eligibility. At the Labor Department, the Bureau of International Labor Affairs studies each approved petition to determine precisely which workers in the petitioning body should be eligible and precisely the date to which their eligibility is retroactive.

At the Commerce Department, the Office of Trade Adjustment Assistance closely examines requests for loans, loan guarantees and technical help, granting them only where satisfied that the purpose is worthy.

## THE RECORD

Program administrators say that the ideal adjustment assistance case would be one in which the roles of the two departments mesh—Commerce providing money and technical help for a firm to modernize or redirect its effort; Labor retraining the old employees to do the new jobs.

It has not happened. Since the seven lean years ending in 1969, there has been no overlap of aid to firms and aid to workers.

## FIRMS

By the end of fiscal 1971, the Commerce Department had received a total of 16 cases: two directly from the Tariff Commission, five from the White House on the Tariff Commission votes and nine as outgrowths of escape clause findings.

Of those 16, 14 have been certified as eligible by the department but only two have as yet received any help. The sum total of the adjustment assistance that has been provided firms in almost nine years can be summed up as follows:

*Emil J. Paidar Co.*—A Chicago barber chair manufacturer was pledged \$3.8 million in loans and loan guarantees to aid it in converting to production of dental cabinets.

*Benson Shoe Co.*—A Lynn, Mass., firm was pledged \$1.7 million in direct loans and has received technical assistance to help with modernization and redirection of its distribution program.

*Workers*—By the end of fiscal 1971, the Labor Department had certified a total of 48 worker petitions referred by the Tariff Commission, received from the President on the votes or received directly from worker groups as the result of favorable escape clause findings.

Workers eligible for assistance under these 48 certifications totaled 19,550. Of this number, however, only 6,557, or about one-third,

actually received cash benefits; practically no one was relocated, and only 156 received retraining payments. All but two worked for a single plant of Uniroyal, Inc., located in Woonsocket, R.I.

Funds dispersed by the Labor Department by the end of fiscal 1971 totaled \$16.5 million of which \$4.8 million went to reimburse state unemployment services for payments made to adjustment assistance beneficiaries prior to certification. Total disbursements represented only about half of the \$32 million which the department had allocated for the program during the period.

*Problem*—Program administrators make no secret of adjustment assistance's deficiencies.

*Vague terms*—Commerce officials note that the administration of assistance for firms is made difficult because the law sets no limits on the amount of money that may be loaned to a firm and prescribes only in general terms the purposes for which money may be loaned.

Lewis J. Kaufman, who has recently assumed the post of director of the Office of Trade Adjustment Assistance in the department after 18 years with the investment banking firm of Goldman Sachs, explained the problem. "What do we do when a textile firm, which has never had more than \$3 million in sales, comes in here and asks for \$10 million to computerize their operations? The law sets no limit. We have got to get some discipline into the program."

*Just cash, please*—For workers, the most serious shortcoming of the program is that the pure adjustment provisions—which are voluntary—hold little appeal.

Workers are happy to take the cash benefits where available, but few have any interest in retraining or relocation. Labor Department and union officials cite several reasons, some conceptual, some administrative.

Eligible workers tend to be from static or shrinking industries; industries not likely to have done much hiring in recent years. Those laid off tend, therefore, to be old. Experience indicates that many are in their late fifties and many are women.

These people have deep roots in the community and don't want to move. Moreover, the very fact of their eligibility indicates that the industry as a whole is apt to be in difficulty. The likelihood of their finding similar work elsewhere is, therefore, slight.

At the same time, the prospect of retraining is not particularly appealing. Some who lose their employment are too old to learn new skills and compete for new jobs. Others live in small communities where retraining opportunities simply do not exist. Many live in depressed areas where there are no jobs for which to train.

*Impediments and disincentives*—In addition, there are other reasons why an eligible worker might not want to or be able to qualify for anything but cash benefits.

A worker who volunteers to accept retraining aid while receiving cash benefits must accept and make satisfactory progress in the training program to which he is assigned or lose his eligibility for the cash allowances. Should he reject or drop out of the program, his only recourse against disqualification is to appeal on the grounds that the work for which he was being trained was not "suitable."

The retraining option, therefore, involves assumption of a risk which many workers are not willing to take. Fewer than 1 percent of those eligible have received retraining.

The qualifications for relocation assistance do not offer disincentives but are prohibitive in other ways. In order to qualify, a worker must (1) be the head of a family, (2) demonstrate that there is no reasonable expectation of suitable employment in the area where he lives or could commute to, (3) have at least a bona fide offer of suitable employment of long-term duration in the new location.

Limiting relocation eligibility to heads of families automatically eliminates a large

number of those just entering the work force, those with the weakest ties to the community and those with the greatest willingness to move. Moreover, it misses an opportunity to lure youthful workers away from the same dead-end local employment situation that enables their fathers to qualify.

The requirement that the applicant have in hand a bona fide job offer amounts to a prohibition for many. "How is a fellow who lives in some small isolated town going to get a job somewhere else or even find out about one?" says one union official. "What's he going to do? Mail his resume around?"

**Retroactivity**—Even in the provision of cash benefits, the adjustment assistance program has not done what it was intended to do—tide workers over until they could find new work. Instead it has provided retroactive, lump-sum payments, many of which have not reached workers until long after their 52 weeks of eligibility expired.

This delay has meant that, in many cases, workers have made whatever adjustment they were capable of making before receiving help from adjustment assistance.

Another effect of the delay has been that many workers, who have been declared eligible and might have collected had the assistance been quickly available, have collected nothing.

Of the 19,550 who had been certified eligible by the end of fiscal 1971, more than two-thirds had not received a single payment.

The Labor Department official chiefly responsible for contracting with the state employment agencies says that one solution would be to abbreviate the period in which injured parties were eligible to petition.

This would cut down on the single largest component in the delay—the preparation of petitions—and ensure that relief where provided would occur when adjustment was still a live option, he said.

In most instances, the actual time consumed by the federal government in processing petitions is considerably less than the 26 weeks during which most workers are eligible to receive unemployment compensation from the states.

#### NEW YORK TRANSIT USERS REBEL

#### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

**Mr. ROSENTHAL.** Mr. Speaker, the overwhelming defeat of the \$2.5 billion transportation bond issue by the voters of New York State yesterday is another sign of a growing citizen revolt against rising taxes, broken promises, and worsening services.

There is a swelling wave of voter mistrust in the priorities determined by public officials. Tuesday's vote should be viewed as an expression of the transportation consumer's rebellion and a warning to recognize his needs.

The transit user is fed up with the favoritism long shown toward the powerful highway lobby, and he emphatically said so at the polls.

I reluctantly supported the bond issue as the only viable means of preserving the 30-cent subway fare. The voters have decided that another method must be found to stop the fare increase without raising their taxes.

Many public transit users—especially the poor, the jobless, the elderly, and the young—are captive riders and cannot ex-

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

press their displeasure at rising fares, diminishing service, and empty promises except by voting against this bond issue.

They remember the 1967 \$2.5 billion transportation bond issue. While the full \$1.25 billion allocated then for highways already has been spent—plus another \$300 million not yet approved by voters—only 16 percent of the \$1.25 billion earmarked for mass transit has actually been spent.

The rider/taxpayer has made it clear he does not want to spend any more money until he sees what he gets for the \$1.25 billion he put out in 1967.

The anger and frustration of the people of the cities of New York State cannot be ignored any longer. Priorities must be reordered and made more responsive to the needs and wishes of the people.

It must be recognized that mass transit is as vital to a city as an elevator to a high-rise building. Without mass transit, our streets and highways would be congested beyond imagination. It is in the interest of efficient highway transportation as well as for the proper functioning of our cities that we must have a viable and effective mass transit system. This means public subsidization through State bond issues and taxes and from the Federal Government as well. But it also means some of the billions we have been spending to put down ribbons of concrete for our cars must be reconsidered and directed toward mass transit.

This requires leadership on the part of our public officials, and courage to fight on the side of the people against the vested highway interests.

#### SHOULD THE U.N. HEADQUARTERS BE MOVED?

#### HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

**Mr. FISHER.** Mr. Speaker, an article written by the noted columnist, Richard Wilson, is entitled: "A United Nations Home Outside the United States Seems Justified." There the writer assesses some of the damage wrought by the unwarranted expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations, and makes a strong case for removal of the U.N. headquarters to some other country.

Referring to the effect of the expulsion on the future of the United Nations, Mr. Wilson wrote:

Maybe it is the beginning of the end.

The columnist then noted:

From now on the affairs of the U.N. will be dominated by anti-Americanism, whatever the effectiveness of judicious retaliation. There is no Communist bloc anymore but there might as well be so far as making the U.N. a forum for hatred of the United States is concerned. The U.N. also serves as a rallying point for those elements in this country who have carried their own opposition to American policy to the point of hatred.

Furthermore, the U.N. is a haven and staging area for international espionage and an

accepted "cover" for secret police agents. It will become more so when the Chinese send their delegation to New York.

The article proceeds to explain why the permanent headquarters should be neutral ground:

All this suggests that there are serious questions on whether or not the U.N. headquarters belongs in any country whose interests are so deeply involved as the United States, Russia and Communist China. Part of the hatred expressed at the U.N. undoubtedly arises from the bad treatment some of the delegations think they have gotten and the absence of much respect for them either in New York or Washington.

Such disrespect may now increase on the wave of reaction against an unfair and unprincipled act in expelling the government on Taiwan. It is especially ominous that the view is widely held that the next move may be against Israel by Arab nations supported by the Soviet Union. This could cause quite a stir in New York.

In reality, of course, the U.N. is a hollow but noisy shell. When important issues are to be resolved the major powers will not and cannot permit decisions to be made against their interests.

Ambassador Bush's suggestion on holding General Assembly meetings in various world capitals is worth considering as a preliminary to moving the U.N. permanently to neutral ground, such as Switzerland. The buildings in New York could easily be put to more constructive use.

Mr. Speaker, this reasoning is sound. Most Americans now insist it is time for this country to stop being a patsy, and face up to reality and our own best interests. If for no other reason, we should move the U.N. Headquarters from our shores, because it provides a sanctuary for Communist espionage in this country.

We are reminded of what happened in Great Britain recently when a large number of Soviet spies were found to be operating there, attached to the Russian Embassy, their trade and culture missions. And look what happened in Mexico where the government found it necessary to expel an assortment of Soviet spies.

Membership in the United Nations accords to member nations and their delegations certain diplomatic privileges and immunities. That fact makes it more difficult to detect and expose subversive functionaries. The U.N. thereby provides a built-in sanctuary, and makes for a heavy burden on our enforcement officers.

At this time the Russians have 66 people attached to their United Nations delegation. Cuba has 20—to mention but two. And how many will the Peking regime assign?

Mr. Speaker, our voting power in the U.N. should be upgraded—or we should get out.

Our financial contribution to the U.N. budget should be based on population or we should get out.

As the summary expulsion of Taiwan reveals, the Communists now dominate at the U.N. level—at least on some major issues.

There are many reasons why our continued membership is not in our best interest. If we are to remain, as the host country we have a right to demand these reforms. In any event, it is imperative that the United Nations Headquarters be moved to some other country.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Mr. Speaker, I have said this concern is shared by most Americans. From my own district I have received stacks of letters and telegrams to this effect—and not a single message to the contrary. Let the United Nations, in its operations, either put up or get out.

## STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE JOHN A. HANNAH

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD  
OF MICHIGAN  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable John A. Hannah, Administrator of the Agency for International Development recently made a statement concerning the Senate defeat of the Foreign Aid bill which I found to be extremely important.

He has correctly pointed out that as a result of this vote the AID program is in danger of being dismantled. Contrary to popular belief, there just are not enough funds in the pipeline at present to keep this vital agency afloat after November 15.

There are many aspects of the program which need improvement. But until those changes can be made, our present aid program remains a vital part of the Nixon doctrine. We cannot afford its wholesale destruction at the very time our foreign policy is undergoing such a fundamental and important transition. Mr. Speaker, that is one of the main reasons why I am in favor of a continuing foreign aid resolution while we reassess the entire program.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE JOHN A. HANNAH, ADMINISTRATOR, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, OCTOBER 30, 1971

For twenty-five years the United States has been a leader in the effort to bring a measure of peace and economic justice to the world. Under U.S. leadership, foreign assistance has become a truly international effort in which virtually all developed countries participate. As a result of foreign assistance beginning with the Marshall Plan in Europe and Japan, Point IV, the intervening agencies, and for the past ten years U.S. AID—under the leadership of five U.S. Presidents: Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon—the world is a vastly better place to live in than it otherwise would have been.

The United States has been the leader in providing assistance to the less developed countries of the world where two-thirds of the world's people live. Foreign assistance has helped to bring about great increases in food production, to provide education for millions of people, better health for more millions, substantial success in economic development and in encouraging family planning—all directed toward improving the quality of life for all people everywhere.

Through U.S. AID our country has provided its share of the cost of multinational programs through the U.N. agencies and through consortia of the other aid-giving countries of the Free World. There are coordinated foreign assistance programs in most of the poor countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa.

In its own interest, the United States cannot become a world dropout, repudiate its

commitments and the institutions and programs which we and other nations have built in the past 25 years.

The U.S. AID program assists Africa, where the average income is less than \$100 per person per year. The AID program helps in education, in agriculture, in nutrition, in health—in programs which help people help themselves. In Latin America and Asia, our programs, together with those of other nations, have helped, and must continue to help, governments provide a better life for their people.

The Senate's action of yesterday will have the effect of bringing the AID program to a halt on November 15.

It would end U.S. assistance which has provided much of the leadership in the world in the direction of helping to solve the population problem, which places awesome strains on the world's resources.

It will cut off funds for assisting other countries to control the growth and distribution of narcotics, a problem which is corroding the vitality of our country.

It will stop the flow of funds to UNICEF in its worldwide effort to feed children and for the international development assistance programs of the UN through the UNDP and other specialized agencies.

It will eliminate the Disaster Relief programs that have cared for victims of earthquakes, floods and famines like the great tragedy of today in India and East Pakistan.

It has been said that funds in our pipeline will see us through. This is not true. There are no funds in AID's pipelines except those that are required to pay for contracts made with other governments or with U.S. suppliers, U.S. engineering firms, U.S. universities and a wide variety of U.S. contractors.

Discontinuance of U.S.A.I.D. will cost U.S. suppliers some \$3 billion worth of orders for supplies and services and cost many Americans their jobs.

Foreign assistance is crucial to the Nixon Doctrine. We cannot reduce our military presence abroad without helping others to build their economies and peacekeeping forces.

After the massive expenditure of men and material in Vietnam, the Senate's action could cause the collapse of that country's economy. It will undermine all of our efforts to bring stability to Southeast Asia.

The Senate action threatens the livelihood of 12,000 AID employees. Six thousand of them Americans, at work in Washington and around the world. This staff has more experience and competence in the difficult art of assisting underdeveloped countries than any agency in the world. There will be no funds to pay them beyond November 15.

Some 15,000 students from less developed countries are now enrolled in educational institutions and programs in the U.S. and in third countries. What happens to them?

There may be those in the Senate and elsewhere who disagree strongly with one phase or another of the foreign assistance program. The Administration itself has proposed far-reaching changes. But the implementation of new concepts will not be helped by overnight dismantling of an organization which houses a substantial portion of the world's talent in the difficult problems of international economic and social development.

More important, what happens in the developing world where two-thirds of all the peoples of the world live will determine in large part of the fate of mankind in the years ahead. Our future cannot be separated from the future of the rest of the world. Our children and grandchildren must live in the same world with their children and grandchildren.

It is hoped that thoughtful Americans will take a hard look at today's world—and recognize that before we put 100% of our attention on our domestic problems, we remember that polluted air and polluted water flow freely across national boundaries. So-

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cial unrest results from hunger, or from seeing one's family die because there is no health care, or no hope that through education one's children may have better lives than their parents because there are no schools, no teachers, no books for them.

Social unrest flows across national borders too.

## AMERICAN LEGION SUPPORTS PRAYER AMENDMENT

## Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, the Members of the House of Representatives will have an opportunity to work their will on a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States on November 8 that would permit the recitation of prayer in public schools. After 9 years of unsuccessful efforts in the Congress to bring this matter to the floor, Congressman CHALMERS P. WYLIE's Joint Resolution 191 is scheduled for a vote. Congressman WYLIE's resolution has widespread support by private individuals and a large number of organizations throughout the length and breadth of the country. Among the organizations in the forefront in seeking restoration of the right for schoolchildren to acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being through the recitation of public prayer on a voluntary basis is the American Legion.

The Legion has consistently supported a school prayer amendment to the Constitution since this privilege was denied our children by the Supreme Court decision in 1962. The Legion's Americanism chairman, Daniel J. O'Connor, succinctly presented his organization's views to a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee in 1966. Chairman O'Connor's remarks are as relevant now as they were at that time. I commend Chairman O'Connor's statement to the attention of my colleagues.

Also, Mr. Speaker, I place in the Record a copy of the Legion's current mandate on this subject adopted by its 1970 national convention:

FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
THE AMERICAN LEGION, SEPTEMBER 1, 2, 3, 1970

[Resolution: No. 16]

Whereas, The American Legion has long been an advocate of aid of God in the affairs of man and for those who serve the people and the Nation; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by The American Legion in National Convention assembled in Portland, Oregon, September 1, 2, 3, 1970, that The American Legion support an amendment to the Constitution of the United States that would permit voluntary prayer in schools and other public buildings.

STATEMENT OF DANIEL J. O'CONNOR, THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, SENATE COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY, ON S.J. RES. 148, AUGUST 8, 1966

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, I wish to express our sincere appreciation for the opportunity you have afforded The American Legion and the American Legion Auxiliary in presenting our position in support of S.J. Res. 148 with respect to a proposed constitutional amendment, which provides that nothing contained in

the Constitution of the United States shall prohibit the authority administering any school, school system, educational institution or other public building supported in whole or in part through the expenditure of public funds from providing for or permitting the voluntary participation by students or others in prayer. We fully support the prohibition against any public authority prescribing the form or content of any prayer but heartily endorse the right of any person under the First Amendment to participate in prayer.

Mr. Chairman, our statement is that of The American Legion and its Auxiliary and we are not allied with any other organization. We stand completely on our own as a Congressionally chartered organization dedicated to service for God and Country.

We will endeavor to avoid repetitious arguments and give you our reasons in favor of such constitutional amendment, but there are a few poignant remarks which we believe are necessary in the light of statements which have appeared through the communication media concerning the motives of those who favor the United States Supreme Court decisions, and of the Court itself. We assure you, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, that we strongly support all three branches of the Government—the Executive, the Legislative and the Judiciary. We believe in the system of checks and balances. However, we may differ, at times, on how those functions are carried out, and more particularly whether on occasion the Judiciary has preempted the authority of Congress.

While we strongly urge a constitutional amendment, we do not share that criticism of the United States Supreme Court which would make the Judiciary a whipping post for extremists. We believe in the integrity of the Court and we respect the dignity of the Judiciary as a separate institution dedicated to safeguarding our freedom through its rulings and interpretations. We will not indulge in personal attacks or recriminations. We respect the views of those who differ with us as we expect them to respect our views. We do not accuse any witness of hypocrisy or a lack of sincerity in presenting his viewpoint, however strongly we may differ on this proposed amendment or in the aims and purposes of our respective organizations. However, in the instant matter, we believe that if the decisions of the United States Supreme Court validly interpret the meaning of the First Amendment, then, as Americans and as war veterans, who have contributed generously to the preservation of our freedoms, we firmly believe that American school children should not be denied the right to ask divine blessing on this country, on their parents and their teachers, and a constitutional amendment appears desirable. Our study of the First Amendment convinces us that the Court erred in their prayer decisions because the history, tradition, statutes and common law of this nation are replete with references to the Deity and the invocation of providential aid.

We realize that much has been written and spoken concerning these decisions and we have noted the argument that those who differ with us believe their children should not have imposed on them a compulsory period of silence or separation during the recitation of a school prayer. By the same token, it can also be reasoned that the great majority of school children, who have participated in school prayers which have not been proscribed, have been forced to accept the position of the non-believer. We do not charge all those who differ with us of being atheists or agnostics, but we do believe the Supreme Court of the United States has imposed a "neutralism" towards all religion which in essence is the promotion or adoption of the agnostic doctrine of nonbelief that is the direct antithesis of the belief of the Founding

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Fathers and succeeding generations of Americans.

We believe this decision is not in the best interest of promoting moral and spiritual values in American youth. We believe the imposition of nonbelief does not contribute to the character building of American school children. Our history and tradition has shown that, not only in the public schools but in public places, Americans have not hesitated to acknowledge their Creator and ask His blessing.

The American Legion, as America herself, "a Nation founded under God" determined forty-seven years ago that to accomplish the worthy goals demanded of this veterans' organization, God is the Supreme Being to guide and perpetuate our heritage through Constitutional government. This is so stated in the Preamble to the Constitution of The American Legion. The basic concepts upon which the United States was founded are contained in the Bible; the laws of the Nation are based on the world's greatest short moral code, the Ten Commandments, and since our form of government and the American way of life contain so many religious references, it would seem that our children may well be taught the reason and source of this origin. American youngsters between the ages of seven and twenty-one spend more waking hours at school and school activities than they do at home and church combined. America's economic, social and political life historically has been based upon the proposition that God is the Creator of all things and all life. This philosophical position sets man apart from the rest of the animal world and bestows on him certain irrevocable God-given rights as stated in the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, and among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." The conviction of our Founding Fathers rested upon natural and divine law; that these rights were the gift of the Creator and not the object of concession by a monarch or oligarchy; and that governments existed only to protect and secure, not to abolish nor to alter these unalienable rights.

The principle of divine law is older than the universe. It is universal, unchanging truth pinpointed in a discussion on the nature and purpose of man which began in Greece nearly 2,000 years ago. Around 1776, the Founding Fathers looked with favor on the philosophy of John Locke, and others, who professed an acknowledgment of the Supreme dominion of the Author of life in the affairs of men. American History shows forcefully and brilliantly that our forebears of different religious persuasion repeatedly invoked the blessing of God on our Country. Never before had a whole people dared to stake their lives and their futures on the truth of this assertion. "Religion and morality are our indispensable support," the Founding Fathers declared, and they added, "Whoever shall subvert these great pillars of human happiness shall not be entitled to claim the tribute of patriotism."

George Washington, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson all acknowledged that religion can establish the principles upon which freedom and popular government must stand. "The liberties of a Nation cannot be thought secure if we remove the only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people, that these liberties are the gift of God." Benjamin Franklin, the oldest, and in many ways the wisest of the men who formulated our Declaration of Independence and our National Constitution, put it this way when he rose in the Philadelphia Convention to counsel his younger colleagues: "I have lived, sirs, a long time and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs the affairs of men."

A teacher at Fairview High School, Dayton, Ohio, remarked after the sorrowful incident of the assassination of our President in 1963 as follows:

"For years here at Fairview High School we have included prayers, readings, music, as a part of our brief morning opening exercises. These prayers have included petitions for Pope John during his illness, for President Eisenhower when he had his heart attack, for the United Nations when Dag Hammarskjold was killed, for our Presidents when they took their oath of office, for our country during times of peace and during times of conflict and unrest for members of the student body who had lost a loved one; for our school—and yet, when the United States faced its most tragic and upsetting event in recent years, we were forced to ignore the natural outpouring of our dismay and petitions simply because we happened to be in a building called a school when the tragedy struck on November 22." This last reference was made concerning the tragic death of our late beloved President John F. Kennedy.

One of the reasons why America's Founding Fathers insisted upon the separation of church and state was because of the plurality of religion in the United States. By separating the church and state, our Forefathers never excised religion. There is a tendency today, however, to argue that on account of the pluralism of religion in the United States, there should be no recognition of religion whatsoever, because it might be unfair to those who are non-believers or anti-religious. It is well to recognize pluralism of religious sects but it is wrong to conclude that, therefore, there should be no religion.

There is a sharp distinction between freedom of religion and freedom from or the complete exclusion of religion. There are basic principles which are absolutely necessary for the moral and spiritual well-being of a Nation and which should never be in dispute. Why does every President of the United States call upon God to witness the truth of the Chief Executive's pledge to uphold and defend the Constitution? Obviously because the United States recognizes God as the Supreme Judge and Ruler over nations. President Lyndon Johnson on assuming office asked all of us to help him but also invoked the help of God in a broadcast heard all over the Nation by Americans of all ages.

No study of the First Amendment would be complete without examining the events and circumstances of the time prior to and at the time of its adoption.

About two years ago we observed the 175th anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as first President of the United States. About one week before the inaugural, the upper house of Congress passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, that after the oath shall have been administered to the President, he, attended by the Vice President, and members of the Senate and House of Representatives, proceed to St. Paul's Chapel, to hear divine service to be performed by the Chaplain of Congress already appointed."

This measure passed both houses of Congress literally unchanged and the inaugural service was held in St. Paul's Chapel, performed by Rt. Rev. Samuel Provoost, Episcopal Bishop of New York and Chaplain of the Senate.

In view of this obvious religious ceremony, an Anglican service, what becomes of the argument advanced today by those who say the First Amendment proposed by the same men in the same Congress prohibits prayers offered or sanctioned by government officials?

According to the annals of Congress, less than five months after Washington's inauguration on September 24, 1789, Congress approved the First Amendment and on the very same day overrode an objection to a request by Congress calling upon the Presi-

dent of the United States to proclaim a national day of thanksgiving and prayer. Congress passed a joint resolution as follows:

"That a joint committee of both Houses be directed to wait upon the President of the United States to request that he would recommend to the people of the United States a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, to be observed by acknowledging, with grateful hearts, the many signal favors of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a Constitution of government for their safety and happiness."

How can anyone allege that Congress in sanctioning this prayer on the very same day it approved the First Amendment intended the First Amendment to prohibit public prayer?

About eight years before the Civil War, the United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary expressed the view that the framers of the First Amendment did not intend to prohibit a just expression of religious devotion by the legislators of the nation even in their public character as legislators. In 1858, Abraham Lincoln in his last debate with Senator Stephen Douglas, passed comment on the famous Dred Scott decision, which held that a negro could not be a citizen of the United States. Lincoln said "I believe the decision was improperly made and I go for reversing it." The President while maintaining deep respect for the Judiciary nevertheless expressed his sharp dissent from the Court's decision which in essence made the American negro a chattel, not a human personality ennobled by his Creator in the image and likeness of God.

When we dissent, we, too, can exercise our right to seek redress in the Congress and invoke through Constitutional means, a remedy. This remedy, a Constitutional amendment, was the subject of remarks by our United Nations Ambassador Arthur Goldberg in January, 1964, at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., when he referred to the right of the people to reverse the Supreme Court's ruling on school prayers by Constitutional amendment even though he did not agree with the objective.

The American Legion significantly we believe, has not asked the Congress to pre-empt or limit the powers of the United States Supreme Court. Past history has shown that our supreme tribunal has responded to the plea of the national will and we hope that in the instant matter the Court will respond. The Supreme Court's interdiction, however, appears so strong that only an optimist would keep a spark of hope alive that would look to complete reversal. It is possible that because of so many varying and conflicting interpretations that have resulted, for example, in encouraging the abolition of baccalaureate services and other time honored traditions, the Supreme Court may someday modify its position and restore the concept which existed prior to 1962 that there is a God to whom we all are subject and owe homage.

World War II veterans will never forget the repeated pleas for divine aid by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the sturdy reliance of President Harry Truman on providential aid in the Korean War. Our only other living former President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, has not only duplicated these invocations but also lent his voice to this noble cause.

In closing I would like to offer acknowledgement for assistance in my historical references, to Charles E. Rice, Associate Professor of Law, Fordham University, author of the book *The Supreme Court and Public Prayer. The Need for Restraint*, which contains a chapter entitled Solution by Legislation which specifically deals with the question of a constitutional amendment providing that nothing in the Constitution shall

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prohibit voluntary prayer in public places. In treating such constitutional amendment we recognize, too, the importance of protecting the non-believer's right to dissent but we do not believe the non-believer has the right to impose his non-belief on the great majority of Americans.

It is our sincere conviction that the First Amendment was intended to protect the American people from the establishment of a state or national religion and was never intended to rule God out of any phase of American life. If the Court decisions stand without modification, or without remedy and the plea of the majority is ignored, I assure you, Mr. Chairman, there will rise from the grass roots of America a cry of indignation from millions of Americans which war veterans and their families will not only support, but lead, and which will exceed the protests already registered in the halls of Congress.

On behalf of over three and one-half million members of The American Legion and American Legion Auxiliary, I express our deep appreciation to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the members of the Subcommittee, for consideration of this statement in support of S.J. Res. 148.

### WOOD HAULERS STRIKE IN MISSISSIPPI

HON. PARREN J. MITCHELL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Speaker, I am presenting three articles for the information of the House, an article from Newsweek, one from the Wall Street Journal, on October 19, and a pamphlet entitled, "Anger in the Southern Pines." These articles concern the wood haulers strike in Mississippi, and the important formation of a black-white alliance there.

The black and white strikers have bonded together and have accepted financial aid from the NAACP, an important event in the Deep South, which, until several years ago was a stronghold of the KKK; these men have cast aside their prejudices, and have formed an interracial coalition of poor workers.

This new development is of the utmost importance, for it signifies a first step towards black-white harmony in the Deep South. I sincerely feel this coalition to be a major breakthrough in race relations, and that it can be used as a building block for the evolution of vital racial accord.

[From the Newsweek magazine, Nov. 8, 1971]

#### MISSISSIPPI: STRANGE ALLIANCE

Jones County, Miss., is an unlikely cradle for a coalition of Negroes and whites—an antediluvian bastion of the Deep South, where the memories of the Klan's hooded nightriders, countless cross burnings and the murder of a black voting registration worker six years ago are still all too vivid. But after some 200 impoverished timber truckers struck the Masonite wallboard company in Laurel in September, Jones County became the birthplace of the Deep South's first tenuous interracial alliance of the poor.

It was a coalition forged of harsh economic hardship—born, ironically, from the policies of an essentially liberal corporation. The company grants the haulers—Independent

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entrepreneurs, half of them black—interest-free loans for their trucks and power saws. But Masonite has long contended that the haulers were using hollow logs and other deceptions to shortchange the company. To put an end to the practice, Masonite last September instituted a system of measuring timber by weight instead of volume. The haulers charged that the new system meant a pay cut from \$40 to \$28 per load—a drastic loss, considering that each load requires a man to fell, saw and stack at least a dozen 30-foot pines. The haulers promptly joined the Gulf Coast Pulpwood Association—a three-year-old union founded and headed by former trucker James Simmons, 44, and all but ten or fifteen of them stopped deliveries.

Two weeks later, unable to buy food stamps, Simmons's hungry haulers swallowed whatever prejudices they bore and turned to the one man in the region with enough political clout to do them some good: Charles Evers, the black mayor of Fayette, Miss. Evers, who was in the midst of his campaign for the governorship, went off to Washington with Simmons and two other haulers, and told their story to Sen. George McGovern's nutrition committee. When one Department of Agriculture official suggested that all the men had to do to get food was go back to work, Evers reportedly exploded: "You're treating these men like niggers." The haulers got the stamps.

But Masonite only upped its log deliveries by rail—and refused to budge. "They're the most independent s.o.b.'s in the world," Masonite's woodlands manager Mickey De Grummond told Newsweek's Stephan Lesser. "They'll work two, three days and then go fishing." And that may be true. But in the best of years past, haulers have been hard pressed to clear \$5,000—and as the work stoppage went into its seventh week, their financial plight was growing desperate. Some families with five and six children received eviction notices. Others, who own decrepit homes of their own, lost electricity and water—and had to take to using wooden boxes for toilets. And still others simply could no longer afford even food stamps. Again, Simmons's haulers turned to Evers. This time, Evers proposed that the haulers, whites included, seek the help of the NAACP.

'I'll He'p Him': The haulers did. One morning, Alex Waites, field director of the Mississippi NAACP, and two other officers, met on the porch of a peeling, white frame house in Laurel, and began parcelling out \$4,160 from the NAACP's emergency relief fund to a gaggle of haulers milling in the yard. The checks only ranged from \$15 to \$40, depending on the size of the families. But the 192 recipients, many of whom once were Klansmen or Klan sympathizers, were grateful enough so that 84 whites among them promptly put down \$4 for membership in the NAACP. "My daddy was a holiness preacher," said Fred Walters, 56, a hauler for more than three decades. "He always taught us the colored was human, too. And this jus' shows he was right." Grover Sanders, 49, a veteran of twenty years' hauling, articulated their newfound pragmatism. "If a feller'll he'p me," said Sanders, "I'll he'p him whatever he is—white or colored." And the NAACP's Waites said his organization's intervention was no one-shot affair. "We're standing behind them," said Waites, "for as long as it takes."

It may take a long time. By last week, Simmons's legions had grown to 3,000, the boycott had spread to 30 other yards and lumber mill officials were still refusing to budge. More significant, however, is the hint of change the fragile alliance calls up. As one of Simmons's union aides put it last week: "Now that the men here in Laurel are getting help from the blacks, many of them are saying that the only way to win this strike is to bury the old racial hatreds and get together."

[From the Wall Street Journal, Oct. 19, 1971]  
**WHITE WOODCUTTERS IN SOUTH MISSISSIPPI TURN TO . . . NAACP?**  
 (By Tom Herman)

LAUREL, Miss.—About half of the 200 woodcutters on strike here against Masonite Corp. are white. They have been off the job since Sept. 1, they're about broke and so is their union. So where can they turn for help?

Would you believe the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

As outlandish as that may seem for a bunch of Mississippi whites, especially here in a recent stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan, that's precisely what's happening.

This morning at 9, in a little ceremony at the Masonite production workers hall, the white and black strikers will receive about \$5,000 from the once-despised NAACP. Many of the whites, some of whom are reputed to be former Klansmen, are saying that this is changing their entire outlook about blacks.

Later in the week, the NAACP will travel to other towns where an additional 1,000 or so whites and blacks are on strike against other wood dealers, and it will distribute more emergency funds.

#### HELP FROM MR. EVERES

The event today marks a radical departure from the norm of south Mississippi race relations. Just a few years ago, when the Woodworkers Union at the Masonite plant decided to end discrimination against Negroes, a union official was kidnapped and beaten.

But now some of the white strikers not only are accepting help from the black organization but also are backing Charles Evers, the black candidate for governor, the mayor of Fayette, Miss., and the state field director of the NAACP.

It was Mr. Evers to whom a group of white strikers turned for help after they said the county welfare department turned down their requests for food stamps. (The welfare department vigorously denies that it turned down anybody's application.)

"A bunch of these tough whites showed up at Charles' office and said they wanted to see him," a spokesman for the black candidate says. "He didn't know what they wanted but since the blacks in the office outnumbered them, he said to send them on in. When they sat down and one of them reached for his chewing tobacco, Charles jumped about three feet."

Mr. Evers joined some white strikers in a protest trip to Washington. They credit him with helping them get the stamps.

Mr. Evers and some white strikers went to Washington and obtained a directive from the government to get the stamps.

"None of the men I've talked to have been reluctant to accept help from the organization that many used to hate," says Steve Martin, a civil-rights worker who's helping out the union," the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association.

"From the very first week of the strike, the men here in Laurel vowed they would take help from anywhere they would get it," he says. "Now that they're getting help from the blacks, I've heard many of them say that the only way to win this strike is to bury the old racial hatreds and get together."

#### AN UNDERSTATEMENT

"Yes, I would say that this is somewhat unusual," says Henry Lee Moon, an NAACP spokesman. "Usually, when we give out funds from our emergency relief fund, it's the blacks that get it because, in the South, it's usually the blacks that need the help the most. But in this case, we felt that blacks and whites together needed the help, and we're pleased with how it seems to be working out."

Nobody is sure yet how long the NAACP's help will be available. "We don't think this \$5,000 is the ceiling on our assistance, but we also don't think this will be an indefinite

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program of help," says an NAACP spokesman in New York. "We really haven't yet decided."

Talks with officials of the Chicago-based Masonite Corp. indicate that the workers might need help for a long time. Mr. John, director of employee relations, says that the strike "hasn't affected our raw material intake at all." He says the company "has rearranged its sources, that's all." That situation isn't likely to change even if the strike continues for a long time, he says.

The workers contend that the company, in effect, cut their pay when it changed its way of measuring pulpwood. "The haulers find that under the (new) . . . system they have to deliver 20% to 25% more wood in order to have a unit," says a strike bulletin.

Nonsense, replies Mr. John of Masonite. "It is our contention that we haven't changed a darn thing in our payments for the wood."

One big problem for the workers is that they aren't company employees. "They're independent businessmen who cut the pulpwood and sell it to us and to other wood users," says Mr. John. "We believe very strongly that if we sat down and negotiated pulpwood prices with a representative group of pulpwood producers, this would be in violation of the price-fixing restriction of the antitrust law."

He also says that the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association "hasn't officially been certified as a bargaining group."

In any case, the remarkable racial harmony being shown at Laurel isn't being cheered by many Mississippians. The Jackson Daily News ("Mississippi's Greatest Newspaper") recently ran an editorial cartoon exposing what it considers the hidden truth about the strike at Masonite.

Captioned "At the Bottom of It", the cartoon shows a pile of logs labeled "Laurel Pulpwood Agitation" stacked on top of a Communist banner.

An accompanying editorial intimated that the Kremlin is keeping a close watch on the progress of events at the south Mississippi plant. The reasoning was that one strike strategist is a Tennessean long identified with socialistic causes.

"We wonder," the editorial concludes, "if Moscow is pleased with such a turn of events down at Laurel."

#### ANGER IN THE SOUTHERN PINES—THE STORY OF THE GULFCOAST PULPWOOD ASSOCIATION

MOBILE, Ala.—Lights are burning extra late at meeting halls and state parks in out-of-the-way towns and rural outreaches in Mississippi and Alabama. Black and white victims of sharecropper-style corporate feudalism are joining in a new grass-roots movement.

In early 1968, pulpwood cutters and landowners in South Alabama organized the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association to fight for economic survival in the South's mammoth paper industry. Since that time, the organization has built working relationships between black and white workers. They have remained strong through a general strike and three subsequent years of struggle.

Members of the association, mostly rural blacks and whites, have been lied to, threatened, and intimidated. The harassment is reminiscent of the early Sixties. It continues, but the movement has not been thwarted.

Instead the Association is growing—new chapters are springing up across Mississippi from the Delta, through Southeast Alabama's wiregrass country.

People are serious; they're angry, and their continuing struggle may rank among the most significant in the history of labor in the South.

It was a cold and misty Alabama morning when Leroy Wilson climbed into his old Ford pickup. The sun, as usual, would not be up for another hour or so. He drove the six miles to his brother's small grocery store, where

he was to meet two other woodcutters. He had come down with the flu two days before, but he couldn't afford to miss any time in the woods. Besides, today wouldn't be so bad—there was just some scrapping and hauling to do on a large tract of land leased by a paper company.

His son, who had been cutting wood since he was 15, and a man named Turner were waiting in the wood truck when Wilson got to the store. They each bought a ten- or 15-cent cake—staples in their diet—and headed for the woods.

The company's land was separated from the road by a three-foot ditch. Wilson, his son, and Turner had spent five hours earlier that month cutting, then lashing pine logs together to build a bridge across the ditch. They were not paid for constructing the bridge or for digging out a foundation to place it in.

The three men are defined by the government and by the paper companies as independent businessmen; the 15 man-hours they spent putting the bridge together are defined as overhead absorbed in their exercise of free enterprise.

The bridge sagged and creaked as Wilson's son backed the huge wood truck across it. Most of the cutting had already been done, so Wilson chopped the branches off logs, while his son and Turner began loading the truck. Leroy said something about how little they would make that week. Turner replied with, "Yessir, I don't make much money, but I sure do have a lot of fun." Everyone laughed long and hard at the irony.

By 1 o'clock, the crew had finished loading and hauling the scrap wood. Although they had been in the woods seven hours, they were eager to cut more wood. But the company had refused to let them cut more until the mill agent inspected their scrapping work. So the job ended early that day and Leroy went home. He had worked seven hours in swampy South Alabama woods with the flu. He had made \$7.

Sitting on the front porch of his home, Leroy talked about the paper-wood business. There was a time, several years ago, when he had his own truck. He had a crew of three or four men, but he "didn't do much better" than he's doing now.

Having no established credit, he had accepted a dealer's offer to co-sign loans and finance equipment for him. He was to pay the dealer, who in turn paid the bank or finance company. When he cashed in his tickets at a dealer's office, there were deductions for equipment, gas, severance tax, and assorted other necessities which he had financed through the dealer.

By the time he received his check, he had enough to give every man on his crew between \$30 and \$50 for a week's work. (A week generally means 48-60 hours.) He seldom got that much himself.

He has never seen statements from banks or finance companies at which dealers co-signed loans for him. The dealers seemed to keep deducting. As he put it, "You'd have to be an expert bookkeeper to figure out how they charge you."

When Leroy realized that he'd never make a living by paying most of his earnings on an account every week, he decided to join his brother's crew. The one dealer to whom Leroy owed the greatest amount sued him. He had tried to persuade Leroy to sign his truck over to the company and keep cutting. But Wilson refused.

Other cutters around South Alabama told Leroy that this same dealer had told other dealers "not to accept any wood from Leroy Wilson." Finally, in an apparent last-ditch effort to keep Wilson on the company's debt book, in a final stab at his freedom, the dealer's attorney told him that he could probably "work off this account gradually provided you put on wood for him [the dealer]."

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

According to the corporations, Leroy Wilson is an independent businessman. His office is a pulpwood truck; his filing cabinet is his billfold stuffed with settlement sheets; his coffee breaks are irregular—they come when his truck breaks down or his chain saw jumps off its sprocket; his capital is his back; and his profits do not exist.

As he says: "You get what they want to give you, and it ain't a living. This association is the only chance we got, and it's got to work."

It is no accident that Leroy Wilson and thousands like him are trapped in a cycle of subexistence. When paper corporations began locating mills in the South decades ago, they set out to exploit the people and the resources to the fullest extent possible.

They have been granted tax exemptions, moratoriums on pollution legislation, and strong anti-union laws. They are still being dragged, kicking and screaming, into desegregation of jobs in their mills.

The dealership system for procuring wood ranks among the greatest of a long series of outrages. Paper mills designate certain independent businessmen, dealers, in "districts" across the South to buy their wood from. The dealer buys his wood (for resale to the mills) from woodcutters—who in turn buy it from landowners. The dealers also finance equipment and make loans to woodcutters. In actuality, the cutters are employees of the dealers, but they are defined as independent businessmen. This means they have no guaranteed wages, and no protection under labor law.

One particular cutter in Washington County, Ala., bought a truck from his dealer. Week after week, the dealer deducts enough from the cutter's earnings to make it necessary for the cutter to borrow money from him. He may spend the rest of his life on borrowed money.

Another cutter needed money to pay his wife's hospital bills. Having no credit, he asked a dealer to borrow the money from a local bank for him. He has been paying back the loan for years, and has not once seen a statement from the bank.

Time after time, woodcutters have worked all week and received nothing for their wood because the dealer deducted every cent for debts.

This constant reliance on the dealer is reminiscent of the sharecropper's dependence on "Mr. Charley." But as a cutter in Mississippi put it, "It's worse than sharecropping. A sharecropper could at least get a mess of greens or a piece of meat from his Man, but a woodcutter can't get nothing in a woodyard—not even a drink of water."

As long as there are people across the South who must depend on wood dealers for economic existence, there will be a pool of labor to harvest the pine forests of the South for the pulpwood companies. So the exploitation is not without purpose. It is designed to make huge profits for the people who control the pulpwood industry . . . at the expense of the lives of Southern working people across the Pine Belt.

## A HISTORY OF CONTROL

When the woodcutters began organizing, the paper magnates extended their economic control to include political and social control over them. In 1968, when the first work-stoppage meeting was held in an open field in Washington County, police, deputy sheriffs and game wardens ringed the field with their cars.

It was an old tactic, designed to scare the striking cutters into backing down—but it backfired completely. A worker from Mississippi described the results of the open intimidation that night:

"A lot of folks found themselves faced with a thing they thought only happened to somebody else. We came out there to fight

for a decent living, and all those law-enforcement people just made us madder."

It became obvious that intimidation would not stop the movement, so the dealers offered a \$1-per-cord pay raise. This effort to pacify the cutters was successful. Many of them went back to work under the same conditions and the work stoppage was ended.

Pacification had hurt the organizing and 1969 a slow year for the association. But black and white leaders in the movement were persistent and by the fall of 1970 new chapters began springing up. In the last nine months, association membership has climbed upwards of 6,000 in Mississippi, Alabama, and Northwest Florida. Black and white members of the GROW staff of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) have been traveling widely in these states, helping to build the membership.

It has been an uphill fight because of continuous repression and harassment.

James Simmons (president of the association) has been offered a job by an organization of wood dealers—they told him he could name his price. Paper companies have reportedly circulated pictures of Simmons among woodcutters, describing him as a communist, a troublemaker, and an out-and-out "bald-headed \* \* \*."

Organizers have been followed and tires have been punctured.

All these specific kinds of harassment are just supplementary to the very basic and entrenched control that corporations have exercised and promoted among working people in the South. Since Reconstruction, the concept of organizing has been rejected, often violently, in the Deep South. The corporate bosses have consistently praised working people for being independent. The concept of self-interest still gives way to this entrenched independent attitude.

Recently, black and white woodcutters met together for the first time in the courthouse in Philadelphia, Miss.—Neshoba County. The fact that there could even be a meeting there seemed a miracle to many, considering the history of fierce opposition to organizing in that county.

The meeting did not go well at all; the bosses were ready. Organizers were told that there were officials from three paper companies in the meeting.

When it came time to collect dues for membership (\$10 a year), two or three of the 43 people there started an uproar. They claimed organizers just wanted "to have a good time" with their money. They didn't want anything to do with a union. They were unalterably opposed to strikes.

The oppression of decades had left its mark; the organizers left Neshoba County in a hurry that night.

Despite the petty harassments, the attempts at pacification, and the tremendous historical burden of the oppression of Southern workers, the struggle continues. Three young Southern attorneys are preparing for legal action against paper companies, while association members are discussing the possibility of a work stoppage some time in the near future.

With upwards of 6,000 members and 30 chapters, a board of representatives with delegates elected from every chapter has been set up. Meetings are scheduled regularly. The board is about half white and half black.

The president of the board of representatives is Simmons, a chicken-farmer-turned-pulpwood-cutter who has been working for four years to build the organization. According to him, the group's major objective is to become a single body representing woodcutters in the South strong enough to deal in a forceful manner with the rank injustices in the paper industry.

In his own words, "We don't want yes men in our association. We want people who'll stand up and fight for a decent living in this paperwood business."

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The fight has just begun. The repression will come harder, but so will the resistance to it. There has not been this kind of independent movement among grass-roots black and white people in the South for four decades. The earlier movements either died or were killed.

Those organizing the woodcutter movement are determined that it will be different this time. They will learn from the mistakes of the past—and they will continue to build a movement that cannot be destroyed.

But they will need help—from all over the Deep South, and from all across the country.

## COMMUNIST DOUBLE TALK

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, with the advent of the Red Chinese Communist Party moving its propaganda base into our country, I feel our colleagues should be refreshed on the Red exploitation of words—the "double talk."

I ask that a list of a few common terms in the Red Aesopian lexicon be inserted at this point in the RECORD:

## THE KEY TO COMMUNIST SEMANTICS

Peace—non-opposition to Communism.

Peace-Loving—supporting Communism.

Peaceful Co-existence—non-resistance to Communist policy and moves towards world conquest.

People—Communists (People's China, etc.)  
People's Democracy—Communist slave state.

Democratic or Progressive—terms used by the Reds to describe persons, organizations or policies which further Communist aims.

Aggression—any firm action to prevent or defeat Communist expansion.

Colonialism—possessing territory that the Reds want.

Colony—a non-Communist territory associated with the Western Powers.

Anti-Colonialism—the Communists' program for gaining control of territories presently associated with the Free World.

Oppressed Peoples—those living in countries the Reds wish to seize.

Liberation—the Communist takeover of a free country.

Fascist State—any country which takes firm action against Communist infiltration, espionage and subversion.

Militarism—creation of non-Communist armed strength or alliance.

Discrimination—a smear term used against people or actions which interfere with Communist plans and objectives.

Disruptor or Stool Pigeon—an anti-Communist worker or union man.

Traitor—a general term for anti-Communists.

Reactionary—a non-Communist.

Fascist—an anti-Communist.

Nazi or Hitlerite—an active anti-Communist.

Warmonger—anyone strongly opposed to giving in to Red demands.

Racist—anyone who opposes Communism on racial grounds.

Sexist—anyone who opposes Communism on the grounds of sex.

Anti-Fascist—A Red or one who fights against anti-Communists.

McCarthyism—any action to expose Communist espionage and subversion within our borders.

Inquisition—any governmental or judicial inquiry into, or investigation of, Red infl-

tration or subversion in non-Communist states.

*Religious Bigot*—anyone who opposes Communism on religious grounds.

*Anti-Semitism*—a smear term used by Communists against those who effectively oppose and expose them. This technique of smearing their opposition as "anti-Semites" is an old and proven method of discrediting, isolating and destroying their opponents.

*Hate Literature*—any book, booklet or publication which identifies and exposes Communist and Red strategy and tactics. A current smear term used widely by Reds to discredit anti-Communist publication.

The importance of understanding this game of Red semantics becomes apparent, for instance, when examining current demands to "ban hate literature" and "introduce anti-hate legislation". Checking Red semantics, we find that this is *really* a crafty manoeuvre to censor or outlaw anti-Communist literature and activity!

That's how important it is for the informed people to understand Red semantics today.

#### M. RUEFF CALLS FOR AID TO UNITED STATES BY FOREIGN CREDITORS

#### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, in recent days there have been many statements made about the state of the American economy as well as that of the international monetary system. One of the most important has come from Jacques Rueff, famed French economist. Rueff's financial career began 50 years ago when he started doubling as professor of economics and Inspector-General of State Finances. He has held many important positions and is now president of North Atlantic Reinsurance Co. and of a French mutual fund called Elysées Valeurs. In 1964 he took the late Jean Coccoeau's chair in the Académie Française.

In an interview appearing in the September 30, 1971, issue of Barron's, financial news weekly, M. Rueff states that the real answer to the world's monetary crisis will not come from any unilateral American action. He calls instead for an international monetary conference and states that—

We want the convertibility of the dollar into gold restored, and we want a return to fixed parities. But it's no use asking the Americans for that now because they cannot give it as long as they have only \$10 billion in gold and \$60 billion in debts. Other nations must agree to consolidate those debts before the convertibility of the dollar can be restored.

What M. Rueff is saying is that in order to solve the world's monetary problem, other nations must, in effect, lend money to the United States. He puts it this way:

The dollar balances must be converted into long-term loans at low rates of interest, loans made by the holders of those balances in favor of the U.S. The monetary system fell apart last month because for years dollars has poured out of the U.S. Now the movement must take place in reverse.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Dollar balances have become what they are today in large measure because of U.S. investment abroad together with military and economic aid to many nations. Europeans and others, M. Rueff points out, have been left with "numerous charitable works—a great debt of gratitude to the United States and this is no time to forget it."

To solve the economic problem in the long run requires some fundamental and structural changes, and this will not come about simply by improving the American trade balance, argues M. Rueff. His plan involves:

Firstly, there must be fixed parities, which are absolutely essential for foreign trade . . . Secondly, currencies must be convertible and that means that at least one or two of them must be convertible into gold, as the dollar was after Bretton Woods.

To those who argue against a return to the gold standard, M. Rueff points out that—

I have never seen an international trade system get by without gold except those managed by totalitarian regimes, from Hitler to the Russians.

Those who are concerned about achieving a real and lasting solution to America's balance of trade and monetary problems should carefully consider the words of advice given by Jacques Rueff, and this is as true for our trading partners in Europe and Asia as it is for American economic experts.

I share M. Rueff's thoughts with my colleagues, and insert this interview from Barron's in the RECORD at this time:

#### BUNDLES FOR UNCLE?—FOREIGN CREDITORS, SAYS M. RUEFF, SHOULD COME TO THIS COUNTRY'S AID

Neil McInnes: "Jacques Rueff, famed French economist, was nicknamed Mister Gold when a decade ago he urged cutting the gold content of the dollar by half. Thereafter he had the reputation of being Charles de Gaulle's evil genius, inspiring the General's anti-American tirades. As the accompanying surprising interview shows, Europe's most distinguished monetary expert deserves neither that nickname nor that reputation. Not that he has wavered in the belief that only a return to the gold standard can save politicians from their addiction to inflation. Concerning his respect for the 'barbarous relic,' Rueff sighs, 'Folks say I cling to gold because I'm skeptical about men's rationality. Not at all, but when it comes to rationality I can't help comparing NASA's predictions about a moon landing and the Treasury's predictions about when the payments deficit will end.'

"Rueff's financial career began 50 years ago when he started doubling as professor of economics and Inspector-General of State Finances. Architect of the stabilization of the franc under Poincaré in 1926, he then served as roving economic savior for the League of Nations, showing countries how to stabilize their finances. From 1930 to 1936, under the humble title of Financial Counsellor to the French Embassy, Rueff single-handed did 10% of all the exchange business of the City of London. He was administering the huge sums that had come back to France after the 1926 Reforma—and which were to leave again when the popular front came.

"Promoted Vice Governor of the Bank of France, Rueff resigned rather than serve Vichy. After the war, he was counsellor to the C-in-C during the occupation of Germany and president of the Reparations Conference and of the Inter-Allied Reparations

Agency. He has been judge in the courts of justice of the coal and steel pool and of the Common Market. Besides authoring various tomes on finance and philosophy, Rueff is president of North Atlantic Reinsurance Co. and of a French mutual fund called Elysées Valeurs. In 1964 he took the late Jean Coccoeau's chair in the Académie Française.

"He talked to Barron's in the study of his chateau in Normandy, looking out over the bay of the Seine. Speaking quietly and with no apparent urge to convince, he smiles apologetically for the occasional colorful phrase. "I'm no prophet," he says. "I have been right about everything that has happened to the dollar for the last 10 years simply because I started out from correct premises."

You've been predicting the collapse of the international monetary system that died August 15 longer than anyone else. Does the course of the crisis so far fulfill all your dire predictions, or is the worst yet to come?

A. We are still in the phase of expedients, so the danger of a catastrophe remains. On the other hand, we have a breather, time to agree on a solution. The measures announced by Mr. Nixon on August 15 do not constitute a policy freely chosen by the U.S. government but just the admission of necessity, forced upon Washington by events. It will need an international conference, or at least calm, rational and secret discussions, to work out a reasonable solution.

Q. Would you allow that some actions taken by General de Gaulle, reputedly on your advice, helped bring nearer the present crisis?

A. I don't think so. De Gaulle made the problem notorious but he did not worsen it. By the way, don't imagine I wrote his speeches for him on this subject. He was very intelligent and he understood how the gold exchange standard worked. But what he did not try for is what we now need: calm, friendly discussions with the Americans.

You know, people often talk as though the gold exchange standard were the fault of the Americans and as though what has happened this summer is their punishment. This is absolutely false. The Americans had nothing to do with the genesis of the gold exchange standard. They never asked, let alone obliged, other nations to hold dollars in their reserves instead of gold. Other central banks started to do that because they wanted to earn interest on their reserves, instead of holding bullion, so it was their own fault, not the Americans.

What you can say is that from about 1965 or 1966, the U.S. saw the benefits it was deriving from the system of "deficits without tears," that is, from the willingness of other nations to let the U.S. settle its deficits in its own money. Then the U.S. government quite consciously began to oppose all efforts aimed at reform of the system, to maintain it and even to dream up expedients to prolong it. So we got Roosa bonds and swap arrangements and Special Drawing Rights. We even got the monstrous theory of the shortage of international liquidities, when in fact we were drowning in liquidities. These were plans for irrigation during the deluge.

The results were a big increase in U.S. investment abroad, an expansion of American military and aid which we all benefited. We are left disbursements abroad, as well as numerous charitable works from with a great debt of gratitude to the U.S. and this is no time to forget it. That chapter ended, as it had to, on August 15, but we have not come to the end of the line yet.

Q. Presumably you think that one of the objectives of an international conference today would be to raise the price of gold?

A. An increase in the price of gold would no longer be an adequate solution. It would not even be indispensable. When I first suggested it, a decade ago, the U.S. had about

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\$15 billion in gold. The dollar balances, claims on the U.S. held by foreigners, amounted at that time to about \$13 billion. If the price of gold had been doubled, as I suggested, so that there would be \$30 billion of gold in Fort Knox, the U.S. could have paid off those claims in gold. It could have wiped the slate clean and ended up with a greater value of gold, expressed in dollars, than before.

In contrast, today the U.S. has only \$10 billion in gold—at the most, for we don't know how much of the gold stock is mortgaged. Dollar balances have swollen to \$50 or \$60 billion, so even if the price of gold were quadrupled, which would be absurd, that would not permit the U.S. to wipe the slate clean. Of course, it remains silly and unjust to peg gold at its 1934 price when other prices have more than doubled. The gold price should be put back in its proper place among other prices. But to quadruple it would create intolerable distortions. The gold price issue henceforth is subsidiary.

Q. Then what would be the purpose of the international conference? What would you be asking of the Americans?

A. We're not asking anything of the Americans. We want the convertibility of the dollar into gold restored, and we want a return to fixed parities. But it's no use asking the Americans for that now because they cannot give it as long as they have only \$10 billion in gold and \$60 billion in debts. Other nations must agree to consolidate those debts before the convertibility of the dollar can be restored. Incidentally, until it is restored, the dollar will continue to depreciate in the exchange markets.

The dollar balances, which are not only central bank reserves but also some unknown part of funds in the Eurodollar market, are short-term claims on the U.S. If they were presented, there would be a cataclysm. They must be consolidated, and it is especially urgent to consolidate the more volatile of them, those most likely to be presented. Then there should be voluntary consolidation of the dollar balances in the hands of central banks. The whole \$60 billion need not be consolidated but enough to take the heat off.

Q. Consolidation means turning short-term claims into long-term debts. You mean other nations must lend money to the U.S.?

A. Precisely. The dollar balances must be converted into long-term loans at low rates of interest, loans made by the holders of those balances, in favor of the U.S. The monetary system fell apart last month because for years dollars had poured out of the U.S. Now the movement must take place in reverse. Those dollars must go back, in the first place in the form of cheap, long loans.

Q. Marshall aid in reverse? So far the Nixon Administration is talking trade, not aid. It wants to pay off the dollar balances by scoring big trade surpluses. That's why it wants other currencies to upvalue, so as to boost U.S. exports.

A. That would be like taking an aspirin. It would take years to pay off the dollar balances, whereas the threat is immediate.

Q. But the U.S. government is talking about pretty hefty surpluses, of the order of \$11 or \$12 billion a year.

A. That's still an aspirin. If the U.S. could earn surpluses like that, I would have no objection. But in practice I fear it would provoke reprisals and a trade war. But the problem is not in the foreign trade accounts, which are not all that much out of balance. They are not the cause of the trouble and they cannot cure it. The problem is deeper and more durable. It lies in the mechanisms of a monetary system that generates the dollar balances. It is the mass of short-term claims, which the U.S. is unable to honor, that threatens the Western world and menaces the capitalist system with destruction. That is why it is so sad to see the U.S., that has spent so much blood and treasure for the

defense of the West and the safeguard of the capitalist system, now contribute to their destruction.

I would be happy to see an improvement in the U.S. trade balance but I think it is too small and too slow a corrective to be useful. Even on your optimistic hypothesis of an improvement of \$12 billion a year in U.S. external trade, that would mean only \$1 billion a month. But the claims that were presented last month, and not honored, amounted to well over \$1 billion.

Q. So you don't attach much importance to current haggling about new parities and about how much other currencies should upvalue against the dollar?

A. One of the lies about the present situation is to blame it on an overvaluation of the dollar, caused by U.S. inflation. I am not at all certain the dollar is overvalued. True, there is inflation in the U.S. but there is more here in France. And just look at the price rises in West Germany and Britain. Upvaluation of other currencies or depreciation of the dollar will resolve nothing. It would not procure the resources the U.S. would need to reimburse \$50 or \$60 billion in the next few months.

Naturally, when you are faced with catastrophe you must use all your weapons, all at once. A depreciation of the dollar that tended to restore balance in the U.S. external accounts would help. This is where an increase in the price of gold fits in, too, as a minor help. Nations that have their reserves in gold would see the value of their kitty increase and so they could more easily afford to make cheap long-term loans to the U.S. But trade and gold are marginal. The real problem is to consolidate the dollar balances before the worst happens.

Q. So your formula is an international conference to bail the U.S. out?

A. The voluntary consolidation of the sterling balances was achieved by such a conference. U.S. credit is still good. Nations would be ready to make cheap long-term loans to America as a price for regaining dollar convertibility and fixed parities. Mark you, my solution is not a sure panacea. When you arrange a consolidation of debts, you can never be sure that you are going to succeed. But at least we have a few months in which to try. It will call for everybody's good will. Notice that this is a solution based on the desire to maintain a world system based on U.S. power, to save the dollar and to express European gratitude to America.

Q. Or else?

A. Or else we will have an "unexpected event." Paul Valery said that nothing is so constant in life as the unforeseen. It could be a new Kreditanstalt affair—that is, a bank failure such as sparked the money panic in 1931. The Eurodollar market looks a likely place for such a break. Wherever it happens, there will be panic, every man for himself, in order to pay their debts. People over here will have to draw on those of their resources that at present are immobilized in the U.S. They will demand reimbursement of their dollar claims via the exchange markets. That will cause a deep fall in the value of the dollar. In turn, that will provoke intolerable distortions in foreign trade, a trade war and a return to protectionism and isolation in the U.S.—that is, it will be a political tragedy as well as a financial one. Already Britain has withdrawn from East of Suez because of foreign exchange troubles. We cannot afford to see the U.S. withdraw troops from West Europe for similar reasons. We need that protection.

Q. Hoping the worst is averted, what is your plan for a new and better monetary system?

A. A return to Bretton Woods. I don't think there would be much to change in the system set up after the last war, once further dollar balances could not accumulate. Firstly, there must be fixed parities, which

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are absolutely essential for foreign trade. I know, from having run France's stabilization fund back in 1937 when the franc was floating, that floating rates are a terrible obstacle to trade. Secondly, currencies must be convertible and that means that at least one or two of them must be convertible into gold, as the dollar was after Bretton Woods.

My friend Professor Triffin thinks that the ultimate convertibility could be into a man-made instrument like Special Drawing Rights. Some folks who agree with him accuse me of having a mystical veneration for gold. Nonsense. I don't venerate gold, but I have never seen an international trade system get by without gold except those managed by totalitarian regimes, from Hitler to the Russians. In our world, unlimited recourse to Special Drawing Rights would unleash a fearful inflation on the world.

Besides, the impossibility of rationally administering SDRs has already been proven. It is proven by the fact that SDRs were being created during the flood of dollars, when none should have been. In the end, it is only gold that prevents, or rather punishes, excesses.

Q. But if we went back to Bretton Woods, we would have to ensure this time that nations did not hold more than a certain percentage of dollars in their services. Otherwise these dollar balances would start accumulating all over again.

A. Central banks will always have to hold some dollars because they need them for daily business. We must see that they hold no more than that. If you wanted to fix, by convention, that no more than, say, 10% of a nation's reserves should be in foreign currencies, you could do so. The main point is that it should never be normal practice for a central bank to create local money on the security of dollars. If it does it is stoking global inflation and, by putting its reserve dollars back into U.S. securities, it is making the U.S. deficit painless, and therefore ineradicable.

Q. An international conference on these matters is unlikely to adopt your solution—or anybody else's, for that matter. Such gatherings usually end up in a mixed compromise.

A. An international conference would give whatever the U.S. wanted. I have spent all my life among international monetary authorities, and I know they have a deep and legitimate complaisance toward U.S. power. The problem is not to convince them but to convince the U.S. As long as the U.S. does not want a solution we Europeans want, it is no use talking about it. The question is whether reason will convince the U.S. before overwhelming events do.

Our role is to offer to restitute all those resources that have been lost by the U.S., by making to the Americans a long loan of the dollar balances, and then to see that the accumulation of such balances cannot happen again. Meantime, all threats and pressures, menaces of trade war, demands for revaluation, and so on, will lead nowhere.

Q. The dollar looks like ending up devalued, whether formally or de facto, which means that U.S. stocks will be so much cheaper for foreigners. We've seen in recent years what a boost foreign buying can give to the U.S. balance of payments, not to mention to Wall Street. Do you think a vast movement of funds back across the Atlantic is going to affect stock prices?

A. That's the toughest of all the questions you've asked me. You know, I'm the president of a French mutual fund, and we've been thinking a lot lately about the impact on the stock markets of various solutions to the money crisis. It's almost impossible to say, because any solution you imagine has many bullish points and just as many bearish ones. But for the time being we're on the sidelines. The measures announced by Mr. Nixon last month spell recession in my book.

ENVIRONMENTAL ANALYSIS  
REPORTS

## HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, sometimes a bit of satire can get over a point more effectively than straightforward exposition. Since we all are going through all kinds of agonies these days trying to come up with the environmental analyses required under the Environmental Protection Act I believe we might benefit from a writing shared with me by Dr. James Wright, chief of environmental concerns for the Westinghouse Corp. The document is in the form of an interoffice memo which chronicles the status of certain fictitious company negotiations. It follows:

OCTOBER 12, 1971.

STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GOD AND  
COMPANY

## EARTH PROJECT

As you know, we have been in negotiations with GOD concerning the Creation of Heaven and Earth with options on HIS services for the creation of MAN and a subsequent option to create WOMAN (tentative title).

Though we have been able to make progress in a number of areas, we haven't been able to close the deal. The problems are these: GOD wants to create the Heavens and the Earth in Six (6) consecutive days, beginning on either a Sunday or a Monday, and rest on the Seventh (7) day, either a Saturday or a Sunday, depending on the start date. It is our feeling that though we respect GOD's talent, we are concerned about HIS ability to finish on time. We, therefore, want to have the right to have HIM work the Seventh (7) day at no additional cost. Additionally, we are insisting on One (1) set of changes and the right to replace HIM as a consultant. Patents will, of course, be our property.

We are on the verge of working out an agreement on the size and shape of MAN and WOMAN; however, the material they should be made of is where this deal may fall apart. GOD wants to create MAN out of a handful of Dust. Though we see the promotional value and the possible ability of recycling the product (Dust to Dust), we don't feel the basic material has aesthetic appeal.

The concern on the Woman project is deeper than even on Man. I know you are going to find this difficult to accept, but He wants to use Adam's Rib (the name Adam was tentatively approved, subject to a final staff review). He claims that the use of the Rib is practical because Adam has an extra Rib as the result of a previous negotiation on the Engineering Standards for Man. Engineering is very disturbed. They will not approve the project if the Rib is removed, as they feel that the previous agreement to eliminate the tail coupled with the removal of this Rib will make it impossible for Man to function. I understand that God is one of the top men in His area, but I also have a great deal of respect for the boys in Engineering. If you concur, I would recommend we refuse to use Adam's Rib for the creation of Woman and blow the deal if necessary.

I'd guess that Man has the potential of interacting adversely with other things on Earth such as air, water, land, bugs, birds and fish.

The question is, can we cut a bunch of these critters loose on Earth without irretrievably and irreversibly messing up the environment. I'm predicting that they'll have the nasty habit of tossing beer cans on the

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

roads, bulldozing the trees, spilling oil on the waters and making the air smell bad.

In any event, we're stuck with an environmental analysis by November 1.

TWO ACHIEVE HIGHEST SCOUTING  
RANK

## HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, two young friends of mine have just been awarded their Eagle Scout rank. They are Peter von Buelow and John Neuenschwander of Bearden High School, Knoxville, Tenn.

Both these young men have impressive Scout records, and are fine junior citizens. I know they have worked hard to attain this rank, and will continue their efforts to better their knowledge and skills and to improve their community.

Today I am singling out Peter and John because they are fine examples of scouting. Every year many boys in my district become Eagle Scouts, and it is a great deal of pleasure to congratulate each of them on this high achievement. Many times I have participated in the programs in which the boys became Eagle Scouts, and it is has been my responsibility to give them the charge of this station.

Both Peter and John are members of Troop 22, sponsored by the Sacred Heart Catholic Church, Knights of Columbus.

Peter is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Carl von Buelow, 6500 Orchard Road, Knoxville, and John's parents are Dr. and Mrs. Harold L. Neuenschwander, 7109 Sheffield Drive, Knoxville.

Peter is a patrol leader in the troop, and has served as both senior and assistant senior patrol leader. He is a brotherhood member of the Order of the Arrow, has won the Ad Altare Dei religious medal, the Paul Bunyan Axemanship Award, the Mile Swim Award and has earned the Warrior's Passage hiking patch.

John is the troop's assistant senior patrol leader. He has served also as patrol leader and assistant patrol leader. He has won the Good Citizenship Medal, the Paul Bunyan Axemanship Award, and the Warrior's Passage hiking patch.

The purpose of Boy Scouts of America is to "provide for boys an effective program designed to build desirable qualities of character, to train in the responsibilities of participating citizenship, and to develop in them personal fitness, thus to help in the development of American citizens." Emphasis is on physical, mental, and emotional fitness; religious values; skills; respect for others and country; and understanding of government.

There are 6,247,160 Scout members, and I am pleased to be among this number. Actually, the boys themselves number 4,608,019. Adult members and leaders compose the remaining membership.

I know that Boy Scout work is rewarding to each member and to the leaders. Perhaps as much as teaching skills

Scout work helps young people learn to work together and to understand others. I would encourage any young boy to begin with the Scouts as soon as he can. What he learns will guide him through many years ahead.

FOREIGN AID: THE FRIGHTENING  
FACTS

## HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in view of the most dramatic recent action of the Senate in rejecting outright our foreign aid program of the past 25 years, I believe it most imperative and appropriate that each Member of the House give serious attention to the magnitude and ubiquity of this policy which at long last will require an extensive reexamination by the Congress. I include at this time certain recent remarks by the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, which provide a most sobering assessment of the extent to which we have become overcommitted.

## REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN PASSMAN

The attached fact sheets should have your close scrutiny. Our government is continuing to dissipate your resources and wealth in foreign nations all over the world. This unconscionable practice is destroying our world markets, destroying the value of the American dollar and placing an unbearable public debt upon the shoulders of unborn generations. This practice of giving away your wealth is creating inflation and reducing the purchasing power of your dollar which is the equivalent of confiscating your savings. I must speak out again and say forthrightly that the good claimed for this program is not supported by facts.

Our fiscal irresponsibility is so obvious that many foreign nations are again demanding our diminishing gold for the surplus dollars they hold, thus further depleting our limited gold stocks. In some countries, businesses will accept dollars only at a discount. This uncontrolled dissipation of our wealth is pricing us out of world markets. We may well finish this year with a true trade deficit of a billion dollars.

There are approximately fifty billion U.S. dollars floating around in foreign countries. We do not have the gold to redeem these dollars, so they are surplus to the needs of foreign nations for commerce. Do not blame the present Administration for this unbelievable situation because it has been building up for 25 years. The habit of giving away our wealth is so ingrained in the minds of the bureaucrats who give away this money that they cannot overcome the addiction. So, those of us who know the facts must now spread this news throughout the nation and plead for support so as to bring this outlandish, wasteful, ever-growing addiction under control, or else someday surely regret our neglect.

The attached sheets establish beyond any doubt that this program could be termed frustrating, fanatical, frightening and foolish. I am going to expose the wastefulness of this program to the Nation even if it requires substantial use of my personal resources. This is an obligation I owe to the American people.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

May I explain the attached fact sheets briefly before you read them:

(1) New budget requests for additional authorizations and/or appropriations for foreign assistance, fiscal year 1972, covering loans, grants and credits—thirteen billion, five hundred twenty-eight million, six hundred twenty-eight thousand dollars.

(2) Unexpended balance in pipeline from prior years—twenty-four billion, five hundred sixty-seven million, fifty-five thousand dollars, including appropriated funds and borrowing authority.

(3) If all new requests are approved by the Congress, the grand total funds available, new and from prior years, will amount to thirty-eight billion, nine hundred fifty-six million, eight hundred and thirty thousand dollars.

(4) Net cost of the foreign assistance program (1946-71) including interest on what we have borrowed to give away, amounts to two hundred twelve billion, eight hundred eighty million dollars. Many billions of the dollars we pay out in interest on what we have borrowed to give away go to foreign nations and foreign nationals.

(5) During this world-wide spending spree, our gold holdings have been reduced from twenty-two billion, eight hundred seventy-nine million dollars to ten billion, seven hundred thirty-two million dollars.

(6) Since the inception of the world-wide spending spree, short-term dollar claims against the United States (due now) have increased from eight billion, six hundred forty-five million dollars to forty-one billion, six hundred sixty-six million dollars, plus other United States indebtedness abroad which amounts to twelve billion dollars. If we should be called upon to pay off these short-term IOU's we could not meet the demand.

(7) Our balance-of-payments situation, since this world-wide spending spree started, has placed our fiscal affairs in a grave position. We have paid to foreign nations forty-eight billion, eight hundred nineteen million dollars more than they have paid to us. This situation will continue to worsen until we bring the Aid program under control. As you know, this is what has created such a tremendous dollar surplus in the hands of foreign nations and nationals.

(8) The freewheeling spending program covering the face of the earth has helped push the U.S. Public debt to a figure eighty-seven billion dollars above the combined public debt of all the other nations of the world.

(9) Can it be denied that our country has substituted dollars for a sound foreign policy, aid for trade, appeasement for firmness? We have become so addicted to this formula that it is no longer even suggested that it be stopped. Only the American taxpayers have the power to stop it.

(10) Until this Administration came into power, we had been borrowing money from the American people to pay for commodities and services which were given free to foreign nations, and then borrowing dollars from foreign nations in order to make our balance-of-payments situation look better than it was.

(11) In the main, the foreign aid program is administered by patriotic Americans, but they are almost completely without banking and business experience. It has been established that it is the fourth and fifth echelon bureaucrats who are involving us in these foreign entanglements. During 1972 alone, some portion of the aid program will be operating in 98 nations of the world, with 54,599 individuals on the payroll. This includes U.S. personnel, foreign personnel and participants. There are now 4,416 projects and subprojects scattered all over the world. While many similar projects in America cannot go forward because of lack of funds, not a single foreign

aid project has ever been stopped or slowed down for lack of funds.

Please analyze the attached sheets. They convey a significant message. A careful scrutiny may prompt the overburdened American taxpayer to take the necessary steps to bring this world-wide free spending program under control. Bureaucratic estimates are so unrealistic and unconvincing that the Congress has been able to reduce the budget requests by twelve billion, three hundred forty-three million dollars in sixteen years. The total reduction was limited to this amount because of the selfish interests of thousands of lobbyists and the scares peddled by bureaucratic personnel. Yet even after the reductions, the foreign aid program was still greatly overfunded.

Aid should be limited to agencies such as the Export-Import Bank with the disguised credit and grant portion being curtailed and eliminated at the quickest possible date. We should make sure that any aid extended is on a loan basis with reasonable maturity dates and at the same rate of interest we have to pay on the money we borrow to lend.

NEW REQUESTS FOR AUTHORIZATION AND/OR APPROPRIATION FOR FOREIGN AID AND ASSISTANCE—FISCAL YEAR 1972

[In thousands]

Foreign Assistance Act (including Military Assistance)	\$3,313,000
Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC)	25,000
Inter-American Development Bank	500,000
Inter-American Development Bank (Supplemental)	486,760
International Bank for Recon. and Devel. (Supplemental)	246,100
International Development Association	320,000
Asian Development Bank	40,000
Asian Development Bank (Supplemental)	60,000
Expanded Multilateral Assistance Receipts and Recoveries from Previous Programs	35,000
Military Assistance (in Defense Budget)	370,310
International Military Headquarters	2,250,800
Economic Assistance (in Defense Budget)	74,400
MAAG's, Missions and Milgroups	90,900
Permanent Military Construction—Foreign Nations	262,000
Export-Import Bank, Long-term Credits	106,000
Export-Import Bank, Regular Operations	2,445,000
Peace Corps	1,195,639
Ryukyu Islands	82,200
Migrants and Refugees	4,450
Public Law 480 (Agricultural Commodities)	8,650
Contributions to International Organizations	1,320,400
Education (Foreign and Other Students)	160,680
Trust Territories of the Pacific	51,000
Latin America Highway (Darien Gap)	59,739
	20,000

Total, new requests—foreign aid and assistance—fiscal year 1972 13,528,628

UNEXPENDED BALANCE FOR FOREIGN AID AND ASSISTANCE IN PIPELINE FROM PRIOR YEARS FOR APPROPRIATION AND AUTHORIZATION

[In thousands]

Foreign Assistance Act (including Military Assistance)	\$4,403,985
Export-Import Bank, Uncommitted Borrowing Authority	5,230,600
Export-Import Bank, Long-Term Credits	2,937,800

November 3, 1971

Export-Import Bank, Regular Operations	\$624,600
Export-Import Bank, Export Expansion Program	295,000
Inter-American Development Bank	2,304,051
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	5,715,000
International Development Association	460,000
Asian Development Bank	150,000
Foreign Military Credit Sales Program	290,000
MAAG's Missions and Milgroups Military Assistance (in Defense Budget)	10,000
International Military Headquarters	945,000
Economic Assistance (in Defense Budget)	18,000
Permanent Military Construction Overseas	15,000
Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC)	210,000
Public Law 480 (Agricultural Commodities)	203,538
Peace Corps	664,439
Contributions to International Organizations	24,077
Total	5,808
Education Exchange	28,397
Ryukyu Islands	1,740
Migrants and Refugees	2,264
Inter-American Highway	6,100
Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands	21,656
	24,567,055
TOTAL NET FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO 127 NATIONS OF THE WORLD — FISCAL YEARS 1946 THROUGH 1971	
The five F formula: Frustrating, Fanatical, Frightening, Foolish, Factual.	
[In thousands]	
Afghanistan	\$373,800
Albania	20,400
Algeria	176,100
Argentina	341,100
Australia	594,400
Austria	1,218,400
Barbados	700
Belgium-Luxembourg	1,742,200
Bolivia	532,000
Botswana	19,100
Brazil	2,738,200
Burundi	7,800
Burma	158,600
Cambodia	613,700
Cameroon	33,500
Canada	46,500
Central African Republic	5,600
Ceylon	176,600
Chad	9,800
Chile	1,281,800
China, Republic of	5,096,500
Colombia	1,119,400
Congo (B)	4,000
Congo (K)	456,000
Costa Rica	188,200
Cuba	43,700
Cyprus	22,400
Czechoslovakia	189,500
Dahomey	12,900
Denmark	873,300
Dominican Republic	483,400
East Germany	800
Ecuador	296,700
El Salvador	145,400
Equatorial Guinea	300
Ethiopia	394,100
Finland	10,300
France	7,059,700
Gabon	7,600
Gambia	3,300
Ghana	264,800
Germany and Berlin	3,652,400
Greece	3,681,900
Guatemala	355,300
Guinea	113,000
Guyana	69,900

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Haiti	\$117,200	Sudan	\$91,000
Honduras	122,800	Swaziland	4,900
Hungary	13,300	Sweden	135,300
Iceland	59,800	Switzerland	45,300
India	8,003,600	Syrian Arab Rep.	56,700
Indochina	1,535,200	Tanzania	73,400
Indonesia	1,343,800	Togo	1,592,400
Iran	1,945,700	Trinidad & Tobago	17,300
Iraq	90,600	Tunisia	49,700
Ireland	105,700	Turkey	699,400
Israel	992,000	Uganda	5,640,500
Italy	5,528,500	United Arab Rep.	42,500
Ivory Coast	80,000	United Kingdom	759,900
Jamaica	92,400	USSR	7,209,100
Japan	3,419,900	Upper Volta	186,400
Jordan	710,000	Venezuela	18,500
Kenya	77,100	Vietnam	184,900
Korea	10,059,500	Western Samoa	317,600
Kuwait	29,500	Yemen	15,213,700
Laos	1,449,500	Yugoslavia	2,515,600
Lebanon	98,000	Zambia	6,100
Lesotho	12,100	Bahamas	31,800
Liberia	217,100	Brit. Honduras	5,900
Libya	221,600	Brunei	14,000
Malagasy Rep.	14,100	Sou. Rhodesia	1,500
Malawi	26,400	Surinam	9,200
Malaysia	72,600	West Indies	8,900
Mali	30,000	Hong Kong	44,700
Malta	8,300	Papua & New Guinea	23,700
Mauritania	5,000	Ryukyu Islands	403,300
Mauritius	6,100	Trust Ter. Pac.	284,200
Mexico	451,600	CENTO	54,700
Morocco	731,800	W/W. Regional	15,907,600
Nepal	157,600		
Netherlands	2,033,300		
New Zealand	58,800		
Nicaragua	165,600		
Niger	18,900		
Nigeria	388,600		
Norway	1,127,100		
Pakistan	4,484,100		
Panama	242,300		
Paraguay	131,100		
Peru	465,200		
Philippines	1,938,600		
Poland	437,300		
Portugal	432,900		
Romania	10,000		
Rwanda	8,000		
Saudi Arabia	178,800		
Senegal	40,100		
Sierre Leone	44,100		
Singapore	31,300		
Somalia	79,300		
South Africa, Rep.	33,300		
Southern Yemen	200		
Spain	2,028,400		

Total Net Disbursements  
to Foreign Nations,  
1946-1971

138,446,200

Total Net Interest Paid  
on What We have Bor-  
rowed to Give Away,  
1946-1971

74,434,597

Grand total, cost of For-  
eign assistance, 1946  
through 1971

212,880,797

Of the 3 1/4 billion people of the world, all  
but 36 million have received aid from the  
United States.

## GOLD HOLDINGS

Gold holdings, United States, December 31,  
1950, \$22,879,000,000.

Gold holdings, United States, December 31,  
1970, \$10,732,000,000.

## MUTUAL SECURITY PROGRAM (FOREIGN AID) ANALYSIS ON CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, 16-YEAR PERIOD, 1956-71 INCLUSIVE

Fiscal year	Budget estimate	Appropriation	Reduction below estimate	Percentage below budget estimate	Fiscal year	Budget estimate	Appropriation	Reduction below estimate	Percentage below budget estimate
1956	\$3,266,641,750	\$2,703,341,750	-\$563,300,000	17.24	1965	\$3,516,700,000	\$3,250,000,000	-\$266,700,000	7.58
1957	4,859,975,000	3,766,570,000	-1,093,405,000	22.50	1966	3,459,470,000	3,218,000,000	-\$241,470,000	6.98
1958	3,386,860,000	2,768,760,000	-618,100,000	18.25	1967	3,385,962,000	2,936,490,500	-\$449,471,500	13.27
1959	3,950,092,500	3,298,092,500	-652,000,000	16.51	1968	3,250,520,000	2,295,635,000	-\$954,885,000	29.38
1960	4,429,995,000	3,225,813,000	-1,204,182,000	27.18	1969	2,920,000,000	1,755,600,000	-\$1,164,400,000	39.88
1961	4,275,000,000	3,716,350,000	-558,650,000	13.07	1970	2,710,020,000	1,812,380,000	-\$897,640,000	33.12
1962	4,775,500,000	3,914,600,000	-860,900,000	18.03	1971	2,200,500,000	1,940,185,000	-\$260,315,000	11.8
1963	4,961,300,000	3,928,900,000	-1,032,400,000	20.81	Total	59,873,861,250	47,530,717,750	-\$12,343,143,500	20.63
1964	4,525,325,000	3,000,000,000	-1,525,325,000	33.70					

Mr. Speaker, this dazzling array of statistics and figures is almost incomprehensible to the human mind, until we realize that there are more than 13,000 Agency for International Development employees in the Department of State whose sole responsibility and function is to dissipate and distribute the tax money of the American people to the rest of the world. Think about it—13,000 full time workers who are giving our money away—persons whose energies are dedicated to perpetuating a drain on our resources—persons who somehow have even succeeded in justifying countless

millions of dollars in assistance to various Communist countries which are the sworn enemy of the United States!

While I fully acknowledge the necessity and desirability of certain types of foreign aid, such as military assistance vital to the security of the United States, and some disaster relief to friendly countries, it is all too obvious that by and large our unprecedented generosity has bought this Nation little security and few friends during the past two and one half decades. So that we might better comprehend the scope of the foreign aid program, I would like at this time merely for the

Gold holdings, other countries of the world, December 31, 1950, \$10,935,000,000.  
Gold holdings, other countries of the world, December 31, 1970, \$26,108,000,000.

FOREIGN SHORT-TERM DOLLAR CLAIMS  
AGAINST UNITED STATES

Short-term dollar claims against United States, December 31, 1950, \$8,645,000,000.  
Short-term dollar claims against United States, December 31, 1970, \$41,666,000,000.

## U.S. balance of payments

[In millions]

1950 net deficit	-\$1,912
1951 net deficit	-578
1952 net deficit	-1,100
1953 net deficit	-2,100
1954 net deficit	-1,500
1955 net deficit	-1,100
1956 net deficit	-1,000
1957 net surplus	+500
1958 net deficit	-3,400
1959 net deficit	-3,700
1960 net deficit	-3,800
1961 net deficit	-2,400
1962 net deficit	-2,200
1963 net deficit	-2,660
1964 net deficit	-3,006
1965 net deficit	-1,306
1966 net deficit	-2,077
1967 net deficit	-3,650
1968 net surplus	+93
1969 net deficit	-7,208
1970 net deficit	-4,715

Net U.S. balance-of-payments deficit (21 years)

1950 through 1970

48,819

## GROSS PUBLIC DEBTS

Public debt, United States, December 31, 1970, \$391,626,290,000.

Public debt, all other nations of the world (estimate), December 31, 1970, \$304,160,241,000.

Public debt, United States exceeds combined public debt of all other nations of the world by \$87,466,049,000.

The above statistics cover (1) gold holdings, (2) short-term dollar claims against United States, (3) United States balance-of-payments position, 21 years, (4) public debt of the United States, (5) public debt of all other nations of the world, and (6) amount by which our public debt exceeds combined public debt of all other nations of the world. These statistics should be of interest to every American, conservative or liberal.

sake of comparison to suggest some examples of what this same amount of money would have purchased if spent by our people here at home.

In taking the very latest figure available, the total amount of \$143,000,000,000 in U.S. foreign aid since the end of World War II would purchase any one of the following for the American people:

2,869,000 classrooms at \$50,000 each;  
35,750,000 cars at \$4,000 each;  
47,666,666 smaller cars at \$3,000 each;  
7,150,000,000 pairs of shoes at \$20 each;  
476,666,666 color televisions at \$300 each;

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

1,430,000,000 mens' suits at \$100 each;  
 2,860,000,000 pairs of Tony Lama western boots at \$50 each;  
 715,000,000 washing machines at \$200 each;  
 143,000,000 mink coats at \$1,000 each—  
 or

2,860,000,000 electric toy train sets at \$50 each.

Or put another way, this same amount of money simply divided up would amount to \$715 for every man, woman, and child in the United States.

While our foreign aid funds have been distributed among 98 other nations throughout the world, for the sake of further comparison I suggest that the money we have given to India alone—over \$8,000,000,000—if distributed among the people of my congressional district—assuming a population of 450,000—would provide \$17,770 for every man, woman, and child residing in the district. Or put another way, this money would buy each individual in the district his or her choice of:

4 automobiles at \$4,000 each;  
 5 smaller automobiles at \$3,000 each;  
 59 color TV sets at \$300 each;  
 888 pairs of shoes at \$20 per pair;  
 17 mink stoles at \$1,000 each;  
 177 black and white TV sets at \$100 each;  
 90 washing machines at \$200 each;  
 354 pairs of Tony Lama western boots at \$50 per pair—or

177 men's suits at \$100 each.

Mr. Speaker, we could go on and on with analogies, comparisons, charges, and criticisms of this program. But I believe one point is paramount in importance—namely, the time has come for America to stop playing Uncle Sap—let our foreign policy and in particular whatever foreign aid program we may henceforth fashion truly reflect an “America first” policy. No nation in the history of the world has ever matched the generosity we have shown to others—but the time has come for our Government to recognize that its first obligation is to our own people, and that our role as Santa Claus to the rest of the world can no longer be justified or tolerated.

**VICE ADM. MEANS JOHNSTON AWARDED THE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL**

**HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN**

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, a friend of many Members of the House and Senate, Vice Adm. Means Johnston was recently relieved of his duties as Chief of the Office of Navy Legislative Affairs and promoted to Inspector General of the Navy. In his new position, he has the best wishes of a growing number of friends on Capitol Hill—from both sides of the aisle in the Senate and House of Representatives.

Admiral Johnston was recently recognized by the President and awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for out-

standing service to the Government of the United States. I include in the Record at this point the text of Admiral Johnston's citation for dedicated service to his Nation.

The article follows:

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,  
 Washington, D.C.

The President of the United States takes pleasure in presenting the Distinguished Service Medal to Vice Admiral Means Johnston, Jr., United States Navy, for service as set forth in the following citation:

For exceptionally meritorious service to the Government of the United States in a position of great responsibility as Chief of Legislative Affairs from January 1969 to September 1971.

An extremely knowledgeable and resourceful advisor to the Secretary of the Navy, Vice Admiral (then Rear Admiral) Johnston has conducted liaison with the Congress of the United States for the Department of the Navy during one of the most difficult and challenging periods in this nation's history.

Faced with the most formidable opposition, and confronting an atmosphere of disaffection with military matters, Vice Admiral Johnston was able to maintain such outstanding rapport with the leadership of the Congress that programs for the modernization of the Navy have been supported by the Congress with notable generosity and genuine understanding of the Navy's role in contributing to the national defense.

By his outstanding leadership, judgment, and inspiring devotion to duty throughout, Vice Admiral Johnston upheld the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service.

For the President,

JOHN H. CHAFEE,  
 Secretary of the Navy.

**RETURN VETERANS DAY COMMEMORATION TO NOVEMBER 11**

**HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, for the past 52 years, our Nation has commemorated Veterans Day on November 11, a day of great historical significance to the free world. On this day in 1918, an armistice was signed which ended the hostilities on the Western Front during the First World War. It was chosen by Congress as the most appropriate day to honor all veterans whose great sacrifices over the years, have made it possible for us to enjoy the freedoms of America today.

This year, however, for the first time in our history, Veterans Day was celebrated on October 25 because, due to the provision of the Monday Holiday Act, this day of honor has been arbitrarily changed to the fourth Monday in October—all this for the expediency of providing another 3-day weekend. To me, this redesignation diminishes, defeats, and aborts the purpose for which this national holiday was originally designed. While I enjoy 3-day weekends as much as the next person, I do not feel we should sacrifice the calendar day, November 11, which has in the past been set aside as a day of national recognition to those who faced the great challenges and offered the great sacrifices for the preservation of our freedom, just to have

November 3, 1971

another free Monday and a long weekend. That a day of such national importance could be treated so lightly is disturbing to me.

Therefore, on November 11, I will introduce a joint resolution which would redesignate November 11 of every year as “Veterans Day.” This is an important national holiday, a time to pause and honor those who have sacrificed so much to preserve our precious freedom and heritage. Veterans Day must stand out in our minds, and not be made simply the tail end of a 3-day holiday weekend.

**THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION'S HEALTH-CARE SYSTEM**

**HON. WILLIAM R. ROY**

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, the Hospital Tribune, a weekly newspaper sent to policymaking personnel and administrators in the hospital field, recently has published a series of three articles on the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans' Administration. These articles were excerpted from the writing of Marc J. Musser, M.D., chief medical director, and Benjamin B. Wells, M.D., deputy chief medical director.

While these articles reflect the anticipated viewpoint of their authors, the substance, analysis, and recommendation are well worth our careful reading and consideration. The exceptional abilities of Drs. Musser and Wells make the achievement of these goals more likely.

The articles follow:

**THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION'S HEALTH-CARE SYSTEM**

(By Marc J. Musser, M.D., and Benjamin B. Wells, M.D.)

Of the many systems of health care-delivery in America—state, municipal, voluntary, and private and group practice—none approach in magnitude the services and scope provided by the Department of Medicine and Surgery of the Veterans Administration. In this issue, Hospital Tribune begins a three-part report by two distinguished physicians on the manifold activities of this Federal health agency.

The Veterans Administration's Department of Medicine and Surgery is the country's largest health-care system. As such, it operates 166 hospitals, 202 clinics, and 63 nursing homes staffed by 150,000 physicians, nurses, and other health workers to make high-quality medical care readily available to some 6,000,000 veterans on an annual budget of some \$2 billion.

In fulfilling that major mission, the VA educates and trains medical students, physicians, and all other categories and levels of health manpower, promulgates extensive cooperative biomedical and medical care research programs, and maintains quality control, regionally and within its own system and the private sector.

Much has been written and said during the past several years about the need for a national health-care delivery system and the extent to which the health-care needs of the American people are being met by a “nonsystem.” Very few attempts have been made to conceptualize the structure and operational nature of an appropriate delivery system. Indeed, the current preoccupation

seems to be with mechanisms for payment for services, rather than with the mechanisms for expanding the capacity and improvement of the system.

Any form of universal health insurance will only accentuate the needs for more effective and dependable mechanisms for the provision of services. If a health care delivery system is the best way to accomplish this, it becomes imperative that such a concept should provide meaningful assistance.

Providing the highest-quality health care to eligible veterans is the prime mission of the Veterans Administration's Department of Medicine and Surgery. Immediately after World War II, under the leadership of General Omar Bradley, Dr. Paul Hawley, Dr. Paul Magnuson, and others, the department developed essential characteristics considerably different from the prewar facilities often referred to as "old soldier's homes."

In this process, the VA has come to grips with many of the same kinds of problems our country is now confronting in its health-care crisis. Therefore, the Veterans Administration's health-care system can be considered a demonstration project that can be useful as a model.

The several references to the Veterans Administration's Department of Medicine and Surgery in the Presidential Health Message of February 18, 1971, was a long step forward toward improving the understanding and visibility of that system. In that message the President explicitly called for the cooperation between the Administrator of the Veterans Administration and the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of "ways in which the Veterans Administration medical care system can be used to supplement medical resources in scarcity areas." A whole series of other requests for actions and plans, ranging all the way from the development of new resources of health manpower to biomedical research in general and sickle cell anemia in particular, also implicitly involve the Veterans Administration system.

#### UNDERSTANDING NEEDED

What needs doing is the achievement of a new range and depth of understanding of our health-care system vis-à-vis those of the voluntary sector. Only thus can the Veterans Administration health-care system begin to be of help for the delivery of health care generally.

The fact is that many of the essential characteristics for a successful voluntary system for the delivery of quality care are demonstrated ideally by the Veterans Administration's system. Some of these characteristics are:

1. Easy and convenient access to the system. There is no more exasperating feature of our present national health-care system than the many obscure and uncertain ways patients enter it. For example, the tacit assumption that everyone has a family physician is unrealistic in a mobile and economically disparate population. By contrast to the general population, approximately 90 per cent of the 28,000,000 veterans live no further than 100 miles or two hours from a Veterans Administration health facility.

2. A full spectrum of health resources must be available so that care will be comprehensive. An imperative of good medical practice is that the patient can be referred easily and quickly from one service to another according to his needs. This assumes a wide variety of specialties and modalities for diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation. Virtually all Veterans Administration hospitals are at least comparable to any good community hospital, and many of these hospitals serve as medical school teaching hospitals. They are comparable to university hospitals.

3. Emphasis on treatment at the earliest stage of a patient's disease. This means that the system must be oriented toward ambula-

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tory care with more intensive and sophisticated services available on call. An overwhelming majority of patients seek medical care for minor problems. The system must recognize this fact and place these common, everyday problems in proper relationship to life-threatening, rare, and catastrophic illness in the total array of health services and their cost.

4. A system operated at maximum efficiency to assure economic advantages to its consumers. One of the best ways of getting a good cost-effectiveness ratio is to delegate some of the duties previously performed more expensively by physicians to a variety of allied health personnel. These include physician assistants, dental assistants, and others. The Veterans Administration hospital system, as a centrally directed system, can and does do most of these things.

5. Prepaid cost of care. This is recognized by most all of our political, social, and health-care planners and is, in fact, the basis for making the current health-care proposals now being aired. The Veterans Administration's health-care system is a prepaid system for veterans. Basically the prepayment is their service in the armed forces.

#### VA DESCRIBED AS A CASE OF E PLURIBUS UNUM

The Veterans Administration's health-care system is more than a catalogue of institutions, facilities, and programs. It is a dynamic, cooperative, cohesive, and unified set of transactions that permits the system—despite its geographic dispersion, its size, and its complexity—to act as a single entity.

In fact, the system functions so effectively in the market place that its services have always remained substantially below the cost of similar services in the private sector. The system has a leverage enabling it to obtain expensive equipment or scarce manpower and to use them economically and efficiently. It also can develop and test, not just new mechanisms for the delivery of health services but can and does conduct cooperative clinical and basic biomedical research in collaboration with other organizations.

In terms of providing access to quality medical care, the Veterans Administration's system has demonstrated that it is possible to do things that are exceedingly difficult for individual private hospitals and their related systems to accomplish separately or together.

An example is regionalization, one of the most useful "working concepts" of our time.

Our system has the mechanisms to achieve the necessary high level of cooperation among its hospitals to eliminate costly duplication and make maximum use of skills and resources. This has been done in personnel, supply, fiscal procedures, and in patient records. Similar efforts are under way in patient care.

Requests already have been received to establish outreach clinics in some of the more remote areas of the country. We are experimenting also with mobile multidisciplinary treatment teams. These teams visit outlying communities on schedule and, in cooperation with local health workers, assure the availability of needed services. Such teams have already been especially effective in mental health (as in Alabama) and in chronic pulmonary disease (as on Long Island). We are looking forward to extending other ambulatory services as the regionalization program expands.

The Veterans Administration system is almost ideally designed to deal with the many health manpower problems that arise. This includes physician manpower, where VA now is directly involved in the education of some 11,000 medical students and 5,000 interns and residents each year, as well as the allied health professions and supporting personnel categories.

In these two latter areas we believe that duties must become more clearly specified

and be delegated to a number of new categories of manpower. For example, in conjunction with the Civil Service Commission, the Veterans Administration has obtained a new employment category for physician assistants. A number of these are already working in the systems in the Veterans Administration's hospitals in Muskogee, Okla., Houston, Tex., and Durham, N.C. In nurse education and utilization, the Veterans Administration has designed a program to obtain maximum development and use of sub-professional personnel in the nursing service.

#### WIDE ACCESS TO BENEFITS

At present, Veterans' Administration's hospitals and clinics are affiliated with 80 medical schools, 51 dental schools, 287 nursing schools, 274 universities and colleges, and 84 community and junior colleges. Veterans Administration facilities also are used to provide health service training and work experience at novice levels to enrollees in Federal economic opportunity and educational assistance programs. Obviously, no other organization, agency, or group in the United States has access to the benefits of this array of academic associations.

During the current fiscal year about 50,000 students will participate in more than 60 categories of training in our institutions. The potential exists for expansion well beyond the size of the present program. These workers will be not only for our use, but for the health labor market of the voluntary system as well.

It is obvious that manpower requirements are implicit in any system for delivering health care. But they can be made explicit only by a complete formulation of the system. One of the major inputs to a system is manpower; the output is health service. The "numbers game" with personnel—ratios to population, distribution by categories, specific training requirements, and so on—are secondary considerations. They become meaningful only after the system has been defined.

It is important to make clear certain other characteristics of the Veterans Administration's health-care system, which lends itself remarkably well to large-scale clinical research activities, identified as Cooperative Research Studies. In the past, staff members of our hospitals, working together and using a unified protocol, have solved several problems that could scarcely be handled by a lesser system. Some examples of the accomplishments of this important form of collaboration include the demonstration that tuberculosis would respond to chemotherapy, leadership in the study of psychotherapeutic drugs, of anticoagulants, and other treatment modalities.

For the past 15 years our system has collaborated with the National Cancer Institute and certain medical schools in the evaluation of cancer chemotherapeutic agents. All were made possible by using the Veterans Administration's systems in a unified and coordinated way. Because of the tremendous potential for this kind of research, we are continuing to expand and refine the techniques of cooperative research.

#### VA SYSTEM AND QUALITY CONTROL RESEARCHES EVALUATION

Along with its many other research activities, the Veterans Administration's system seeks the advancement of medicine and health care in the realm of evaluation and quality control of health services. This potential has been incompletely understood and imperfectly used in the past. As the largest and most experienced health system in the nation, ours has a responsibility for leadership in enlightened quality control, and we are accepting that responsibility.

Finally, as the advances and the increas-

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ing complexity of medicine have inevitably brought on the current crisis in health-care costs. The Veterans Administration's health-care system has suffered, along with its colleagues in the voluntary systems, in terms of public pressure to alleviate these costs.

Currently, one of the most popular proposals for controlling rising costs in medicine is for doctors to practice in groups. The Department of Medicine and Surgery for the past 25 years has used what is essentially a pattern of group practice for the delivery of its services. Also, there is the criticism that much of the rising costs stem from the fact that the new developments in medicine often require capital outlays—for buildings and for expensive equipment, including such hardware as computers. Our system is ideally designed to meet these problems.

Much has been written about consumer participation in health-care affairs. It might be said that the Veterans Administration has dealt longer with so-called consumer involvement than any other major health-care organization. Daily, for 25 years, we have related to service organizations, civic groups, and their representatives in the Congress. Whatever one's emotional bias might be, these groups are consumers and are well enough informed so as to have asserted a considerable controlling influence. Their interests extend all the way from administration through quality of care, cost control, and the ultimate socioeconomic predicament of the patient. With 28,000,000 veterans in this country—who with their families constitute 48 per cent of our population—we do not want for consumer reaction or involvement.

Still other health-care systems are beginning to arise and grow in the private sector and under other Federal auspices.

The Kaiser-Permanente Plan already has more than 2,000,000 subscribers; the Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans are big business. In the Federal sector, Medicare and Medicaid are coming of age. The Veteran's Administration's system must interact with these and similar enterprises.

Discussions concerning National Health Insurance are increasing, and there already have been speculations on its impact upon the Veterans Administration system. However, it now should be clear that any program concerned solely with the payment for services will not significantly influence the capacity of the health-care industry to deliver services.

1. A system or, more likely, a number of related systems will be adapted to health care delivery needs. While recognizing the universal right to health care, we must recognize the practical necessity to compromise with reality. Not every American family can have a Mayo Clinic within walking distance of home. Emphasis must be on transportation of both patients and health care teams, as well as on location of facilities.

2. The system of medical care must permit a free movement of patients between institutions and ambulatory facilities so that effective care is provided at the lowest possible cost.

3. We must learn to develop and use health manpower according to basic principles long established in other industries. Each identifiable task or category of tasks, for example, should be performed by individuals who have adequate but not excessive qualifications for the assignment. When the systems are more widely established and stabilized, it may well be that manpower needs will be far less complicated and expensive than they now appear. In any event, a careful re-examination of licensure and certification is needed to assure the economical training and use of health personnel.

4. Productivity measurements must someday be validated. Without a system or a consistent pattern of manpower utilization and quality produced, such measurements are meaningless.

5. We must have a continuing and assured level of support for biomedical research. It is nonsense to think that one of the largest industries in the nation's economy can sustain itself without adequate research and development.

6. Certain obvious cost-saving measures must be pursued. Area planning, the sharing of expensive resources between both Federal and private systems, and elimination of unnecessary duplications, are imperative for the immediate future. We can no longer permit the unregulated burdens of malpractice litigation to increase the cost of medical care and limit the quality of its performance. We cannot allow vested interests and traditional pressures to maintain the various barriers between institutions or population groups.

In conclusion, the concept that each individual is entitled to the best available care, irrespective of his social status, inability to pay, or any other nonmedical factor, has become deeply imbedded in social policy.

Our enormous systems of health insurance, Medicare, Medicaid, and other welfare programs are rapidly moving the nation toward, if not a single system of health care, at least a single quality of service. Under such circumstances, no single entity within our society—private or public—can remain in isolation while the health needs of the nation are unfulfilled.

## THE IMF MEETING

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON  
OF MASSACHUSETTS  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, when the President made his announcement last August 15 of his new economic policy, most of us in Congress agreed that strong leadership was vital to rescue the economy, although many of us argued that the situation should never have been allowed to deteriorate as far as it had. The President's late realization that something had to be done still strains the economy. Unemployment has yet to show any improvement and inflation still creeps upward.

If the situation domestically has failed to change, the economic policy has added a new dimension of problems for the nations we trade with. As French President Georges Pompidou put it, the Nixon administration was demanding "enormous concessions."

The simple fact of international economic life is that we are all bound together. An article by John Brooks in the October 23 *New Yorker*, called "Starting Over," details what occurred at the recent International Monetary Fund meeting, where our international role as the man with all the poker chips was accurately portrayed. Simply said, if the other countries go down, there will be no one left to save the poker game for any of us. At this point, I would like to place this article in the RECORD for my colleagues.

The article follows:

STARTING OVER  
(By John Brooks)

If it is opposite to follow the common practice of comparing a session of international trade and currency negotiations to a poker game, then the annual meeting of the governors of the International Monetary Fund, which was held in Washington the last

week of September, was a game that took place under notably awkward circumstances. The richest and most relied-upon player, the United States, had just committed two uncharacteristic and almost unforgivable gaucheries. One of them, the imposition of a flat ten-per-cent import surcharge on all dutiable foreign goods, was a clear violation of the rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which had been signed in 1947 by the leading non-Communist trading nations to promote freer international trade and which, over the subsequent twenty-three years, had generally been effective in achieving that objective. The United States' second action, the sudden move to temporarily stop redeeming dollars with gold, was an equally clear violation of the Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund itself; beyond that, it created conditions that made it all but impossible for the I.M.F. to operate or for world trade to continue on its current scale. Both actions were violations of formal international treaties, duly ratified by the parliaments of the participating countries. In terms of the poker analogy, the United States was in the position of a player who, when he sees he is losing, first cheats and then tips over the table; to make matters worse, the offending player had then insolently described his actions as merely strategic moves designed to improve his position. To be sure, such egregious conduct was not unheard of at this particular table; for example, at the moment, Japan, even after a new liberalization of its trade practices, was adjudged by its fellow-players to be guilty of some forty violations of GATT, and Germany and the Netherlands had broken the I.M.F. rules only last May by ceasing to control the prices of their currencies in terms of the dollar. But the nature of the breaches by the United States and the extent of its influence made those breaches unique. Clearly, if the game was to continue at all—and the alternative might be a paralysis of international trade and a world depression that could result in starvation in many countries—new rules would have to be devised quickly, and under the most trying conditions.

The meeting, which the *Times* described optimistically as "likely to go down in history as the turning point toward the creation of a new world monetary system," took place at the huge Sheraton-Park Hotel, the corridors of which were crowded with the mighty of world finance, more than fifteen hundred strong. Among the official delegates for their countries were the United States Secretary of the Treasury, John B. Connally; France's Minister of Economy and Finance, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing; Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Anthony Barber; Germany's Minister for Economic Affairs and Finance, Karl Schiller; and Japan's Minister of Finance, Mikio Mizuta. Present as advisers, assistants, or guests were the heads of the central banks of all leading member nations—Arthur F. Burns for the United States, Sir Leslie O'Brien for Britain, Karl Klasen for West Germany, Tadashi Sasaki for Japan—and such eminent private bankers as Baron Lambert, of the Banque Lambert of Brussels; Jerome Istel, of the Banque Rothschild of Paris; and David Rockefeller, of the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York City. In their eagerness to help get the game going again, most delegates were already on hand by Saturday, September 25th, two days before the formal opening of the meeting, and that morning the I.M.F.'s managing director, Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, made some remarks to the press in which he set the key for the week ahead as one of tension and urgency. Pointing out that it had been a tradition of the Fund to remain silent when there was a crisis affecting a leading member nation, he proceeded to break that tradition. He reiterated a view he had expressed previously, to the effect that the United States ought to make a "contribution" to a solution of the

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current crisis in the form of a small devaluation of the dollar against gold (a move that the United States had firmly announced itself disinclined to make), and he implied that a continuance of the import surcharge and currency instability for any extended period might well result in a disastrous world trade war, in which the worst sufferers would be what he called "innocent victims and helpless bystanders"—the underdeveloped countries.

The old rules of the game and the steps leading to their collapse can be quickly summarized. When the monetary millennium comes, perhaps there will be one world currency universally honored and freely exchanged across national borders, but meanwhile there is gold, the only world currency that has enjoyed general confidence over a long period, even in times of crisis. To the question "Why should gold, rather than something else, be the basis of money?" perhaps the best answer is "Why shouldn't it be?" But the natural scarcity of gold and the capriciousness of its geographical distribution are weaknesses as well as strengths for a world-currency base, and the rigid gold standard that was the rule among most of the leading trading nations until the Depression of the nineteen-thirties eventually came to be an insupportable burden. After a protracted period of chaos, caused by the Depression and war—and perhaps in part by the gold standard itself—it was replaced, at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in July, 1944, by a more flexible system, under which gold shared the task of being the world's money base with what was then by far the strongest national currency, the United States dollar. The Bretton Woods agreement, hammered out by an international panel of experts, headed by Harry Dexter White, of the United States, and John Maynard Keynes, of Britain, established the dollar as the *numéraire*, or measuring rod, against which the value of other currencies was set, and also as the principal currency in which the reserves, or national savings accounts, of other nations would be held. Long before 1944, Keynes had pronounced monetary gold to be a "barbarous relic," and now he had taken part in what was at least a lessening of its role. To keep exchange rates relatively stable under the new system, each nation undertook to intervene in the market buying or selling its own currency—whenever this was necessary in order to hold that currency's dollar price within one per cent of its fixed relation to the dollar. In addition, the International Monetary Fund was established—originally with twenty-nine members, a number that has now swelled to a hundred and eighteen—to accept deposits from the member nations in amounts relative to their economic size and, as a means of further stabilizing the system, to lend funds from these resources to any member undergoing a crisis that might put it in temporary financial difficulties. The United States was offered the choice of intervening either with foreign currencies or with gold to maintain the value of the dollar; we chose gold, and thus the convertibility of the dollar, and of the dollar alone, at the established price of thirty-five dollars per ounce became the foundation of the system—the basic rule of the game.

It all worked beautifully for a time. Then, beginning in 1950, the United States took to running an annual deficit in its international accounts, as a result of foreign aid, the flocking of American tourists abroad, defense spending abroad and the maintenance of our troops there, overseas investments of American companies, the declining competitive position of American products in world markets, and, finally, the war in Vietnam. Year by year, the deficits grew, and in 1960, for the first time, dollars held abroad—in effect, I.O.U.s issued by the United States against our national reserves of gold, foreign cur-

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rency, and borrowing power at the I.M.F.—exceeded those reserves. Each year thereafter, the disparity between what we owed and what we could pay increased, until by the beginning of 1971 the cumulative dollar gap amounted to about twenty-five billion dollars, or almost twice our total reserves. The reason this improvidence on the part of the United States was allowed to continue for so long was that it held temporary benefits for our creditors. International trade was expanding during the nineteen-sixties far faster than new gold was coming out of the ground, and the flood of dollars abroad was filling the lack. As long as the dollar continued to be trusted, the United States deficit was serving the useful purpose of supplying the world with the money it needed to conduct its expanding business. The fact that the United States was getting something for nothing was temporarily ignored. A bizarre situation—unprecedented in international finance, if not in poker—had developed in which the game's ever-increasing bets were being financed by the unredeemable chips of one well-dressed, self-assured player, who inspired confidence by his air of affluence but in actuality was known by all, if they stopped to think about it, to be bankrupt.

Of course, this could not go on indefinitely. By early 1971, the United States' stock of gold, which had once amounted to twenty-five billion dollars, was down to just over eleven billion. Our international-payments deficit had taken a further large jump and was by now running at the appalling rate of twenty billion dollars a year. In spite of cries of anguish from all over Europe, the United States government adopted an attitude that was described, unofficially but quite accurately, as "benign neglect." In May, a high rate of interest in West Germany brought about such a flood of dollars to Germany in exchange for Deutsche marks that the government there had little choice but to break I.M.F. rules by cutting the price of its currency free from the dollar and letting it float upward under market pressure. Benignity and neglect were abandoned together, belatedly and apocalyptically, on August 15th, when President Nixon announced his new economic program, for this included, along with various measures to spur the national economy and contain domestic inflation, the import surcharge, which suddenly reversed the United States' long-standing commitment to freer world trade, and the gold embargo, which suddenly destroyed the Bretton Woods system.

For the first few days after the Nixon announcement, the world's monetary authorities seemed to be in an almost cataclysmic state of shock and dismay, but then they recovered some of their customary aplomb and were able to devote the weeks before the I.M.F. meeting to setting up the terms of the negotiating that lay ahead. The United States made no bones about describing the import surcharge as a bargaining counter, and made clear that as its price for removal of the surcharge it was demanding a substantial upward revaluation of most other currencies in relation to the dollar. (Such revaluation would tend to give the United States its desired trading advantage by making its goods cheaper abroad.) The other countries replied that the United States ought to devalue the dollar on its own, by raising the dollar price of gold, instead of trying to force them to bell the cat. Both upward revaluation and devaluation are politically unpopular in any country, the former because it brings disadvantage in foreign trade and the latter because it is thought to involve loss of national prestige; the Nixon Administration, in particular, seems to have a terror of the domestic political effects of devaluation. The terms of the contest, then, were: Since everyone agrees that the dollar has to be made worth less in terms of other currencies, who will take the unpopular action required? The I.M.F., nominally neutral in disputes among

its members, lost little time in announcing where it stood in this one. Late in August and early in September, Mr. Schweitzer several times stated publicly that the United States ought to devalue the dollar in terms of gold by a modest amount (say, between five and ten per cent), whereupon the rest of the necessary realignment could be made by the other countries. But in mid-September, after a testy and unfruitful private meeting in London of what is called the Group of Ten—a sort of inner club of the I.M.F., consisting of the finance ministers of the United States, Britain, Japan, Canada, Sweden, West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands—Secretary Connally was quoted by a high French source as having declared flatly, "I am authorized to say only I will not change our position one iota." A week later, President Georges Pompidou of France pointedly warned the European Economic Community against making "exorbitant concessions" to the United States at the approaching I.M.F. meeting.

While these harsh verbal thrusts were being traded, the foreign-exchange markets were in confusion. With the dollar cut loose from gold, other currencies were cut loose from the dollar, and in trading during late August and early September they moved, or "floated," upward against it, which was exactly what the United States wanted. But the governments of the countries with the upward-floating currencies did not want the floating to go so far as to impair their competitiveness in international dealings, so they restricted artificially the amount of their currencies' rise by intervening in the market to sell them in exchange for dollars and thus create what the United States anathematized as "a dirty float." Indeed, France, perhaps the most intransigent of the nations involved, prevented the franc from floating at all. By the time of the I.M.F. meeting, world currency rates had increased against the dollar on an average of a mere 4.3 per cent—far less than the ten or fifteen per cent that the United States hoped for. Thus, the impasse remained. Meanwhile, because of wildly fluctuating exchange rates, the central banking system and the I.M.F. were all but out of business; the I.M.F.'s resources of more than twenty-five billion dollars were frozen almost as effectively as if the combination to the vault had been lost, and so were almost forty billion dollars' worth of gold held as reserves by various nations, and some twenty billion more in currency ordinarily available in short-term reciprocal-loan agreements between central banks.

So just about everyone came to the Sheraton-Park angry or worried or seized by a sense of urgency, or all three. Here were the top economic authorities of the non-Communist world coming together to engage in discussions that were all but totally incomprehensible not just to the man in the street but to everyone but a tiny fraction of humanity, yet the matters being decided were of vital day-to-day concern to people of almost every station in many countries. No wonder the participants tended to give off whiffs of mystery and self-importance. Such meetings—where big things happening behind closed doors are reflected only dimly in public statements, which have the attenuated quality of the shadows in Plato's cave—are strongly subject to sudden changes in mood. On Saturday, the mood was all hostility and gloom. Early on Sunday morning, the French finance minister, M. Giscard d'Estaing, suggested to a reporter that something had happened overnight to soften the United States' attitude. Whether or not this was true is unknown; the United States swiftly denied it, yet the day's events seemed to confirm it. That morning, the Group of Ten met again, and this meeting, instead of ending in a shouting match, as the one in London had, produced agreement on an agenda for future work: over the subsequent weeks, the dele-

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gates would devote themselves to discussions of a realignment of currencies and removal of the United States import surcharge. It was not agreement on much of substance, but at least it was *agreement*. Then, on Sunday afternoon, it was Secretary Connally's turn to face the press. Generally seeming like a brash freshman among the mandarins of finance, the large Texan nevertheless spoke more moderately than before. He described the atmosphere of the Group of Ten meeting as "very friendly" and "very amiable," and "somewhat more relaxed" than the one in London had been, and he said that "we are talking in a low, quiet voice," though "the position of the United States has not changed at all." On one subject, however, he implied that he meant either more or less than he said. A reporter asked why, in closing its gold window to the world, and thus overthrowing the Bretton Woods system, the United States had kept ten billion dollars' worth of gold in its coffers, especially since Mr. Connally had insisted several times that gold was of only political and symbolic importance in the world monetary scheme and that the United States was determined to lessen the metal's role there. The Secretary replied, "Well, we still have some liabilities that have a call on it. We don't know quite who to give it to. . . . We would like to keep it, under the circumstances." While we had tipped over the table because we said that a whole new game was needed, it seemed that we had been mysteriously careful to salt away a large private supply—a quarter of the world's monetary gold—of the ostensibly discredited blue chips from the old game.

During the five days of formal speeches that followed, the representatives of the great monetary powers kept returning to the noble sentiment that the time for recriminations against the United States was past, that what was done was done, and that the thing now was to get on with the job of rebuilding—and to get on with it quickly, since every week that passed with the import surcharge in effect and the system in chaos made the rebuilding more difficult and the chance for a world trade war greater. Mr. Schweitzer, a suave and studious-looking Frenchman of fifty-nine, with a background in the French Treasury and the wartime Resistance, made these points in his opening address, emphasizing above all the need for a collaborative approach to the common problem, rather than a competitive one, and his views were echoed in one degree or another by the delegates—or, in central-bank language, governors—for West Germany, Britain, and France, and even Japan and Canada, the two countries hardest hit by the import surcharge in terms of volume of exports. It was the governors for the small and underdeveloped countries who seemed to have the hardest time working themselves into a collaborative frame of mind. The governor for New Zealand, for one, pointed out that, much as the large trading countries might worry about unstable currencies, small ones like his had far more reason to be alarmed by the consequent disruption of world trade, since they had, relatively, so much more at stake; for example, exports account for ten per cent of Japan's gross national product and twenty-three per cent of New Zealand's. The governor for Israel, leaving the immediate subject far behind but drawing loud applause nevertheless, took a roundhouse swing at the great powers not as manipulators of money and trade but as physical and spiritual polluters. He said, "One-third of humanity—the developed world—has fallen prey to hedonistic tendencies, worshipping the idol of consumption and status symbols and enslaved to a multiplicity of modern gadgets, turning its back on human and spiritual values.

Overconsumption, with its attendant discharge of noxious wastes and its endless accumulation of disused materials, has become

a primary source of pollution of water and air, soil and sea, ruining the beauty of the natural environment and perniciously affecting human life in the noisy, grimy megropolis . . ." This portmanteau complaint, relevant in spirit if not in letter, seemed to reflect the underdeveloped countries' frustration over their impotence in world monetary affairs. Important decisions in the I.M.F. are taken by weighted vote; it is economic muscle that counts, and in the end, despite the organization's democratic apparatus, the Group of Ten decides while the small countries watch. The governor of Algeria spoke of "the unjust situation of which our countries are victims," and the governor of Trinidad and Tobago spoke of "those of us who now sit on the sidelines and watch with concern the power play in force between the developed countries," while the governor of Tanzania—Amir Jamal, a jovial, witty fellow in corridor conversations—asked his fellow-governors, "Well, what is one supposed to be able to do here at all?" The big powers' answer to his question was implied in the conduct of Secretary Connally, who sat in his place at the head of the United States delegation during the speeches by representatives of the major nations but was absent during those coming from such nations as New Zealand, Israel, Algeria, Trinidad and Tobago, and Tanzania. A curious sidelight is that in spite of the presence at the meeting of a delegation representing South Vietnam, and in spite of the fact that the Vietnam war is a major cause of the dollar crisis that the meeting was about, the Vietnam war was not mentioned in a single speech.

All the while, however, the governors were biting the bullet and resolutely following Schweitzer's advise to get on with the building of a new international system before the monetary world should come apart entirely. Aside from temporary considerations, like the import surcharge and the matter of United States devaluation, the problem was clear: It was agreed that gold as a basis for money was obsolete and regressive, and that the dollar was a fallen sun, but no other national currency was reliable enough to be considered as a successor. What then? Diamonds? Some other durable metal (like tin, as Tan Siew Sin, the governor for tin-producing Malaysia, shyly suggested)? Rejecting such ideas as impractical, the governors for the great powers turned more and more, as the meeting progressed, to an existing facility of the I.M.F. called Special Drawing Rights, or S.D.R.s

S.D.R.s had existed for less than two years, and, by an odd irony, had come into being in response to a problem that was essentially the opposite of the present one. In April, 1968, two weeks after the end of a dollar-gold crisis at whose height the United States had been losing gold at a rate of more than a million dollars every four minutes, the Group of Ten, realizing that one source of the trouble was a shortage of money to finance trade, had decided to create a supplement to existing reserve assets which would be periodically allocated to members of the I.M.F. in amounts proportionate to their subscriptions to the Fund, and would, it was hoped, be used freely and trusted just as if it were gold. The notion was to create a trading unit worth one dollar—not even a piece of paper, like a banknote, but merely an entry in the I.M.F.'s books—that, through the alchemy of mutual confidence, would for all practical purposes become gold because the members agreed to consider it so. In the early discussions, it had been suggested that the new unit be called a "drawing unit reserve asset," so that it could be reduced to the comforting acronym DURA, but that proposal had been rejected, and the less imaginative term S.D.R. agreed upon, while the far from reassuring phrase "paper gold" became the common nickname for S.D.R.s. Whatever its nomenclatural handicap, the S.D.R. system was ratified by

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the I.M.F. member nations, and the first allocation of S.D.R.s was made on January 1, 1970. Over the following twenty months, about six billion three hundred million dollars in S.D.R.s was allocated to a hundred and nine I.M.F. members, and in no case were the units dishonored by being treated as anything less than pure gold.

In 1968, the problem had been lack of liquidity. Now it was just the reverse—the world was not merely liquid but awash with unwanted dollars. The governors nevertheless seized on this phantom currency that had been helpful in the old situation to deal with the new one. S.D.R.s were already "in place" and functioning. Why not make them the basis of the world's money? On Tuesday, September 28th, the second day of the formal meeting, Britain's governor, Mr. Barber, presented a detailed plan whereby the S.D.R.s, or somewhat modified S.D.R.s, would become not a mere supplement to other reserves but the key reserve, the main asset in which countries would hold their money, and, in addition, would replace the dollar as the *numéraire* for all national currencies; thus an adequate supply of world money could be created at will by the I.M.F.; thus liquidity would be assured without the danger of relying on one country's international deficit. A dollar would be just another white chip. Like most good ideas, it was both a daring and an obvious one. Later that day, it was seconded in general terms, though not in all particulars, by Italy, Japan, and Canada, and even by traditionally gold-loving France.

That evening, there was an air in the Sheraton-Park corridors of shared experience, of excitement at history-making creativity; at the heart of all the talk was the uninspiring expression "S.D.R.s." There was even talk, more or less serious, of valuing gold itself in terms of paper gold, instead of vice versa. But on Wednesday came a letdown. The governor for Australia pointed out in his speech that S.D.R.s, like any other reserve asset, could be discredited by overuse—a point that many of the participants had appeared to overlook in their euphoria of the previous evening. And several underdeveloped countries pointed out that in proposing S.D.R.s as the new main reserve asset the great powers were seeking, in effect, to introduce into the game new blue chips of which they, because of their larger I.M.F. subscriptions, would issue themselves far more than they would anyone else. The solution some of the underdeveloped countries proposed was that allocation of S.D.R.s be determined in the future in part by the amount of a nation's aid to poorer nations—a suggestion that was not picked up by any of the great powers.

Everyone waited to hear the proprietor of the old *numéraire*, the United States, and on Thursday morning Mr. Connally made his reappearance. His address, the emphasis of which seemed to be largely on economic advantage-seeking rather than on system-building, put a damper on the meeting's spirit of hope and enthusiasm. The United States, he said, would remove the import surcharge when other countries dismantled their own trade barriers and let their currencies float freely upward against the dollar without intervention. On United States devaluation he was coy, saying that "a change in the gold price is of no economic significance and would be patently a retrogressive step in terms of our objective to reduce, if not eliminate, the role of gold in any new monetary system," but he did not entirely rule out such a move. He accepted, by implication, a smaller role for the dollar, but, unlike all other governors for large trading nations, he didn't mention S.D.R.s at all.

The meeting nonetheless ended on Friday with an apparent consensus that a good start had been made, and that S.D.R.s represented a sort of last, best hope for the restoration of monetary order. A vaguely

worded resolution, adopted unanimously on Friday morning, called on the I.M.F.'s executive directors "to make reports to the board of governors without delay on the measures that are necessary or desirable for the improvement or reform of the international monetary system . . . including the role of reserve currencies, gold, and Special Drawing Rights." The executives would go home and make their reports, and, barring some unforeseeable shift of opinion, when the Group of Ten meets for its next formal negotiating session, in November, S.D.R.'s will occupy the center of the stage.

The problems of the I.M.F.'s fallen idol, the dollar, and its scapegoat member, the United States, were not solved, and neither were the questions of the import surcharge and United States devaluation. But it did appear more likely than it had that, for the first time ever, the nations of the world would eventually find themselves trading under a system based essentially on mutual trust rather than on a scarce metal. That likelihood has ironies of its own. At Bretton Woods in 1944, Keynes had backed—and the United States had vetoed—the creation of an arbitrary reserve unit very much like the S.D.R., to be called the "bancor" (literally, "bank gold"). As for the S.D.R.s themselves, although they cannot normally be exchanged by their holders for gold, they are officially valued in gold: .888671 gram per S.D.R. Moreover, a little-noted section of the I.M.F.'s Articles of Agreement states that in case a member nation withdraws from the organization while holding S.D.R.s, redemption of the S.D.R.s "shall be made with currency or gold." Even in the new poker game, then, the old, presumably obsolete blue chip will have its possibly sinister place in each player's pile.

#### NEW YORK SCHOOL SECURITY RECOMMENDATIONS

#### HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the problem of crime against students, faculty, and property in our public schools is a common one, particularly in urban areas. It has become so serious in some school districts that it threatens the very viability of the educational process. With that in mind, I introduced the Safe Schools Act—H.R. 10641—which, for the first time, would provide Federal funds to help school districts to better protect the schools from crime. That legislation has gained the support of a number of our colleagues in the House, and hearings on it have been started by the General Subcommittee on Education chaired by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI).

In recent months a special school security task force under the auspices of the Hollow Organization of New York City, has been conducting a study of the crime problem in the New York City schools and has now submitted its recommendations to the assistant superintendent of schools for security, Dr. George Patterson, and made them available to the public.

The Hollow Organization is a non-profit, service organization composed and largely financed by officials of major private corporations. It is the brainchild of Mr. Harvey Oostdyk, who now serves as

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executive director. Its goal is to apply the knowledge and skills of the private sector to the solution of public social problems. The report of the school security task force is Hollow's first effort in the area of urban educational problems.

Mr. Speaker, this effort on the part of the Hollow Organization, and the corporations that contribute to it, is most commendable. While I do not necessarily agree in detail with every recommendation in the report of the school security task force, I certainly share a great many of its conclusions. I particularly support the emphasis in the report on the need to improve the quality and professionalism of school security personnel, and to increase the use of paid parent patrols in the schools. It is precisely this type of program of improvements in school security for which the Safe Schools Act would provide needed financial support, and which was envisioned in the drafting of the Safe Schools Act.

With the thought, Mr. Speaker, that many of the recommendations of the school security task force may be applicable to other school systems around the country and helpful, therefore, to many Members of the House, I am pleased to submit the report for the RECORD, along with a listing of the task force participants and their corporate affiliations.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OPERATION OF BOARD OF EDUCATION SECURITY GUARD PROGRAM

##### I. PREFACE

This document is the product of the School Security Task Force which was created under the auspices of the Hollow Organization. This task force represents the first step in Hollow's attempt to apply corporate skills in solving urban educational problems. The members of this committee, with the exception of the chairman, are highly skilled practitioners with numerous years of experience in the field of security.

The recommendations contained herein are the product of a series of intense discussions, visits to a selected number of public high schools in Manhattan and interviews with a number of people who have had experience with security problems in the City's educational system. While it is expected that members of this task force will visit additional schools during the present school year, it is hoped that, in view of the qualifications of these men, their suggestions will receive careful attention.

In today's economy of inflation and high unemployment, it is recognized that there will be problems involved in implementing those proposals which involve increased financial resources. Nonetheless, this does not lessen the desirability of these suggestions, if the funds were to be made available.

The members of this committee believe that even a highly efficient and effective security force is not the sole answer to safe and secure schools. Such conditions are more apt to prevail when the educational experience meets the needs of the student population.

The recommendations of this committee have been divided into the following four general areas:

- A. Administration
- B. Training
- C. In-school operational philosophy and techniques
- D. Security Aids

As will be apparent from a review of these recommendations, the distinction among these areas is vague and as a result there is considerable overlapping.

A final word should be added. Some of

these recommendations can be implemented during the semester starting in September, 1971 while others will have to undergo trial periods to measure their effectiveness. Still others will require financial support and/or enabling legislation.

##### II. RECOMMENDATIONS

###### A. Administration:

1. Develop a workable profile for an ideal security guard. Criteria should include:
  - (a) Attitude
  - (b) Personality
  - (c) Ability to relate to youth
  - (d) Emotional stability
  - (e) Community background
  - (f) Ability to benefit from training

###### Comments:

A. The lack of a high school diploma should not disqualify a prospective security guard, but guards should be encouraged (and perhaps required) to obtain a high school equivalency diploma.

B. Persons who possess parental qualities would appear to be more desirable candidates for Security Guard positions.

2. Carfare and other expenses incurred for court visits and performance of other field duties during working hours should be provided.

Comments: Most employers assume the responsibility of paying for expenses incurred while performing employment-related duties. Failure to acknowledge this responsibility contributes to morale problems and is detrimental to an effective, efficient operation.

3. Psychological testing should be used in the recruitment process to measure attitudes and personalities.

Comments: Testing should be done prior to employment and should be one of the main determining factors used in the screening of security guards.

Note: Test should be validated by Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to avoid any problems of discrimination in hiring based on test.

4. Employment of more female security guards should be encouraged.

Comments: In many instances female security guards seem to demand a certain kind of respect from students and are able to handle potentially explosive situations diplomatically.

It is felt that while some aspects of security might be primarily the task for a male, in a school setting, the use of female guards can be an invaluable asset to the program's success.

5. Recruitment qualification should be established. These might include:

- A. Age
- B. Height
- C. Weight
- D. Attitude and Sensitivity
- E. Psychological Readiness
- F. Salaries and fringe benefits.

Comments: We are well aware that the Teamster's Union is not the bargaining agent for security guards in matters pertaining to salaries and fringe benefits. It should be mentioned that under the new contract wages and fringe benefits are reasonable comparable to the corporate sector, except that wages only paid for a ten month period.

Note: Future wage and benefits negotiations with unions should be preceded by:

1. Written description of job
2. Evaluation of wages prevailing in industry
3. Annual salary or twelve month employment should be provided for security guards.

Comments: Security Guard administration should begin in September to locate summer employment for guards. Possibilities include:

- (A) City and State (vacation replacements)
- (B) Protection agencies (Burns, Pinkerton, etc.)
- (C) Corporate Security
- (D) Resort Areas

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Questionnaires could be developed for those security personnel interested in summer employment. This effort to find summer jobs for those who want them would have to be coordinated by someone at the Board of Education. It will not be an easy task and will require a resourceful and dedicated administrator, but he would be providing a real service to the Security Force. If such a program is successful, it should contribute to more stability in the guard component. Because of the lead time and research necessary for this effort, it should be implemented very early in the school year.

8. Orientation on the roles, function and operation of security guards should be provided for:

- (A) School staff, including paraprofessionals
- (B) Students
- (C) Council of Supervisory Authorities
- (D) United Federation of Teachers
- (E) Board of Education
- (F) Parents
- (G) Police

*Comments:* Our observations, confirmed in many conversations, indicates that educational personnel and the community at large do not understand the functions or responsibilities of school guards. The Security Guards role should be understood clearly by the school community. However, it is strongly suggested that the students be given only a general description (which emphasizes the positive aspects of the security officer's position) and that other concerned groups get a more definite description because of their obligation to assist Security Guards and vice versa. It should be pointed out that a divided house cannot stand and only through the combined efforts of teachers, administrators, students, parents and security guards can the seams of our schools begin to mend.

It is also suggested that liaison with local precincts and youth squads of the Police Department be established and effectively maintained.

9. Incentives that make the job attractive and provide for upward mobility should be built into the program. In this way the job can lead to a career in security or could be seen as a stepping ladder to a similar job in industry (with higher pay, more fringe benefits, etc.). Evolving a system of providing college credit for employment (under field experience programs which are now gaining acceptance) would be beneficial.

*Comments:* Promotion and financial security play a very important role in reducing employee turnover; accordingly, certain incentives can be built into the security program.

A. Security Guard administration could extend its relationship with John Jay College and possibly establish part of its training as acceptable credit towards a job with New York's Finest.

B. A guard promotion schedule could be established. For example: Security Guard, Section Head, Group Head (This may present budget problems.)

C. Guards should be informed of the need for guards in industry and informed about the various universities that offer degrees in Industrial Security (e.g. Michigan State).

10. Consideration should be given to changing the name of security guards.

Suggestions are:

- A. Security Officer
- B. Protection Officer

*Comments:* Of the above names, Security Officer is considered more advisable. The word protection seemed to have too many negative connotations and does not suggest the type of image needed in the schools. The use of the new name by Security Guard Program and the merits of the program should be properly propagandized throughout the school system. Projection of a different type of guard could serve as a definite stabilizing force.

11. A questionnaire together with a narrative evaluation should be administered periodically.

*Comments:* Evaluation of Security Guards should be considered essential to measure their effectiveness. Security Guards are employed primarily for preventive purposes. Their effectiveness is usually based on attitude and personality and not on how many arrests they are able to make. This might be considered as a starting point for evaluation. The actual evaluation of guards might be done by roving supervisors and the immediate supervisor in charge at each school. In addition, a grievance procedure should be set up for the guards.

12. A questionnaire should be formulated for evaluation of the security guard program but not of individual guards by:

- A. Teachers
- B. Paraprofessionals
- C. Administrative Staff

*Comments:* Constructive criticism and objective suggestions for improving security should be the goals of these questionnaires. Student participation in evaluation of security guards under the present circumstances might foster further deterioration of the guard's morale. In view of these circumstances, teachers will have to be relied upon heavily to project the students' feelings in their evaluation.

13. Security guard absentee component—a complement of personnel should be on call to fill daily absentee security positions in the various boroughs. Such personnel preferably would be assigned to the borough where they live. If a guard finds that he will not be able to come to work the following day, he would call an answering service for board of education security guard absences.

*Comments:* It should be pointed out that this suggestion was made in view of the fact that for various reasons the Security Guard Program has experienced a high rate of absenteeism in its initial years; employee responsibility should be regarded as a prerequisite for continued employment.

14. Answering service for absences and/or lateness—a sixteen or twenty hour a day answering service should be used by security guard administration. Chief clerk (hypothetical) should have responsibility for following up on absentee calls.

*Comments:* The New York Telephone Company should be consulted as to which systems are best adaptable to Security Guard operation. It is recommended that an answering service be implemented on a trial basis sometime during the 1971-1972 school year to see if it would increase the efficiency of the operation. Notes for operation:

A. Substitute guards should be better paid and highly trained.

B. Substitute guards should report to school supervisor for briefing on school's operations and physical plant.

C. Substitute guards could be a part of a roving supervisory force when not on duty in a particular school.

15. Recruitment sources include:

- a. Postal Service
- b. Correction Officers
- c. Firemen
- d. Carefully selected college students (always assigned with older security officer to provide maturity and balance).

*Comments:* These suggested avenues of recruitment for security guards are recommended for various reasons. However, it should be mentioned that all other sources should be tapped. Neighborhood recruiting, particularly of parents, is highly recommended.

Some committee members feel that an ideal candidate may well be one who tends to be over qualified but takes this position as a second job. The schedule of hours, especially for those schools on double session may uniquely lend itself to this arrangement. An additional source of manpower might be the use of in-house students who

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are interested in security as a career and who have leadership potential. These students could be paid the minimum wage and would work in conjunction with full time guards.\*

#### B. Training.

1. The present complement of security guards should be retrained, re-orientated and redirected. Of paramount concern in the training program should be: (1) new profile of an ideal security guard; (2)\*\* orientation on roles, functions and operations of a security guard in the schools; and, (3) Psychological testing to determine capabilities and compatibilities of present guards.

*Comments:* Previous training and philosophy with respect to performance of duties, the high personable nature of the job and the necessity for responsible judgment in performing the duties of a security guard seem to have been grossly overlooked. Proper orientation and an in-depth view of the purpose and goals of the security force, need to receive serious attention.

Cost for this type of project is surely a factor to consider, but all costs must be measured against the overwhelming damage which will fall on an already troubled educational system.

2. Guards should be periodically given some type of refresher training and brought abreast of current security techniques and new security procedures.

*Comments:* A newsletter could be sent to security guards describing new security policies and techniques as the information becomes available. Such information would be obtained from the *Security Trade Press*. This function should be performed by administrative personnel. Refresher training could be administered during the holiday periods or any other suitable time before or after the working day.

3. The objectives of the security guard program should be very clearly spelled out to all school personnel. The job expectations of each security guard should be discussed as well as the guards relationship to students, teachers, administrators, teacher aids and custodial staff.

*Comments:* Role orientation with respect to each component in a school is very essential for a successful operation. It is important that the guard feels he is a part of the school as opposed to a gladiator fighting for his life.

NOTE.—1. In many instances improper training has led guards to resort to force. Therefore, it is very important that this feeling of isolation be eliminated.

2. The role of the security guard might be publicized in school papers; communication with persons most affected by security is very desirable.

3. A modified training program at the beginning of each year is highly recommended (refresher training).

4. Instructors with experience in crowd control and civil disturbance should be retained for training.

4. Security guards should get more training specifically in the area of human relations (public relations). Development of a curriculum with a strong concentration in human relations is very desirable, as this is viewed as the most important aspect of the job.

5. Guards should be trained in the areas of:

- A. First Aid (Medical training)
- B. Fire protection

*Comments:* Students should be encouraged to work in first aid and drug over-dosage aid. Symptoms related to drug over-dosage could

\*NOTE.—The total structure of the Board of Education should be included in the training.

\*\*NOTE.—The total structure of the Board able to supply slots for the program to the Board of Education.

be related to interested students by security guards. The formulation of a positive relationship, one of concern and interest in the students' dilemma can go a long way toward promoting improved relationships between security guards and students.

6. Experienced security guards with the desired approach (a security guard should be helpful and courteous to students but firm in their approach to the job) should be used to be a part of instructional staff or in an advisory capacity in the training classes. Successful practitioners can often make good instructors.

7. Principals with the desired outlook on security should be utilized in the training classes. Principals should project "low key, non-police" approach in dealing with students.

8. Police type training should not be emphasized.

*Comments:* This is essential because schools are educational institutions, *not* six hour a day concentration camps designed to keep students confined to a building. Any attempt to deprive students of their rights to a wholesome educational atmosphere is not acceptable to our society.

9. Training should include, even if on an abbreviated basis, applicable portions of training that "Hollow Organization" gives its streetworkers.

*Comments:* This training is more in the line of human relations and deals with supportive resources needed by many students, in order for the educational process to take place. Briefly the streetworker is the link between numerous resources and is the father of hope for the disaffected youth.

10. At least one day of training, and preferably more should be required for school administrators who are responsible for security and for those teachers who work on a part-time basis with security guards.

*Comments:* Adequate training and exposure of school personnel to security procedures and the roles and functions of security guards are very important. Therefore, it is felt that the incorporation of this suggestion as standard procedure be immediately implemented.

11. The jurisdiction for arrest should be clearly defined with appropriate examples given during training sessions.

*Comments:* The arrest powers of the security guards is highly questioned; corporate security do not have arrest powers.

12. Literature indicating the location of appropriate courts should be supplied to security guards in training sessions and made available to school principals for use by guards.

*Comments:* Operational handbook prepared by the Board of Education is needed.

13. Actual performance of "booking procedures" should be included in training sessions along with performance of trial

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procedures and security guard testimony encounter sessions.

*Comments:* Guards should be given duplicate completed forms used in making arrests. They should also be given witness training such as the F.B.I. officers. These suggestions are not only good for increased efficiency but would also serve to increase attention and interest in the training sessions and make them more lively.

Individual security guards interviewed felt that current training in this area was definitely inadequate.

C. In-school: Operational philosophy and techniques.

1. Security guards should have a small unassigned room in each school for their headquarters which should be manned at all times.

2. Alternating posts should be employed to relieve boredom of the job.

*Comments:* This type of standard procedural function did not appear evident in the schools visited.

3. Security guards should not be assigned to patrol hallways in groups. (In emergency cases, exceptions will be made.)

4. A schedule of varied assigned patrols should be provided by the designated security supervisor at the institution or head security guard.

*Comments:* A normal responsibility of supervisory personnel is to know where his men are at all times.

5. Schools should make available to each security guard the schedule of the staff who have been assigned to coordinate the security program within a particular school, in order to increase communication and effectiveness in the operation.

*Comments:* Schedules should be available in security room for use by guards and other components of the school, especially in emergency situations.

6. Schools should make available to security guards a map of the physical plant, which would include the exits, stairwells, classroom numbers and room numbers for key administrative staff.

7. All passes issued to visitors should include:

A. Date stamps

B. Name of visitor

C. Person to be visited

D. The time of entrance into the building

*Comments:* Each school should order a supply of visitors' passes of assorted colors. Colors should be changed from day to day. A rotating sequence might be employed from week to week.

There is a state law that requires all visitors' badges to be returned before leaving premises. The law also provides for violators to be prosecuted. Visitors would be informed to read writing on badge. That would

8. Traffic patterns should be developed on staircases.

9. Security guards should be kept abreast of policy changes effected by the school's consultative council or other policy making groups within a particular school.

*Comments:* Head guard should attend meetings of these councils and communicate results of meetings to his staff.

10. Guards should be required to keep individual logs of incidents. Logs would be summarized by security supervisor and forwarded to headquarters at the board of education at the end of the week.

*Comments:* Since drugs are such a crucial problem today, drastic measures such as this have to be used in an attempt to combat the problem.

D. Security aid and equipment

There is a lot of very fancy and expensive equipment on the market. It is not suggested that the Board of Education invest in any or all of the following, except perhaps on an experimental basis.

1. Student identification—laminated badges similar to those used in industry are a suggested means for school identification. Color backing for other components of the school (teachers, guards, administrators) may be provided. A pouch to hold a student's program card could be built into the back of each badge. The cost of a badge is roughly estimated to be \$15-\$20 (when made in large quantities). Badges would be the most important, useful and least expensive security aid.

2. Locked doors from the inside of the building 2/3 locked door plan:

A. Teachers who are assigned to classrooms nearest exits should be given keys.

B. Periodic fire drills should be administered in pilot schools to determine the feasibility of the idea.

Acceptance of this plan by the powers that be (fire dept., etc.) would greatly reduce the need for security on the doors. (This plan should only be used in emergency situations to be determined by a person from the board of education and a person from the fire department.)

3. Intercom system from classrooms to principal's office or to guard room (necessary to protect teachers and give them a sense of security). This would be very costly in existing schools but could be built into new schools at a small incremental cost.

4. Use of cameras and speakers in isolated areas of certain school buildings. Television cameras and/or monitors to be placed in sensitive areas, namely: tops and bottoms of staircases, cafeteria, student lounges, etc. (The impact of this on students should be discussed thoroughly.)

5. Use of "walkie-talkies" by security guards. Two-way walkie-talkies for security guards, principals and assistant principals would probably reduce the number of guards required if used properly and could possibly increase the effectiveness of guard program.

### PROFILE OF HIGH SCHOOLS VISITED

	Julia Richmond	Brandeis	Haaren	Hughes	Franklin
A. Number of buildings and shape of structure	2 rectangular	2 rectangular	1 rectangular	2 L shaped	1 H with I through middle
B. Location of main building	Manhattan, between 67th and 68th St., between 1st and 2d Aves.	Manhattan, 84th St., between Amst. and Columbus	Manhattan, between 58th and 59th St., on 10th Ave.	Manhattan, 18th St., between 8th and 9th Aves.	Manhattan, between 116th St. and 115th St. on Pleasant Ave.
C. Location of annex	88th St., between 1st and York Ave.	66th St., between Broadway and 10th Ave.	None	18th St., between 8th and 7th Ave.	None
D. How many sessions is the school on?	2	2	1	1	3
E. Does the school have a staggered entrance schedule?	No	No	No	No	Yes
F. What kind of school is it? (academic, vocational, general, special, other)	Comprehensive, academic general	Academic, general	Academic, general, vocational	Academic, general	Academic, general
G. How many floors in the main building?	7	4 plus 1 gym in basement	6 plus 1 main floor of audit, in basement	7	4
H. How many floors in the annex?	5	6	None	5	None
I. Where is cafeteria located?	7th floor	1st floor	6th floor	7th floor	Basement
J. What is utilization rate? (main building)	140 percent	174 percent	90 percent	80 percent	150 percent
Annex	115 percent	130 percent	None	100 percent	None
K. How many rooms are in the main building?	105	75	85	90	100
L. What is the average dropout rate?	4.2 percent	5 percent	9.0 percent	4.51/2 percent	5.3 percent
M. What is the average daily attendance?	61.79 percent	82.6 percent	67 percent	61 percent	53 percent

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

November 3, 1971

## PROFILE OF HIGH SCHOOLS VISITED—Continued

	Julia Richmond	Brandeis	Haaren	Hughes	Franklin
N. How many security guards does the school have?					
1. Main building	12, 1 female	7	8	6, 1 female	7.
2. Annex	2	2	None	1	None.
O. What is the name of the faculty member who has been assigned to supervise or coordinate security guards within your school?	Mr. Falcoff	Mr. Berberian	Mr. Dearson	Mr. Scopp	Mr. Hunter
P. What is his title? (If any)	Assistant principal	Assistant principal	Teacher	Teacher, administrative payroll.	Dean of boys.
Q. How many school aides does the school have?	15	12	12	12	22
R. What is your total staff complement?					
1. Number of teachers	290	330	175	179	250
2. Number of administrative staff including secretaries, part-time guidance counselors and deans?	36	55	25	28	30
S. What is the ethnic composition of your staff?					
1. Black	16	35	10	36	40
2. Puerto Rican or other	5	20	1	9	40
3. White	269	274	164	134	210
4. Other (specify)	1 oriental				
T. How many students do you have presently enrolled?	4,348	5,300	1,800	2,140	4,400
1. Black	2,068	2,809	720	1,284	1,716
2. Puerto Rican	1,634	1,431	990	642	2,640
3. White	560	1,060	18	214	44
4. Other	86 oriental		72 oriental		
U. What percentage of your school is:					
1. Male	50 percent	50 percent	100 percent	53 percent	50 percent
2. Female	do	do	Slight	47 percent	Do.
V. Are there any community groups involved in the life of the school?	None	Active PTA		None	FIPC
W. Are there any outside groups involved in the school?	Phoenix house, State unemployment	EDC	Ladies School volunteers	Urban Coalition, PTA	Urban Coalition, League St. Acad.

## MEMBERS OF SCHOOL SECURITY TASK FORCE

Mr. Norman J. Rubin, Chairman, Community Relations Manager, Western Electric Co., 195 Broadway, New York, New York. 10007

Mr. William F. Burke, Head of Protection, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., 23 Wall Street, New York, N.Y. 10005

Mr. Ernest E. Felago, Director of Security, The Singer Company, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10020

Mr. Eugene Golden, Assistant Secretary, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., 23 Wall Street, New York, New York. 10005

Mr. Daniel Grimes, Security Vice President, Bankers Trust Company, 280 Park Avenue, New York, New York.

Mr. Thomas McGuire, Personnel Manager, Pfizer & Co., Inc., 235 E. 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

Mr. John Harden, Manager of Non-Selling Services, Bloomingdale's, 59th Street & Lexington Avenue, New York, New York.

Mr. Harry L. McFarlane, Manager of Security, J. C. Penney Company, Inc., 1301 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York. 10019

Mr. Michael M. O'Rourke, Director of Security, American Broadcasting Companies, Inc., 1330 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10019

Mr. James Sullivan, Alexander's, 58th Street & Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022

Mr. Gerald Van Dorn, Vice President, Chase Manhattan Bank, One Chase Manhattan Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10005

Mr. Robert Rogers, Hollow Organization, 215 W. 92nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10025 (was primarily responsible for compiling and writing this report).

cally practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,600 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

A TRIBUTE TO OLEN LEE AYRES  
FROM CHAMBER OF COMMERCE  
MANAGER TO PASTOR

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, two classes of people in America, who are often noted for their evangelical fervor, are managers of chambers of commerce, and Baptist ministers. There is one man in Lawndale, Calif., who has known both of these roles. That dedicated individual is Olen Lee Ayres.

For the past 2 1/2 years, Olen Ayres has served as the first full-time manager of the Lawndale Chamber of Commerce, but he has recently submitted his resignation from that position. He has decided that instead of serving the businesses of the community, he must devote himself full time to the business of God. This is not a hasty decision. For a year now, he has served as the part-time minister of the Doty Avenue Baptist Church of Hawthorne, Calif. During that period, 50 new members have been added to the church, and the congregation has now persuaded Mr. Ayres to devote himself to the pastorate full time.

I am certain the church will continue to grow because Reverend Ayres will bring the same dedication that he so generously gave to the Lawndale Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Ayres' work at the chamber was characterized by diligence and perseverance he never counted the days or the hours required to complete a project, so long as it was carried to a successful conclusion. It was this approach which has led 19 new businesses to commit themselves to locating within

the 1.9-square-mile borders of Lawndale—an average of 10 businesses per mile during Mr. Ayres' tenure as chamber manager. Such a record is even more meaningful when you consider the effect it has on increasing the sales tax revenue in the city, which is the major source of funds for the city government.

A number of innovations in the activities of the Lawndale Chamber of Commerce have also been initiated during this period. These include the formation of a women's committee to bring the feminine viewpoint to the chamber, a traffic committee to which the city council refers traffic problems affecting business, adoption of courtesy week to honor employees in all walks of life, and the development of both Miss Lawndale and Mini-Miss Lawndale contests.

The Contact Club, which doubles as the membership committee of the chamber, is another Ayres' project. It consists of members of the chamber—such as chairman Ray Shawen, vice chairman Ethel Senst, Billy Bird, Russ Chace, Dennis Chojnacki, John Haddon, Pete Hoogland, Mrs. Fritz Kappen, James Ramsey, and Rev. C. B. Redmon—who are carefully selected for their pleasing personalities and thorough familiarity with chamber activities. As new businessmen come to Lawndale, the members of the Contact Club go out of their way to acquaint them with, first, civic and chamber's activities, and, secondly, other businessmen.

Other specialized committees formed by the chamber during Ayres' term as manager include the civic affairs committee, which participated in the dedication of the new Lawndale Civic Center; the planning committee, which works closely with the city's planning commission; the industrial relations committee; the voter registration committee, and others.

In addition to his work as full-time chamber manager and part-time minister, Olen Lee Ayres has taken a few outside activities—just so his time will not drag. He has served as a member of the business license review commit-

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—  
HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 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 sadisti-

tee for the city of Lawndale, the Lawndale Kiwanis, and as an honorary member of the Lawndale Jaycees. He has received commendations from the Boy Scouts, the Y.M.C.A., the California State Jaycees, the March of Dimes, and the Anchor's Guild of Children's Hospital for volunteer efforts on their behalf in various projects.

With this kind of record of activity and dedication, the Lawndale Chamber of Commerce undoubtedly regrets losing Ayres. However, I am sure president Pete Hoogland is pleased to see Mr. Ayres devote his services full time to the work of the church, thus, bringing his enthusiasm and talents to an even broader spectrum of the population and bringing a more meaningful existence to those in the Lawndale-Hawthorne area.

**RETURN HONOR AND DIGNITY TO MILITARY SERVICE**

**HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, until the past decade in our history, virtually all Americans in every age bracket respected and honored those who served their country as members of our military forces. The uniform of those in the service, whether soldiers, sailors, marines, or aviators, was held in esteem. It was worn by American men throughout our history who were called upon to defend this Nation from foreign enemies and preserve a free way of life for millions of people both at home and abroad.

We entered World War I to "preserve democracy" and we joined our allies in fighting fascism and totalitarianism in World War II. But in the past decade we have seen a comparatively small and vicious minority within the country which has degraded the uniform and its symbol of our determination to defend this Nation. With an unpopular war in Southeast Asia as a vehicle of their actions, they have extended every effort to discredit the military service, discourage volunteering and reenlistment, and obstruct the draft.

To disagree with the conduct of a war is one thing, but to tear apart the tradition of the military is something entirely different. And whether one wears the uniform of his country by choice or otherwise, he should be honored for his service.

To suggest that a nation as strong and as affluent as the United States should permit the destruction of its means of defense would be sheer folly.

One often wonders what the attitude of many of these same people would be if this country were subjected to attack by a foreign power and we were unprepared to defend ourselves from destruction by an enemy. To suggest that this would never happen is to be rankly oblivious of history.

Fortunately there are still voices being raised in behalf of those who serve in the Armed Forces. One such voice is that of

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

John H. Geiger, the new national commander of the American Legion, who addressed an assemblage at Eisenhower Park, Nassau County, N.Y., on Veterans Day. I am proud to say that I have known Commander Geiger for many years, as he lives in Des Plaines, Ill., a city located in the district that I am privileged to represent in this great body.

Having served our Nation with great distinction during wartime, John H. Geiger continued to serve it after having resumed his place in civilian life. I can think of no better way for him to serve America than as head of the Legion, a position which furnishes him a platform from which to reply to those who smear our country's heroic fighting men.

Mr. Speaker, I want my colleagues in the Congress of the United States to have the opportunity and the privilege to read the inspiring, logical, and necessary words that Commander Geiger has uttered in behalf of those who wear the uniform of our great country. Let us all join him in his plea for the return of honor and dignity to military service.

The address follows:

RETURN HONOR AND DIGNITY TO MILITARY SERVICE

Distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. It is indeed an honor for me to have the opportunity to speak to you today on this first observance of the new Veterans Day. I know that I speak for both the national organization, as well as for the Department of New York of The American Legion in saying that we are deeply honored to have been selected by the President's Veterans Day National Committee to host this regional Veterans Day ceremony for the Northeastern area. As you know, this honor is rotated among the several veterans organizations in each region of the United States, and at the National Ceremony in Arlington Cemetery. We are deeply grateful to the United Veterans Organization of Nassau County—representing our comrades in all the veterans organizations in this area—for outstanding cooperation in making this Veterans Day observance the splendid success it so obviously is.

I made the point that this Veterans Day marks the first observance of a new holiday, specifically set aside by Congress for honoring all of those who, through military service, have fulfilled the highest obligation of citizenship. It is fitting and proper that we pause on this day to pay special tribute to our honored dead of all wars—as we do on Memorial Day and should do on every patriotic holiday. I ask today, however, that our attention be focused on the living veteran—the young Vietnam veteran struggling to establish himself in this difficult period and the disabled or older veteran who may need our help. I ask, Ladies and Gentlemen, that we let this day mark the beginning of respect and gratitude for the veteran—a return, if you will, to a period when all Americans honored those who wore the uniform in the defense of the nation. We of The American Legion believe, as I am sure all of you here believe, that nothing short of a national disaster is imminent unless prompt measures are taken to restore to military service the position it should and must have in the order of things—not just a moral obligation of citizenship for those called upon to serve, but a matter of unquestioned honor to be so recognized by all Americans.

It is certainly no news to anyone here present that in the space of a few short years—the years of an unpopular conflict—we have witnessed the increasing degradation of honorable military service by those who apparently have the destruction of the American

way of life as a primary goal. The truly tragic aspect of this unfortunate matter is the degree of success these individuals have had in selling this alien philosophy—turning our own guns against us so to speak by using the same constitutional guarantees so many Americans have fought and died for in a cause that can only mean the ultimate destruction of those freedoms.

How often, in recent years, have we heard the story of the young veteran of the Vietnam conflict returning home—not to the heroes' welcome accorded those of prior conflicts—but to ridicule. He is considered by some to have been a sucker, not smart enough to join his "intellectual superiors" who are sojourning in Canada and Sweden while others carry their responsibilities. It is not unheard of for these young veterans to stop in the first available airport or bus station rest room to remove the uniform, the once proud symbol of service to country, so that they might be spared this venomous ridicule.

I say to you today that the time has come for those of us who care about America—and despite the strident voices of those who would have us believe the contrary, I believe we are still a majority—to speak out in the strongest possible terms against those who would have us believe that military service to the United States of America is a dishonorable thing.

We may agree with the apologists, and even the anarchists in our midst, that this nation has its shortcomings. Few countries in the history of the world have been faced with so many problems demanding immediate solutions. Despite this fact, I submit that this country, this system of Government has in the past, and will continue in the future to offer the average man the greatest opportunity for self realization this world has seen, and military service in the defense of this system must command the highest respect.

We can all agree that a goal of peace and harmony with all the nations of the world is a desirable objective. I have never known anyone who has endured the agony of deadly combat who has enjoyed that experience. Hopefully, we are now on the road to achieving the peace we all desire—but I can assure you that no lasting peace will ever be gained if the transition from war to peace means a transition from strength to weakness. How many times must we relearn that costly lesson? Given the established fact that our enemies in the world continue to grow stronger militarily—and continue to flaunt that strength even here in American waters, we have no choice but to continue to demand a strong defensive posture for the United States. Our survival is at stake—and our national will to survive is being put to the severest test. Even assuming an adequately equipped force-in-being for the defense of America in this decade—one which does not presently exist—we cannot assure the defense of this country unless and until the will and character of the American people restore to those who must man this force a basis for the strongest possible sense of honor, dignity and service to the nation. And when these men have completed their service, they must be returned with equal honor, and with all due speed to fully contributing and participating membership in their communities. Nothing less will insure that we have the motivated manpower to succeed in the defense of the United States against aggression by our enemies.

The problems of the young veteran today, those I've discussed, and the other difficulties he faces, simply mirror the problems of contemporary America. Drug abuse—an epidemic of national emergency proportions—is his problem and also America's. Joblessness—a particular affliction of the young Vietnam veteran as contrasted with his predecessors—is an indication of a weakness in our

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national economy which must be corrected in the near future. The malaise affecting the young veteran is symptomatic of the onset of a national illness—an illness being aggravated by deliberate efforts to destroy our national institutions, and one threatening to engulf us if we fail to seek an early cure. We can start by considering the plight of the Vietnam veteran, and by individually resolving to do something about it. His problems are our problems, and our collective fate depends on our resolve to find solutions to those problems.

In closing, I should like to quote a passage from a speech delivered by Secretary of State William Rogers before the recent National Convention of The American Legion in Houston, Texas. "We here can only hope that future generations will become the veterans of peace—citizens who will meet the challenges of peace as men before them met the challenges of war. To make this hope a reality, we must summon up the strength of this great nation—its moral and economic strength, its strength of spirit that underlies all its power—and thus lead the way to the peaceful world that generations of Americans have fought for."

May God grant us the wisdom, courage and foresight to work toward that ideal.

#### ERIE COUNTY MOVES AHEAD ON AIR POLLUTION CONTROL

#### HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, among our many environmental concerns, air pollution certainly ranks as one of the most serious. Pollution of the air we breathe not only offends our senses and degrades our environment, it has also been proven to have a serious impact on man's health. Respiratory diseases and eye irritations multiply wherever there is air pollution.

Today, I received the Clean Air Week progress report for 1971 from I. Arthur Hoekstra, director of the air pollution control division of the Erie County, N.Y., Department of Health. I am proud to say that more than 90 percent of the industries in Erie County have now met the very strict requirements of the Erie County Air Pollution Code.

President Nixon has said:

The 1970's absolutely must be the years when America pays its debt to the past by reclaiming the purity of its air, its waters and our living environment. It is literally now or never.

The air pollution control division of Erie County has shown that substantial progress can be made in reclaiming our environment through a working partnership between business and government. All those who have been involved in this effort to provide cleaner air for Erie County are to be commended for their efforts.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues the clean air progress report for 1971 and I include it at this time for the RECORD:

#### CLEAN AIR WEEK PROGRESS REPORT 1971

Today more than 90% of the industries in Erie County have met the requirements of the Erie County Air Pollution Code. With the exception of Los Angeles I don't know of any code in the nation that is stricter.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

My Division has surveyed 1,640 industries and found that 305 had emissions that required an environmental analysis report. Of these 282 are in compliance and the remaining 23 have abatement programs underway.

More than 95% of all potential particulate process emissions are being controlled. This happened because the Division set up priorities in 1967 when the code was first passed.

Particulate emissions from coal burning have been reduced by 80% and by next year this reduction will be better than 95%. Yet in 1970 the industries of Erie County utilized and consumed 8.1 million tons of coal. Of this, 5.7 million tons was used by steel industries and 1.7 million were used for power generation. The industries in our area contribute much to the well being of our nation.

It is true that coke ovens still present a remaining problem but it should also be said that the Donner Hanna Coke Company is rated the cleanest in the nation by Federal inspection. I predict that many companies will follow their lead. I have also observed the Allied Chemical (Semet Solvay) developments and their charging method is emission free. Bethlehem has spent thousands on their latest coke oven started in 1970. The problem is difficult but progress is being made.

All these accomplishments were achieved with a minimum of fines and a tremendous amount of cooperative work. A well deserved compliment is due to my staff, the thousands of people in industry who cooperated and the patience of the million citizens who have watched the progress.

Much more still has to be done as we strive to achieve the ambient air standards set by the Federal government. Tighter emission laws will be required for industry, commerce and the average citizen.

#### COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

#### HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, for the past 6 weeks I have been inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD material which was gathered at the first of a series of hearings on community development needs which I am conducting in the First Congressional District of Arkansas. With the publications today of the testimony for Monroe County and Clarendon, Ark., we come to the end of the material available from that August 30 hearing in Brinkley, Ark.

I have taken the step of having the testimony made a part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD because I believe that the things the mayors, county judges and other local leaders have to say on the subject of community development are most relevant to the current discussions we are having in the Congress. And, for this same reason, I will insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD next week, information collected at my October 23, 1971, hearing on community development. This hearing was in Walnut Ridge, Ark.

The testimony follows:

CITY OF CLARENDRON,  
Clarendon, Ark., August 17, 1971.  
Hon. BILL ALEXANDER,  
Cannon House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: In conjunction with The Clarendon Chamber of Commerce, The Clarendon Industrial Development Corporation, The Clarendon Schools, the local bank,

health officials and all department heads of the City of Clarendon, we present to you and your panel some of the most urgent needs of our immediate area, to stimulate employment, upgrade our depressed economy and enable us to survive and compete in a favorable or at least equal situation with metropolitan areas.

**Funding Needs.**—The primary need in all Arkansas cities is additional general funds. These funds which are not earmarked for specific purposes are the most scarce type in Arkansas cities and towns. While at the same time, these funds are the most beneficial.

**Capabilities and Problems.**—The capability of our cities to meet their needs is severely restricted by the 1874 Constitution of our state and also by the dependence upon the legislature by all incorporated towns and second class cities for all their authority. The 1971 legislature has provided first class cities with a limited amount of "Home Rule" authority. Specifically, the "Home Rule" Law (Act 266 of 1971) authorizes a local income tax and payroll tax which must be approved by the voters of a city and be stated as a percentage of the State Income Tax. I will let you draw your own conclusion as to how receptive the voters would be to an additional local income tax of say 50% of the State Income Tax. Needless to say, it would take quite a selling job to convince the people of Clarendon to vote such a tax on themselves in view of the present Federal and State income taxes imposed on their earnings. I would imagine that if Federal and State governments were required to submit all tax increases to a vote of the people, there would be considerable "belt tightening". This mandatory vote requirement is the reason I say that the first class cities were given only "limited" Home Rule authority; and frankly I cannot see where that type Home Rule is going to lessen the dependence of our cities on turnback from the State and Federal governments.

**Out-migration.**—As you know Arkansas population grew some 7.78% during the period 1960-70. This was slightly more than one-half the 13% National average which reversed the decline of the "Fifties." Practically all the increase in Arkansas took place in the municipalities; and Arkansas has—in 1971—60% of its people now living in the same 450 incorporated cities and towns.

**Salability of Bonds.**—Most municipal bonds are limited to a 6% maximum interest rate which considering our sources of revenue is about all we can service anyway. If interest rates on bonds in other states reach higher amounts as they almost did during the past few years, ours would naturally be hard to sell, if not impossible.

The accomplishments of Arkansas cities—made under Federal Programs—have been numerous, ranging from basic water and sewer grants to model cities. The primary problem encountered has naturally been that National priorities rather than local priorities have determined what progress would be available.

This problem would be eliminated if the Federal Government would enact a program similar to our State Turnback program; whereby the cities receive a portion of their taxes back on a per capita basis. Nixon's plan of revenue sharing has followed this basic approach; however, his ideas appear to give a little to every level of government. More preferable to the Nixon plan is that of Congressman Mills who apparently believes that the funds should be turned back to where they are primarily raised and where the problems are; that is directly to the cities.

On the following pages we have outlined and listed the needs of the City of Clarendon in the order of preference or importance in accordance with our determinations.

With kind regards, I am  
Very truly yours,

FLYNN CHIVERS.

## ITEM NO. 1. EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Employment opportunities in the areas surrounding Clarendon are in critical needs. In a recent survey which was taken in a limited period on a short notice, a total of 1,300 people registered as applicants for employment. Of these 1,300 people, 300 were in immediate and dire need of employment.

Welfare rolls for this area again indicate this same fact that employment is badly needed, as most of these people are unable to find employment. The reason for these large numbers of unemployed is that the farms which originally employed these people have become larger and mechanized. This has led to the migration to the larger cities and towns to find employment.

The labor survey along with the large number of welfare recipients indicate that a large labor market is available if adequate employment could be secured. Also many of the people who are employed, are having to drive from fifty to sixty miles daily in order to reach their present employment.

The attached page presents a proposal for an industrial park and harbor facility for the City of Clarendon.

## PROPOSAL: INDUSTRIAL PARK AND HARBOR FACILITY

Area—407 Acres (Approximately).

Estimated Cost of Land—\$100,000.00.

Estimated Cost of Improvements—\$150,000.00 (Road, Railroad, excluding Harbor).

Estimated Cost of Harbor—?

Since Clarendon does not have an Industrial Park, and land with river frontage is not available or is in use, the Clarendon Industrial Development Corporation proposes that thought be given to acquiring at least the 407 acres shown on the accompanying map for the purpose of:

1. Protecting the future needs of the Municipal Water Works for Sewage Disposal Area.

2. Providing the existing Potlatch Operation with room for expansion.

3. To build a Harbor facility to better serve the river traffic, and provide a site for additional industry.

4. That a study be made of the possibility of relocating the road and railroad to better serve the area.

The CIDC also proposes that legislation be made to provide that water from existing dams to provide water transportation year around.

This proposal prepared by the Clarendon Industrial Development Corporation.

Paul McKay—Chairman, Floyd Blankenship—Secretary, Ralph Abramson, W. E. Beard, Flynn Chivers, W. M. Lee, Jno. B. Moore, and R. H. Wooley.

## ITEM NO. 2. ADEQUATE HOUSING

The City of Clarendon has a minimum need of 100 to 150 new homes or family units for sale or rent at a cost of from \$1,750,000 to \$2,250,000. There has not been a house vacancy in Clarendon for years. The attached letter from a local housing review explains the need for housing in Clarendon.

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION,  
Clarendon, Ark., August 5, 1971.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,  
Clarendon, Ark.

GENTLEMEN: I recently made a review of the housing situation in Monroe County.

It would appear the county would need at least 300 single family units, modest cost and design dwellings. The county would need a minimum of four multi-unit apartments (six or eight unit size). The single and multi-units will be needed in the next two to three years to alleviate the housing shortage.

The break down as to areas in the county is

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

as follows: Brinkley area, 150; Clarendon area, 100; Holly Grove area, 50.

The cost to construct the above number of units would be approximately \$4,100,000.00.

The number and cost mentioned above does not include public housing programs, Federal Housing, or above modest income construction.

Sincerely,

LEWIS A. BOYSTER,  
County Supervisor.

## ITEM NO. 3. COMMUNITY HEALTH CENTER PHASE PROJECT

Urgently needed in economic disaster area for Community Health Center composed of the following elements in the complex of buildings and projected costs.

1. 30 bed hospital with surgical, delivery facilities, laboratory and X-Ray unit. Projected costs: building—\$750,000, equipment—\$350,000.

2. As part of hospital complex: two doctor offices and 6 examining rooms. Projected costs: building and equipment—\$200,000.

3. As part of hospital complex: one dental office with three examining rooms. Projected costs: building and equipment—\$75,000.

4. As part of hospital complex: one optometrist office and two examining and treatment rooms. Projected cost: building and equipment—\$60,000.

5. As part of hospital complex: 15 bed convalescent recovery room and treatment unit. Projected costs: building and equipment—\$250,000.

6. As part of hospital complex: 30 bed nursing home. Projected costs for building and equipment—\$650,000.

7. As part of hospital complex: 24 hour ambulance service, fully equipped with two ambulances. Projected costs initial—\$75,000.

8. Adequate public housing on a rental basis for middle income group for personnel involved in maintaining above complex, estimated 150 units. Projected costs—\$3,750,000.

9. Total projected costs for initial construction and supplying and equipping hospital complex, \$2,410,000.

## ITEM NO. 4. SOLID WASTE DISPOSAL

Utmost urgency, law passed for new facilities. No funds available. Needs: Land—\$10,000., Equipment—\$50,000, and manpower costs for service and maintenance.

## ITEM NO. 5. WATER AND SEWER NEEDS

Our present system was built in 1914 and is now inadequate and obsolete. Minimum storage facilities recommended at 72 hours supply. We have an 8 hour supply. Needs: New deep well, 250,000 gallon storage facility, treatment plant, water and sewer lines; Cost \$350,000.

## ITEM NO. 6. NEEDS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS, CLARENDON SCHOOL DISTRICT

1. Our most urgent need is housing for new teachers. We have found that it is impossible to find adequate housing for teachers who have a family.

2. We need new buildings for Home economics and Industrial Arts. The Local Board of Education feels that a millage increase would force a hardship on the taxpayers at this time.

3. We need a vocational training center to train terminal pupils.

4. This area needs a college or junior college within commuting distance for our pupils.

## ITEM NO. 7. LAW ENFORCEMENT AND CRIME PREVENTION

\*\* 2 patrolmen, at \$450 per month, \$10,800.

\*\* 2 radio operators, at \$400 per month, \$9,600.

\* 2 mobile radio units, at \$1,050 each, \$2,100.

\*\* 2 walkie talkie units, at \$600 each, \$1,200.

\* 1 base radio unit, at \$1,400 each, \$1,400.

\* 2 monitors, for State and local radio systems, at \$180 each, \$360.

\* 2 automobiles (Police cars), at \$3,500, \$7,000.

\*\* 5 shotguns, at \$100 each, \$500.

\*\* 5 pistols, at \$100 each, \$500.

\*\* 5 high power rifles, at \$150 each, \$750.

\*\* 6 gas masks, at \$40 each, \$240.

\*\* 1 tear gas gun and equipment, at \$333, \$333.

\*\* 24 tear gas grenades, at \$13.75 each, \$330.

\*\* 1 radar unit (Auto unit), at \$1,395 each, \$1,395.

\*\* 6 riot helmets, at \$25 each, \$150.

\*\* 1 identification camera and equipment, at \$625, \$625.

\*\* Accidental investigation equipment "Camera and rotatape for measuring distances," at \$150, \$150.

\* 2 beacon lights (Car top), at \$231 each, \$462.

\* 2 mobile units containing electronic siren, P.A. system, and radio amplifier, at \$285, \$570.

\*\* 1 resuscitator set. (Shock, drownings, suffocation), at \$441 each, \$441.

\* 2 safety screens for police cars, at \$175 each, \$350.

\*\* 1 breathalyzer & equipment, at \$1,055, \$1,055.

\* 2 emergency lighting units, at \$120 each, \$240.

\*\* 12 riot control batons, at \$5.50 each, \$66.

Ammunition:

\*\* Pistol, at \$52.50 per 1000 rounds, \$52.50.

\*\* Shotgun, at \$160.90 per 1000 rounds, \$160.90.

\*\* Rifle, at \$167 per 1000 rounds, \$167.

\*\* 45 caliber machine gun, at \$117.36 per 1000 rounds, \$117.36.

\*\* 30 caliber carbine, at \$134.58 per 1000 rounds, \$134.58.

## FOOTNOTES

\* Denotes need to be replaced in 2 to 5 years.

\*\* Denotes immediate need.

Automobiles are in need of replacement every 18 to 24 months.

## ITEM NO. 8. FIREFIGHTING EQUIPMENT AND PERSONNEL

## CLARENDON FIRE DEPARTMENT FUTURE 10 YEAR EXPANSION PROGRAM

No. 2 fire station, east of rail-road tracks	\$35,000
750 GPM triple combination fire-truck, equipped	27,000
One base station with six mobile units, radio equipment	6,800
Bunker clothes and boots	2,000
Aluminized asbestos fire fighters suits, 4 sets	1,200
Foam generator	500
Smoke ejector	500
Generator, 3000 watts	1,800
Hose 2 1/2-inch, 3,000 feet	3,500
Hose 1 1/2-inch, 1,000 feet	1,000
Hose 1-inch, 1,000 feet	1,500
Rescue unit, equipped	30,000
Automatic hose washer and dryer	850
County fire truck, with front mount pump, equipped	18,000
Siren, 10 H.P.	1,000
Maintenance shop, equipped	25,000
Total	155,650

## ITEM NO. 9. STREETS AND DRAINAGE

The City of Clarendon now has no storm sewers, curbs, gutters nor permanent type paving. The cost of supplying the needs for these items alone would exceed \$2,000,000.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## ITEM NO. 10. RIVER NAVIGATION AND RECREATION

## PARKS AND RECREATION

1. There is a need for a city park in Clarendon with swimming pool, tennis court, and playground equipment.

2. There is a need also for a plot of land to be used for a baseball field for Little League which is being organized this year. This could possibly be included with the City Park depending on availability of land. An estimated cost of these two needs would be \$60,000.

3. The Clarendon Beach which is a natural recreation spot on White River with a sand beach area one mile south of Clarendon needs further development. This natural sand bar with swimming and boating attracts many people in this area. An estimated cost for developing this area would be \$10,000.

## RIVER NAVIGATION

Tonnage figures for Clarendon Port on White River from January-June 1971 for Potlatch Forests, Inc.:

Logs, 26,000 Tons (PFI barged from Augusta to Mississippi River).

All Bunge, Inc. locations and Lockhart estimated at 300,000 Tons per year.

Arkansas Stone from Batesville used in construction of Lock and Dam No. 1 was transported by water from quarry to construction site. Exact tonnage figures probably available from U.S. Engineers.

The principal reason for location of Potlatch Forests, Inc. and Bunge, Inc., with their year round employment, an important factor in our economy, is the availability of water transportation.

We recommend that Legislation be enacted to permit release of water from existing dams to provide proper level of water for safe navigation.

CLARENDON, ARK., August 16, 1971.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,  
Clarendon, Ark.

GENTLEMEN: In response to your request as to some of the major financial problems faced by Monroe County, I have made a list which I feel will be of some help to you.

The first and foremost item on my list is that of new and better roads in the county, as only limited funds are available for this. An unlimited amount could be used for better maintenance of the county roads. Also, another problem included under this item is that of new equipment and new facilities for maintenance for this equipment. Approximately \$200,000.00 of new equipment is now needed, along with \$25,000.00 for new maintenance facilities. The second item on my list is that of a County Hospital or Medical Center. Plans and costs for these facilities are being prepared by people more familiar with needs in the medical field.

Another item of major concern to me is that of a new county office building to house the Welfare office, extension office, Revenue office, and other offices of which there is not enough room to house in the County Court House. The estimated cost of a building for these offices is around \$150,000.00.

I also feel that Clarendon, Brinkley, and Holly Grove could combine efforts and build a county airport in lieu of several small municipal airports. This could be built in a central location which would not be over ten miles from any one town.

The proposed site for this airport is in Section 22, 23, or 27 of Township 2 North, Range 2 West. The cost of this airport would be around \$750,000.00.

The last item of major concern to me is that of the restoration of the old County Jail. The jail is a rather old land mark and many people feel that it should be restored to its original looks. The cost of this project would be around \$30,000.00.

As to the feelings of the people of Monroe County concerning the role of the Federal government in federal supported projects, most are of the opinion that better results could be obtained with less federal control and more local control of the funds.

I hope that this information will be of help to you. With kindest regards, I am

Very truly yours,

TOM CATLETT,  
Monroe County Judge.

CLARENDON, ARK., August 16, 1971.

Hon. WILLIAM V. ALEXANDER,  
U.S. Congress,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ALEXANDER:

CACHE RIVER-BAYOU DE VIEW CHANNELIZATION PROJECT

The construction of the Cache River-Bayou DeView channelization project should not be started until adequate measures for the mitigation of loss and damages to fish and wildlife habitat are included in the project. If the project is started before same are included it is doubtful they would be included later, and it could possibly be too late to include same.

## LOWER WHITE RIVER BOTTOM TIMBERED AREA

The lower White River bottom is the last remaining sizable area of hardwood timber left in the State of Arkansas due to the rapid clearing of hardwood timber lands for the production of soybeans. Such an area is irreplaceable as a fish and wildlife area. This area should be zoned by the Federal Government limiting its use to the growing of timber, fish and wildlife habitat, and outdoor recreation. It is my understanding that a study on these lines is being made on the lands between the levees of the Mississippi River.

Yours very truly,

JNO. B. MOORE, Jr.

This is the seventh insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of testimony and other materials which I have gathered during my search for ways to assist community development in areas of low population. Other materials on this subject appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS of September 22, pages 32740-32741; October 1, pages 34505-34506; October 6, pages 35409-35410; October 13, pages 36133-36135; October 21, pages 37358-37361, and October 28, pages 38121-38123.

## THE RELATION OF INSECT CONTROL TO INCREASED FOOD PRODUCTION

## HON. JOHN G. DOW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, I have come across a highly informative article on the relation of insect control to increased food production prepared by F. R. Lawson.

Because the subject matter is closely related to the Pesticide Control Act which is coming to the floor of the House momentarily, I wanted to share Mr. Lawson's research with our colleagues.

Efforts to balance the world's requirements for the increased production of food and fiber are often cited as strong rationale for continuing to use pesticides. Whereas the ideal solution may be some form of biological control, it is pretty

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clear that this solution is years away from us now. The article takes the middle position that "since most of the world's food supply is produced by relatively few crops" and damage is by certain key pests, we can concentrate less against minor or occasional pests and develop integrated control for key pests of major crops.

The article follows:

## THE RELATION OF INSECT CONTROL TO INCREASED FOOD PRODUCTION

(By F. R. Lawson)

Most of the authorities on human populations are agreed that if the present rate of increase of mankind is continued it will be necessary to double or triple the world's food supply within the next two or three decades (Aldrich 1968). But according to the last FAO report (1968) on *The State of Food and Agriculture*, "Without suitable crop protection measures the increased yields obtained through the use of improved varieties, fertilizers and irrigation are in danger of being wiped out by pests and diseases. The risk is increased since the newly introduced high-yielding varieties do not always have the disease resistance of those hitherto used, and since their denser and genetically more uniform stands will provide a more favorable environment for pests and diseases. Multiple cropping also increases this hazard. In fact, as the constraints imposed by supplies of improved seed, fertilizer, and water are gradually reduced, pests and diseases may well emerge as the main factor limiting the further expansion of production."

The vast majority of insect pests are now controlled by the application of organic insecticides, and most entomologists are agreed that without these highly effective chemicals the insects would take a much larger proportion of the world's food supply than they do now.

However, widespread and, except for certain legal requirements for labelling and residues allowed on food, largely unrestricted use of organic insecticides has created problems that have reduced the number of insects that can be controlled by most materials. In some cases these effects have been the result of legal restrictions applied because of presumed hazards from residues. For example, in the United States certain chlorinated hydrocarbons cannot be used on forage fed to dairy cattle because they appear in the milk, which has no tolerance for most of these materials. In other instances the physiological effects of the insecticide on the plant have increased the reproductive rates of insects or mites (Chaboussou, 1965).

There have been many cases where the destruction of natural enemies has brought about an increase in the numbers of the target pest or the rise of secondary species to the status of major pests. Most such problems have been solved for a time by increasing dosage or adding new materials. Occasionally this procedure fails because of the rise of some insect that is protected from any insecticide, as in the examples cited below, with the bagworms on coca and oil palms in Malaysia (Conway 1968, 1969). More often the appearance of insecticide resistance in one or more phytophagous species causes increased losses until a new material can be adopted. This occurred in the United States when the cotton boll weevil (*Anthonomus grandis* Boheman) became resistant to the chlorinated hydrocarbons (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965). In a few cases resistance to all of the available organic materials in one or more insects has reached the point where control of the pest problem has been lost, forcing abandonment of crop production or adoption of different systems of control (Boza Barducci, 1965a, 1965b).

The unrestricted use of insecticides can lead to loss of control rather quickly even

before the insects become resistant, as shown by Conway (1968 and 1969). In the state of Sabah, Malaysia, the first commercial plantings of cocoa were made in 1956. The ring bark borer, *Endoclitia hosei* Tindale, was the major pest and two branch borers, *Zeuzera* spp., were minor ones. In 1959 spraying with high concentrations of chlorinated hydrocarbons was begun. Several other pests appeared in the same year and to counter this threat general spraying as a prophylactic measure was begun with a variety of insecticides, including dieldrin, endrin, DDT, BHC, lead arsenate and a white oil. This was continued for two years. In 1961 the branch borers became more numerous, and two leaf eating caterpillars, *Hypsotra talaca* (Walker) and *Athetis nitens* (Salmüller), a planthopper, *Colobesthes facata* (Guérin-Méneville), and several species of bagworms, the most important of which were species of *Clania* and *Mahasena*, became abundant and caused serious damage. The bagworms were protected from insecticides by their bags and could not be controlled. Toward the end of 1961 the situation was so serious that spraying was stopped.

The abundance of some of the pests dropped rapidly within a short time, apparently as a result of a resurgence of natural enemies, but losses to the branch borers and bagworms remained serious and were treated by selective insecticidal measures in 1962. By 1963 artificial control was no longer necessary against the bagworms, and there was a high incidence of parasitism by tachinid flies. Since that time other pests have appeared and have been kept under control by cultural methods and with a limited number of applications of carefully selected chemicals applied to restricted areas. Conway (1968) reporting work by B. J. Wood, says that bagworms, particularly *Metisa plana* Walker also became serious pests of oil palms following insecticide applications against other minor pests. The outbreaks occurred not only in the area treated but spread to adjacent palms. To obtain further evidence, Wood treated about 2 acres, which resulted in an explosive increase of bagworms in the plot and surrounding areas with a gradual decline in population away from the center in all directions. Bagworm outbreaks were later controlled by a selective insecticide, trichlorphon, and the importance of these pests is now declining.

The best known examples of the combined effects of the destruction of natural enemies and the appearance of insecticide resistance have occurred in cotton.

The status of insect control of this crop in the United States was summarized by a panel of President's Science Advisory Committee (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965) as follows: "Since the boll weevil [*Anthonomus grandis* Boheman] entered the United States some 70 years ago, cotton farmers have sought to control it. The fight against the boll weevil, especially in the past 20 years has been successful largely because of the use of chemical pesticides. . . . In 1955 the commonly used chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides lost their effectiveness against boll weevils in the Mississippi Valley and the result was disastrous to many growers. The chlorinated hydrocarbons were then largely abandoned in favor of organic phosphorous compounds. Although there is no sign of resistance to this class of compounds in the field populations of boll weevils, there are resistant laboratory populations. There is thus a portent of resistance in the field. Pesticides used to control the boll weevil frequently upset the ecological balance by destroying important insect predators and parasites and, as a consequence, species that would not otherwise be injurious to cotton often become pests. Damage from bollworm, spider mites and aphids would be relatively insignificant in boll-weevil-infested areas except for the current procedures used to

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

control the boll weevil. During many years, damage from these secondary pests has exceeded that of the boll weevil. Clearly the boll weevil problem cannot be considered alone, but only in conjunction with all the other insects that feed on cotton. Environmental contamination with residues of insecticides, especially the chlorinated hydrocarbons, has created such serious problems that their unrestricted future use is questionable."

The committee's fear that resistance to organic phosphorous compounds will appear in field populations of the boll weevil has not yet come to pass, but resistance has been reported in the tobacco budworm, *Heliothis virescens* (F.), a species that has become a pest in cotton in recent years. This has been one of the principal reasons why several thousand acres of cotton in Mexico has been abandoned. In 1960, there were about 711,100 acres of cotton in the Matamoros-Rio Bravo-Reynosa area of Mexico. In the sixties, the levels of resistance in *Heliothis* increased and the acreage of cotton declined until by 1967 it was about 24,000 acres. Cotton from this section moved to the Tampico area where it increased from about 4,000 acres in 1960 to 500,000 in 1967, then declined to 405,000 acres in 1968. Estimates of the amount that will be planted in 1969 are below 50,000 (personal communication, M. J. Lukefahr).

A somewhat similar series of events occurred about 12 years ago in the Cafete Valley of Peru, but here a solution to the problem was found. Figure 1 shows cotton yields in this valley from 1943 to 1963, as given by Boza Barducci (1965a).

Originally 6 pests caused most of the damage by insects. They were the leafworm (*Anomis texana* Riley), the Peruvian boll weevil (*Anthonomus vestitus* Boheman), the cotton aphid (*Aphis gossypii* Glover), the minor bollworm (*Mescinia peruvella* Schausi), the lesser snowscale (*Pinnaspis stracheni* Cooley) [referred to by Boza Barducci as *Hemichionaspis minor* Maskell] and the cotton stainer (*Dysdercus peruvianus* Guérin-Méneville). The lepidopterans and bud weevils were controlled with arsenicals and the aphids with nicotine sulphate. In 1939 the "bollworm," *Heliothis virescens*, appeared in one section of the Valley and caused damage. The use of mineral and some organic insecticides complicated the problem and there was a rapid buildup of aphids which damaged the cotton crop. Bollworm problems increased every year until 1949 when the yield was reduced 27 percent under the average of the previous 6 years. At that time the heavy use of organic materials was begun, including DDT, BHC, and toxophene. Sulphur was also used. The insects were brought under control and yields of cotton increased rapidly for 5 years until 1954. However, beginning in the 3rd year it was observed that insecticides were less effective due to resistance, and the dosage and number of applications were then increased and new chemicals were used, including aldrin, dieldrin, endrin, parathion, and Foliodol. Following the use of these insecticides, 6 additional pests, including leaf rollers (*Argyrotaenia sphaleropa* (Meyrick), and *Platynota* sp), the major leafworm (*Pseudoplusia includens* (Walker)) [referred to by Boza Barducci as *P. rogotis* Guenée], apex bollworm (*Pococera atramentalis* (Lederer)), the citrus mealybug (*Planococcus citri* (Risso)), and the cotton leaf perforator (*Bucculatrix thurberiella* Busck), began to cause serious damage. The most damaging were the leaf rollers and the major leafworm.

In 1955 there was a sharp drop in cotton yield, and in 1956 the poorest crop in the history of the Valley was obtained. The reduction in yield was 49 percent of the mean from 1951 to 1954. According to Boza Barducci the destruction of useful animals was so complete at the end of the 1950-55 period that reptiles and birds of all kinds and even many Arachnida disappeared.

Following the disaster of 1956, the farmers adopted a set of "Regulations for the cotton crop in Cafete Valley" proposed by the experiment station and approved by the Ministry of Agriculture. These "regulations" included a series of improved agronomic practices and cultural controls of insects. The use of organic insecticides was prohibited except in very special situations and with the approval of a government entomologist. Otherwise only inorganics or botanicals could be used. Repopulation of useful insects by introduction from other valleys of Peru and from foreign countries, and mass rearing of the egg parasite, *Trichogramma*, were undertaken. Yields increased dramatically and have remained at a high level since 1956.

These regulations or similar ones have been adopted in several South and Central American countries, but according to Smith and Reynolds (1968), they do not always solve the problem. These authors report that although cotton pests in Colombia are under a rigidly enforced program of supervised control the *Heliothis* problem has been aggravated by increasing production of maize and other crops. This pest is controlled by methyl parathion which "augments the problems with *Tetranychus telarius*, *Eotetranychus planksi*, *Liriomyza* sp., *Bemisia tabaci*, and probably *Spodoptera* and *Prorachis daria*. These unleashed pests and the impending resistance to parathion in *Heliothis* present a grim outlook for the future of cotton pest control in Colombia."

The same authors state that in Central America insect problems are the major cause of declining yields in spite of an average of 30 or more applications of insecticides in most countries. They report that about 10 years ago the Colombian or false pink bollworm *Sacadodes pyralis* Dyar, and the cotton boll weevil, *Antbonomus grandis* were the most important pests. The cotton bollworm, *Heliothis zea* (Boddie), the cotton aphid, *Aphis gossypii*, and the cotton leafworm, *Alabama argillacea* (Hübner), were occasional pests. Now *H. zea* and two other species of *Heliothis*, *H. virescens* and *H. subflexa* (Guenée), are the most important. The Colombian pink bollworm and the cotton coll weevil are secondary but several formerly secondary pests have become major ones. These are five species of *Spodoptera* (not all of which are important), two loopers, *Trichoplusia ni* (Hübner) and a species of *Pseudoplusia*, and the cotton whitefly, *Bemisia tabaci* (Gennadius).

Smith and Reynolds also report that in Egypt resistance to toxaphene in the Egyptian cotton leafworm, *Spodoptera littoralis* (Boisduval), and less hand collection of egg masses caused a drop in the average yield from 542 lbs of lint per acre in 1960-61 to 359 lbs the following year. A similar loss occurred in 1966 and *Spodoptera* is now resistant to endrin and parathion. Azodrin ® and Cyolane ® have been introduced but their cost is considerably higher.

Resistance of mosquitoes to insecticides has become a major problem in many parts of the world. According to a report of the "Conference on the Ecological Aspects of International Development" (CBNS Notes, 1969), Hughes and Hunter reported that in Senegal insecticides reduced malaria in children under 14 from 22 percent to 1 percent in 4 years, but because of transmission by resistant mosquitoes it rose to 16 percent in 1 year. In Tanzania the incidence of malaria in children two to nine was 5 percent 6 months after spraying began but 30 percent 7 months later.

The above examples of the problems resulting from the unrestricted use of insecticides are mostly extreme cases, chosen to show how severe these problems may become. However, the destruction of natural enemies and the development of resistance are widespread phenomena. According to a report by Newsom (CBNS Notes, 1969) "In-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

sesticide control has been an important factor in increased yields of cotton, rice, and sugarcane in Louisiana during the past 2 decades. On the other hand 15 major pest species now have insecticide resistance. Certain cabbage loopers and the 2 spotted spider mite cannot be controlled by even the most advanced experimental insecticides. . . . Damage to nontarget organisms has been severe. Most seriously affected have been insect predators and parasites, fish, crustaceans, and pollinating species such as honeybees."

Some entomologists are quite pessimistic about the future of insect control. Fairchild (1969) suggests that we cannot go back 20 years and produce corn without pesticides, but some of the insects have already developed resistance and others are expected to do so soon. Of the insecticides now available only the persistent chlorinated hydrocarbons will control cutworms, wireworms and white grubs. He says "The future appears anything but bright to me. I do not intend to argue the pro's or con's of insecticide residues. Let me simply say that soil insecticides as we know them today will not exist as such by 1989 or 20 years from now. During this time when corn production must be increased to feed the ever-growing population and land will be taken out of production, I believe it is inevitable that we will lose the presently known insecticides through one of two reasons. Either the labels will be lost or the insects will have developed resistance to those materials currently available."

Considering the large number of insects that have developed resistance to one insecticide or another in the last 10 years and the fact that a few cannot be controlled by any of the organic materials now available, we must consider the possibility that Fairchild's predictions for corn in the United States may also be true of other major food crops within 20 years or less in some countries. In that case we must examine the question of whether or not other methods of control are available to take the place of insecticides.

Fairchild comments on this question as follows: "In the last few years the public has been placated by information on alternate methods of insect control. Popular articles have left the impression that in place of insecticides, such things as host resistance, biological control, sex sterilization, pheromones and numerous other 'safe' methods of insect control are readily available and that they give desired results. These methods offer great promise, but our present knowledge indicates that most of these methods are 10 to 20 years away even with great effort and expenditures to get there." If this is also true of other crops as well as corn, the situation is indeed serious. Beirne (1967) and others have suggested the development of highly selective pesticides that would kill a pest or its close relatives, but not its enemies, thus preserving the natural control system. Since selective materials are likely to be difficult and expensive to develop, but will have a limited market, commercial concerns are reluctant to undertake this task. Furthermore, there seems to be no reason why pests will not eventually develop resistance to such materials. Beirne suggests that they be "applied in a manner designed to exterminate the pests." However, he believes that "The costs of implementing this final solution on a large scale, that is, of exterminating many or most of the important pests, would be astronomical."

Other than insecticides, the methods most commonly used are cultural and biological control. Prior to the advent of the organics, cultural control was fairly common and in some cases, effective. For example, Metcalf and Flint (1939) said that it had been reported that 1 to 4 years of clean cultivation in fields infested with wireworms would re-

duce populations to harmless numbers. They recommended a rotation of any crop other than corn for 1 year, between corn crops, to effectively prevent damage to corn by the northern corn rootworm (*Diabrotica longicornis* (Say)). In recent years cultural methods have been largely supplanted by insecticides.

Most of the work done in biological control has consisted of the introduction of the parasites and predators of introduced pests. DeBach (1964) listed 111 pests which had been brought under some degree of control by introduced natural enemies since 1888. Of these, 21 species were completely controlled in at least one country, 46 were substantially controlled, and 44 partially. Out of this list no more than one or two pests, if any, have been controlled everywhere by introduced enemies. This means that most of the 21 species completely controlled in one country and all of those substantially and partially controlled still require supplementary treatments, generally insecticides, at least part of the time.

Nevertheless, the money spent on the introduction of counterpests has been repaid many times by the benefits received, particularly in those states where biological control has been pursued most diligently. Thus DeBach estimates that in California the expenditure of \$4,296,357 for exploration and introduction has saved the growers of the state \$115,287,330. Although the much larger area involved has meant less intensive work in other parts of the United States, there have been several notably successful introductions by workers in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Thus Clausen (1956) cites control of the woolly apple aphid, *Eriosoma lanigerum* (Hausmann), the satin moth, *Stilpnotia salicis* (L.) and the Comstock mealybug, *Pseudococcus comstocki* (Kuwana). Another introduction controlled the Rhodes-grass scale, *Antonina graminis* (Maskell) (Sailer and App., 1968).

Furthermore, there is no question that further introductions would be desirable. Although most of the major pests in the United States are introduced species, there has been no organized and thorough program to also introduce the enemies of most of them. Sailer (1968) presents evidence that such a program is likely to control the alfalfa weevil, *Hypera postica* (Gyllenhal), in the eastern United States. Nevertheless, it would be unreasonable to expect that introductions will provide complete control in more than a very few cases, and for the vast majority of pests we must find ways of using natural enemies more effectively or find other control measures.

Insect resistance in crop plants, like the introduction of natural enemies, is a method of control that is very effective at low cost, but in relatively few cases. Painter, who was the world authority on the subject, lists only three pests for which this method might be considered the principle method of control in at least one country. These are the Hessian fly, *Phytophaga destructor* (Say) on wheat in the United States, the grape phylloxera, *Phylloxera vitifoliae* (Fitch) on grapes in Europe, and leafhoppers of the genus *Empoasca* on cotton in Africa. However, this probably underestimates the real importance of host plant resistance. Although the Hessian fly is the major pest of a very important crop in the United States, the development of incomplete resistance to European corn borer (*Ostrinia nubilalis* (Hübner)) and the corn earworm (*Heliothis zea* (Boddie)) in corn, and to the chinook bug (*Blissus leucopeltatus* (Say)) in corn and sorghums, may contribute more to crop production in this country than does the resistance to Hessian fly in wheat. There are also several other promising cases such as resistance in alfalfa to the spotted alfalfa aphid, *Theriophis maculata* (Buckton). There are many cases of naturally occurring resistance, such as the

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almost total avoidance of sorghums by grasshoppers. Indeed the many cases of resistance cited by Painter indicate that it is not difficult to discover some degree of resistance to one insect or another in many crops. It is, of course, much more difficult to incorporate this resistance into commercially useful varieties.

Within the last 20 years and particularly since the difficulties with organic insecticides began to multiply, entomologists, chemists and engineers have been investigating a whole series of new techniques that might be used for insect control. These include the effects of light, sound, pheromones and other attractants and repellents, sterilization by gamma rays and chemicals, and methods of rearing and releasing sterile populations in large numbers. In a few cases these new methods have been applied in the field with remarkable success. Thus the screw-worm, *Cochliomyia hominivorax* (Coquerel), was eradicated from the southeastern states by the release of sterile males (Anonymous, 1962; Baumhover *et al.*, 1955). The same means were used to eradicate the melon fly, *Dacus cucurbitae* Coquillett, from the island of Rota (Steiner *et al.*, 1965a) and the oriental fruit fly, *Dacus dorsalis* Hendel, from Guam in the Pacific (Steiner *et al.*, in press). A male attractant with very small quantities of an insecticide also eliminated the oriental fruit fly from Rota (Steiner *et al.*, 1965b), and later from Saipan, Tinian, and Agiguan (Steiner *et al.*, in press). However, in spite of the number of both old and new non-insecticidal methods available, if they are judged by the number of pest problems successfully solved, these alternatives to the organic insecticides do not appear to be very promising. However, research is continuing on genetic methods of insect control and on pheromones and there is reason to believe that the number of insects that can be controlled by such methods will grow in the future. In the meantime we must depend largely on insecticides to maintain a satisfactory level of control of most species even though in some cases resistance has already reached the point where the pests cannot be controlled by this method alone.

We are not, of course, compelled to limit insect control to either chemical or biological methods to the exclusion of the other. For many pests the best solution to the problem may be integrated control, that is the use of biological and cultural control when possible and insecticides only when necessary to prevent economic loss. This was the solution that was applied successfully when insecticides failed in Peru (Wille 1951, Boza Baruduci 1965a, 1965b) and in Malaysia (Conway 1968, 1969).

Many such systems have been devised for diverse crops in many countries. A very abbreviated list includes alfalfa in California (Stern *et al.*, 1959), apples in Nova Scotia (Pickett, 1959, 1960), and France (Benassy *et al.*, 1962), tobacco, in North Carolina (Lawson *et al.*, 1961), citrus in California (DeBach and Landi, 1961), orchards in Russia (Bezdenko, 1962), flour mills in Northwestern U.S. (Cotton, 1964), plums in France (Thill, 1964), and fruit orchards in Switzerland (Mathys and Baggolini, 1965).

However, in spite of the availability of integrated control systems, they have really not been used very much by growers, at least not in the United States. Integrated control has been available for cotton in California for a good many years. It has been widely publicized and the University of California has trained a number of experts in "supervised control" some of whom have gone into business for themselves and sell what amounts to an integrated control system to growers. In spite of these efforts, it appears that the system is actually practiced on no more than 10 percent of the acreage of cotton in the San Joaquin Valley. The integrated control system developed by

Lawson *et al.* (1961) for flue cured tobacco has never been used, although it was a rather simple one.

It should be pointed out that the successful application of integrated control methods may depend on the nature of the pests involved and the crop to be protected. The presence of a key and highly destructive pest such as the boll weevil in cotton, which at present is not effectively suppressed by natural enemies and which requires broad spectrum insecticides for satisfactory control, can seriously interfere with the implementation of effective integrated control. The Entomology Research Division is devoting much effort to the development of selective means of control for key pests, especially alien pests that are not now readily controlled by natural enemies. More selective ways of controlling such key pests will increase the opportunities for perfecting satisfactory integrated methods for other important species that are more amenable to control by biological means.

Where integrated control has been adopted and has worked well, as in Peru, the necessary restrictions on the use of insecticides have been adopted by a strong organization of growers and enforced by some quasi-governmental authority. If the pests or their natural enemies are highly mobile, or if the crop involved occupies a high proportion of the land, some method of enforcing control regulations is probably necessary. However, in many cases integrated control can be used successfully by individual growers. Examples are control of the pest complex on alfalfa in California (Stern *et al.*, 1959) and tobacco (Lawson *et al.*, 1961).

The development of better techniques of insect control depends on the progress of research, both basic and applied. Improvements might come from many different lines of investigations now in progress or from completely new principles. Although it is not possible to predict what might happen in any field of investigation, one can list the problems and some of the possibilities, and I will attempt that for the field with which I am most familiar, biological control with natural enemies.

This field occupies a somewhat paradoxical position. On the one hand the number of pests that have been controlled by the introduction and manipulation of natural enemies has been quite small, as we have already noted. On the other hand many ecologists consider parasites, predators and pathogens to be very important factors determining the mean level of abundance of insects and the chief agent of natural balance (Huffaker and Messenger, *In DeBach*, 1964). It is known that they cause heavy mortality in many pest populations. Lawson (1959) estimated losses in the egg and larval instars of the 1st and 2nd broods of the tobacco hornworm (*Manduca sexta* (Johan.)) for the years 1952 to 1956 to be 90.6, 97.8, 100.0, 94.3, and 97.8 percent. Nearly all of this was due to natural enemies and on the average 78.2 percent occurred before the 5th instar. In other pests mortality due to natural enemies frequently increases with the season. Thus Parker (in press) has shown that at Columbia, Missouri, the mortality of the imported cabbageworm (*Pieris rapae* (L.)) on rape in six successive generations was 48.3, 69.7, 94.6, 98.2, 97.1 and 97.1, mostly due to natural enemies. In many species, other factors such as weather also cause considerable mortality. Hence in order to evaluate more accurately the effects of enemies on the population I have ignored all other mortality factors and calculated an adjusted value by the equation  $m = 100 \frac{M}{M+S}$  where  $m$  is percent mortality,  $M$  is number of hosts killed by natural enemies and  $S$  is the number of survivors. The adjustment is based on the assumption that enemies would have killed the same proportion of the population in the absence of other factors.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

In the data below, total percent mortality from all causes is followed by the adjusted value in parenthesis. Harcourt (1963) estimated losses of the diamondback moth, *Plutella xylostella* (L.) in cabbage to be 98 (93) percent. LeRoux, Paradis and Huben (1963) found that mortality of the eye-spotted bud moth, *Spilonota ocelana* (Denis & Schiffermuller) was 97.9 (97.4), of the fruit tree leaf roller, *Archips argyrospila* (Walker), 98.0 (92.5), of the European corn borer, *Ostrinia nubilalis* (Hubner) 98.4 (92.1). Harcourt (1966) estimated mortality in the imported cabbageworm, *Pieris rapae* (L.), on cabbage 89.9 (78.8). The last value is known to be too low because part of the losses to predators were not separated from losses to weather.

Since the construction of life tables is a laborious, technically difficult and fairly recent innovation, the information necessary to estimate total mortality from natural enemies is not available for many species, although the above list is by no means complete. There are, however, dozens of pests which are known to be heavily attacked. For example, Lawson (1958) estimated that fungus diseases destroyed 99 percent of the green peach aphids, *Myzus persicae* (Sulzer) on cole crops in North Carolina in the winter. Benjamin (1955) found that egg parasites destroyed 80 to 100 percent of the red-headed pine sawfly, *Neodiprion lecontei* (Fitch) over a period of 3 years, and during the 1 year for which data are given, a parasite of larvae caused additional losses of 76 to 79 percent. The many cases, some of which were mentioned earlier in this paper, where the applications of insecticides have been followed by flarebacks of the target pests or have unleashed formerly innocuous species, are eloquent testimony to the importance of natural enemies in the control of crop pests.

In brief, it is quite clear that because an insect is a pest does not mean that losses to natural enemies are insignificant, nor can these enemies be safely disregarded in control programs. It follows that the most efficient control measures would be those which supplement, rather than replace, natural mortality. This is the basic philosophy of integrated control, but when other methods are lacking integrated control, of necessity, uses insecticides as the supplementary measure. Since most insecticides, and some other methods, for instance some cultural controls such as plowing, also destroy natural enemies along with the host they are in this respect inherently inefficient. In contrast, the techniques that increase the number of hosts killed by an entomophagous species will usually in some measure increase the population of that species and thus decrease the populations of the host in the future, although there may be exceptions to this rule.

The importance of biological agents of mortality in natural control as compared with their rather minor role in applied entomology, suggests that perhaps we have not yet learned to use them correctly.

Most of the work done with natural enemies has been and probably still is concerned with the introduction of counter-pests against introduced species. We noted above that this is a very useful endeavor, but it certainly cannot be relied on to control all of the world's major pests. There are, however, other techniques for using natural enemies that may prove to be of more general application.

There are two general methods available. These are (1) alterations of the environment to increase the populations of enemies or attract them to crops attacked by pests and, (2) mass rearing and release of parasites, predators, and pathogens. The use of environmental modification has been reviewed by van den Bosch and Telford (see DeBach 1964) and is the principle subject of this conference. Hence I will not discuss it here.

The idea of rearing and releasing large

numbers of natural enemies is an old one with many successes claimed, but few proved, probably because of the formidable technical problem of separating natural from induced mortality. DeBach and Hagen have reviewed the literature. (See Chapter 15, DeBach, 1964). Until recently one of the chief problems has been that rearing of large numbers of the enemies of plant feeding species was possible only on hosts produced on stored products. This has seriously limited the choice of parasites and sometimes of predators or pathogens. Nevertheless large numbers of some species have been produced in this way. Smith and Armitage (1931) reported on large scale rearing of the mealybug destroyer, *Cryptolaemus montrouzieri* Muls, on mealybugs grown on potato sprouts. More than 40 million were released over about 50,000 acres of citrus in California (Essig 1931).

Brunson (1940) and Brunson and Allen (1944) tested releases of the parasite *Macrocentrus ancyliavorus* Rohwer against the oriental fruit moth, *Grapholita molesta* (Busck). The parasites were reared on the potato tuberworm *Phthorimaea operculella* (Zeller) on potatoes. Probably the most extensively reared parasites are those in the genus *Trichogramma*. Flanders (1929) worked out a method of mass rearing these tiny wasps on the eggs of the Angoumois grain moth, *Sitotroga cerealella* (Olivier) which was mass produced in grain. In Mexico (Castilla Chacon, 1968 and Balderas, personal communication) *Trichogramma* is reared on the eggs of *Epeorus*, and in India (V. P. Rao, personal communication) on the rice moth *Coryca cephalonica* (Stainton). Some commercial concerns have greatly improved rearing methods and are producing *Trichogramma* for sale. Our laboratory has made some further improvements. Although the highest rate of production we have yet attained was in the neighborhood of 10 million *Sitotroga* eggs and/or *Trichogramma* per day (1 egg produces about 1 *Trichogramma*) we believe that the technique can be expanded indefinitely and our present goal is 50 millions per day.

Field releases of *Trichogramma* have been tested against many lepidopterous pests in many parts of the world and are apparently standard procedure in Mexico (Castilla Chacon, 1968), Peru (Boza Barducci, 1965a), and Russia (unpublished reports). In most cases it is difficult to prove that the released parasites rather than wild populations were in fact responsible for the observed rates of parasitism. Wiackowski (1965) gives clear cut evidence for effective control by *Trichogramma* of the plum moth *Grapholita funebrana*. Treitschke in Poland and some of the early experiments in sugarcane (Hinds *et al.*, 1933, 1934) indicate substantial results. Knippling and McGuire (1968) recently made a theoretical study of the potential value of *Trichogramma* releases and concluded that one of the reasons for past failures was the use of too small numbers of the parasite. They also concluded that parasites released early in the season were unlikely to increase because of the low host density at this time of year.

At the Biological Control of Insects Research Laboratory we have investigated various aspects of the *Trichogramma* problem and additional reasons for previous failures have begun to appear. First it is essential to use the correct species or strain of parasite. Figure 2 gives some data from Marston and Ertle (in press) showing that although *Trichogramma minutum* will find, examine and sting eggs of *Trichoplusia ni*, which are not their normal hosts, they may not actually parasitize and kill them. F. D. Parker has data showing that the *Trichogramma* species normally attacking the southern cabbageworm *Pieris protodice* Boisduval & Le Conte has little effect on *P. rapae*, which was introduced from Europe. On the other hand when *Trichogramma evanescens* Westwood

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was introduced from Europe, *P. rapae* was heavily attacked.

Another possible reason for previous failures is too great a distance between release sites. Mr. J. David Hoffman of our laboratory has found that when two different species of *Trichogramma* and a related egg parasite, *Trichogrammatoides nana* (Zehnter), were released at a central point in sugarcane, the distance at which parasitism of host eggs was half that at the point of release was only about 9 ft for one species and 5 ft for the other two. The first species gave about 50 percent parasitism at the point of release but was not recovered beyond 18 ft. The other two gave only 19 and 5 percent parasitism at ground zero but parasitism was detected at 90 ft and 96 ft, the maximum radius of the experiment. There are oral reports that the Russians use *Trichogramma* routinely against pests of sugar beets but make releases by hand about a meter apart. *Trichogramma* are released from aircraft in Mexico (Castilla Chacon, 1968). Schutte and Franz (1961) developed a method of spraying parasitized *Sitotroga* eggs on the leaves of apple trees.

The possibility that numerous other natural enemies may also be reared in large numbers has been greatly enhanced by the development of synthetic diets for their hosts. When it was necessary to rear hosts on living plants, it was nearly impossible to control disease under the crowded conditions required for economical production because the plants could not be sterilized, but when Beck and Stauffer (1950) and Vanderzant and Reiser (1956) developed a media on which insects could be reared in sterile conditions, disease control became a practical possibility. Vanderzant's medium has been adapted to many species and this is now the standard method of laboratory rearing for most phytophagous insects. Figure 3 shows the mixing room of our insectary and the cups in which several species of Lepidoptera are reared. Figure 4 shows the butterfly cage and the method of persuading the imported cabbageworm to lay eggs. These operations are fairly typical of the rearing procedures in many laboratories. One of the major problems of most laboratories is contamination of the rearing medium by non-pathogenic bacteria and fungi in spite of the general use of inhibitors. True pathogens, attacking the insect itself, have also appeared all too often in most insectaries, and the only insects which have actually been reared at the rate of millions per day are the screw worm and certain fruit flies, both of which live naturally in filthy environments, and *Sitotroga* and *Trichogramma*, neither of which have any known diseases. Some laboratories have attained quite large production of other species for short periods, but in all of the cases that I know about such production is invariably cut short by disease or contamination of the medium. This has happened so often that there are grounds for thinking that really large scale production of plant feeding insects is not possible with present methods. In small scale production of up to a few thousand per day under the supervision of an expert and with well trained technicians, the probability of an error resulting in contamination can be kept fairly low but increases rapidly as the numbers reared increases until it reaches the point where contamination overwhelms the operation.

One possible solution to this problem is to rear on sterile medium in large containers in which only the insects are living. Antibiotics and yeasts are produced this way on a commercial scale and there is even a book on the engineering problems involved. Figure 5 shows an experimental unit in which the method is now being tested in our laboratory. Theoretically the production of host insects and their parasites could be multiplied indefinitely in such units. No doubt an occasional one would be contaminating orga-

nisms could not escape from this unit or enter others if they did escape, it should be possible to keep the problem within reasonable bounds.

Another question involved in the mass production of natural enemies is the cost. The pathogen *Bacillus thuringiensis* Berliner is now being produced and sold commercially. The cost is high, but not entirely unreasonable. Castilla Chacon (1968) reports rearing 462 millions of *Trichogramma* in 1967 but with this exception no one has yet reported producing parasites or predators on a really large scale. The ultimate cost is not easy to estimate, but based on data from our laboratory and considering the cost of producing the screw worm and the tropical fruit flies, the cost of control by natural enemies may be competitive with insecticides. As a matter of fact, where inoculative releases can be made of organisms that will then multiply in the field for the remainder of the season, the cost of this method of control may be much less than the cost of repeated applications of chemicals.

To those who might think that one man and a part time technician can rear a few thousand parasites and conduct valid tests in small plots in the same way that insecticides are tested, I should point out that it is quite possible to obtain negative results that are highly misleading. To conduct a valid test the experimenter must have at least some information on seasonal variations in host density, the food and habitat required by the enemy adults, their host preference, rate and distance of dispersal, and the effect of compensatory mortality and competition with other enemies, losses to hyperparasites and predators, and methods of separating induced and natural mortality.

I might also mention that probably none of the experimental designs available are valid for such tests and the best technique may be simply to release enemies in one field and use another field a mile or more away for a check. It goes without saying that the results obtained in the two fields must be widely different to mean anything at all.

I do not believe that parasites and predators will ever be something that can be purchased from the farm store and applied that afternoon to destroy an outbreak of pests, although this may one day be possible with pathogens. The selection and application of the more active enemies is much too complex an undertaking for amateurs and effective use of these agents is likely to remain the province of a few well-trained experts who will apply highly sophisticated techniques in carefully planned and continuously monitored systems of pest management based on accurate knowledge of each agro-ecosystem. To train these experts we will require special schools such as that envisioned by Birne (1967) and now established by him and his colleagues of the Department of Pestology at Simon Fraser University, in British Columbia.

Because of the major role played by enemies in the natural control of insects and the progress made in solving some of the more difficult problems of selecting, rearing and dispersing them there are certainly some grounds for hoping that by altering the environment in favor of the enemies and the discovery of more effective ones by exploration or genetic improvement, supplemented by mass release when necessary, we can eventually use natural enemies as a major method of applied control. However, the data in hand are much too scanty to make this possibility more than a hope and even if it were a certainty it would be very naive to expect that these techniques can be developed fast enough to be a serious alternative to insecticides for more than a small fraction of the world's pests within the 2 or 3 decades allotted to us by the demographers. Since much the same thing is true of all of the other alternatives to insecticides, and con-

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sidering the rate at which the presently known insecticides are losing their effectiveness, it seems fairly clear that we cannot solve the world's pest problems in the time available either with or without chemical controls. At the very least it is dangerously optimistic to expect that we can do so. It follows then that we must continue to use both chemical and non-chemical methods. Whether or not we ought to abandon chemical insecticides in favor of other methods is not a real choice. If we did that the public outcry over outbreaks of cockroaches, fleas, and bedbugs in dwellings, wireworms in potatoes, codling moth in apples, and weevils flour in the grocery stores would quite probably force governments to rescind any ban on these materials. There are, however, many things that can be done to extend the useful life of the materials now available, and to find new ones or to replace them with other methods at a faster rate.

Perhaps the most important single action that could be taken to protect the world's production of food and fiber would be the establishment of research priorities strictly on the basis of total damage by the pest. Thus insects carrying major diseases or key pests of the most important crops would receive the most attention.

Table 1 shows an estimate of the proportion of the world's food energy supplied by various crops. These figures were derived from a table given by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO 1968) showing production of major agricultural commodities. All foods listed in the FAO table (except wine) were multiplied by an estimated caloric and protein content as given by Watt and Merrill (1950). Nearly 60 percent of the world's food in both categories was contributed by three cereals, more than 70 percent by five. There are probably no more than a dozen key pests of these grasses. To this list of major pests we should probably add two or three more on cotton, which crop provides much of the world's population with clothing, and perhaps 10 pests of livestock or carriers of human diseases, making a total of about 25 insect pests whose control is essential to the health and food supply of the world's peoples.

If research was concentrated on this small number of major pests it should be possible to develop new and effective methods for their control. These could conceivably be specific insecticides or new chemicals to which insects could not become resistant. It is almost certainly possible to develop effective biological methods for many key pests within less than 20 years.

TABLE 1.—PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WORLD PRODUCTION OF FOOD ENERGY CONTRIBUTED BY VARIOUS CROPS. MEAN 1962-66<sup>1</sup>

Crop	Total calories	Protein
Wheat	24.9	32.1
Maize	21.6	16.0
Rice	12.1	9.1
Barley	9.6	8.3
Milk	7.5	14.0
Sugar	6.8	0
Vegetable oils	5.7	0
Oats	5.5	7.2
Meat	4.7	11.0
Eggs	.6	1.8
Fruit and cocoa	1.0	.5

<sup>1</sup> Excluding Mainland China.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

According to demographers it will be necessary to double or triple the world's food supply within 20-30 years. To accomplish this the present level of damage by insect pests must be reduced. None of the means available for doing this are adequate by themselves. The present heavy use of the insecticides now available probably cannot be continued very much longer on major crops because of environmental contamination, the

development of resistance to the toxins, and the destruction of natural control systems with the consequent flareback of pests and the increase in the number of species causing major damage. In a few places this process has ended in crop failures, although fortunately not on a major food crop, but there is apparently no reason why this may not continue in the future, with more serious consequences. Selective insecticides may be highly useful, but pests may also become resistant to them. The quickest solution to current problems would probably be integrated control making maximum use of cultural and biological methods supplemented with insecticides where necessary, but integrated control may be difficult to establish due to the reluctance of growers to withhold chemical treatments when immediate damage to their own crops is threatened. The ideal solution is some form of biological control, but the past record of these techniques offers little hope that they can be developed and applied to very many pests in the time available.

Although biological control by the introduction of natural enemies is not likely to be completely successful, except in rare cases, the major role played by such enemies in natural control indicates that we have probably not yet learned to use them effectively. The available evidence suggests that the environment can be manipulated in various ways in order to increase the abundance and effectiveness of general predators and in some cases rather specific parasites.

Another possible method of utilizing natural enemies is mass rearing and release. This is theoretically a very promising method, but it has been successful in only a few instances in the past and its use has been and still is severely limited by our inability to rear really large numbers of host insects. Since the development of synthetic diets on which insects can be reared under sterile conditions, there is every reason to believe that these problems can be solved. The development of control by natural enemies is not a simple procedure and requires a fairly extensive knowledge of the biology of both pests and enemies. Since most of the world's food supply is produced by relatively few crops and most of the damage to these are caused by certain key pests, it may be possible to continue to use the present insecticides against minor or occasional pests, or those on crops occupying only small areas, and develop integrated control or purely biological methods for key pests of major crops.

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nist united front strategy. Georgi Dimitrov, general secretary of the Communist International, got the general idea of this new approach across to the assembled members of the World Communist Movement by alluding to the fall of Troy:

Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camps.

We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics.

The united front continues to serve the Communists well in the present day. From Chile, where a Communist coalition government is busy attempting to turn a temporary electoral mandate into permanent rule by suppression of the free press, nationalization of industry, land seizures, et cetera, to Iceland, where a Communist coalition government has resulted in the loss of Keflavik Airbase; NATO's watchdog over the North Atlantic sea and air lanes, the strategy of temporary alliance is still paying off for the Soviet Union.

The peace slogan continued to be a major weapon in the hands of the Communists. Understanding the human desire for peace this slogan is used to win supporters and surround the party with "innocents." For the party cadre, however, the meaning of peace was clearly spelled out—

We defend peace not because we are flabby Tolstoyans, but because we are striving to ensure the conditions for victory of the revolution . . . Our struggle for peace is at the same time the best defense of the Soviet Union.

The Communist use of peace propaganda, and their own operational definition of peace, are still with us today. It has been extended to include all Communist nations, such as North Vietnam, and, of course, includes supporting the aggressive endeavors of the various Communist States as well as so-called defense.

The successes achieved through application of the principles laid down at the Seventh Comintern Congress were considerable. Particularly noteworthy examples of united front tactics in action against the armed forces of non-Communist nations took place in Spain and France.

In 1936 municipal elections in Spain brought to power a coalition popular-front government which included the Communists. The Reds immediately utilized their positions in the government to create secret cells in the armed forces and began carrying out sophisticated operations designed to destroy the morale and discipline of the armed forces, isolate officers from the men, assure that forces loyal to the Communists had readily available arms, and destroy anti-Communist officers.

The tremendous efficacy of antimilitary work can be seen in the mutiny of the Spanish fleet which occurred soon after the beginning of the civil war. In 1936 a revolt against the popular front government led by General Franco broke out. The Spanish fleet, controlled by

anti-Communist naval officers, sailed off to join Franco in Morocco. The Communists had managed to infiltrate their agents into the important position of radio operator on many of the ships and had agitators planted among the crews. Dr. Beerstecher describes what happened.

Scuttlebutt spreads rapidly aboard ship, and the communist agitators took advantage of this quirk of human nature to develop a sense of insecurity among their shipmates which was useful later when they incited them to mutiny against the officers. Scuttlebutt leads men to congregate together in small groups and helps form the nucleus around which a clandestine meeting can develop for plotting mutiny. So it was aboard the ships of the Spanish fleet in July, 1936. Insulated from other ships and the outside world by the communist wireless operator, each ship's crew was led to believe that it stood isolated and alone, and that it would soon face the combined wrath of the rest of the fleet for permitting their officers to lead them in revolt against the government. There was only one way out—to prove their loyalty by regaining control from their officers and delivering the ships safely to republican controlled ports. The men believed—and mutiny born of communist ingenuity and tactical discipline spread through the fleet from ship to ship.

The fleet never reached Franco. It is ironic to note that Communist propaganda and agitation, as well as the loss of competent officers, so effectively destroyed the respect for authority and discipline of the Spanish sailors that later, even with the help of imported Soviet cadres, the Loyalists were not able to restore the operational capability of the fleet and use it against Franco.

In France Communist participation in the popular-front government of Leon Blum opened the way for extended disintegration work among the French armed forces. Dr. Beerstecher points out that it was not only the access provided the Communists through participation in the popular front government which led to the so effective undermining of the French military, but also the total failure of French military officers to understand this Communist pattern of conquest. He said:

The united front was not the only reason behind the successful communist penetration of the French armed forces; another was the failure of the French military leaders to understand the communist pattern of conquest. The statements of Thoreau, Marty and Cachin all testify to the active work carried on by the communists during the 1930's in the armed forces of France, but there appears to have been little comprehension on the part of the military authorities during the period as to the inherent dangers which the communist program involved. André Geraud, the French journalist reported a conversation he allegedly had on November 22, 1935, with a staff officer "close to headquarters" who stated that there had been no soviet propaganda in the French army since 1932 or 1933. Geraud further states that the same officer dismissed reports to the contrary as "talk."<sup>1</sup> Even General Maurice Gamelin, who became commander in-chief of the French Armies in 1935, is alleged by Geraud to have held the same opinion at heart. Geraud stated that in February, 1934, Gamelin urged him to explain to the reading public the necessity for a new policy towards Moscow. In July, 1935, after

Footnotes at end of article.

## REVOLUTIONARY ANTIMILITARISM IN COMMUNIST THEORY AND PRACTICE—VIII

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, in conjunction with the House Committee on Internal Security's investigation into subversion of our Armed Forces I insert in the Record at this point part VIII of Dr. Robert E. Beerstecher's eye-opening thesis, "Revolutionary Antimilitarism in Communist Theory and Practice."

This portion of Dr. Beerstecher's study begins with the 7th Congress of the Communist International and goes on to detail the effects of the operational changes adopted at this 1935 meeting on Communist antimilitary activity.

The 7th Congress marked the beginning of the extremely effective Commu-

the Franco-Soviet mutual aid pact had been signed, but before it had been ratified, Geraud indicates that Gamelin still had not changed his opinion of a requirement for a *rapprochement* with the Soviet Union, even though the press reaction was quite aroused and had accused the Soviet Union of subversive propaganda and treachery. Geraud further alleges that General Gamelin, in answer to his question as to whether the communists were at work again in the army, and if so, whether their propaganda was inspired by the Third International, stated "No, and if this kind of game had been resumed we could be quick to detect it because it is a very old one and we had to suppress it in the past."<sup>1</sup> However, Geraud notes that Gamelin changed his tune by August 19, 1935, and believed that the communist propaganda was again being circulated among the non-commissioned officers. Gamelin's unique but rather innocuous "solution" to the problem of communists in the army, Geraud asserted, was to pay special attention to the living conditions of the non-commissioned officers by providing them with suitable quarters in the barracks or nearby.

The Hitler-Stalin Pact, and the subsequent dismemberment of Poland between the red and black fascists, resulted in the French Communist Party having to conduct most of its work through a previously set up illegal apparatus. Propaganda and agitation was carried on within and against the French Armed Forces following the new Comintern line that it was now France itself, rather than Hitler, which was the enemy. French Communist Party chief Maurice Thorez deserted from the French Army and fled to Moscow. From Moscow he urged the French Communists to fight against the "imperialist war" of Britain and France. Dr. Beerstecher concludes this portion of his study with the Nazi invasion of France:

The communists continued their propaganda of defeatism. Many of the leaflets and pamphlets published by the communists so closely paralleled the defeatist propaganda issued by the Germans that their true source was often indistinguishable. The French defenses crumbled rapidly before the German advance. In June, 1940, the French army collapsed. Undoubtedly many factors contributed to its collapse, but a primary cause was the disintegration of military morale accomplished by the communist defeatist campaign carried on among the French soldiers in the months following the signing of the German-Soviet nonaggression pact. The fall of France was celebrated in both Moscow and Berlin, for France was as much a victim of communist antimilitarism as of German militarism.

Perhaps the last sentence should be repeated. "France was as much a victim of Communist antimilitarism as of German militarism." This is a lesson we ignore at our peril.

Part VIII of Dr. Beerstecher's study follows:

REVOLUTIONARY ANTIMILITARISM IN COMMUNIST THEORY AND PRACTICE—VIII  
(By Robert E. Beerstecher, Ph. D.)

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Georgetown University.

#### XV. THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS

The growing spectre of a victorious Japan rampant in Asia and the lengthening shadow of a militant Germany spreading its influence across Europe provided the impetus for a reorientation of Comintern tactics and soviet

foreign policy towards the West in the mid-1930's. Just as the military occupation of Manchuria and North China by Japanese forces had been interpreted as the start towards a "partition" of the world by imperialist forces planning a "counterrevolutionary" war against the Soviet Union, so events in Europe, e.g., the re-establishment of universal conscription by Hitler and the conclusion of the naval agreement between Great Britain and Germany were interpreted by the soviets as marking the liquidation of the war clauses of the Versailles Treaty and the beginning of the *Drang nach Osten* against the Soviet Union.<sup>1</sup> The new soviet foreign policy was based upon the strategic concept of the "contradiction of interests." Soviet leaders believed that the aggressive policy of German fascism and Japanese militarism would inevitably lead to an accentuation of all international antagonisms. While some of the major powers would strive to defend the *status quo*, others would not. Under such circumstances, the differences in the interests of the major powers provided an opportunity for leverage which could be directed towards the interests of the Soviet Union.

One of the first indications that the mutual relations of the Soviet Union and the capitalist world were embarking on a new phase came in 1934 with the soviet entry into the League of Nations. Soviet membership in the league was based upon the conviction that the League of Nations could be "used" to obstruct Germany and Japan:

The entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations shows the masses that the leaders of the Soviet Union are not doctrinaires, but Marxists, who correctly appraise the relations of forces existing in the capitalist world and who know how to make use of even the slightest possibility to extend their efforts in defense of peace and in the interests of the revolution.<sup>2</sup>

Soviet membership in the League of Nations was followed in May, 1935 by the conclusion of a mutual aid pact between the Soviet Union and France. A similar pact was also concluded with Czechoslovakia. The France-Soviet aid pact was accompanied by Stalin's declaration expressing "complete understanding and approval of the policy of national defense pursued by France for maintaining her armed forces at the level corresponding to the needs of her security."<sup>3</sup> Stalin's statement was not received by the communists as a directive to stop their agitation against or penetration into the French armed forces, although Stalin's reported promise to Pierre Laval that he would "call off" the French communist party from its antimilitaristic demoralization work has led some authorities to conclude that the communist antimilitaristic program stopped at least temporarily after the signing of the France-Soviet accord in 1935.<sup>4</sup> Later statements by Maurice Thorez and Ercoli supported the conclusion that the antimilitaristic program continued unabated. Thorez, reporting to the Comintern in 1935 on the activities of the French communist movement which he directed, admitted that "Since last year we have addressed ourselves to the soldiers—the sons of the people—and the republican officers."<sup>5</sup> He also boasted that the communists were continuing to fight in France against the return to the two year term of military service.<sup>6</sup> Ercoli reported to the Comintern that the bourgeoisie of France had been told by the communist "we can neither vote for your military budgets nor give up the struggle against your government."<sup>7</sup> Those who did not understand the "profound inner consistency" of this position, Ercoli concluded, would never understand anything of the "real dialectics of events" or of "revolutionary dialectics," even though they fancied themselves to be highly intelligent and logical persons.<sup>8</sup> In addition, French communists were directed to "expose" any attempt to

pursue a policy different from or in contradiction to the obligations ensuing from the pact. The pact had to be "defended" they were told, because it was "an instrument in the struggle for peace and for the defense of the Soviet Union."<sup>9</sup> Ercoli attributed the theoretical foundations for the soviet mutual aid pacts to Lenin who wrote that bolsheviks were not to renounce "in general" the idea of military agreements in such cases where they could be used to reinforce their position "without violating the principles of Soviet power."<sup>10</sup>

The mutual aid pacts with France and Czechoslovakia provided the Soviet Union with European allies which could be played off against Germany. But what of Japan in the Far East? Only two other major naval powers other than France had interests in the Pacific: Great Britain and the United States. A recurrent theme in communist propaganda had been that the antagonism between those two countries were the most profound "of all that rend the imperialist world," because the goal towards which American imperialism inevitably strived was the undermining of British colonial and maritime supremacy. Of the two countries, the Soviet Union favored the United States which it considered "an imperialist state which did not set for itself *immediate aims of conquest*," and therefore did not represent an immediate threat to the Soviet Union.<sup>11</sup> Although the soviets considered that the actual military power of the United States did not correspond to its economic strength or its industrial development, they evaluated the United States as a worthwhile ally.<sup>12</sup> It has even been reported that Stalin allegedly believed that ultimate victory would be won by the side which was allied to the United States.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, the soviets distrusted Great Britain. The soviets accused the British of "legitimizing" the arming of Germany by the conclusion of a naval agreement which had not only created a new instrument of aggression in the Baltic at the gates of the Soviet Union but had set off a new naval armament race in Europe.<sup>14</sup> Britain's action, they claimed, could only be explained by the fact that she was attempting to direct the drive of German and Japanese imperialism which menaced her own position into anti-soviet channels. As the prospect of a mutual aid pact with the United States appeared improbable, and with Great Britain impossible, the Soviet Union attempted to strengthen its position with the western world through a tactical reorientation of the international communist movement. The soviet hierarchy considered that the danger of war was an imminent one: the world was a powder magazine in which the fascists were walking about with lighted torches.<sup>15</sup> In 1928, the sixth world congress of the Comintern had reached a similar conclusion—that all of the "objective" conditions for a major war had matured, and that the outbreak of war was imminent. To govern the activities of the communist movement in its struggle against that war, the sixth world congress formulated a general antimilitarist policy.<sup>16</sup> That policy had passed its "baptism of fire" and remained the basic policy of the Communist International.<sup>17</sup> But the profound changes which had occurred in the international situation since 1928 required the communists to "reconstruct" that policy.<sup>18</sup> The new threat was fascism, and fascism meant war.<sup>19</sup> The task of formulating tactics which would "rally the laboring masses to the struggle against fascism and against the preparation for a new war" was one deemed worthy of the attention of a new world congress. The decision to call the seventh world congress of the Comintern had been made at the thirteenth plenum. The congress was initially scheduled for mid-1934, but delays developed and the soviets postponed it for a year.

*The Seventh World Congress*

The Comintern convened its seventh world congress on July 25, 1935, in the Hall of Columns of the Moscow House of Trade Unions. Keynote speaker at the congress was Wilhelm Pieck, the German representative on the executive committee of the Comintern. Pieck shared the spotlight at the opening session with Georgi Dimitrov, "helmsman" and general secretary of the Communist International. "Ours is a congress of *bolshevik self-criticism*," Dimitrov told the assembled delegates, "we are not afraid of pointing out openly mistakes, weaknesses and shortcomings in our ranks, for we are a revolutionary party which knows that it can develop, grow and accomplish its tasks only if it discards everything hindering its development as a revolutionary party."<sup>20</sup>

The actual task of criticism, however, fell to Pieck. Circumstances changed rapidly in a revolutionary crisis. Pieck said, and required a constant review of the situation and a correct estimate of the relation of class forces so that suitable tactics could be employed. However, Pieck continued, some of the communist parties failed to recognize this and persisted in using slogans and fighting methods which somewhat earlier had been correct but which had become "antiquated" with the change in the situation.<sup>21</sup> In a number of cases, Pieck said, the communist parties had overestimated the political maturity of the people, and had failed to carry on the work necessary to train them for the revolutionary struggle or to convince them of its necessity. Instead, they had carried on propaganda in favor of the soviet government or which explained the program the communists would carry out *after* they had seized power.<sup>22</sup> The communist parties had become mere propaganda organs for the programs they had remained "on the shore as observers and registrars of the surging waves in the expectation of fine weather" instead of learning "how to sail on the turbulent waters of the class struggle."<sup>23</sup>

Pieck pointed to the failure of the communists to mobilize their forces in the "strike" movements during the early 1930's, referring specifically to the "strike" in the British navy at Invergordon, the mutiny in the Chilean navy and the mutiny on the *De Zeven Provincien*.<sup>24</sup> Why did these stormy political movements of the working people remain but a flash in the pan, he asked, "producing no important results in the struggle for liberation?"<sup>25</sup> One of the main reasons why they had not been transformed into a mass struggle against the bourgeois state, Pieck said, was "spontaneity." These movements had been spontaneous demonstrations undertaken "without serious preparation, without a joint organization of all forces, without concrete fighting aims."<sup>26</sup> Spontaneity in revolutionary movements was frequently decried by bolshevik leaders.<sup>27</sup> Lenin himself held the belief that revolution would come only as the result of careful preparation and organization by a specially organized party of professional revolutionaries, not from spontaneity of the masses, and he placed emphasis on the necessity for technical preparation for revolution.<sup>28</sup> Stalin also vigorously opposed what Kuusinen called "opportunism" on spontaneity, or reliance on "automatism."<sup>29</sup>

The fact that the events cited failed to develop into broad revolutionary movements may account for Pieck's assertion that they were only to a minor extent movements in response to the call of the party.<sup>30</sup> The spontaneity of the movements might have been exploited successfully, Pieck asserted, had the local communist parties been strong enough to organize the men and provide them with "firm guidance." However, Pieck observed, while the local parties "en-

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deavored" to provide these movements with "concrete slogans, to widen their scope and to raise them to a higher level of mass political consciousness," they lacked the strength to overcome the opposition encountered from other mass organizations and groups. The spontaneous uprisings might have "held together longer and could have been led further in the struggle," Pieck concluded, if the communists had provided broad popular support for the movements by creating a "united front" with the social-democrats and the other mass organizations.<sup>31</sup>

According to Dimitrov, the most important task which faced the seventh world congress was the development of tactics to prevent the victory of fascism. Dimitrov stated that this could be accomplished by the formation of a "united front" of all anti-fascists which would establish unity of action by the proletariat on both a national and an international scale.<sup>32</sup> The decision to use the "united front" concept as the spearhead of an anti-fascist movement represented one of the most important tactical innovations of the seventh world congress. The concept of the "united front" itself was not new, having been formulated at the third congress in 1921.<sup>33</sup> However, it had never achieved any magnificent success. Dressed in the shining armor of the defender of the faith against the black dragon of fascism, the "united front" was destined to appeal to wide sections of the proletariat which previously had been impervious to communist machinations.

The communists were directed to seek "unity of action" with all proletarian groups through the "united front" movement, even joining in the formation of coalition government, with the single condition being that the joint action be directed against fascism, not communism.<sup>34</sup> Participation in a "united front" government was not to be considered an end in itself, but rather only a means to an end:

If our parties are able to utilize in a bolshevik fashion the opportunity of forming a united front government and of waging the struggle for formation and maintenance in power of such a government, for the revolutionary training of the masses, this will be the best political justification of our policy in favor of the formation of united front governments.<sup>35</sup>

Dimitrov reminded the communists that final salvation could not come in any country from a "united front" government. That could be achieved by soviet power, said Dimitrov, and only soviet power.<sup>36</sup>

The starting point and main content of the "united front" movement was the defense of the economic and political interests of the working class against fascism. This entailed a three part program: first, a joint struggle "to shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of the ruling class;" second, a joint struggle to preserve the bourgeois-democratic liberties of the workers; and finally, a joint struggle against the impending imperial war.<sup>37</sup> Dimitrov told the delegates that the communists had to prepare the working class for a rapid change in the forms and methods of struggle. As the movement grew and spread, the communists had to go even further and prepare for an offensive against capitalism leading towards the organization of a mass political strike. "Communists," Dimitrov reminded his audience, of course, cannot and must not for a moment abandon their own independent work of communist education, organization and mobilization of the masses."<sup>38</sup>

The chief stress in the "united front" movement was placed on "local" development, i.e., local mass action carried out by local organizations through local agreements. The practical realization of the "united

front" movement required different methods in different countries, depending on the character of the local worker organizations and on the particular local situations.<sup>39</sup> In each country, Dimitrov continued, there were certain key questions around which a "united front" movement could be mobilized. Dimitrov cited the tasks facing the working class of France as examples of key questions. Of those listed, two were directly related to the communist antimilitaristic program in France:

"... to secure that the state apparatus, army and police shall be purged of the conspirators who are preparing a fascist coup ... to link up the army with the anti-fascist movement by creating in its ranks committees for the defense of the republic and the constitution, directed against those who want to utilize the army for an anti-constitutional coup d'etat."<sup>40</sup>

Day-to-day leadership of the "united front" movement was to be concentrated in the party sections themselves. This necessitated an intensification in the formation and training of cadres and the "reinforcement" of the local parties with "genuine" bolshevik leaders who would insure the correct tactical application of the decisions of the Communist International.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, the question of the preparation of cadres occupied an important place in the agenda of the seventh world congress. "There is no need to mention the fact," it was declared even before the congress began:

That political work in the factories, the army or the navy, is severely persecuted even in the most "democratic" countries where the party is legal ... such enormous losses in the party membership and in the leading cadres [have been sustained] that the question of extensively promoting, training and preparing new cadres becomes decisive not only for the successful work of the party but even for its very existence.<sup>42</sup>

Dimitrov stressed that a correct "line" alone was not enough for concrete leadership of the masses.<sup>43</sup> The resolutions of the Comintern were but scraps of paper if people were lacking to put them into effect. People—cadres—decided everything, he added, quoting Stalin's dictum that cadres were to be cultivated "as a gardener cultivates his favorite fruit tree." But because the communist movement was not a "learned society" but a militant movement which was constantly in the "firing line," there was an urgent necessity of constantly replenishing the ranks by training new cadres and carefully preserving existing cadres.<sup>44</sup> Dimitrov cautioned that the revolutionary mettle of some of the existing cadres had not been tried and tested in the class battle. These cadres, he added, needed help to adapt themselves to the new "spirit" of the Comintern. But, he warned ominously, where the old wine-skins proved unsuited for the new wine, the necessary conclusion must be drawn—not to spill the new wine or spoil it by pouring it into the old wine-skins, but to replace the old wine-skins by new ones.<sup>45</sup>

*The "Trojan" Horse*

Dimitrov asserted that the most difficult and complex task facing the communists was the fight for the establishment of the "united front" in countries controlled by fascism, but he stated his conviction that all the application of "united front" tactics and the conditions existed in fascist countries for the development of a real anti-fascist people's front. He said that the view that it is generally impossible in countries with a fascist dictatorship to come out legally or semi-legally was incorrect. To find forms and methods of legal or semi-legal action was a difficult problem, he admitted, but one capable of resolution. Dimitrov suggested that the communists make the fascist mass organizations their legal or semi-legal field of action, for communists in fascist countries

Footnotes at end of article.

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had to work wherever the masses were to be found. Dimitrov cited the "Labor Front," the Hitler youth leagues, the *Draft durch Freude*, the sports clubs, etc., as suitable targets for communist activity, suggesting that the communists should try to gain posts in such organizations.<sup>52</sup> The "united front" movement, Dimitrov predicted, could be forged into a battering ram capable of shattering what appeared to many to be the "Impregnable" fortress of fascism. To do so, he said, required that it be built both "outside" and "inside" the fascist organizations. Suitable tactics to accomplish these ends, Dimitrov said, had been described in the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camp.<sup>53</sup>

Revolutionary workers, Dimitrov added, should not be shy about using the same tactics as the fascists.<sup>54</sup>

Dimitrov was an outspoken critic of communist failure to realize the acute need of youth for military activity and to fulfill that need by integrating youth into the communist program. He pointed out that in Germany and Italy, all forms of youth organizations were connected in one way or another to military training. Communists had to counter the militarization of youth, he said, by widespread activity aimed at gaining control of the younger generation. The failure to "capture" the youth had been one of the chronic weaknesses of the communist anti-war work. Citing several examples of success achieved by youth groups in the United States and France under the "united front" program, Dimitrov stated that the young communist leagues had to strive to unite the forces of youth, wherever they might be, in "the army barracks and the fleet, the schools, or in the various sports, cultural or other organizations."<sup>55</sup> During the discussions at the seventh world congress on the work which had been carried out in the bourgeois youth organizations, the adoption of "Trojan" horse tactics was recommended. Such tactics, the communist youth were told, must be applied not only in the fascist countries, but also in many colonial countries, for instance, in China. You know that our Chinese young comrades in the soviet regions have performed truly legendary deeds of heroism. In the regions where fighting is going on they have learnt also to apply the tactics characterized by the comparison with the Trojan horse in a masterly fashion. But in the white regions, where the terror is raging, it is precisely in these tactics that they are weak.<sup>56</sup>

The Chinese communists, outside of the soviet-controlled areas, it was asserted, had not been able to rid themselves of the "relics of sectarianism." They still had to learn the tactics of the "Trojan" horse, and through them, to penetrate into the larger mass organizations.<sup>57</sup> In other colonies, particularly in India, it was asserted, it was necessary to work inside the bourgeois youth organizations. Okano reported that the Japanese communists had achieved a number of successes in working in "reactionary" organizations. "The members of our party," he said, "are performing heroic bolshevik work for the revolutionary enlightenment of the masses in the army, in the navy, in the armament factories." Centers of anti-war resistance, he claimed, had been created even among the peasants. But the successes which he described were more imaginary than real, and had been carried out on a relatively limited scale.<sup>58</sup>

Manulsky was another of the communist speakers at the seventh world congress who emphasized the necessity for communist

penetration of the mass organizations. Tactics, he stated, were not "the spectacles of a musty keeper of archives which he never takes off, even when he goes to bed."<sup>59</sup> Whenever changed circumstances required, new tactics were to be introduced. Communists in fascist countries, particularly in Italy and Germany would have to "rack their brains" to figure out the appropriate forms of bolshevik work to be used in penetrating such organizations.<sup>60</sup> It was left to them, Manulsky asserted, to "decipher" the "Trojan" horse tactics referred to by Dimitrov.<sup>61</sup> The communists had twenty-five years of experience in combining legal with illegal forms of work, he pointed out, adding that the organizational decisions adopted at the second congress of the Comintern had been based on the recognition that both legal and illegal forms of work were essential. Many sections of the Comintern, he noted, had become convinced in the face of fascism that there existed no room for legal "foot-holds." The mass base on which fascism itself was built, however, made possible legal work, just as it facilitated the task of the illegal organizations. "It will be impossible to force our way to the masses, under these conditions," Manulsky stated, "unless we carry on daily and systematic work in the fascist mass organizations" and "unless we combine legal and illegal methods of work."<sup>62</sup> It was also essential, Manulsky continued, to develop illegal organizations in those countries where the labor movement was still legal. Such development was required as preparation for a possible transition to an illegal position at a later date. The Italian and German communist parties, he noted, had committed the mistake of not having prepared for illegality in time.<sup>63</sup> "We must remember," Manulsky added, "that the united front movement spontaneously legalizes the most hunted and persecuted communist parties, that the mass struggle brings the most deeply underground organizations to the surface."<sup>64</sup>

Although Dimitrov made no specific reference to work in the German armed forces in connection with his "Trojan" horse tactics, Ercoli elaborated on the tasks of the communists in the military services of fascist countries at a later session of the seventh world congress. He emphasized the necessity for communists joining the armed forces and made them the center of their work.<sup>65</sup> Ercoli also said that the principal task of the communists in the fascist countries was to link the army with the people. Every effort, he explained, had to be made to utilize even the slightest opportunities for both legal and semi-legal work linking the people with the masses of the soldiers. It was necessary for the communists to penetrate and work within all mass organizations which served for the militarization of the youth. In this connection, Ercoli pointed out that circumstances made necessary a broader interpretation of the point in the theses of the sixth world congress which stated that the communists were not to call upon young workers to join voluntary organizations for military training. It would be a mistake not to join such organizations, he asserted: "We must enter these organizations, we must work in them."<sup>66</sup>

Ercoli's analysis also considered the tasks of the communists in their work in the armed forces of the "bourgeois" democracies. In the bourgeois democracies, he said, the "fascization" of the armed forces had to be exposed as one of the most dangerous forms of concrete preparation for war. Communists had to counter it with their own anti-fascist work among the military: "We shall not surrender the mass of the soldiers to the fascists. All penetration of fascism into the army is a menace to peace."<sup>67</sup> Ercoli stressed the mass character of modern military forces and the importance which this factor played in determining the nature of

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communist work in the armed forces. The growth of fascism, he said, accentuated the contradiction between the mass character of bourgeois armies and the reactionary aims for which these armies were employed. This led the bourgeoisie, which could not reduce the mass character of the armed forces, to resort to their "fascization" of the military in order to avoid the danger of mutiny. The "fascization" of the military, he added, found expression in a number of measures of an organizational character, and more particularly, in the organization of special propaganda in the armed forces. Never had "chauvinist" propaganda, he noted, been conducted among the soldiers with such intensity or by such a variety of means. By carrying its propaganda into the armed forces, fascism attempted to convert the military into the bulmark of its policy.<sup>68</sup> Ercoli claimed that the bourgeoisie increased the size of those elements of the armed forces which it regarded as particularly "reliable" either on account of the privileges granted to them or in consequence of their connection with the military as a profession. Communists, he said, should demand that the "fascist" officers be dismissed from service, and that the "reactionary general staffs" be subjected to democratic control in which the workers' organizations participated. The communists had to lead the workers in the bourgeois democracies in the demand that the armed forces be put on a democratic footing by granting every soldier complete political rights, because "an unfettered expression of the will of the soldiers can hinder the war plans of the bourgeoisie and fascism."<sup>69</sup> Communists, Ercoli continued, should also demand that every soldier be permitted to express his opinion freely on the "war propaganda" being conducted in the army by the fascists; that both inside and outside of the army, the soldier should have the right to express his desire for peace.

Ercoli stated that it was impossible to speak seriously of the formation of a government of the "united front" or a people's front without at the same time raising the question of transforming the bourgeois army into a people's army, for according to Lenin, a revolutionary army and a revolutionary government were two sides of the same medal: "They are two institutions equally necessary for the success of the uprising and for the consolidation of its results. They are two slogans which must be advanced and explained as the only consistent revolutionary slogans."<sup>70</sup> Other questions which were to be raised by the communists were how to secure reduction in the term of military service, how to place all arms at the disposal of the people, and how to permanently oust the "reactionary" cadres from the army, especially from the higher command positions. Ercoli admonished the communists not to boycott mobilization, not to boycott the armed forces, not to undertake sabotage in the factories, nor to refuse military service, because such acts "detached" them from the masses, especially the "soldier masses."<sup>71</sup> Ercoli concluded his analysis by stating that this new communist approach to treating work in the armed forces as mass work was the best prerequisite for the practical application of the bolshevik line at the moment when the war broke out.<sup>72</sup>

The basic theses which the sixth world congress had previously formulated on the struggle against war required little modification for tactical application in the "united front" campaign. Conscious of the deep aspirations of people everywhere to live tranquilly in a peaceful world, and playing upon their natural abhorrence of violence and war, the communists continued to use the slogan of "peace" as their central slogan in their anti-war program. It was a slogan well calculated to win friends and adherents for the "united

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front" movement. In the dialectics of communism, "peace" was synonymous with the period of preparation for revolution. Ercoli made this clear when he stated that the deeper the communists penetrated the masses under the guise of peace prior to the outbreak of war, the more possible it would be for them to transform the inevitable imperialist war into civil war.<sup>67</sup> "We defend peace," he said, "not because we are flabby Tolstoyans, but because we are striving to ensure the conditions for the victory of the revolution. . . . Our struggle for peace is at the same time the best defense of the Soviet Union."<sup>68</sup>

Based upon Ercoli's analysis, the seventh world congress passed a special resolution on the tasks of the Comintern. "The communist parties of all capitalist countries," it directed, must fight against military expenditures (war budgets), for the recall of military forces from the colonies, and mandated territories, against militarization of the youth, women and the unemployed, against emergency decrees restricting bourgeois-democratic liberties with the aim of preparing for war; against restricting the rights of workers employed in war industry plants; against subsidizing the war industry and against trading in or transporting arms.<sup>69</sup>

## XVI. THE "TROJAN" HORSE IN ACTION

The seventh world congress of the Comintern attached special importance to the establishment of an anti-imperialist united front in all colonial and semi-colonial countries. Particular emphasis was placed on the work which had been accomplished in Brazil where, Dimitrov pointed out, the communist party had "laid a correct foundation" for the development of a united anti-imperialist front through its support of the National Liberation Alliance. The Communist Party of Brazil, Dimitrov stated, had to make every effort to extend further this front by drawing into it first and foremost the many millions of the peasantry, leading up to the formation of units of a people's revolutionary army, completely devoted to the revolution, and to the establishment of the rule of the National Liberation Alliance.<sup>70</sup>

The National Liberation Alliance had been formed early in 1935, supported by the communist party as well as numerous communist-dominated trade unions, youth organizations and peasant groups. Many officers and enlisted army and navy men affiliated themselves with it after Louis Carlos Prestes, a former captain in the Brazilian army and a leading participant in the São Paulo revolution of 1924, was elected its honorary chairman.<sup>71</sup>

Communist propaganda, agitation and organizational activities in the Brazilian armed forces contributed to the development of a revolutionary spirit in certain military units.<sup>72</sup> Two manuals played an important role in guiding communist work in the Brazilian army and navy. The first was *O trabalho dos bolchevistas no exercito antes de revolução de outubro*, a Portuguese translation of Yaroslavsky's classic pamphlet.<sup>73</sup> The second handbook was *O antimilitarismo revolucionário*, the Portuguese edition of Alfred, Dupont and Fischer's basic work on antimilitarist tactics.<sup>74</sup> The communists successfully infiltrated both the navy and the Brazilian merchant marine.<sup>75</sup> They also penetrated the army.<sup>76</sup> By November, 1935, they considered themselves sufficiently strong to attempt an armed uprising.

On November 24, 1935, a communist-inspired revolt backed by the National Liberation Alliance broke out in the four northern states of Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco and Alagoas, and the state of Paraná in the south. In Natal, the 21st Light Infantry Battalion revolted, imprisoned its officers and took possession of the city. Part

of the 29th Light Infantry Battalion at Pernambuco (Recife) attempted a similar revolt, aided by communist elements. The revolt spread.<sup>77</sup> Martial law was declared, and the Brazilian Government rushed military reinforcements into the northern states to put down the rebellious troops. On the morning of November 27, 1935, Rio de Janeiro awoke to the sound of machine gun and cannon fire. At Praia Vermelha (Red Beach) on the outskirts of the city, a battalion of the Third Infantry Regiment had revolted, and was barricaded in the barracks. A second group of soldiers at the nearby military aviation school had also joined the revolt. They seized their officers and set fire to a hangar and the gasoline dump at the airfield. Troops loyal to the government quickly surrounded both the barracks and the school. After a fierce bombardment by navy planes forced them to leave the school building in which they had set up their headquarters, the rebel soldiers surrendered. Heavy artillery fire also set fire to the Praia Vermelha barracks, finally forcing the rebels of the Third Infantry Regiment to capitulate to the government troops.<sup>78</sup> The collapse of the revolt in Rio was followed by failure of the revolt in the north. Government forces quickly recaptured Natal and drove the communists from the other strongholds which had been established during the first days of the revolt. Further arrests of military personnel, both army and naval, followed, until the figures exceeded thirteen hundred men.<sup>79</sup>

The failure of the November revolution resulted in the complete disruption of communist activities in Brazil. Elsewhere in Latin America, government attention was focused on the communist united front, resulting in the initiation of legislative action in several countries to outlaw or severely limit the scope of the communist movement. The revolution also resulted in the breakoff of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Uruguay, the only country in South America which had formally recognized the Soviet regime. Uruguay charged that Soviet agents in Montevideo had financed the Brazilian revolution. The break with the Soviets followed.<sup>80</sup>

United front tactics also enjoyed immediate but sometimes short-lived success in Europe. This was true in Greece where the communist party, which had existed since 1924 but not as a real factor in Greek politics, began to win mass support with united front tactics. Labor unrest fostered by the communists rocked Greece during the spring of 1936. Strikes and demonstrations were organized by the Communist Party and the Young Communist League of Greece and appeals were directed to the soldiers and sailors calling on them to support the workers. In the port area of Salonika, the young communist league organized special workers' delegations to contact the Greek sailors on the warships in the harbor.<sup>81</sup> The general elections of 1936 gave the Greek communist party 15 seats which meant that it held the balance of power between the two traditional major parties. This situation was unacceptable to the right-wing opposition. When the series of labor disputes culminated in a communist-inspired general strike, a right-wing carried out a coup d'état which brought General Metaxas to power as the "savior" of Greece from communist insurrection. With Metaxas ended the period of legality under which the Greek communist party had previously flourished.<sup>82</sup>

Communist attempts to apply united front tactics in the environment of fascism were singularly unsuccessful. Efforts to penetrate the armed forces in Germany and Italy through infiltration of the mass organizations proved ineffective due to the stringent internal security measures which both countries employed to protect their military forces from the machinations of the com-

munists. The communists learned that propaganda and agitation could not be accomplished overtly in countries possessing strong internal security forces like the German Gestapo. Moreover, they learned that such forces also limited successful covert infiltration by subversive elements. German and Italian counterintelligence groups were highly efficient in penetrating the communist cadres and minimizing their effectiveness by keeping the government informed of communist plans and operations. The system of recruitment of military personnel from state-controlled para-military youth organizations also protected the German and Italian armed forces against communist penetration.

Communist united front tactics were also ineffective in the Far East, although numerous attempts were made to implement the directives of the Comintern. In Japan, a new association called the *Rono Musan Kyogitai* was formed to "struggle against fascism." At its first conference, a new political party called *Nihon Musanto* (Japan's Proletarian Party) was formed by the association. It consisted of communists, socialists, and "anti-fascist" liberals dedicated to the fight against fascism. The basic themes in the propaganda issued by the *Nihon Musanto* closely paralleled those used by the communists against the Japanese armed forces. Leaflets addressed by *Nihon Musanto* to the soldiers emphasized that they were being used in the interests of militant capitalism. "Stop the war immediately," the propaganda line demanded, adding, "War! . . . War! . . . Who profits by it? Death to the capitalists and landlords!" The new party failed to gain popular support for its program and never achieved any real influence within the ranks of the army or navy. Okane frankly admitted later that the policy of the united front had failed in Japan.<sup>83</sup>

Similar attempts elsewhere in the Far East to strengthen communist influence through the united front met with only limited success. In Australia, for example, the membership of the communist party rose from 550 at the time of the sixth world congress to almost thirty thousand within ten years. However, the increase in party membership was not matched by any proportionate increase in the number of communist cells developed in the permanent military forces or in the Australian navy. Although the comrades attempted to fulfill their avowed goal of "every platoon, every ship, every air unit a cell for communism," they lacked sufficient adherents in the national security.<sup>84</sup>

Considerable gains for communism were recorded in many other western countries, including the United States and Great Britain.

However, the most notable successes came on the continent in Spain and France.

## The Spanish Civil War

During the seventh world congress of the Comintern, Ventura, the Spanish delegate, asserted that all of the prerequisites existed in Spain for bringing up the question of a government of the united front or of the anti-fascist people's front of which Dimitrov had spoken.<sup>85</sup> Events in Spain moved rapidly after 1935. The Communist Party of Spain carried out the directives of the seventh world congress by creating a united front with the socialists. The communists also set in motion a campaign designed to develop a revolutionary crisis in Spain.<sup>86</sup> In February, 1936, the municipal elections brought to power a coalition popular front government supported by the syndicalist, socialist, communist, and republican parties. Although the communists were only a minority party, they used the united front to dominate Spain for the next three years. The communists used their position in the government to infiltrate the armed forces. In addition, they continued their antimilitary program which had been intensified after the October revolution of 1934. They encountered strong opposition to

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their machinations from the commissioned officers of the Spanish armed forces and from the officials in the *Ministerio de Defensa Nacional*. To counter this opposition, the communists devised new methods of agitation for use in the army, the navy and the air force. Their program of disruption in the navy called for the creation of secret communist "cells" at every level in each of the organs of command. Then began a systematic campaign of defamation against those responsible officials who were anti-communist. Any official who stood in opposition to the communist cause was accused of having plotted against the Spanish Republic.<sup>97</sup> Competent officers were denounced for the purpose of either securing their removal from authority or causing their transfer to less responsible positions where they could no longer interfere with the communist program.<sup>98</sup> Communist harassment even resulted in their denial of the right of officers to associate together in closed meetings. Communist charges that cheers for fascism had been given at a meeting held exclusively for naval officers were used as justification for a government decree in early 1936 prohibiting naval officers from holding any kind of closed meeting.<sup>99</sup> The majority of the naval officers remained faithful to their professional training and traditions, but they were "un isote en cada barco rodeado de enemigos"—a tiny barren island on each ship surrounded by enemies.<sup>100</sup> Supplementing the program of undermining authority was a program designed to win the support of the enlisted personnel of the navy. Additional pay increases maneuvered by the communists resulted in machinists and nurses earning salaries and holding grades equivalent to those of the rank of admiral and captain.<sup>101</sup> The communists, who had concentrated their propaganda on winning the sailors to their cause, were successful in undermining authority to the point that all concept of discipline in the ranks had disappeared by mid-year.<sup>102</sup> The communist press played an important role in disintegrating military morale. A special newspaper, *El soldado rojo* (*The Red Soldier*) was published for distribution in the army.

In April 1936, a detailed pamphlet of instructions describing how the Spanish armed forces were to be "neutralized" was sent to the communists in Madrid. The pamphlet was allegedly prepared and printed by the technical specialists of the French communist party assisted by Russian experts sent from Moscow especially for the job. The pamphlet explained each step which was to be carried out during the coming crisis, from the gathering of arms in the barracks for those who did not already possess them to the work of the agitators during the actual fighting. It also provided detailed orders for the screening of personnel captured in order to minimize any possibility of counterrevolution against the communists later on.<sup>103</sup>

The Communists made few efforts to cover their attempts to destroy all opposition. In an article written before, but published immediately after the outbreak of the Spanish civil war, a leading communist spokesman admitted: "We are striving to prevail on the government completely to purge the army of all reactionary and fascist elements, and of the considerable number of monarchists who hold commanding posts in the army."<sup>104</sup> Work in the army by the communists was, he stated, "still weak," and he characterized it as the "most serious problem" facing the Communist Party of Spain. He noted, however, that "clean-up has begun in the police force, the gendarmerie and the army to rid them of reactionary monarchist elements."<sup>105</sup>

Political assassinations, mob violence, local disorder and social unrest were all signs that a revolutionary crisis was rapidly maturing in Spain. The premeditated murder by the

communists of Jose Calvo Sotelo, the leader of the right-wing opposition, and an unsuccessful attempt the same day on the life of Gil-Robles, brought the crisis to a head. On July 18, 1936, it culminated in an open revolt against the popular front regime by officers of the Spanish armed forces. Leader of the revolt was General Francisco Franco who flew to Morocco from his post in the Canary Islands to take command of the Foreign Legion. The revolt immediately spread to mainland Spain where it involved all elements of the armed forces. The army officers who had started the revolt had the complete confidence of their troops. They also had the full support of the Moorish Legions, the Foreign Legion and the Civil Guards. At the very offset, the military situation seemed to definitely favor their cause. Even their brother officers in the navy were solidly behind them, but the first few days of the revolt ended with the navy still almost completely under the control of the communist-dominated republican, i.e., Loyalist, government.

The Spanish civil war provided the communists with an unheralded opportunity to finalize control over those positions in the *Ministerio de Defensa Nacional* which they considered most decisive in exercising command over the armed forces which remained loyal to the republican government. In addition, they placed special emphasis in their work on securing the support of the common soldier. This was accomplished through the institution of the political commissar. Shortly after the outbreak of the war, the communists convinced the republican government of the need for establishing a special commissariat of the army, navy and air force charged with directing the political activities of the fighting men. Most of the political commissars selected were communists.<sup>106</sup> To assist the commissars in their work, the Spanish communist party published a special newspaper, *El commissar*.

"The commissar," the communists proclaimed, "is the nerve and the soul of our People's Army."<sup>107</sup> The commissars functioned as the link between the government, i.e., the military commanders, and the men in the ranks. They frequently participated in the planning of military operations, and exercised command in their subsequent execution. Communist propaganda directed at Franco's forces emphasized the familiar theme of revolution, but this subject was carefully avoided by the commissars in the Loyalist forces who emphasized the need for a disciplined army with the slogan "united army and united command."<sup>108</sup> In contrast to their efforts to bring about the disintegration of Franco's forces, the communists worked to strengthen the discipline and unity of the republican forces over which they exercised control.<sup>109</sup> In this they were only partly successful.

Many sanguine episodes have been recorded in the history of naval warfare, but few have been as bloody as the mutiny of the Spanish sailors against their officers at the outbreak of the civil war. When the first news of the Franco rebellion reached the republican government, fleet units were despatched to Spanish Morocco and the Canary Islands to crush the revolt. The government announced that the navy was encountering no opposition in its efforts to restore peace,<sup>110</sup> while the international communist press proclaimed that the navy was completely loyal to the popular front in Spain.<sup>111</sup> Aboard ship, however, an altogether different story was unfolding. The naval officers commanding the fleet units had been staunchly behind Franco's forces, but they were unable to maintain discipline over their men because of the skillful machinations of the secret communist cells which had gone into action against them. When the officers had ordered their ships to sea in order to join forces with Franco, their decision had been accepted by the men with little question.<sup>112</sup> Later, how-

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ever, the communist cells in each ship began to circulate the rumor that their particular ship was the only one of the fleet which had revolted. All other units of the fleet, the communist-inspired rumor asserted, remained loyal to the republican government.

Ships at sea are cut off from events of the world beyond their own rolling decks except for the news which the ship's radio operator provides. The importance of this communications link had long been recognized by the communists as the most critical element aboard ship. Communists efforts had therefore been concentrated on placing their followers aboard ship as wireless operators so that they would be in the unique position of being able to fabricate false "news" or to alter or withhold information which might have been damaging to the communist cause.<sup>113</sup> Although most of the modern military supplies and equipment were controlled by France's forces, the republican government possessed a formidable weapon in the form of its control over the major radio communication facilities in Spain. Powerful broadcasting equipment was beamed at the fleet units by the government, and the air waves were flooded with false and conflicting reports. "La escaudra regresa a sus bases." "El ejército, la marina y la avación confiados en el gobierno que acaba de formarse, tornan a la normalidad absoluta." "The squadron is returning to its bases. The army, the navy and the air force, possessing full confidence in the government which has just been formed, are returning to their normal routine."<sup>114</sup>

Scuttlebutt spreads rapidly aboard ship, and the communist agitators took advantage of this quirk of human nature to develop a sense of insecurity among their shipmates which was useful later when they incited them to mutiny against the officers. Scuttlebutt leads men to congregate together in small groups and helps form the nucleus around which a clandestine meeting can develop for plotting mutiny. So it was aboard the ships of the Spanish fleet in July, 1936. Insulated from other ships and the outside world by the communist wireless operator, each ship's crew was led to believe that it stood isolated and alone, and that it would soon face the combined wrath of the rest of the fleet for permitting their officers to lead them in revolt against the government. There was only one way out—to prove their loyalty by regaining control from their officers and delivering the ships safely to republican controlled ports. The men believed—and mutiny born of communist ingenuity and tactical discipline spread through the fleet from ship to ship. While the mutiny was carried out swiftly on some ships with the officers being overpowered and locked in their cabins, on other vessels the mob spirit which had been kindled to a red hot flame by the communist elements in the crews led to excesses of violence against the officers. Many of the officers were subjected to cruel torture and base indignities before they were killed.<sup>115</sup> The international communist press made no attempt to conceal the murder of the naval officers, and openly boasted of the act. The communist *Daily Worker* in the United States splashed a photograph of the Spanish Warship *Jaime I* on its front page on July 24, 1936, with the sub-caption:

One of the most thrilling episodes of the present struggle in Spain against the fascist-monarchist uprisings occurred when the anti-fascist crew of the *Jaime I* slew the captain and five officers who were attempting to deliver the ship to the rebel forces at Ceuta, Morocco.

That the bloodshed was needless is indicated by the fact that several other Spanish warships made their way to the port of Tangier after their crews had overthrown their officers who were locked in the mess rooms until they could be transferred to the surveying ship *Tofino*.<sup>116</sup>

The bloodshed was not confined to the early days of the fighting, and the crew of the *Jaime I* also figured in a later episode. The following account was documented by the Spanish Ministry of Justice as representative of the barbarism of the communist elements in the naval forces at the base of Cartagena.

On August 14, 1936, the *Jaime I* arrived in Cartagena with casualties aboard after having been heavily damaged by an aerial attack. There was both a revolutionary "committee" and a "Red Guard" organization aboard the *Jaime I*. These two groups, together with elements of the ship's crew, decided that the attack on their ship should be avenged. In the harbor at Cartagena at that time were two ships which the Loyalists had outfitted as prison ships during the early days of the insurrection. These were the *España 3* and the *Rio Sil*. Incarcerated aboard the *España 3* were the naval officers and officials from the ship at the naval base who had been overpowered by their crews and subordinates. The *Rio Sil*, on the other hand, held officers and men of the Civil Guard who had been captured at Albacete. According to orders of the communist-controlled Navy Department, dated August 14, 1936, a group of ten prisoners were brought ashore from the *Rio Sil* shortly before midnight and turned over to the crew of the *Jaime I*. After being beaten and mistreated, the prisoners were led into an alley near the arsenal at the naval prison where they were cut down with machine guns. The wounded were finished off by pistol shots; their bodies stripped. As the sound of the machine gun fire attracted too much attention, the group decided that the two prison ships should be towed to sea. When the *Rio Sil* was about 30 miles out of the harbor, the prisoners in the hold were ordered on deck in pairs. They were told that their quarters were to be cleaned. Once on deck, they were bound hand and foot. Weights were tied to their ankles. Then they were thrown alive into the sea to drown, their pleas for mercy unheeded.

After 52 prisoners had been killed in this manner, the rest of the prisoners refused to leave the hold. They threatened to ignite the gasoline which was stored in drums in the hold if the ship wasn't returned to port or if they were molested further. Aboard the *España 3*, a similar orgy was being carried out. The technique of murder was somewhat different. The imprisoned naval officers were made to walk the plank, with the slight innovation that they were tied up, then shot in the back of the neck and once again in the forehead, before their bodies were "walked" off the plank into the sea.<sup>117</sup>

The excesses which were carried out by the ship's crew of the *Jaime I* both when they mutinied against their own officers and later when they slew prisoners from the *España 3* illustrated the "success" of the intense communist propaganda effort carried out against the military service in Spain. Karl alleges that when the sailors mutinied against their officers, they were enacting scenes from a soviet propaganda film which had been shown to them several weeks previously at a local theater. The film was "Potemkin," which glorified the mutiny of the sailors in the czarist navy during the Russian revolution of 1905.<sup>118</sup>

It was this same type of intense propaganda which General Franco referred to in an announcement from Ceuta, Morocco, on July 21, 1936, when he explained the necessity for the action which he had initiated against the communist-dominated people's front government: "Our movement aboard certain warships have shown how intense is the communist propaganda in the navy forces and how necessary it was to act swiftly and energetically, as we have done."<sup>119</sup> Sev-

eral days later, General Franco admitted that he was disappointed by collapse of the uprising in the navy, but he stated his belief that "without officers, the men can do little. They are unschooled and have no idea of navigation."<sup>120</sup> His prediction was to prove valid, even though four Spanish warships and a destroyer manned only by officerless crews shelled the Franco-held port of Ceuta on July 20, 1936, the day after they had mutinied against their officers.<sup>121</sup>

Documents which came to light in August, 1936, supported Franco's position. The communist archives captured at Lora del Rio, Spain, contained instructions for initiating a communist coup d'état and the establishment of a soviet government in Spain.<sup>122</sup> The coup was to have been carried out after a wave of subversive activity scheduled between May 1 and June 29, 1936. However, it was postponed because the Paris bureau of the Communist International which controlled the Spanish communist movement was not prepared,<sup>123</sup> even though two soviet ships had previously landed arms and ammunition for the communist cells at Sevilla and Algeciras.<sup>124</sup>

Although the republican government maintained control of the majority of vessels of the Spanish navy, the Loyalist fleet failed to function effectively because it lacked trained personnel to replace the officer pilots, navigators and skill-technicians who had been murdered or who had successfully made their way to Franco's lines. A navy without officers is like a ship without its captain, or a ship without a rudder. Had the government been able to utilize effectively its loyal, but officerless navy, it might have crushed the Franco rebellion by closing the Straits and preventing his support forces from crossing to the mainland from Morocco.<sup>125</sup> As it was, however, the Straits were left open and unprotected; General Franco's forces were convoyed to the mainland almost without opposition, guarded by only a few aircraft and one old warship.<sup>126</sup> In an effort to restaff its naval forces, the republican government announced that it was taking over the entire Spanish merchant marine for the duration of the civil war. In addition, on July 30, 1936, recruiting abroad began for volunteers to come to the aid of republican Spain.

The Communist Party of France undertook the job of recruiting and organizing the international forces. Thorez, who enjoyed parliamentary immunity in France, was placed in charge of the recruiting of the international brigades. To Spain as his collaborator, Thorez sent the notorious André Marty.<sup>127</sup> In France, the Syndicate for Sea Workers took charge of contracting for personnel for the Spanish navy. Recruiting of trained personnel was specially heavy in the ports of Bordeaux, Marceilles and Algiers. The French communists also recruited specialized workers for the naval repair yards at Cartagena and Valencia. A monthly salary of 2,000 Spanish pesetas and 5,000 French francs cash on signing the contract were offered to attract the more skilled naval specialists.<sup>128</sup> The influx of foreign naval personnel also included naval personnel supplied by the Soviet Union. The Russians were placed in key positions in the navy, the army and the air force, and in the Cartagena shipyards.<sup>129</sup> However, the Loyalist navy failed to play any important part in the conduct of the civil war even in spite of soviet attempts to reorganize it. In addition to its lack of officers, the navy had lost all sense of responsibility and all respect for authority and discipline. The years of communist propaganda and agitation in Spain against the navy had proven too effective. As in the story book classic, the communists had killed the goose which laid the golden eggs.

#### The United Front in France

The proving ground for the united front tactics which Dimitrov unveiled at the seventh world congress was France. Lenin once

wrote that the Bolsheviks were the Jacobins of the proletarian revolution.<sup>130</sup> What was more natural than that it was to the French communist party which claimed for itself the heritage of Jacobinism that the Communist International imparted its inspired "golden rule" which led to the initiation of the united front movement in France in August, 1932.<sup>131</sup> Thus, three years of practical tactical application actually preceded Dimitrov's pronouncement of the "new" strategy of coupling the united front with the anti-fascist people's front.

The activities of the French communist party during this period were held up to the seventh world congress by Dimitrov as an example for all sections of the Comintern of how the tactics of the united front should be applied.<sup>132</sup> Dimitrov had stated that the starting point of the united front movement was to be the defense of the economic and political interests of the working class.<sup>133</sup> This was the point around which the French communist movement concentrated its propaganda efforts. A number of special slogans carefully calculated to appeal to various segments of the working class were formulated. These slogans publicized the "fight" which the French communists were carrying on for work for the unemployed, for increased unemployment benefits, for free distribution of coal, clothing and milk for children, for reduction of rents and taxes, and against reductions of wages and salaries, against layoffs and dismissals, and against the high cost of living.<sup>134</sup> Slogans in defense of the rights of ex-servicemen and against the reduction of military pensions were calculated to find approval among the ranks of the armed forces.<sup>135</sup> Propaganda directed to the lower middle class was couched in what Thorez described as a "deliberately moderate tone."<sup>136</sup> In addition to their own, the communists also adopted the slogans of other organizations. They even used the slogans of organizations hostile to the communist movement provided they possessed a broad popular appeal among the working class.<sup>137</sup>

Just as the American communists appropriated the traditions of 1776 and 1864 and presented themselves to the American public as the standard bearers of the revolutionary traditions out of which the United States was born,<sup>138</sup> so the French communists made use of the revolutionary traditions of 1793 and 1871 in their appeals to the French peasant who Thorez characterized as being "the decisive factor" in any situation.<sup>139</sup> Thorez openly admitted that when the communists presented themselves to the people as the champions of liberty and of the independence of France,<sup>140</sup> it was but a facade. The official position of the French communist party, as stated by its central committee and reiterated by Marty at the seventh world congress, was that in case of war against the Soviet Union, the communists would support "the Red Army of the Soviet Union." Their statement "We shall fight for the defeat of every power that wages war against the Soviet Union" removed all doubt that the French communists intended to strike against France if she found herself at war against the "fatherland of socialism."<sup>141</sup>

This propaganda policy, coupled with the successful culmination of a united front agreement with the French socialist party in July, 1934, was credited by Thorez for having aroused to political life broad elements of the working class which previously had been passive. It made the Communist Party of France an important political factor. The French decision to join with the Soviet Union in a mutual aid pact in May, 1935, can be traced in part to the favorite climate of public opinion which the communists had created with their united front tactics and propaganda. The successes which the communists sustained in the municipal elections in 1935 were also reflections of the increased and still-growing prestige which

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the communist party enjoyed among the leftist elements throughout France, but specially in the metropolitan Paris area.

Marcel Cachin boasted to the delegates at the seventh world congress that by applying the Comintern's "golden rule" of "going to the masses," the membership of the Communist Party in France had been tripled, and that of the Young Communist League of France increased fivefold within the previous year.<sup>132</sup> Cachin also described how under the aegis of the united front an increased propaganda effort had been carried out in the spirit of Lenin to enrich the minds of the communist proletariat "with all the treasures of knowledge created by humanity."<sup>133</sup> Within the previous twelve months, he claimed, *L'Humanité*, the central propaganda organ of the communist movement in France, had increased its circulation by 50,000 copies, while during the same period, the "provincial" communist press had achieved a weekly circulation of more than 200,000 copies.<sup>134</sup> The growth in actual membership continued. In early 1936, the communists achieved a real coup by assisting through their united front movement socialist Léon Blum to establish a popular front government of the left.

The communists made fascism the most important political factor in France. Thorez quoted Marx's statement in *The Class Struggles in France* that revolution organizes counterrevolution, and that in accordance with the law of dialectics, counterrevolution in turn armed the revolution by producing a revolutionary party.<sup>135</sup> He suggested that the thesis might well describe the development of fascism in France and the growing resistance to it. The communists portrayed fascism as existing in many forms and in many places in France, but placed primary emphasis in their propaganda and agitation on fascism in the armed forces. Cachin claimed that the whole fascist offensive in France was led by high military officers on the retired list who worked closely with their brother officers who were still on active duty.<sup>136</sup> Dimitrov stated that French fascism held strong positions in the army among the officers.<sup>137</sup> Thorez called upon the French communists to "purify" the armed forces of fascists.<sup>138</sup> According to André Marty, the winning over of the armed forces to the side of the people was one of the most "urgent" tasks of the communist party.<sup>139</sup> Marty revealed that in July, 1935, the central committee of the French communist party had proposed the establishment of soldiers' committees "for the defence of the Constitution and the Republic" in order to check the subversive activities of the "fascist" officers and organizations within the armed forces.<sup>140</sup> Marty's remarks on the "well known" attitude of the communists toward the capitalist armed forces were quite revealing. Communists, he said, in accordance with the teachings of Lenin and as specifically restated in the theses of the sixth world congress, were against desertion or the refusal to enter military service.<sup>141</sup> Communists were to answer the summons to military service, Marty explained, "even in a reactionary war," for it provided them with the opportunity to acquire a thorough knowledge of how to handle weapons.<sup>142</sup> Here again was the resounding echo of Lenin's teachings that technical preparation was a prime requisite for revolution.<sup>143</sup>

What better place to receive the necessary technical training than in the ranks of the enemy? The struggle to win the armed forces for the people, Marty said, was directly linked to the task of winning the youth. Marty stressed that the classroom offered a wonderful opportunity for conducting work in winning the youth, "and hence the army," to the people's cause.<sup>144</sup> The fascists, too, the

communists claimed, had realized the importance of winning the youth in the classrooms, and had all but taken over the great military schools at Versailles and Saint-Cyr from which the future officers of France came. That was why, the communist press proclaimed in 1936, the people's front government of Leon Blum had to clean out the fascist "rats" in high places and in the armed services.<sup>145</sup>

Participation in the Blum popular front government provided the communists with a unique opportunity to work from within the armed forces themselves, while at the same time it provided them with a shield of respectability from behind which they could continue their work towards the demoralization of the armed forces from without. The charge that fascists controlled the French armed forces served to legitimize for the communists their use of "Trojan horse" tactics of infiltration which Dimitrov had suggested as being suitable for use in those countries which were already controlled by fascist governments. The achievement of a proletarian revolution in France had always been a primary goal of the French communist movement, but not until the possibilities offered by their participation in the Blum popular front government did the French communists seriously consider that they had any immediate prospects for its realization. The opportunity for insinuating themselves into vital posts which would make it possible to paralyze the apparatus of state control in France in case of a crisis, and of transforming the war if it came into a civil war, revived dreams which had long been dormant in the breasts of the French communists.

While the French navy represented a rather considerable force, its role in the enforcement of state control was primarily limited to its influence in the areas in the south of France near the large naval bases of Marseilles, Brest and Toulon. It also served as the key protector of the rich French colonial empire which figured significantly in the plans of the Communist International. It was therefore in these areas that the primary propaganda effort had been concentrated. However, the wide popular appeal of the united front encompassed large segments of the French populace from which the army recruited the bulk of its personnel. Thus many recruits were unusually receptive to communist propaganda, and in some cases, were already subordinate to communist discipline when they entered military service.

The united front was not the only reason behind the successful communist penetration of the French armed forces; another was the failure of the French military leaders to understand the communist pattern of conquest. The statements of Thorez, Marty and Cachin all testify to the active work carried on by the communists during the 1930's in the armed forces of France, but there appears to have been little comprehension on the part of the military authorities during the period as to the inherent dangers which the communist program involved. André Geraud, the French journalist reported a conversation he allegedly had on November 22, 1935, with a staff officer "close to headquarters" who stated that there had been no soviet propaganda in the French army since 1932 or 1933. Geraud further states that the same officer dismissed reports to the contrary as "talk."<sup>146</sup> Even General Maurice Gamelin, who became commander-in-chief of the French Armies in 1935, is alleged by Geraud to have held the same opinion at heart. Geraud stated that in February, 1934, Gamelin urged him to explain to the reading public the necessity for a new policy toward Moscow. In July, 1935, after the France-Soviet mutual aid pact had been signed, but before it had been ratified, Geraud indicates that Gamelin still had not

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changed his opinion of a requirement for a rapprochement with the Soviet Union, even though the press reaction was quite aroused and had accused the Soviet Union of subversive propaganda and treachery. Geraud further alleges that General Gamelin, in answer to his question as to whether the communists were at work again in the army, and if so, whether their propaganda was inspired by the Third International, stated "No, and if this kind of game had been resumed we could be quick to detect it because it is a very old one and we had to suppress it in the past."<sup>147</sup> However, Geraud notes that Gamelin changed his tune by August 19, 1935, and believed that the communist propaganda was again being circulated among the non-commissioned officers. Gamelin's unique but rather in innocuous "solution" to the problem of communists in the army, Geraud asserted, was to pay special attention to the living conditions of the non-commissioned officers by providing them with suitable quarters in the barracks or nearby.<sup>148</sup>

In 1937, the Communist Party of France issued a secret document in which it reaffirmed that the central task of all communists was "to organize the struggle of the masses for the disintegration of the bourgeois army."<sup>149</sup> The struggle among soldiers, it declared, and the creation of cells in the army had to be carried out with the same "rhythm" as the struggle among workers and the creation of factory cells. The document provided detailed instructions as to what communists were to do when called into service. Before departure, it stated, each communist was to form an "amicale" or group of friends. After arriving in the military camp, each communist was to seek out those sympathetic to communism or already members in the party. Cells of two or three members were to be formed charged with giving "political direction" to the struggle for the soldiers. The directive described how a cell was to be organized. It also discussed its composition, number of members, the slogans and immediate demands the cell was to support, and its principal objectives. How to circumvent the police and military authorities, how to introduce propaganda into the barracks, and how to insure its thorough dissemination was also discussed in the document. Emphasis was placed on spreading oral propaganda through discussions, denunciation, slogans, rumors, and whispering campaigns. In addition, it directed the formation of discussion groups which were to act as committees through which the struggle was to be continued.<sup>150</sup> Military service was the preliminary test of the struggle for the transformation of the imperialist struggle into civil war, the document asserted. The greatest fault for a communist, it continued, was to remain passive. The document stressed the clandestine nature of the cell, and the necessity for communists to hide their affiliation with the communist party. "Don't shout from the rooftops that you are a communist," it cautioned its readers. It also emphasized the importance of denouncing the "hypocrisy" of officers who were liked by the men. Whenever the workers engaged in strike movements, the document concluded, it was the duty of every communist in the army to explain to his comrades in uniform why the strike was necessary and justified.<sup>151</sup>

By the beginning of 1938, communist cells had been organized in units throughout the French armed forces. The secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of France even sat as the vice president of the army committee in the *Chambre des députés*, while a special communist bureau composed of eighteen cells existed within the staff offices of the War Ministry.<sup>152</sup>

Propaganda among the soldiers, sailors and airmen played an important role in the communist program of penetration and disintegration. The Young Communist League of

France published its newspaper, *Le complot*, for soldiers to supplement the antimilitarist propaganda it published in its central organ, *L'avantgarde*. The French communists also enlisted women in their antimilitarist activities through the publication of *La jeune fille de France*, a newspaper which appealed to French women whose husbands and sweethearts were in service.<sup>153</sup>

Special emphasis was placed by the communists in developing cells in the navy. In addition to activities carried on by party members in service, the communists engaged in intensified activities whenever naval vessels were in port. Workers' delegations went aboard on visiting days, leaving behind them revolutionary tracts and propaganda leaflets supplied by the party. The communists also emphasized the development of cells in the naval aviation branch. The purpose of such cells was to insure that in case of the outbreak of civil war, the communists would have a ready made air arm of their own.<sup>154</sup>

On August 23, 1939, a treaty of nonaggression was concluded between Germany and the Soviet Union. The announcement of this pact came without warning, catching the Comintern and its sections unprepared for the complete "about-face" which it represented. Considerable confusion in communist ranks throughout the world resulted from the announcement, for German fascism had been clearly identified in all communist propaganda as "the spearhead of international counterrevolution," "the chief incendiary of imperialist war," and as "the initiator of a crusade against the Soviet Union."<sup>155</sup> How, then, was to be explained the sudden reversal of soviet foreign policy represented by the pact? Several days passed before the new party line formulated by the soviets reached all sections of the Comintern. During this period, confusion mounted, and the communist movement in many countries was split by conflicting interpretations rendered by the local party hierarchy.

After its receipt, the new party line was unquestionably promulgated by the hardcore of the movement who were under Comintern discipline, but it failed to heal the breach which had developed. According to the new party line promulgated by the Comintern, there had been two stages in the development of the second imperialist war. In the first stage, Germany, Italy and Japan had emerged as aggressor states. In the face of their offensive, the other capitalist states, England, France and the United States, had retreated in an effort to avoid a decisive clash. The capitalists had attempted to turn the aggressors against the Soviet Union. This situation, the Comintern asserted, had changed; a second stage had evolved: the imperialists of England and France had taken up the offensive, and had emerged as "the most zealous supporters of the continuation and further incitement of war" against Germany. The Comintern stated that Germany had been faced with a dilemma: either to capitulate to British and French imperialism and go to war against the Soviet Union, or to make a decisive turn in its foreign policy and take the path of peaceful relations with the Soviet Union. Germany had elected the second path. The Soviet Union, "in the interest of socialism," had agreed to conclude a pact of "amity" with Germany to eliminate the immediate danger of war and create a barrier against the extension of the imperialist war. By its policy, the Comintern stated, the Soviet Union was "rendering an inestimable service to the cause of world peace."<sup>156</sup> The British and French imperialists, the Comintern continued, having taken the path of war, did not want to leave it. They had therefore put forward the slogan of "anti-fascist" war, proclaiming that their war

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against Germany was a war of democracy against fascism, against Hitlerism, for the freedom of all nations. The imperialists, the Comintern proclaimed, were practising "ideological deception." They, not Germany, were responsible for the war clouds over Europe.

In addition to obliging themselves "to desist from any act of violence, any aggressive action, and any attack on each other, either individually or jointly with other powers," the German-Soviet non-aggression pact contained a secret additional protocol which clarified the respective spheres of influence of the two countries in Eastern Europe, and defined areas of interest in the event of a territorial and political rearrangement of Poland.<sup>157</sup> The maintenance of an independent Polish state had been considered by both powers as no longer in their best interests. On September 1, 1939, Germany invaded Poland. Three days later, England and France declared war on Germany in defense of Poland. On the morning of September 27, soviet military forces crossed the Polish border, allegedly for the purpose of protecting the life and property of the population of western white Russia, and "to extricate the Polish people from the unfortunate war into which they have been dragged by their unwise leaders."<sup>158</sup>

The rape of Poland following so closely on the nonaggression pact stirred public opinion throughout the world. The greatest impact of the nonaggression pact on the communist movement was felt in France where the communist party had been riding the crest of the popular front movement. Public indignation in France led the Daladier Government to dissolve the communist party by decree on September 26, 1939. Communist members and sympathizers in the *Chambre des députés* were deprived of their parliamentary mandates until they publicly disavowed their allegiance to the communist cause. The main propaganda organs of the party, including *L'Humanité* and *Ce Soir*, were forced to suspend publication. Numerous party spokesmen and leaders were jailed. Thus had Moscow, by its accession to a non-aggression pact with Germany, wiped away the important legal position which the Communist Party of France had won in the public press, in politics and in the laboring movement through its participation in the popular front. The outlawing of their party forced the French communists to activate the parallel illegal organization which had been developed in France over a period of years.

In the months that followed, literally hundreds of handbills and leaflets were circulated clandestinely by the French communists among the soldiers, sailors and workers. Again and again communist propaganda repeated the accusation that the real enemy was within France itself, that French imperialists together with English capitalists were alone responsible for the imperialist war, and that the war was not a war for liberty against fascism but actually a war conducted in the interest of international capitalism.<sup>159</sup> The poilu was the focal point for an intense propaganda campaign. "Soldiers, while you receive 15 sous pay, while your families starve, while you risk your life," ran the party line propaganda aimed at convincing the French soldier that Great Britain actually wanted the war, "the capitalists are getting rich! Down with the capitalist war!"<sup>160</sup> The communists emphasized the differences in living standards which existed between the French and British soldiers, exploiting the all too obvious inequalities to support the basic propaganda theme that the war for the British was "une pluie d'or," that is, a golden rain.<sup>161</sup> The communists raised the immediate demand among the French soldiers for equal pay with the British soldiers. They also raised the demand that the family allowances paid to men

in service be raised to the same level as those paid to the families of British servicemen. The wife of British soldiers, communist propaganda pointed out, received 30 francs while the wife of the French soldiers received only 18. Frenchwomen, the party line asserted, had sacrificed enough for British finance.<sup>162</sup> The communists also emphasized the fact that whereas France mobilized soldiers between the ages of 20 to 46 years, the British drew their soldiers from the 20 to 26 age group. The differences between the conditions of service in the French and British armies was featured in the barracks journals sponsored by the French communists for the men in service. For example, *La liaison*, the newspaper of the 223rd Infantry Regiment, complained that British soldiers had running baths, while their French counterparts even lacked sufficient water to cook with. English soldiers received 27 francs a day, good food and free tobacco, it stated, while the French soldiers received 68 centimes a day, no tobacco, while "as for food . . .!"<sup>163</sup>

In October, 1939, the communist underground began publication of a clandestine version of *L'Humanité*. The first issue appeared on October 26th. Thereafter, it appeared at the rate of about seven issues a month.<sup>164</sup> The first issue of *L'Humanité* requested each reader to pass on their copy to some man in service.<sup>165</sup> Distribution of *L'Humanité* was carried out using every means available to the communists. Copies of it were left in mail boxes, halls and vestibules of public buildings and apartment houses, on trains and buses, and on park benches. Copies were smuggled into the factories making military equipment; they found their way into the packing crates in which military goods were shipped. Woolens destined for the soldiers were wrapped in copies of the paper. Communists in one aircraft plant even slipped copies inside the fuselage of the aircraft scheduled for delivery to the military during this period. However, the favorite method of getting communist propaganda to the soldiers was through the French postal services. Although the French military censorship system intercepted many items of communist propaganda, many other items got through to the soldiers. In addition, the communists employed clandestine radio broadcasts to carry their defeatist messages to both the French people and the armed forces.<sup>166</sup> Maurice Thorez made several clandestine broadcasts of this type.

Thorez had been mobilized into the army, and was assigned to an engineering battalion stationed at Chauny. On October 6, 1939, he deserted from the army. Thorez made his way to the Soviet Union, where he continued his activities in support of French communism. On November 17, 1939, an interview with Thorez appeared in *L'Humanité*. Speaking from Moscow, Thorez directed all communists to fight with every means at their command against the "imperialist" war. He asserted that the communists did not wish to see the youth of the country killed fighting in the war of interests between the English and German capitalists.

Thorez denied that he had deserted: "I would have been a deserter if I had not done what was necessary to remain at my post in the class battle that the people of France must carry on against the warmongers and the fascists."<sup>167</sup> Thorez further stated that "communists have a very clear duty to perform among the soldiers in the armies, among the workers in the factories."<sup>168</sup> communist party to continue to fight against the Thorez directed the members of the communist party to continue to fight against the war wherever they could influence and organize the popular masses. This meant, he stated, that the communists had a well defined "task" to perform among the soldiers in the army.<sup>169</sup> In January, 1940, Thorez traveled to Switzerland from Moscow on a Spanish passport issued in the name of Juan Sambett. The soviets maintained a clandestine

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radio station near Lausanne which broadcast communist propaganda to the men in the French armed forces. Thorez broadcast from there until he returned to Moscow in April, 1940, after the Swiss forced him to leave their country.<sup>170</sup>

In November, 1939, the Soviets invaded Finland. The excuse was a minor border incident which resulted in the death of several Russian soldiers. However, according to the party line of the communists, the Russo-Finnish war resulted from the attack of Finnish fascists against Russia.<sup>171</sup> The Finns, they said, were the tools of internationalist capitalism. To help the Finnish people "liberate" themselves from capitalism, the communists stated, Russia had sent its troops to fight the Finnish "white guards." In January, 1940, French communists began publication of a special newspaper for distribution among the soldiers. The newspaper, *Trait d'union*, stated in its first issue that the Russian army wasn't making war or fighting the Finnish people, but was merely aiding them to free themselves from foreign interference and rule.<sup>172</sup> When the French government sent arms to Finland, the French communists raised the action slogan "Not a weapon, not a sou for the Finnish domestics of London and Paris!" When the suggestion was made that French troops were to be sent to aid the Finns, the communists raised the battle cry, "Not a sou, not a cartridge, not a man for Finland."<sup>173</sup> The communists also appealed directly to the men in the French armed forces not to allow themselves to be used in Finland: "Soldiers, sailors and aviators, do not forget that in 1919 the French soldiers and sailors with André Marty at their head, refused to fight against the Russian revolution. That example should never be forgotten."<sup>174</sup> The communist antimilitarist monthly, *Trait d'union*, was published through March, 1940. In March, *L'Humanité* issued a special publication, *Les soldats contre la guerre*, which also emphasized the theme of defeatism. On May 1, 1940, this publication became the *L'Humanité du Soldat*.<sup>175</sup>

*L'Humanité du Soldat* declared that just as the French soldiers were struggling against their own government, so the German soldiers were fighting Hitler, and the English workers were combatting Chamberlain and Churchill. The international fight against war had started, the communists assured the French servicemen, directing them to continue it until peace had been won.<sup>176</sup> The communists concentrated their attacks against the Daladier Government. Daladier betrayed France, the communists told the soldiers in the trenches, by making war in behalf of British interests at the expense of the "skin" of the French soldiers.<sup>177</sup> France, the communist press reiterated, was becoming a British dominion.<sup>178</sup>

In February, 1940, the communists issued a direct appeal for revolution by the army. In a "Letter aux soldats français" (*Letter to the French Soldiers*), the communists again reminded the soldiers of the example set for them by the Black Sea revolt.<sup>179</sup> *L'avant-garde*, the central organ of the young communist league, was re-established, and began clandestine publication. Defeatism was its fundamental theme; the call for immediate peace its primary slogan.<sup>180</sup> "Turn your arms against the class enemies in your own country," *L'avant-garde* told the soldiers in its issue of February 1, 1940, recalling the words of Leibniz. The enemy of the soldiers was to be found, the communists asserted, not in the Siegfried line but in their own country.<sup>181</sup>

The communists also launched a major campaign in early 1940 to recall the French army of the Levant from Syria. French forces in the Near East, the communists asserted, were there in preparation for an

aggressive attack against the Soviet Union. "Soldiers," the communists wrote as part of the propaganda sent to the armed forces during this campaign, "if they send you against the Soviet workers, re-use to fight the Red Army, which is the international army of workers and peasants. Remember the example of André Marty and the sailors of the Black Sea."<sup>182</sup> Defeatism was also propagated by the communists through various other media, including the use of "chain" letters. Model letters were produced by the party which directed its members to copy and send them to the soldiers of their acquaintance with the request that they, in turn, pass them on.<sup>183</sup>

Defeatism was also the fundamental theme of all propaganda distributed among the workers in the industries supporting the military potential of France. In February, 1940, the communists directed the French workers to "hinder, prevent, destroy" the production of war materials.<sup>184</sup> Actual sabotage of the war effort was directed.<sup>185</sup> Slowdowns and strikes were encouraged in industry by the communists. "One hour less for production," ran a popular communist slogan, "is one hour for the resolution."<sup>186</sup>

On May 1, 1940, the communists launched a series of antiwar slogans. French women were told to demand the return of their men from military service "before it was too late."<sup>187</sup> Workers and peasants were called upon to fraternize with the soldier-citizen, and through their fraternization together, to "impose" the peace.<sup>188</sup> Peace, immediate peace, was the slogan of the day.<sup>189</sup> The communist agitation in industry was tied to the work carried on among the soldiers. Under their uniform, the French soldiers were frequently reminded by communist propaganda leaflets, they were still workers, peasants, citizens.<sup>190</sup> A few days later in May, 1940, the Wehrmacht launched its offensive against the low countries; the battle for France began. The communists continued their propaganda of defeatism. Many of the leaflets and pamphlets published by the communists so closely paralleled the defeatist propaganda issued by the Germans that their true source was often indistinguishable.<sup>191</sup> The French defenses crumbled rapidly before the German advance. In June, 1940, the French army collapsed. Undoubtedly many factors contributed to its collapse, but a primary cause was the disintegration of military morale accomplished by the communist defeatist campaign carried on among the French soldiers in the months following the signing of the German-Soviet nonaggression pact. The fall of France was celebrated in both Moscow and Berlin, for France was as much a victim of communist antimilitarism as of German militarism.<sup>192</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 587.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 423-24.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 425.
- <sup>4</sup> Tossany, *op. cit.*, p. 206.
- <sup>5</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 212.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 430-31.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 425-26.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 406. Italic in original.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 406-408.
- <sup>13</sup> Possony, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
- <sup>14</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 407.

<sup>15</sup> This metaphor was credited to Jaurès by André Marty who recalled that on the eve of World War I, the French spoke of Europe as the powder magazine in which maniacs were walking about with torches. (*Ibid.*, p. 452).

<sup>16</sup> *Supra*, chapter ix.

<sup>17</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 387.

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 191-92.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 558. Italic in original. Self-criticism was a basis organizational principle of bolshevism. It was developed by Lenin as a method of maintaining existing leadership by eliminating group discussions within the party which might weaken discipline and order. For a discussion of "bolshevik self-criticism" as an organizational weapon, see Philip Selznick, *The Organizational Weapon, A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics* (New York: The Rand Corporation, McGraw Hill, 1952), pp. 33-38.

<sup>21</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 33.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Possony, *op. cit.*, p. 87. Cf. Dimitrov's assertion: "Waging a decisive struggle against any reliance on spontaneity, we take account of the process of development of the revolution not as passive observers, but as active participants in this process." (*Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 559).

<sup>27</sup> Possony, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13, states: "The significance of this idea lay not only in its importance to revolutionary tactical planning but also in its strategic denial of the democratic concept of revolution: the revolution was not to spring directly from the people but was to be the work of an elite. It was not to be a missionary effort at persuasion, but conquest."

<sup>28</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 470. Italic in original.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142. Dimitrov's speeches to the congress, together with other pertinent documents representing the development of the political line of the Communist International on the "united front" were published under the title *The United Front: The Struggle Against War and Fascism* (New York: International Publishers, 1936).

<sup>31</sup> *Fourth Congress of the Communist International*, p. 15.

<sup>32</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 143.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179. Italic in original.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147. Italic in original.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 559.

<sup>40</sup> Chernomordik, "The Question of Communist Cadres," *The Communist International*, XI, No. 23 (December 5, 1934), 815.

<sup>41</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 371.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 375.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 559.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 158-59.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>48</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 481.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>51</sup> Manulsky, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>54</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 270.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 443.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 442-43.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 441.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 439.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 441.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 442.

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<sup>65</sup> U.S. Congress, House, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*, Appendix—Part I, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., 1940, p. 647.

<sup>66</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 443.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 415-16.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 416-17.

<sup>69</sup> U.S. Congress, House, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*, Appendix—Part I, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., 1940, p. 937.

<sup>70</sup> U.S. Congress, House, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*, Appendix—Part I, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., 1940, p. 678.

<sup>71</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, pp. 294-95.

<sup>72</sup> "The Eve of Revolution in Brazil," *The Communist International*, XII, No. 10 (May 20, 1935), 583-84.

<sup>73</sup> Brazil, Ministerio da Guerra, *En Guarda! (Contro o comunismo)* (Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Militar, Imprensa do Estado-Maior do Exercito, 1937), p. 145.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 123-33.

<sup>76</sup> Brazil, Ministerio da Guerra, Secretaria Geral, *As vitimas dos stentados communistas de 1935* (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1941), p. 22.

<sup>77</sup> *The New York Times*, November 25, 1935, p. 1.

<sup>78</sup> Over 400 soldiers from the school and 600 from the barracks were placed under arrest for their part in the revolt. (*Ibid.*, November 28, 1935, p. 1).

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, November 29, 1935, p. 13.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, January 6, 1936, p. 11.

<sup>81</sup> M. Nikis, "Class Battles in Greece," *The Communist International*, XIII, No. 8 (August 1936), 1006-1007.

<sup>82</sup> Noal-Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-39.

<sup>83</sup> Dallin, *Soviet Russia and the Far East*, p. 51.

<sup>84</sup> *The Communists Vs the People* (Queensland: Institute of Public Affairs, 1946), p. 5.

<sup>85</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 328.

<sup>86</sup> One indication of the importance placed upon the Spanish crisis by the Comintern can be inferred by the fact that the detailed discourses presented at the seventh world congress were published as guidance in Spanish translation under the title *VII Congreso do la Internacional Comunista* (Madrid: Ediciones Bergua) in November, 1935. This work included the full text of Ercoli's discussion of the tasks of the communist in the armed forces.

<sup>87</sup> These attacks continued even after the outbreak of the Spanish civil war. (Indalecio Prieto, *Cómo y por qué salí del Ministerio de Defensa Nacional* (Paris: Imprimarie Nouvelle, 1939), p. 22).

<sup>88</sup> Mauricio Karl [Mauricio Carlavilla], *Técnico del Komintern en España* (Badajoz: Tip., "Gráfica Corporativa," 1937), p. 87.

<sup>89</sup> *The New York Times*, July 19, 1936, p. 24.

<sup>90</sup> Karl, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Spain, Ministry of Justice, *Causa general: la dominación roja en España* (Madrid: 1943), p. 226.

<sup>93</sup> Jacques Bardoux, *Staline contre l'Europe* (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, 1937), pp. 18-27.

<sup>94</sup> J. Hernandez, "The Development of the Democratic Revolution in Spain," *The Communist International*, XIII, No. 8 (August, 1936), 966.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 957.

<sup>96</sup> David T. Cattell, *Communism and the Spanish Civil War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), pp. 111-13.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> *The New York Times*, July 19, 1936, p. 24.

<sup>101</sup> *The Daily Worker* (New York), July 20, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>102</sup> Karl, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> *Causa general*, p. 227.

<sup>106</sup> *The Daily Worker* (New York), July 21, 1936, p. 1; *The New York Times*, July 21, 1936, p. 3.

<sup>107</sup> *Causa general*, pp. 226-28.

<sup>108</sup> Karl, *op. cit.*, p. 129. Bardoux also comments on the psychological effect of motion picture propaganda, and reports the testimony of a spectator who witnessed the showing of the film "Marine de Cronstadt" at the Cinema de l'Union, Limoges, France in November, 1936 under the auspices of the local communist cell: "At the most poignant scene when the sailors mutiny, the audience rose to its feet, showed the clenched fist and sang the 'Internationale' with great vigour. The women, especially, became frantic, shouting themselves hoarse jumping up and down, animated by a collective hysteria." (Jacques Bardoux, *Chaos in Spain* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd., n.d.), p. 17).

The same film was shown under the title "We Are From Kronstadt" in New York in November, 1936 at the same time it was being shown in France, illustrating the extent of coverage which Soviet film propaganda received. (*The Daily Worker* (New York), November 14, 1936, p. 2).

<sup>109</sup> *The New York Times*, July 22, 1936, p. 2.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, July 30, 1936, p. 2.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, July 22, 1936 p. 2.

<sup>112</sup> Bardoux, *Chaos in Spain*, pp. 10-14.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>115</sup> Spain, Ministry of Information, *The International Brigades* (Madrid: 1948), p. 16.

<sup>116</sup> *The New York Times*, July 28, 1936, p. 2.

<sup>117</sup> *The International Brigades*, p. 59.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>120</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 211.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86. This same concept was expressed in the lead editorial of *The Daily Worker* (New York), on July 4, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>129</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, pp. 210-11.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 213.

<sup>131</sup> As later events were to prove, this position of the French communists even extended to actively supporting allies of the Soviet Union who might be enemies of France, e.g., Germany in 1939 and 1940. (*Ibid.*, p. 466).

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88. *The Daily Worker* (New York), July 21, 1936, p. 1, indicates that the membership of the Communist Party of France was about 200,000 in mid-1936.

<sup>133</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 211.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 360.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 467.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 468.

<sup>141</sup> The problem was also considered by the communist press in the United States after the seventh world congress. The answer, as printed in the *Daily Worker* was definitive: "The communist's place is in the army and

navy. In every struggle of the working class, the place of the communist is in the very thick of struggle, right among the other workers and toilers, winning them for the fight against capitalism. This is true above all among the armed forces, which are the capitalists' final weapons against the working class. What good can a militant worker do for his class locked up or shot as an object?" (*The Daily Worker* (New York), December 3, 1935, p. 5).

<sup>142</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, p. 468. Italics in original.

<sup>143</sup> Compare Stalin's statement that "The victory of revolution never comes by itself. It has to be prepared for and won," quoted by Thorez as the source of the inspiration for the realization of the tasks ahead of the Communist Party of France. (*Ibid.*, p. 228).

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 468.

<sup>145</sup> *The Daily Worker* (New York), July 13, 1936, p. 5.

<sup>146</sup> *The Gravediggers of France* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 1944), p. 7. Geraud wrote under the pseudonym of Pertinax.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> *Barrage*, No. 1 (November, 1937), p. 23.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 5 (March 25, 1938), pp. 10-11.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>154</sup> Communist penetration of French naval aviation began in November, 1936. (*Ibid.*, pp. 18-19).

<sup>155</sup> As quoted from Dimitrov's "Working Class Unity—Bulwark Against Fascism" (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1935), in U.S. Congress, House, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*, Appendix—Part Y, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., 1940, p. 652.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 839. As quoted from Dimitrov's "The War and the Working Class" (New York: Workers' Library Publishers, 1939).

<sup>157</sup> U.S. Department of State, Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941 (Washington: 1948), pp. 76-78.

<sup>158</sup> David J. Dallin, *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy 1939-1942* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), p. 71.

<sup>159</sup> Maurice Ceyrat, *La trahison permanente* (Paris: Spartacus, n.d.), pp. 78-81.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>162</sup> Rossi, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-98.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>164</sup> Publication finally ceased on June 24, 1940. (*Ibid.*, p. 101).

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>167</sup> Ceyrat, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>172</sup> Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>174</sup> Ceyrat, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>175</sup> Rossi, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-211.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>184</sup> Ceyrat, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86; Rossi, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>189</sup> Ceyrat, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>190</sup> Rossi, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 198-99.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 293-95.

## POLLUTION IN LONG ISLAND SOUND

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times of October 29, 1971, carried a report of a 3-year study of a colony of terns on Long Island Sound which disclosed a rising incidence of birth deformities which may be caused by pollutants in the waters of the Sound.

So that my colleagues may be advised of this study, I insert the text of the New York Times article at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

## POLLUTION IN LONG ISLAND SOUND TIED TO DEFECTS IN TERNS

(By Bayard Webster)

A three-year scientific study of a colony of terns on Long Island Sound has disclosed a rising incidence of birth deformities that researchers suspect may be caused by pollutants in the Sound's waters.

The birth defects were first noticed in 1969 among young roseate and common terns on Great Gull Island at the eastern end of the Sound. They included such abnormalities as a bird born without down feathers or that later fails to develop adult feathers; a four-legged chick, birds that lost their primary and secondary feathers—which are needed for flight—one born with stumps for legs, and others that had crossed mandibles and too-small eyes.

The researchers who conducted the study likened the birth deformities to those caused by the use of the sedative, thalidomide, by pregnant mothers in the late nineteen-fifties.

The study was conducted at Great Gull Island, a tern sanctuary, on some 2,000 young birds that live in the colony that has a total population of about 7,000 terns.

The researchers were Dr. Robert W. Risebrough, an ecologist at the University of California at Berkeley, and Helen Hays, an ornithologist at the American Museum of Natural History. Their study, which is continuing, is sponsored by the museum, its department of ornithology and the Linnaean Society, an ornithological group.

The report of the study was published in part in the November issue of *Natural History* magazine. A more extensive report will be published in a forthcoming issue of the ornithological journal, *The Auk*.

As the reports of deformities grew, starting with three in 1969 and reaching more than 20 in 1970 and 1971, Dr. Risebrough and Miss Hays began to seek the causes. They knew that such totals were above normal. One tern study made recently in Florida turned up only one abnormality—an extra claw on a tern's foot—among a sample of 10,000 birds.

Working with Dr. Risebrough, Miss Hays began shuttling frozen bodies of the abnormal terns, along with specimens of the eight species of sardine-sized fish that the terns eat, across the country to Dr. Risebrough in the Bodega Bay Marine Laboratory of the University of California.

At first tests were made for DDT and its compounds—DDE and DDD—but the levels of these hydrocarbons were found to be normal or less than normal. The same proved true in later tests that were made in Long Island Sound for lead, mercury and cadmium levels.

Dr. Risebrough has conducted much research on PCB, a highly toxic relative of DDT that has been used industrially in the production of plastics, paints, printing ink and paper and has found its way into many parts of the environment. He also tested for PCB. He found that PCB levels in the birds and

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

fish ranged from slightly below five parts a million, the Federal limit for poultry, to as much as 35 times the Federal limit. Most of the samples contained PCB levels considerably above this limit.

In recent laboratory tests in the Netherlands, PCB was injected into chicken embryos that later developed deformities similar to the ones noticed in the Long Island Sound terns, according to the authors of the study.

"We don't say that this is the cause, because we really don't know," said Dr. Risebrough by telephone from his laboratory.

In their study, he and Miss Hays note that much further research is necessary "before we can definitely pinpoint just what pollutants are responsible for what deformities, and what the cause-and-effect relationships are."

The difficulty of establishing such connections was noted by Dr. George M. Woodwell, senior ecologist at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, L. I. In a telephone interview, he said:

"It is difficult to prove the cause of birth defects in wild populations, but this is something that would not appear commonly in nature. It is very unusual to turn up this sort of anomaly."

Dr. Charles F. Wurster, associate professor of environmental sciences at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, L. I., said he felt the study was "highly relevant, pointing up a very dangerous situation."

"The problem here," he added, "is time. In shortlived animals such teratogenic [birth deforming] abnormalities show up quickly. But with humans, the time element is so long and we tend not to worry so much about something that may not happen for 20 years."

The authors of the study noted that the loss of flight feathers, observed in many chicks, "are the kinds of effects that might be expected from a chemical capable of affecting gene reproduction during embryonic cell division."

## DURYEA CALLS FOR STUDY

"Many thousands of young must be examined to detect the first effects of pollutants building up in a population of any species," the authors said.

Calling Long Island Sound one of the more polluted areas of the world's oceans, "a distinction it shares with the Baltic, the Mediterranean, and the Southern California coastal waters," Dr. Risebrough and Miss Hays urged that a study be made to determine what pollutants are in the Sound.

In Albany, Assembly Speaker Perry B. Duryea, in response to the details of the study of the terns' birth defects, called for the creation of a bistate commission to study the problems of the Sound.

He said he planned to call for a preliminary meeting with leaders of the Connecticut Legislature to address "the many faceted problems of Long Island Sound as they are shared by both governments."

"There is a possibility that the pollution may be related to some problem in Long Island Sound, not as yet identified."

## WPIX EDITORIAL ON THE SCHOOL PRAYER AMENDMENT

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, next week the Congress will be considering the constitutional amendment to allow nondenominational prayers in public schools. Today, WPIX-TV in New York is broadcasting an excellent editorial opposing

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this amendment. WPIX makes the cogent observation that what the amendment in fact will do is force Government intervention in prayer by "at the very least making the Government a judge of what prayers are or are not denominational." The station concludes that "more harm will be done even by the slightest loss of religious freedom than by the denial of school prayers."

I agree with WPIX and the many church groups opposing the school prayer amendment that passage of this amendment would be a mistake. I commend the WPIX editorial to our colleagues and insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

## SCHOOL PRAYER AMENDMENT

Sometime after November 8, the House of Representatives is expected to vote on an amendment to the Constitution which would reverse the Supreme Court and allow prayers in schools.

Since 1962, when the Court outlawed school prayers, literally hundreds of amendments have been offered, but unlike this one, none has ever reached the floor of the House or Senate.

Support for the amendment does not come from church groups and religious organizations, but from the general public. There is a broad based feeling—no one knows how large—which suggests that children will be better for having a brief morning prayer. It is this conventional wisdom which provides the thrust for the repeated attempts to overturn the Supreme Court decision.

It seems simple enough to say, as the proposed amendment does, that "Nothing contained in this Constitution shall abridge the right of persons lawfully assembled, in any public building which is supported in whole or in part through the expenditure of public funds, to participate in nondenominational prayer."

The unfortunate fact is that it is anything but simple as almost all major church groups and religious organizations have pointed out in opposing any change such as this. It would authorize, by constitutional amendment, government intervention in prayer by, at the very least, making the government a judge of what prayers are or are not nondenominational.

It is important to understand that the government would not have a choice in the matter. It would be required to take some role in the religious life of the nation as administrator of a religious practice.

The Management of WPIX believes that people benefit from prayer, and wishes that the school prayer issue could be resolved in such a way that religious liberty would not be compromised. We conclude that it cannot, and believe that more harm will be done by even the slightest loss of religious freedom than by the denial of school prayers. For this reason, we join the churchmen in opposition to the amendment. What's your opinion? We'd like to know.

## CORRECTION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEE'S LIFE INSURANCE IN-EQUITY

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill concerning a matter that was brought to my attention by Washington Daily News Columnist John Cramer. Mr. Cramer, in a recent article,

pointed to an inequity in present law governing Federal Employee Life Insurance.

Mr. Cramer discovered that Federal employees who are wrongfully fired or suspended from their jobs—and later restored to duty—must pay back life insurance premiums, even though their insurance automatically terminates after the first 31 days of their separation from service. This means that a Federal employee is forced to pay for a life insurance policy during his separation even though that life insurance policy is void after the first 31 days.

The bill that I am introducing would correct this inequity by waiving an employee's deductions for Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance coverage during a period of erroneous separation, but allowing life insurance proceeds to be paid should the employee die during the period of erroneous separation.

I have every indication that the administration would support this legislation, and I urge my fellow colleagues to act quickly to pass this bill.

#### FORMING NEW NASSAU-SUFFOLK USO COMMITTEE

#### HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, today we have a great number of our young people serving in the Armed Forces, and when they return from overseas many often have no clear idea of how they will reenter civilian life. The USO, in addition to its tremendous contributions to the well-being of our servicemen overseas, has also made great strides in helping those recently discharged from the military to find the right path in their civilian lives.

I am, therefore, pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues the formation of a New Nassau-Suffolk USO Committee which will serve the needs of servicemen and veterans in Long Island. And as a recently appointed honorary member of the USO board of directors, I am especially gratified to note that with the formation of this new committee, it will no longer be necessary for Long Islanders to go all the way to Manhattan for counseling, general assistance, and the friendly hospitality that has always been the hallmark of USO. I am certain, too, that the new Nassau-Suffolk center will be an active center for the job placement and job training programs for returning veterans that I and many other Long Islanders have worked to establish.

Following immediately is a description of the new facility and what its goals will be:

#### PROMINENT LONG ISLAND LEADERS FORM NEW NASSAU-SUFFOLK USO COMMITTEE TO SERVE ARMED FORCES AND VETERANS RETURNING TO LONG ISLAND

"Peace will not be Hell" for the thousands of Long Islanders who are now serving in the armed forces or are returning home after discharge, if the new USO Committee of Nassau and Suffolk counties can help it.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Seventy prominent business, civic, governmental and organizational leaders met last Wednesday, October 13th in Roslyn, Long Island to form a new USO Committee of Nassau and Suffolk and to reaffirm its faith in the almost 3 million young Americans still stationed around the world in the service of their country. The Committee is determined that these young service men and women will continue to receive the traditional USO welcome and services so essential to their morale and welfare and that those returning after discharge will be given every opportunity to further their education or find suitable, meaningful and productive employment.

In his report to the Committee, Mr. James J. Corrigan, Jr., Chairman, said that USO is considerably more than coffee and cake or a dance. Over 100,000 community volunteers and small groups of professional staff are deeply concerned with the problems of drug abuse, increased AWOL's and desertions, racial conflicts and low morale. The variety of interesting and wholesome programs and services offered in the more than 170 USO clubs and facilities around the world are themselves significant deterrents to these demoralizing forces. The over 25 million visits by military to USO programs and shows annually attest to USO's value to our nation and its armed forces.

Paul R. Screvane, President of USO of New York, also stressed that USO, with its traditional hospitality and friendly atmosphere, so familiar to millions of Americans for over 30 years, is uniquely equipped to help the returning veterans through the sometimes difficult transition period from military service to worthwhile civilian pursuits. Mr. Screvane said that (until now) the only USO Center to which service men and women and returning veterans could go in the New York metropolitan area is in Manhattan. Now, with the formation of this new county-wide committee, and through the generosity of Mr. Burton R. Sims, a member of the committee and a Long Island business leader, a USO lounge and referral center will be made available for armed forces personnel and recently discharged veterans in Long Island. Plans are being made to staff the USO center with skilled counselors and volunteers, drawn from such organizations as The Commerce and Industry Association of Long Island, The National Alliance of Businessmen, The Long Island Association, organized labor, construction industries, educators, veterans groups, religious bodies, and other community groups.

Mr. William E. Walsh, Chairman of the USO of New York Board of Directors, said that Long Islanders for over 30 years have demonstrated their concern for the well-being of its youth in the service through their support of USO. The new committee is timely assurance to all young Long Islanders now serving and those who will return as civilians, that their neighbors do care.

#### FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION—FIRST DISTRICT, NORTH CAROLINA

#### HON. WALTER B. JONES

OF NORTH CAROLINA

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the First Congressional District of North Carolina is largely rural. Many of the towns have populations of less than 2,000.

The open countryside consists of farmland, second to none. While we are moving ahead in industrial development,

farming still constitutes a very important segment of our economy and will continue to do so.

Mr. Speaker, when one represents the people of such a district in Congress, he soon learns to appreciate the Farmers Home Administration of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. This agency, under the leadership of the very able James V. Smith, is placing invaluable resources at the disposal of many rural people in my district, so they are able to improve their quality of life to a degree that exceeds their most ambitious dreams.

During fiscal year 1971, 1,167 low to moderate income rural families received FHA housing loans averaging \$11,715 each, enabling them to become owners of nice, though not elaborate, homes equipped with modern facilities. For a number of these families, this was their first experience with running water, indoor toilets and modern kitchen facilities.

Mr. Speaker, I suppose if there is one natural resource that causes some problem within my district, it is the water supply. Much of it is certain areas contains sulfur, and it is extremely hard and quite rusty, due to the high mineral content. However, this is rapidly being corrected by the FHA loan and grant assistance to small towns and rural groups for long needed central water systems and related water treatment facilities.

Thirty-six communities in my district have received such assistance from the FHA, of which 12 projects were approved the past year. On a number of occasions I have been invited to participate in local ceremonies dedicating the opening of these water systems. On one such occasion in a small town which was previously noted for its rusty water, the mayor was quite concerned that only 60 percent of the residents had agreed to hook on. Later I asked about progress, and was informed that there was now almost 100 percent participation. He told me that the local people had always been used to rusty water and were not aware that such would be eliminated with the central system. After they learned this, they did not hesitate to become participants.

This community is one of many where people are enjoying the benefits of improved water through a central water system made possible by assistance they received from the Farmers Home Administration.

Another major area in which this agency is making a vital contribution is farming. In fiscal year 1971, 672 farm families in my district received financial assistance to operate their farms. Sixty-five families turned deaf ears to the often expounded philosophy that there is no future in farming and received FHA loans to purchase farms of their own. These were families who were unable to obtain credit from conventional sources. And I might add, Mr. Speaker, that many families who got their start in this manner have turned out to be some of our best farmers.

One such family is the Gerrit Boeremas. Natives of Holland, Mr. and Mrs. Boerema immigrated to the United States in 1949, and ultimately settled in Hyde County, N.C. This family started

with rented land and seven cows, 15 years ago. Later they approached the Farmers Home Administration for assistance which they received in the form of a loan totaling \$44,810 to purchase a farm.

In addition, they have received short-term operating credit totaling \$40,680 and a rural housing loan in the amount of \$17,000. With this help the Boeremas have turned unproductive marshland into an outstanding dairy farm consisting of 176 acres. Today, they have 110 cows and all the modern equipment necessary for a highly successful dairy operation.

Last year, Administrator Smith decided the FHA would sponsor an annual National Farm Family of the Year award. Mr. Speaker, as I have often said, when one looks for the best in the Nation, he finds it in North Carolina and when he looks for the best in North Carolina, he finds it in the First Congressional District.

I am proud to say that the judges of this first annual FHA National Farm Family of the Year contest declared the Gerritt Boerema family to be the national winner.

However, the important factor is that this family serves as an example of the fine services being rendered by the Farmers Home Administration in helping rural people of this Nation meet their needs. That is the reason I can rise above partisan politics and commend Mr. James V. Smith for the excellent leadership he is providing and assure him and those on the State level of my continued strong support as both a member of the House Agriculture Committee and the Congress.

#### THE PROSPECTS FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT

#### HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I attach herewith an extraordinarily fine article entitled "The Prospects for World Government" written by the distinguished Joseph S. Clark who, having served with great distinction in the Senate of the United States from 1956 to 1968, was chosen President of the World Federalists, U.S.A. in 1969.

Senator Clark's article was published in the year book of The Great Ideas Today, a subsidiary of the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

In these days when all of us are searching for ways in which a new harmony among nations could be created this article by Senator Clark offers many excellent and useful suggestions.

Senator Clark's article follows:

#### THE PROSPECTS FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT (By Joseph S. Clark)

##### I. THE CONCEPT OF WORLD GOVERNMENT

World government may be defined as an international institution authorized to enforce its decisions with respect to war prevention and other critical problems that are soluble only on a global basis. The goal of world government is a world without war, in

which such world-wide concerns as pollution, poverty, and the population explosion can be dealt with effectively. World government is a means to this end, not the end itself.

World government should have only those powers that are necessary to perform its mission. This, in turn, would require a limited yielding of sovereignty to a world authority by the nation-states. Most of the models for world government contemplate a bicameral legislature, perhaps a reformed Security Council and General Assembly, of the sort that the United Nations now has. They also call for an executive with substantially greater powers than those now exercised by the secretary-general of the United Nations.<sup>1</sup>

There would be a judiciary system modeled on the present World Court but with broader jurisdiction, to deal with mediation, arbitration, and conciliation, as well as justiciable controversies. For the judiciary system to work effectively, the Connally Amendment and all other reservations on the court's authority would have to be replaced.

The judgments, decrees, and awards of the World Court, and the laws passed by the international legislature, would be enforced by a world police force modeled on some of the proposals that have recently been made for the creation of a United Nations police force. This force would be under the command of the world executive.

There would be general and complete disarmament of the nation-states under a system of strict international control. Authority would be given to the world government and its agencies to monitor the disarmament process and to assure that none of the nation-states rearmed themselves thereafter.

None of this would require the elimination of the nation-states. On the contrary, the world government that is envisaged would be a federation of such states. Within the federation, the states would retain their domestic authority. Even their foreign policy would be affected only to the extent that such policy would be required to stop at the verge of war. So long as the guns were not shooting and the bombs not falling, there would be no need for the world government to interfere in any except a diplomatic sense. Of course there should be powers to enforce financial contributions from the nation-states, both to prevent war and to finance the solution of other critical problems. But each nation-state would retain the right to have a lightly armed police force to maintain law and order and social justice within its boundaries—but one incapable of opposing the international police force equipped with sophisticated weapons.

In these terms—the terms, that is, of a federation of limited powers—the idea of world government is no more radical than the Constitution of the United States. Of course, the complexities of the twentieth-century world are far greater than the problems that confronted the framers of the Constitution. Nevertheless, the basic principle of a federation of independent states can be adapted to our needs and must be.

##### II. THE NEED FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT

There is very little possibility of attaining world peace, or of enforcing world law in a

<sup>1</sup> The most explicit and probably the best known plan for world government was written by the Americans Grenville Clark and Louis Sohn in 1958 under the title *World Peace Through World Law* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press). This work includes a comprehensive revision of the charter of the United Nations to bring it into line with the concepts outlined here. Clark and Sohn dealt largely with war prevention, although they also provided for a world development authority to attempt to ameliorate the gross inequities in economic conditions between the nation-states of the Northern and Southern hemispheres.

nuclear age, unless some such form of limited world government is created through the relinquishment of partial sovereignty by the present nation-states. Throughout history, sovereign countries have proved themselves incapable of keeping the peace. Sooner or later diplomacy has always failed to solve quarrels between the nations, the military has taken over, and the shooting has begun. Our present precarious balance of terror results from the possession of nuclear weapons by the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as by France, Britain, and China. This peril appears to have accelerated in almost geometric proportion since 1945. The prospect of present-day nuclear or, for that matter, chemical, biological, and radiological warfare threatens the very existence of civilization.

A world government that would monitor general and complete disarmament, and would amicably police it through an international authority, could prevent such a catastrophe. Although the practical difficulties of achieving such a government are enormous, there seems no feasible alternative to its creation. The pertinent question is not whether world government is needed—it obviously is—but whether fallible mankind and particularly present-day political leaders are ready to turn to the solution before it is too late. World government is not an idea that has arrived before its time. It is the most timely of all solutions to our present frightening difficulties. Unless enforceable law can be created through international institutions, there is little hope for this, the twenty-first identifiable civilization since man came down from the trees.

Secretary-General U Thant of the United Nations put the question succinctly in a speech he delivered at the Fourteenth World Congress of the World Association of World Federalists in Ottawa, Canada, on August 23, 1970. He said in part:

"A world under law is realistic and attainable. I think I have some sense of the obstacles—in fact, they are my constant companions—but I have an even stronger sense of the prospects opening out before us.

"The ultimate crisis before the United Nations, therefore, is the crisis of authority. Management of problems which are global in scope requires extension of authority to world agencies.

"First and foremost, the decisions of the United Nations, particularly of the Security Council, must be enforceable.

"Are there any short-cuts to constructing the needed world order and the code of enforceable world law together with the necessary executive, legislative and judicial functions? I do not think so."

The consensus of informed global opinion is in accord with the foregoing comments by U Thant. As Arnold Toynbee put it in his latest book, *Experiences*:

"Living when and where I have lived, and having had the education that I have had, I have been concerned above all, since August 1914, to do what I can in my lifetime towards bringing about the abolition of war. This is the wickedest of all living human institutions, and it is also an institution to which human beings cling with obstinate tenacity. In 1914, war could take lives only by the million. Since 6 August, 1945, it has been on the way towards becoming deadly enough to wipe out the human race and perhaps even to make the surface of our planet no longer habitable for any form of life.

"We do have the freedom to abolish war by a pacific political act. The institution of war between states is a parasite on the institution of local sovereignty; a parasite cannot survive without its host; and we can abolish local sovereignty pacifically by voluntarily entering into a world-wide federal union in which the local states would surrender their sovereignty while continuing to

exist as subordinate parts of the whole. This is the positive solution of the problem of war. One need not, and should not, be dogmatic about the details of a federal constitution for the World. But one should work for the achievement of this in some form or another. In the Atomic Age, this looks as if it were mankind's only alternative to mass-suicide."

### III. BRIEF HISTORY OF THOUGHT ON WORLD GOVERNMENT

From the prophet Isaiah, who spoke of beating swords into ploughshares, down through history the ancients talked much about the desirability of peace; but a supranational worldwide government with power to keep the peace between antagonistic tribes or nation-states does not seem to have occurred to them. Probably this is because it was not until quite recently—not perhaps till 1943, when Wendell Willkie wrote a popular book called *One World*—that the unity of the world came to be recognized by most intelligent people.

Prior to the enormous technological and scientific advances of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the mobility of man was so limited that the concept of a government of the entire world seemed quite impractical. Nonetheless, the thought was advanced more than 650 years ago by Dante in his chapter on world government in *De Monarchia*.<sup>2</sup> However, Dante's concept was of a world ruled by the pope with the Holy Roman Emperor enforcing the church's decrees and being the secular leader of the world.

Immanuel Kant in the eighteenth century wrote of world government in the modern sense but acknowledged that it was a transcendent ideal.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, Kant believed that men of good will should work for it as they work for any form of right.

Up to a point, such visions suggest what Toynbee, in his *Study of History*, calls the universal state. He writes of a rhythm in history that carries identifiable civilizations through periods of genesis, growth, decay, and dissolution. Preceding dissolution, but part of decay, is often the universal state. This occurs when one civilization, having come to be ruled by a dominant minority that is no longer capable of creative activity, has conquered all its enemies and reigns supreme in the world. Such civilizations include, among others, the Egyptian and the Sinic, and the Roman Empire. In each instance there were no more wars to fight. The trouble was that the effort of achieving the universal state had so exhausted the creative ability of the conquering nation that it was left without any remaining desire to improve the state of its civilization. In the end, the universal state was brought down by a discontented internal proletariat or was overrun by barbarians from beyond the frontier.

These universal states could be termed world governments, but as invariably their authority was based upon their conquest of the world rather than upon its consent, they could not long maintain themselves and are not true precedents for the kind of world government that is required today.

The League of Nations, formed at the Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I, was the first serious effort to keep world peace through the creation of an international institution. But the League was a group of sovereign states with no power to enforce its judgments other than to call on its members for appropriate action. The controversial Article XIV of the covenant of the League, which called for action against an aggressor, was never capable of being enforced. The unwillingness of the United States to become a member was a crippling blow. The League withered and disappeared

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at the end of the precarious peace between the two world wars. While it was in existence it proved incapable of acting on the aggressive invasion of Manchuria by Japan in 1931 and on the equally deplorable invasion of Ethiopia by Italy just before World War II broke out.

While great hopes were held for the League, its inherent weakness was that it had no capability for enforcing common action against an obvious aggressor. It could merely call on the individual nation-states to supply troops that would carry its decisions into effect. There was never any question of yielding national sovereignty to a supranational institution.

After World War II, in 1945, came the United Nations organization, which has just passed its twenty-fifth anniversary. It is an improved version of the League of Nations, but it can hardly as yet be called a world government.

Its charter is brave. The preamble refers to "the peoples of the United Nations," whereas the League of Nations referred to the nation-states. The preamble continues with an eloquent determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in greater freedom. In later articles, the signers commit themselves to unite their strength to maintain international peace and security and to ensure that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and further, to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. But the end result is not a world government; it is merely a stronger union of states than was the case with the League of Nations for dealing with problems of war and peace.

The United Nations has some very significant achievements to its credit during the last twenty-five years, largely achievements in the economic and social field but also in matters dealing with war and peace such as the Antarctica treaty, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Space Treaty, and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Nevertheless, these accomplishments are all in the form of international treaties, which no international institution is given effective authority to enforce.

Such successes as the UN has had have been the result of persuasion, by which interested powers have agreed that they would join together in a certain course of action. While this is, of course, valuable, it is not a world government, which assumes a supranational federation over the sovereign states in the limited sense discussed above.

It seems highly unlikely that such an organization, under its present charter and with the body of procedures that has been developed over the last twenty-five years, can really be an effective instrument to keep the peace, or even deal adequately with international aspects of problems such as pollution, poverty, and population control.

Since 1945, most efforts looking toward the eventual creation of a limited form of federated world government have come through the disarmament approach. Thus we had the abortive Baruch Plan, where the United States endeavored to internationalize nuclear weapons. We had the efforts that President Eisenhower made with Premier Khrushchev at Paris to achieve an agreement leading to disarmament. In this connection, the action of Christian Herter, Eisenhower's last secretary of state, in committing the United States in 1960 for the first time to general and complete disarmament under enforceable world law, has been almost overlooked.

The strongest official American effort to

achieve world government was made by President John F. Kennedy, in the context of disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union. In a speech at the United Nations in 1961, he called for an end to the arms race, and for an "advance together step by step, stage by stage until general and complete disarmament has been achieved." And he added: "To destroy arms, however, is not enough. We must create even as we destroy, creating worldwide law and law enforcement as we outlaw worldwide war and weapons."

Later, in 1963, President Kennedy said:

"The UN cannot survive as a static organization. Its obligations are increasing as well as its size. Its charter must be changed as well as its customs. The authors of the charter did not intend it to be forever frozen. The science of weapons and war has made us all . . . one world and one human race with one common destiny. In such a world absolute sovereignty no longer assures us of absolute security. The conventions of peace must pull abreast and then ahead of the conventions of war. The United Nations must be developed into a genuine world security system."

Two rarities of general and complete disarmament under strict international control were filed in Geneva in 1962, one by the United States and one by the U.S.S.R. The United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was created by the Congress at the president's request. Serious negotiations then took place at the 17-nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva. They broke down largely over the issue of on-site inspection, an issue that is no longer critical. Progress in the art of detection by satellite, photographic, electronic, and seismographic intelligence has made on-site inspection unnecessary to prevent cheating on a scale massive enough to endanger an agreement.

The assassin's bullet killed this last significant American effort in November 1963. Neither President Johnson nor President Nixon has shown an interest in resuming negotiations, although the Soviet Union has occasionally suggested resuming talks. The two treaties lie on the table at Geneva gathering dust despite the resolutions passed annually by the General Assembly of the United Nations urging the major military powers to proceed with negotiations for disarmament.

The United States and the U.S.S.R. are currently engaged in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, but this is merely a bilateral effort to stabilize the nuclear arms race. Arms control is a very different thing from disarmament. It has no implications for world government.

China has recently expressed an interest in comprehensive disarmament. The Chinese asked on November 1, 1970, for the elimination of all nuclear weapons. Whether they could be persuaded to join the United Nations and even discuss world government presently is dubious. More recently, in June 1971, the Soviet Union called for a conference of all the nuclear powers to eliminate strategic nuclear weapons.

The proponents of world government today are largely citizen groups within the United States, Canada, Japan, and, to a limited extent, some of the other countries of the world. The World Association of World Federalists, of which World Federalists, USA, is the United States branch, has considerable strength in the Scandinavian countries, particularly Denmark and Norway; it has also a scattering of members in 30 of the 126 countries that belong to the United Nations, among them England, France, Ethiopia, India, Pakistan, and Nigeria. There are no official groups in any of the Communist countries except Yugoslavia, where Marshal Tito has expressed interest in the movement.

Many members of these World Federalists groups sit in their respective parliaments. This is especially true in Japan, the Scandinavian countries, Great Britain, and

<sup>2</sup> GGB, Vol. 7, pp. 379-99.

<sup>3</sup> *Perpetual Peace*; GGB, Vol. 7, pp. 437-75.

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France. There are at present three members of the United States Senate who are World Federalists. Members of Congress for Peace Through Law, a bicameral bipartisan group, number 110, but their devotion to world government is slight.

These citizen groups continue to agitate for world government. Thus the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions has sponsored two widely attended *Pacem in Terris* conferences, in 1965 in New York and 1967 in Geneva, to advocate peace through the medium of disarmament and world government. The name comes from a papal encyclical issued by Pope John XXIII in 1963. The United States government played no significant role in these meetings.

The World Peace Through Law Center has held several worldwide conferences in New Delhi, Washington, and Bangkok. Another is planned for Yugoslavia in the summer of 1971. But this distinguished organization of lawyers and judges has never actively advocated world government. It is more of an international bar association than a group interested in international political action for peace.

In the United States today there are several hundred citizen organizations, each with a "piece of peace." They exercise little influence on the present government of their country.

Semantics plays an important part in advocacy of or opposition to world government. Everybody is, in theory, in favor of "peace." Most people are in favor of "world law"—as long as it is not enforceable. But if the concept is expressed in terms of "world government" or "yielding national sovereignty," most of these groups who think of themselves as having "a piece of peace" tend to shy away. The term "world order" tends to attract more supporters, until its necessary connection with world government is explained.

An important research and educational program sponsored by the World Law Fund, a tax-exempt group with headquarters in New York, is the World Order Models Project designed by international law professor Saul H. Mendlovitz, who, with Professor Richard A. Falk, was coauthor in 1966 of a four-volume textbook entitled *The Strategy of World Order*—in effect a treatise on world government founded on the Clark-Sohn study, *World Peace Through World Law*.

The World Order Models Project has organized eight regional research teams whose task is to formulate fully developed models of the world in 1990. The teams are located in Europe, Latin America, North America, India, Russia, Africa, and Japan, and a transnational group is centered in Oslo, Norway. Efforts are being made to organize a team in mainland China.

Since the three basic assumptions guiding the deliberations of all eight teams are that there must be (1) arms control and disarmament, (2) pacific settlement of disputes, and (3) cognizance of the "scientific-technological revolution"—a comprehensive phrase encompassing population, pollution, resource depletion, food production, economic development, and human rights—it is inconceivable that the end product will not include some form of world government.

Useful studies looking toward achievement of world government by small steps have been prepared under the auspices of the United Nations Association. Thus "Controlling Conflicts in the 1970s" is the proposal of a panel chaired by Kingman Brewster, Jr., president of Yale, to create an adequately financed UN Peace-Keeping Force. And the Commission for the Organization of Peace chaired by Professor Louis Sohn has proposed 106 changes in the procedures and charter of the UN to make it an effective instrument of world government.

## IV. OBSTACLES TO WORLD GOVERNMENT

The principal human obstacle to world government is the dual nature of man. It is

perhaps best defined by the Chinese as *Yin* and *Yang*—*Yin* roughly translated as the spirit of love, *Yang* the spirit of hate. Stated differently, man has two built-in moods—the desire for cooperation and the desire for conflict. Sometimes one predominates, sometimes the other.

There have always been those who glorify war. There have always been those who strive for peace. The leaders of powerful nations are sometimes for one, sometimes for the other. It has never yet happened that they were all for peace, and for the steps necessary to achieve peace, at the same time. Moreover, leaders respond to what their peoples feel, and there is as yet no overwhelming popular support for world government.

But given the threat of imminent destruction of the human race by nuclear war, or by its chemical, biological, and radiological equivalent, this would not seem to condemn world government for the future. Surely the people would follow if their leaders told them that for civilization to be preserved there is no alternative to disarmament and world government. Perhaps, as the late Grenville Clark thought shortly before he died, things will have to get worse before they get better—even to the extent of a few nuclear bombs being dropped and the deaths of several million people.

Apathy, a feeling of individual helplessness, and a lack of understanding of the personal nature of the threat hanging over us are great obstacles to the coming of world government. Men return to their vineyards on the slopes of Etna and Vesuvius as soon as the lava from the latest eruption has cooled. It is now twenty-five years since Hiroshima and Nagasaki. More than half the present population of the world was not alive at the time of those disasters. Very few people still living were there in person to experience them. Hardly a few hundred thousand have seen the films of the horror, only recently released.

That inadequate understanding of the threat to existence is a big obstacle to world government, seems clear. The peace movement itself has never acquired staunch adherents in minority groups or in the third world. World government as the necessary condition of peace is an idea little appreciated outside the intelligentsia. And even among social scientists in the universities there are still plenty of skeptics. For world government has never become stylish. It has few supporters among the "establishments" here or abroad, save in a few small powers such as Denmark, Norway, and Canada.

Old-fashioned patriotism is surely an obstacle to world government. Dr. Johnson's view that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel" has fewer adherents than those who proclaim with Stephen Decatur, "Our country . . . may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong."

When the flag flies and the band plays and the drums beat and the troops march and the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion parade, the "silent majority," at least in the United States, still tends to respond. This would be particularly true with blue-collar workers, hardhats, white-collar engineers, and scientists in the military-industrial field if world government became a practical threat to their jobs. It is true today with many of them in this country and abroad when it comes to winding up the arms race and the war in Vietnam, or bringing a peace to the Middle East that might inhibit the manufacture and sale of arms. And of course one could count on the opposition of the military forces of all of the nation-states.

The former colonial nations in Africa and Asia tend to oppose world government on the ground that it would return them to a colonial status that would threaten their hard-earned freedom. Another obstacle is the attitude of the media all over the world.

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The present Soviet government, although favoring general and complete disarmament, is opposed to the concept of world government, fearing, with typical Russian suspicion, that the U.S.S.R. would be outnumbered in the voting. So *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, and the rest of the Soviet press and radio make no effort to explain world government objectively to the citizens. The same is true of mainland China and its media. In the "free" world, the media consistently play to the prejudices of the masses rather than to their latent idealism. Reports of conflict rather than cooperation set the standard for news. Education of the media should be an early step in bringing popular support for world government.

A final obstacle affecting the totalitarian states is that all models for a world government assume a democratic form of decision, as, for instance, in requiring within the international institution a majority or perhaps a two-thirds vote to authorize action. This concept is anathema to the Soviet Union. Hence the veto in the Security Council. It will take a great deal of persuasion to bring the totalitarian states around to agree to a democratic form of decision. The reverse side of the coin is that many in the democratic countries fear that world government would threaten civil liberties.

## V. PROSPECTS FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT

Faced with these formidable obstacles, it would take an incorrigible optimist to contend that world government is just around the corner. Indeed it is not. Yet perhaps the tide is beginning to turn away from a preoccupation with nationalism toward the formation of international institutions with power to keep the peace, toward a form of world order to deal with worldwide problems—in short, toward a limited form of world government. A straw in the wind appeared in the *New York Times* on June 19, 1971, in the form of a short article by Richard J. Barnet entitled "Farewell to the Nation-State."

There would appear to be three major approaches to the desired end. One is through developing within the United Nations the support of small and middle-sized nations for a drastic revision of the UN charter. Several countries have asked that charter revision be placed on the agenda at the General Assembly. The charter itself requires in Article 109 a charter-review conference to be called on a vote of the majority of the General Assembly and seven members of the Security Council at any time after the tenth annual session of the General Assembly.

Among the major changes in the charter that would be required to create a limited world government with power to keep the peace are (1) elimination of the veto in the Security Council; (2) substitution for the "one nation, one vote" rule in the General Assembly of a more realistic system that recognizes the vast disparity of both population and economic power of the nation-states; (3) a self-operating system of financing the UN, such as a license fee on concessions in the seabed, or a small tax, payable directly to the UN treasury, on transactions in international trade; (4) a strong United Nations Peace-Keeping and Peace-Making Force, subject to the control of the secretary-general acting under instructions of the Security Council; (5) general and complete disarmament; and (6) compulsory jurisdiction over disputes between nations, whether justiciable or not, by the World Court, (i.e., repeal of the Connally Amendment).

A seventh reform, closely allied to charter revision, is the admission of all nation-states to the UN. Thus we would have the possibility of creating a universal federation of all the nation-states in a limited world government with power to keep the peace.

At the same time, and by the same steps, the specialized agencies of the UN—UNESCO, ILO, WHO, FAO, and others—would acquire

the power to deal with the problems of pollution, poverty, and population.

A second method would be to bring about a limited world government with power to keep the peace out of the 26-nation Conference of the Committee on Disarmament that sits periodically in Geneva. This procedure would at least avoid the many crippling disabilities in the UN charter—for example, there is no legal veto at CCD, nor do the "mini nations" have a vote. Most of the major military and economically strong nations are members of the CCD. There is adequate representation from the underdeveloped world. Agreement between them might well be easier to achieve than in a 126-member UN. Of course, mainland China would have to come in as an active participant, and France would have to take up its currently vacant seat in the committee.

The third approach, however, presents perhaps the most pragmatic solution.

Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada remarked early in 1970 that whenever he thought of his country's relations with the United States he was reminded of a small boy in bed with an elephant. Every time the elephant kicked or squirmed the boy was in danger of falling out of bed.

In truth there are three rogue elephants in the world today, determined not to be trained to acknowledge the necessity for world government. They are the United States, the U.S.S.R., and the People's Republic of China.

We citizens in the United States can do little to train the Chinese elephant. But we can take it into the United Nations and start training it by example.

We citizens in the United States can do little to train the Russian elephant. But at least our government can talk to the Russians, and the contacts between knowledgeable private citizens, such as the Pugwash conferences, are increasing year by year. And the Russians have been committed to general and complete disarmament ever since Czar Nicholas's day, a commitment that Lenin adopted.

But we citizens in the United States can do something about our own government, for we are still a free country where *demos* at least still makes a stab at *kratikoing*. By persistent educational effort, accompanied by continuing political action, it is quite possible that, before the present decade ends, we can establish in Washington a Congress and a president committed to yielding enough sovereignty to an international organization to make peace through enforceable world law a priority national objective, as it was in President Kennedy's day.

Once this is done, we will be well on the road to civilizing the other two rogue elephants and making human survival a probability instead of a pretty bad bet.

For, to reiterate, world government is not an idea that has arrived before its time. There is in truth no logical alternative. Its time is now, before it is too late.

#### THE UNITED GIVERS FUND

#### HON. WALTER E. FAUNTRY

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. FAUNTRY. Mr. Speaker, one of the unique aspects of the American social system is the existence of a wide variety of voluntary agencies designed to help provide basic social services to our citizens. Such agencies are characteristic of American life and represent a valuable means of supplementing the efforts

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of private individuals and Government to provide adequate services for all.

The United Givers Fund represents an effective and practical means for meeting the need of these voluntary agencies for adequate funds to carry out their programs. The Washington Urban League, the Alexandria Boys Club, the Jewish Social Service Agency, and the Prince George's Occupational Training Center are but four of the total of 86 agencies which share the fundraising services of the United Givers Fund.

There are many advantages to this method. First, the annual combined fundraising effort allows agencies to use 92½ cents of every dollar raised for their programs. This is considerably larger than the 65 to 70 cents per dollar traditionally netted through independent fundraising. Second, relieved of fundraising responsibilities, agencies are able to devote themselves entirely to the purposes for which they were created—helping people.

The United Givers Fund needs our help. The goal for this year is \$17.2 million. Mr. Speaker, you have already urged us to "set an example of responsible and compassionate citizenship" by supporting this fund drive. I heartily endorse this call and urge each Member and his staff to join in this effort.

#### FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE RUSK ON THE U.N.

#### HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, the Washington Post published a communication from former Secretary of State Dean Rusk. This lucid letter from Mr. Rusk provides an excellent statement of the continuing role of the United Nations in world policy as well as its proper place in the conduct of our own foreign relations. Mr. Rusk brings to this issue both a reflective mind and much practical experience. He observed the United Nations at close hand and knows well that it is not just a peripheral influence on our lives or on our foreign policy. His comments made against the background of the U.N. vote on China and Taiwan deserve wide reading and consideration and warn us of the perils in taking vindictive or retaliatory actions against the United Nations.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 29, 1971]  
FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE RUSK ON THE U.N.

To say that the writer has played a certain role in assuring the United Nations membership of the Republic of China on Taiwan since 1949, would perhaps be an understatement. I yield to no one in sadness and chagrin that the U.N. General Assembly has voted in effect, to expel a loyal U.N. member and a friend of the United States.

I am deeply disturbed, however, by many suggestions, particularly in the Congress, that the United States should now sharply curtail its support for and participation in the United Nations. Calm and sober reflec-

tions surely would indicate that a vigorous and effective U.N. is in the deepest national interest of the United States. Tens of millions of lives were lost to give us a chance to pick ourselves up out of the catastrophe of World War II and start over again. The charter of the U.N. profoundly reflects the simple and decent purposes of the American people with regard to our relations with the rest of the world. Although disagreements among the great powers have at times frustrated the Security Council in carrying out its assigned mission, there have been many occasions when the U.N. has served effectively to prevent, limit or end outbreaks of armed conflict. The United Nations, and its specialized agencies are making a tremendous contribution, day by day and week by week, to the necessary work of the world which affects in constructive ways the daily lives of our citizens.

On the immediate horizon are important tasks which the U.N. has undertaken which could make an important contribution to the possibilities of peace and, perhaps, to human survival. I have in mind the 1972 Conference in Stockholm on the Human Environment, a 1973 Conference on the Law of the Sea and the dedication of 1974 as U.N. Population Year. The record of the U.N. in deepening and strengthening international law is not perfect, but is encouraging; there remains, however, much unfinished business in that direction which can only be accomplished by the nations of the world in concert rather than by unilateral, bilateral or even regional action.

Diplomacy has striven for centuries to find ways to reduce the role played by anger, affronted dignity or desire for revenge in the relations among states. What was once a constructive object of diplomacy has now become a sheer necessity in a period when thousands of megatons are lying around in the hands of frail human beings.

It is too frivolous to say that we should pick up our marbles and go home just because others are not willing to play the game our way. The real issue is whether the human race, infinitesimal mites on a speck of dust in the universe, can find a way to live in peace. The harshest realist must now acknowledge that the family of man has come into being because we are at long last faced with certain problems which we must solve together or go down together. In this effort, the U.N. must play an indispensable role. Of course, it needs reform, improvement, more efficiency, a deeper sense of responsibility and changes in a number of directions which need not be detailed here. But all this means that we should support it and improve it—not abandon it.

We have not yet seen the end of the painful experience which we witnessed last Monday night. When the delegation from Peking arrives, its members will be lionized by our news media and may do and say a good many things which we shall not like. It behoves a great nation like ours to conduct itself with dignity, to remain true to our own purposes and to continue to work toward that consensus in the U.N. which is required if the Charter is to succeed and we are to build a world of peace.

#### COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

#### HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend 75 persons

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from 21 States met at Arden House for the 40th American Assembly meeting.

Congressman ERLENBORN of Illinois and I were privileged to attend this session on a topic of growing importance—collective bargaining and public employment.

The report of this intensive 3-day session is well worth the close attention of all legislations:

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT  
FINAL REPORT OF THE 40TH AMERICAN ASSEMBLY

At the close of their discussions the participants in the Fortieth American Assembly, on *Collective Bargaining in American Government*, at Arden House, Harriman, New York, October 28-31, 1971, reviewed as a group the following statement. The statement represents general agreement; however no one was asked to sign it. Furthermore it should not be assumed that every participant subscribes to every recommendation.

Collective bargaining in government is a growing reality for more and more communities, counties, states and the federal government. The pace of growth, measured against unionization of industry and business, has been spectacular. Twenty-five percent of the nation's public workers are presently represented by unions. Most of this expansion has occurred in the last ten years.

The effect of broad, rapid growth has been unsettling. Many public employers and public managers have been inadequately prepared to understand or to deal with the new relationships. Many state and local governments are beginning to develop ground rules to help bring order out of the varied approaches to representation of employees; too many others have done nothing. Legislators found some guidance from the private sector, but also discovered basic differences between public and private employment and reflected this in their law-making.

A variety of approaches is emerging, some modified by the tests of time, others frankly enacted as hopeful experiments. Labor-management doctrine in private enterprise is being examined and challenged. So are prohibitions and practices in the public sector which existed before unions surfaced. Recognizing the mounting complexities of present and potential problems, this Assembly has explored ways to strengthen the bargaining process and assure its responsiveness to the public interest rather than wringing hands over strikes, slowdowns and sickouts and yearning for yesteryear.

There is a restlessness abroad in the working world, a restlessness compounded by job dissatisfaction, by lengthening distances between the large employer and the individual employee, and by the rising aspirations of minority groups. All of these have to be dealt with within a fiscal framework of legislative limitations, resistant taxpayers and a continuing tide of inflation.

With the acceptance by the community of its responsibility for establishing comprehensive channels for participatory democracy in public employee relations goes a reciprocal obligation on unions in the public sector to recognize their responsibility for fostering attitudes conducive to increased harmony and efficiency in the execution of public services.

With these general observations, the Assembly recommends:

1. *Rights of employees and employers*

Public employees—municipal, county, state and federal—should have the right to join unions, if they so choose, without reprisals. The only exceptions should be those engaged in managerial duties; those confidential employees whose work is involved in the labor relations process; or bona fide supervisors, who may be given the right to

join their own unions—not those of rank and file employees.

Public employers at all levels of government should have the right to be active or passive in the face of a union organizing campaign. This right to free speech should not permit coercive conduct nor dismissals of union adherents.

If a majority of public employees, in an appropriate unit, selects a union or employee organization as their exclusive bargaining representative, the public employer and the public union have a duty to bargain in good faith with the objective of reaching an agreement. This does not mean that either a public employer or a public union has to agree to a proposal or make a concession.

2. *The need for Federal legislation*

Federal employees should be accorded the right to collective bargaining by enactment of a federal law. A succession of Executive Orders has opened the way for giving federal employees access to the full measure of bargaining advocated in this Assembly report in other levels of government. A federal law would protect and broaden these employee rights and not leave them to the discretion of a chief executive and would spell out employer rights as well.

3. *The need for State legislation*

To insure and administer these rights for employees and employers of city, county and state governments, those states which have not already done so should enact comprehensive legislation without delay. The legislation will vary, but the Assembly recommends that these rights be extended to all levels of government, and to all eligible employees. Failure to do so in a reasonable period would invite the federal government to assure these rights to public employees. If such legislation were enacted, it should set standards and exempt those states which have conscientiously attempted to carry out their responsibilities in this area.

The state legislation should provide for an independent, impartial agency. It would make clear that public management retains the right to manage, and elected officials retain the right to adopt and administer, public policy. This will mean delineation of the scope of bargaining by statute as interpreted by an impartial administrative agency. Even for subjects deemed not appropriate for bargaining, public officials should confer with union representatives on possible solutions.

The bargaining process will be strengthened by legislation which permits the parties to agree to exclusive recognition, checkoff of union dues where employees so designate, and the agency shop. However, public unions should be prohibited from using agency shop fees for contributions to political candidates or parties at state and local levels.

Most federal, state and local public employers, and particularly their supervisory staffs, are inexperienced in the collective bargaining process. A similar problem exists among public unions. This suggests the need for greater efforts to provide education, training and bargaining information. Some aid can be provided by government agencies, some by private sources.

Further efforts to provide third-party assistance to the bargaining process in the form of mediation and fact-finding are necessary. There is need for specialized training and for understanding of the problems and limitations of public finance.

Some model legislation has been developed, but the Assembly urges consideration of its own recommendations as possibly fresh alternatives.

The Assembly deplores "end runs" to any legislative body by either party to obtain terms more favorable than those already accepted at the bargaining table. Legislative clearance of matters previously agreed upon should be limited to contract provisions requiring legislation to implement the agreement. The legislature should inform

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itself on the dynamics of the bargaining which led to those provisions.

The principles stated here for state legislation apply equally to federal legislation for federal employees.

4. *Impasses and their resolution*

While the reaching of agreements as the end product of the bargaining process is devoutly to be sought, experience has shown that in a small percentage of negotiations impasses have developed. In many, the peace-making machinery of mediation, fact-finding and various forms of arbitration have resolved issues, but in others strikes have occurred.

The right to strike, while an integral part of labor-management relations in the private sector, has been generally prohibited in the public sector by statutes and court decisions. Strikes, where they have occurred, have been met by various responses ranging from "taking the strike" to seeking injunctive relief and penalties against strikers, strike-leaders and their unions.

The Assembly evoked varied views about strikes and their lesser companions—slowdowns and sickouts—but concern was general that government should not set either unrealistic or unfair prohibitions against its employees; nor countenance situations in which employees of government violate laws they were sworn to uphold.

Following lengthy discussions the Assembly recommended a limited right to strike after public unions have exhausted obligatory procedures. This was considered preferable to compulsory arbitration. The Assembly concluded that strikes which imperil the public health or safety should be restrained or limited by court injunction.

The Assembly does not support a total prohibition on strikes for several reasons: Such a ban gives rise to unequal treatment of public and private workers doing similar tasks. It relies on the mistaken view that every strike by governmental workers affects public health and safety. It does not recognize the realities of public employment labor relations in that a strike may often result in lost wages and no real discomfort for public employers whose revenues continue unimpaired. Therefore if all public workers are prohibited from striking, disrespect for law is encouraged and a feeling of lesser status is unnecessarily fostered. Finally, a ban on strikes does not guarantee there will be no strikes.

While the foregoing position on the limited right to strike is the view of the majority, there were a number of persons who support the view that all public employee strikes should be prohibited, and a number of persons who support the unlimited right to strike.

The resolution of strikes and other disputes would be assisted by the establishment by statute of a special board—impartial, independent. The board would be widely representative and have the power to reach into an arsenal of alternatives at times of its own choosing. These alternatives would include but not be limited to: further mediation, fact-finding with or without recommendations, a public hearing on the impasse or on a fact-finder's recommendations, advisory arbitration, cooling-off periods, or requests for injunctions or penalties. The board would act after an impasse became apparent or after a strike or other stoppage actually occurred to activate the procedure or combination of procedures best fitted to the particular deadlock.

In the event a group of public employees who provide an essential service is denied the right to strike by court order or statute, provision should be made for impartial final determination of all issues in dispute.

5. *Labor relations and minority relations*

As an increasing number of Americans obtain access to the rights inherent in a free society, there is a particular respon-

sibility placed on public employers and public unions. Both unions and public employers have an affirmative obligation to effectuate a change in the racial composition of government's work forces so that the number of minority employees on all levels more adequately reflects the racial balance of residents in the governmental unit. Unions have an affirmative obligation to the full extent of their bargaining capabilities to press employers to hire or promote minorities and to eliminate artificial, non-job related barriers which impede minority employment. Employers have the same obligation to remove such barriers and to withdraw or deny recognition from a union which impedes affirmative action. The union has the further obligation to achieve a better representation for minority groups in the higher councils of union leadership. The obligations listed here in relation to race apply equally to sex.

None of this will be easy, but public employers and public unions as the beneficiaries of tax revenues derived from all the population have a particular responsibility to act on these matters. They may have to revise or overcome collective bargaining agreements if exclusive rights for unions block necessary changes in the work force. One effective technique may be to formulate joint study groups with membership going beyond the public employer and the public union representatives and bringing into deliberations concerned community groups. This procedure will help remove the suspicion that issues of important public policy are traded off at the bargaining table by labor and management without any opportunity for the public to be heard and its views considered.

The whole issue goes to the heart of democratic government. Failure to deal with it with courage and dispatch can invite the direst of consequences.

#### 6. Funding of labor agreements

Local governments require a broader tax base in order to provide adequate support for local personnel services. The local property tax has been used and abused to meet all kinds of fiscal demands, and unless state governments recognize that other forms of municipal taxation must be authorized and adequate state support supplied for expensive municipal functions such as public schools, local governments will not be able to maintain a decent level of public services. In addition, increased federal aid to local governments may be necessary.

#### 7. Labor relations and civil service

The extension of collective bargaining in the public sector is clearly modifying the civil service system. The Assembly believes that while the trend is both inevitable and desirable, the principle of merit as it relates to the recruitment and hiring of public employees should not be eliminated.

The Assembly further believes that comparability between public and private sector wages and fringe benefits is a desirable principle and more likely to be achieved through collective bargaining than through traditional civil service procedures.

#### 8. Multi-employer and multi-union bargaining

The beginnings of such bargaining, by mutual consent of the parties, has much to commend it and we encourage further experimentation. The broadening of bargaining can help avoid the confusion of dealing with a multiplicity of bargaining units, can raise the level of expertise, and lower the costs of negotiation. It might also help discourage the practice of whipsawing. As the variations between neighboring jurisdictions are narrowed and as formula aid from the states becomes the bulwark of public educational systems, school districts stand out as a good place to launch further projects in multi-bargaining.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The history of labor-management relations in the private sector in America is loaded with pain and controversy as the price of progress and the recognition of union rights.

Public unions and collective bargaining are here to stay.

The price of progress need not be so dear in the public sector if all concerned recognize and respond to the urgent need for new attitudes, new legislation and new ways of working creatively together.

#### PARTICIPANTS: THE 40TH AMERICAN ASSEMBLY

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William H. Fleece, Representative from St. Petersburg, Florida House of Representatives.

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David T. Stanley, Governmental Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, Washington.

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William A. Steiger, Representative from Wisconsin, Congress of the United States.

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Robert L. Stutz, Chairman, Connecticut Board of Mediation and Arbitration.

Clyde W. Summers, Professor of Law, Yale University.

Mitchell Sviridoff, Vice President, The Ford Foundation.

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Arnold M. Zack, Arbitrator, Boston.

Sam Zagoria, Director, Labor-Management Relations Service, Washington.

## COMMENDATION OF POSTMASTER GENERAL WINTON M. BLOUNT

### HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, within less than 3 years of his appointment as Post-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

master General, Winton M. Blount guided to completion the first major and now historic reorganization of the Post Office Department. As the chief architect of reform, Mr. Blount was selected to become the first Postmaster General of the new U.S. Postal Service, an independent agency of the executive branch of Government and mandated by the Congress to operate on a business-like, self-sustaining basis.

Despite Mr. Blount's persistent critics, who have also been critics of the Postal Service itself, I believe it is only fair to stress that the deficiencies that permeated the former Post Office Department organization for many, many years could not reasonably have been expected to be overcome in a matter of months. Nonetheless, significant progress has been made in laying the foundation for a modern and efficient postal system and, to those of us in Congress, I believe this progress is manifested in the very dramatic decline in the number and types of complaints received from our constituents.

Postmaster General Blount has announced his resignation from the U.S. Postal Service and I want to commend him for a job well done under very difficult and trying circumstances.

**COL. HUBERT V. EVA: A MAN IN AND OF HISTORY**

**HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

**Mr. BLATNIK.** Mr. Speaker, on October 28 of this year, a tragic auto accident in Duluth, Minn., took the life of 102-year-old Hubert V. Eva. He is believed to be the last white survivor of the Nation's last Indian battle, the Battle of International Falls.

Col. Eva has been a resident of Duluth for 86 years. He was an esteemed friend of mine for many years, and beloved leader and inspiration to his community.

The colonel's life, so richly intertwined with the history of our growing Nation from the Spanish-American War through our emergence as a mature power on the world scene, must not pass unmarked by this distinguished body.

Hubert was born in Penzance, Cornwall, England, in 1869. He and his family came to Duluth when he was a boy of 16, where he made his permanent residence.

He early prospered in the mercantile business, then joined his older brother as partner in his medicinal enterprise.

He enlisted in the Minnesota National Guard soon after it was formed, and had attained the rank of captain by the time of the Spanish-American War, in which he immediately enlisted.

From the end of that war until 1917, Col. Eva remained in uniform, leading his troops against Indians in Minnesota and along the Canadian border.

From 1916 to 1917 he was assigned to the Rio Grande River, protecting American settlers from the incursions of Pancho Villa and his Mexican troops.

During World War I he made a new

record for himself training troops for overseas duty.

With the coming of peace, the colonel returned to Duluth, and opened Eva Motor Co., where Duluthians could purchase the prestigious Pierce Arrow Car.

The same year the Governor of Minnesota appointed him deputy State motor vehicle registrar for Duluth, a position he held until 1954, when he retired at the age of 85.

The colonel also joined with several other Duluth business executives in convincing President Taft of the necessity of a National Chamber of Commerce. He was summoned to Washington to lay the groundwork for this organization, of which he is a charter member.

Col. Hubert V. Eva's life spans more than a century. He has seen our part of the world grow from wilderness to a vital part of our Nation's economic strength.

He has participated in America's growth to leader on the world stage.

In peace, and in war, he was actively engaged in the progress of our area, and our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, our grandchildren watch the re-enactment of the Indian wars and the battles of the Rio Grande by the dim light of the television tube. Col. Eva knew these scenes first hand. He heard the war-whoops, smelled the powder, and never flinched from personal danger.

In peace he served his country as ably, and, as a member of many local and national service organizations, left his mark upon the lives of generations of Duluthians, whom he has inspired, and upon the entire community he served so well.

I am proud to have known Col. Eva, and to have shared his stirring life with you.

He is a man to be remembered, and thanked, by all Americans.

**AMERICAN LEGION RESOLUTIONS**

**HON. GEORGE H. MAHON**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

**Mr. MAHON.** Mr. Speaker, at the October 3, 1971, Convention of the American Legion for the 19th Texas District, the district which I have the honor to represent in Congress, certain resolutions with respect to the U.S. Government were adopted.

A delegate to the convention, Bill R. Neel of Lubbock, Tex., has requested I make known to the President and Congress the contents of the resolutions, such resolutions having been certified to by District Commander H. D. Boston. I present a brief summary of the views expressed by the delegates to the convention.

The resolutions take note of recent congressional action designed to free the United States of dependence on Russia for a large part of our chrome supply by endorsing the importation of chrome from Rhodesia, which is now banned as a result of our adherence to United Nations actions. I feel the Legion is on sound ground and I have advised the Legion as a matter of national security

November 3, 1971

I support abandonment of U.S. dependence on Russia for chrome and importation by the United States of chrome from Rhodesia. The House is scheduled to consider this issue in connection with final action on the defense procurement authorization bill.

Another resolution approved by the convention condemns the President's proposed trip to Red China and opposes the acceptance of Red China for membership in the United Nations. The resolution strongly advocates the retention of Nationalist China in the United Nations, a position which is widely supported in Congress, and which I support. It also points out the dangers inherent in U.S. support of a heavy-duty truck factory in the U.S.S.R. and U.S. aid to Chile.

**NADER REPORT ON CALIFORNIA**

**HON. BOB WILSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

**Mr. BOB WILSON.** Mr. Speaker, recently I inserted in the RECORD an editorial from the San Diego Union regarding Ralph Nader's report on California. I ask unanimous consent to include the following article from the San Diego Evening Tribune and know my House colleagues will find it of interest:

FACT TARNISHED BY SPECULATION IN NADER REPORT ON CALIFORNIA

The scatter-gun charges contained in a Ralph Nader report on land use in California inevitably drew blood in some sensitive government areas.

And many of the conclusions stressed in the 1200-page study confirm deficiencies already recognized by critics of land development practices.

Legitimate questions have been raised, too, as to the influence of land speculators in manipulating government decisions through granting or withholding campaign contributions.

The report—as does any serious study dealing with the myriad problems of California's burgeoning population growth—demands the attention of responsible government officials and a concerned public.

But it is unfortunate that the 500,000 words of testimony must be sifted painstakingly to separate fact from rumor—to search out the truths in the pages of speculation.

Observers close to the inner workings of the California political machinery and from both sides of the ideological gap agree that the Nader offering is tarnished by inaccuracy, exaggeration, unfair charges and lack of documentation.

Former Assembly Speaker Jess Unruh, Gov. Reagan's Democratic foe in the 1970 election, says the report may be "about 80 percent accurate . . . a better batting average than most reports get."

And former Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, also a Democrat, was critical of the investigative tactics. He wondered reasonably why he was never contacted by the Nader group which condemned the State Water Project, one of Brown's pet projects.

The administrator of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, another target of Nader criticism, was even less charitable.

"The . . . report," said Henry J. Mills, "can only be termed a highly irresponsible and slap-dash compilation of inaccuracies, un-

truths, malicious rumors, unsupported charges, distortions and . . . generalities."

And even supporters of Nader in his role of "consumer advocate," in which he has attacked automakers, other industrial giants and the Federal Trade Commission, fear that the California report may give credence to charges that the zeal of his investigators is directed to support of preconceived conclusions.

Even so, the grim picture of California's land tangle as painted by Nader must be examined thoroughly and publicly. An investigation of possible conflict of interest in the office of the San Diego County assessor has been undertaken as a direct response to Nader charges. Other probes are the only responsible answer to the allegations that stud the report.

But before the State Water Project is scuttled as a "special interest boondoggle" and before Gov. Reagan rushes pell mell into implementation of other wide-ranging Nader recommendations, the people of California would be interested in some other undisclosed information.

Who commissioned the report on California's government and business frailties? Who paid for it? And what qualifications did the 25 researchers bring to their task other than a shared disenchantment with government and industry?

#### VANTAGE POINT

#### HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, this Sunday marks what might be called the inaugural of President Johnson's book on his experience in the Presidency.

Sunday, November 7, at the Presidential Library in Austin, Tex., our former President will come to greet all who wish to meet him and to autograph copies of the new book.

As far as I know this is to be the only time and place across the Nation that autographed copies will be available. Many will go there in person to greet our former President, but copies can be ordered by mail as well as by writing to the library.

Meanwhile, James MacGregor Burns, gives us a valuable insight into the temper of this historically important work. Wisely, President Johnson did not try to give us a definitive work of all the events of his 5 years of his Presidency. Instead he gave to us and to future generations the invaluable insight of what things look like from the unique and burden-ridden chair of the Presidency.

Mr. Burns gives us a good insight into some of the results of that vantage point:

#### THE PRESIDENCY AS L.B.J. SAW IT

(Reviewed by James MacGregor Burns)

This is Lyndon Johnson's book. He makes no pretense to objectivity—this is the presidency as he saw it during the turbulent Sixties. It is the memoir one hoped he would write—candid, intensely personal, sometimes passionate. While he seems to hold himself on a short tether, with praise for many and blame for few, both the exultation and the bitterness break to the surface as he portrays the triumphs and frustrations of his five years in the White House.

As a personal document it is also a tribute to Lady Bird, who on this showing (and others) emerges as the most effective and im-

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

portant First Lady in this century, save for Eleanor Roosevelt. Anyone who doubts her influence on her husband need only consult, on page 93, the remarkable memorandum she gave him in May, 1964, on the question of whether he should run for a full term. Her conclusion: "Stay in." She warned him that the going would be rough, that he must pace himself, that after another term he would still be only a "mellow 60," and if he lost in November "it's all settled anyway"—and pretty soon they would have grandchildren.

Doyle Johnson would have run in any event since he was absolutely committed to a big domestic program. Perhaps the most eloquent two pages in the book are not in the words of Lyndon Johnson but a list, in the front end pages, of the "landmark" legislative achievements of his presidency. "I remember all 207 of those laws," the former President now writes, "and the work and the worry that went into them . . . They were the tools with which we cleared up the old agenda and began work on the agenda of the future . . ."

If these constituted the triumph of his administration, Vietnam certainly was the tragedy. Johnson does not slight this part of the story; it runs like a dark skein all through the book. He describes day by day, sometimes hour by hour, the stupendous pressures that mounted on him as the nation became more and more fixed in the quagmire. Much of this he reports with an air of incredulity and of indignation—indignation that Hanoi could continue to reject his peace offers with such implacable hostility (in an appendix he lists 72 peace initiatives that he accuses Hanoi of rejecting), and indignation that American doves could follow a "double standard" in assessing American and Communist behavior. That double standard, the former President argues, decisively impaired the possibility of real negotiation and thus lengthened the war.

Like other controversial Presidents, Lyndon Johnson says that he is willing to await the verdict of history. How will historians of the future rate this leader? They will, I think, puzzle over the difference in the strategy of Johnson the domestic reformer and Johnson the foreign and defense policy maker.

The first Johnson was the brilliant legislative leader fighting at the head of his troops. "A President cannot ask the Congress to take a risk he will not take himself," Johnson says in his book. "He must be the combat general in the front lines, constantly exposing his flanks." He gave the fight for his domestic program everything he had, he says, in prestige and power. On the civil rights bill especially he decided to "shove in all my stack," despite the advice of some of his advisers and staff members. During the middle years of his presidency he found that to exert leadership did not mean using up the resources of leadership; on the contrary, he went on from victory to victory, shoving in all his stack each time.

The basis of this success lay in the majority that Johnson planned to mobilize in 1964 and in the power that was his after the majority had been mobilized and a decisive victory scored over Barry Goldwater.

While the President courted and played with politicians all across the political spectrum, and while he paid obeisance to "bipartisan politics," in fact he depended on a broad coalition of liberals and laborites bunched toward the left end of the continuum. Like Jefferson and other strong Presidents, he was essentially a partisan, appealing to a huge constituency of the poor, labor, Negroes, and others who needed his leadership and his help.

The second Johnson was the bipartisan mobilizer of consensus. One of the troubles with the politics of consensus is that the idea is not very clear. Does it mean trying to represent all the people, or both parties, or all the major groups, or the combined congressional and executive leadership in Washington? Does it mean one cannot act without clearing policy with all the major leaders, in

both parties? Or is it essentially symbolic, a kind of rallying cry for patriots or a comfortable banner for those who hate the divisiveness of democratic politics? Johnson feels that his approach to consensus was misunderstood. It was not, he said, a search for the lowest common denominator, for that almost invariably would lead to inaction. Rather consensus meant deciding what needed to be done, "regardless of political implications," and then convincing a majority of Congress and the American people of the necessity for doing what needed to be done.

Now that is a definition of leadership, not consensus. In fact the President followed that policy in domestic policy-making, but not in foreign, especially in Vietnam. As foreign policy maker he made a fetish of clearing decisions with Everett Dirksen and a wide range of congressional leadership. In his Vietnam policy particularly he followed a kind of lowest common denominator. He pursued a middle way between doves and hawks, between those demanding escalation and those endlessly calling for bombing halts and negotiations. The middle way failed to work against the set strategy of Hanoi. And most ironic of all, the consensus strategy of this President who wanted to represent all the people left the nation more divided than it had been since the days of Bryan or perhaps even Lincoln.

One trouble with the strategy of bipartisan consensus is that it can inhibit policy rather than widen options. The most poignant aspect of this book is its portrait of a desperate, well-meaning man trying every tactical method, every channel of communication, every kind of minor concession, to win Hanoi's agreement to some kind of negotiations. The President never seemed to recognize that it was just as impossible for the North Vietnamese to give up the struggle in South Vietnam as it was for the Americans to quit the struggle and go home. Hanoi had a public opinion problem too; after countless years of battle and bloodshed the Communists could not give up their effort to take over South Vietnam through invasion or subversion.

Johnson perceived quite rightly that any kind of coalition government that Hanoi would accept was bound to deliver the South Vietnamese into its hands sooner or later. But the President did not seem to feel that he had the latitude to try in his Indo-China policy the kinds of imaginative and daring alternatives that he had employed so successfully on the domestic front. Some observers, for example, had been urging for years that the United States foster a repartition of South Vietnam, yielding the Communists northern, upland and inland sectors, so that Hanoi might conclude that it could give up the struggle and still claim victory. There is no indication in this volume that the President tried this or other possible alternatives. Rather he was stuck with the policies of repeated bombing pauses, efforts to get negotiations started, and other tactical ploys that—we know now, and many knew at the time—never had a chance of succeeding.

It is largely because of Vietnam, I think, that the President concludes his book with the query as to whether he got too far out ahead of his troops, tried to move too far and too fast, gave the American people insufficient breathing spells. He even comes out for a six-year, nonrepeatable term for Presidents, as though he had concluded that a President of all the people could do best if he did not have to win the endorsement of a majority of the people. He believes that he would have won re-election if he had stood again in 1968—but conceded that he would have lacked the kind of broad support necessary to an effective presidency.

One thinks of Harry Truman, who did not let his minority status and powerful enemies stop him from undertaking audacious aid programs abroad and civil rights efforts at home. Perhaps the chief lesson of Lyndon

Johnson's book for Democrats in the 1970s is that the next Democratic President should take a partisan stance in both his domestic and foreign policies. Bipartisanship is essentially another form of gradualism and easily leads to paralysis of politics and policy. The tactics of consensus may sometimes help gain support for policies, but it should not be followed as an end in itself.

Still, there is much more in this book than the agony of Vietnam and the dilemmas of democratic politics. A picture emerges of a dedicated, compassionate and committed President—a portrait that I think will long survive the distortions of the last decade. Two of the author's observations will stick in my mind for a long time. One is his conclusion that "Politics goes beyond the art of the possible. It is the art of making possible what seems impossible." In domestic affairs and in many foreign accomplishments the President embodied that notion. The second is his reflection, on returning home for good to his beloved hill country, that he could hardly believe that he had shared the power and splendor of the presidency. "But on this night I knew I had been there. And I knew also that I had given it everything that was in me." And he had.

#### KENTUCKY REVENUE CHIEF SPEAKS ON TAXES

#### HON. CARL D. PERKINS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I insert in the RECORD a letter and attachment I have received from the Honorable James E. Luckett.

Mr. Luckett is one of the ablest and most distinguished public officials in the history of our Commonwealth of Kentucky. He currently serves as our State Commissioner of Revenue, a post he has occupied throughout several administrations, Democratic as well as Republican. He is a highly respected, dedicated man, and we are proud of him.

The material follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY,  
Frankfort, Ky., October 12, 1971.

Hon. CARL D. PERKINS,  
U.S. Representative,  
Rayburn House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PERKINS: Mr. Ralph Nader, in testimony recently before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, reportedly cited Kentucky as an example of bad property tax administration.

The Courier-Journal reported the Nader story October 1, 1971 and my reply on October 7, 1971, xerox copies of which are enclosed.

The Department of Revenue, which supervises the county valuation of property, is totally committed to sound tax administration and welcomes an opportunity to set the record straight. In fact, insofar as valuation practice is concerned, the U.S. Census reported Kentucky having the highest average assessment level of any state for 1966, and we think their current survey (for 1971) when completed will show a similar ranking. Moreover, the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has reported that Kentucky is one of the few states that has made notable improvement toward uniformity and equity in the valuation of property for taxation.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

I know of no more objective sources on the subject than the U.S. Census of Governments and the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. If you desire more information, or if you have any questions about Kentucky property tax valuation policies and practice, I shall be glad to answer them.

Sincerely,

J. E. LUCKETT,  
Commissioner of Revenue.

[From the Courier-Journal, Louisville (Ky.)  
Oct. 7, 1971]

#### KENTUCKY REVENUE CHIEF REBUTS NADER ON TAXES

(By Don Walker)

FRANKFORT, KY.—State Revenue Commissioner James Luckett yesterday issued a point-by-point rebuttal of consumer crusader Ralph Nader's charges before Congress that some coal and commercial properties in four Eastern Kentucky counties get off easy when property taxes are assessed.

Also using a version of "Candid Camera," Luckett relied on aerial-photo maps which, he said, back up the integrity of acreage listings on the tax rolls.

The four counties named by Nader are Pike, Knott, Bell and Harlan. Luckett said the aerial photos have proved "amazingly accurate" in 65 Kentucky counties in which the mapping program has been completed.

In an interview this week, the commissioner zoomed in on Pike County and said a photo map indicates that the county apparently was "overlisted" rather than severely shorted in property listings as Nader had charged.

Nader told a Senate committee in Washington last week that local property tax assessors throughout the nation often under-assess property of commercial and coal interests and sometimes fail to put it on the tax rolls at all.

An aide to Nader later acknowledged that specific charges about Kentucky counties were based not on personal investigation but on published reports, particularly a National Education Association (NEA) commission's report in May.

The NEA commission held education hearings in Kentucky earlier this year.

Luckett asserted that Nader's criticism is "just plain without foundation. . . . It's unfair to make (such) statements without some personal verification of what the facts are."

Claiming that property assessment in Kentucky is "of exceptionally high quality compared with (assessments in) any state," Luckett fired his verbal barrage against Nader in an attempt to refute, point by point, examples Nader used to bolster his criticism.

Nader said that in 1967, 40 to 60 per cent of Pike County's land was either under-assessed or not listed on tax rolls.

In fact, declared Luckett, "there may have been an overlisting." Aerial photos of Pike County in 1969 revealed there was slightly less nonurban acreage in the county than was on the 1966 rolls. The photo map found 413,344 acres compared with 424,268 acres that had been estimated to exist by the county property valuation administrator, Luckett noted.

Nader said Elkhorn Coal Corp. had been paying county property taxes of less than 22 cents an acre on Knott County coal rights under development by National Steel Co. Nader claimed it was expected that 1,250,000 tons of coal a year would be mined from the holdings.

#### RIGHTS SHARED BY TWO FIRMS

Luckett and two of his staff members said the mineral rights actually are shared by Elkhorn and Consolidated Coal Co., and they estimated that the firms have been paying "closer to 40 cents an acre in property taxes."

The officials noted that Elkhorn owns approximately 15,000 acres of mineral rights

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in Knott County assessed at \$582,534, and Consolidated owns 8,500 acres of mineral rights in Knott. Portions of these tracts make up a proposed mine which Consolidated is developing jointly with National.

Consolidated's property, including mineral rights and equipment at the uncompleted mine, was assessed at \$2.5 million as of Jan. 1, continued Luckett.

Nader charged that the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) owns 8,800 acres of "extremely rich coal land" in Bell County and, since no taxes were paid by the former owner, TVA is paying none.

Luckett says TVA acquired the 8,800 acres after a former owner, who paid \$5,000 for the mineral rights in the 1940s, defaulted on a contract to produce coal for TVA.

"The mine proved to be worthless under present day mining conditions because of a drainage problem," said Luckett.

TVA values what Nader called this "extremely rich coal land" at \$8,153, he added. Under federal law, TVA makes in-lieu-of-tax payments equal to taxes previously paid by owners of land. Apparently, TVA could not make such payments legally if no taxes were paid previously, noted Luckett.

Nader charged that U.S. Coal and Coke, a subsidiary of U.S. Steel, in 1966 paid only \$34,500 in property tax in Harlan County on two producing mines valued at \$9.3 million.

Luckett said the \$34,000 represented state and county taxes only, and that when school property taxes were added, the company paid \$148,520 in property taxes in 1966. Since 1966, the company's assessment has been adjusted upward from \$9.3 million to \$10.4 million and it paid \$175,659 in taxes this year, it was noted.

Mineral rights assessments, like other property valuations, are revised about every five years to reflect current market values, the officials said.

Pike County undeveloped coal rights, for example, were assessed on a range of \$25 to \$200 an acre. But it is proposed that the 1972 assessments be revised to reflect a current market value of \$50 to \$200 per acre, said Luckett.

#### DIFFICULTY IS ACKNOWLEDGED

The commissioner acknowledged that judging the value of unmined coal is "a more difficult assignment" than normal property valuation. Critics often fall into difficulty because they do not understand the variables that affect the value of untapped minerals, he maintained. These variables include the type of coal seams, location and accessibility, and whether—or to what degree—the seams can be mined, the commissioner noted.

Zone maps have been drawn of 12 Eastern Kentucky counties showing the value ranges of undeveloped coal rights according to the variables involved, said Luckett.

These zone maps—not aerial photos—are prepared by state Revenue Department geologists with advice from local property value administrators and, sometimes, with help from other knowledgeable persons, Luckett said. These maps, which are revised periodically, serve as the official assessment guides for coal rights, he said.

Also, said the commissioner, owners of coal rights are required to pay a property tax premium when the coal is mined.

"Each year the number of acres mined in the preceding year is valued for current assessment and a comparable acreage is (newly) listed as 'developed coal' and valued at 10 times the undeveloped value," said Luckett.

#### MISLEADING COMPARISON

Under questioning, the commissioner conceded that raw figures might be interpreted as giving coal rights a relatively lighter assessment in comparison with farmland.

For example, the \$25-to-\$200-an-acre range on potentially rich coalfields in Pike County compares roughly with the tax values set on just poor-to-fair farmland in the state, and

the best farmland might be assessed at from \$400 to \$1,000 an acre, the commissioner acknowledged.

"But this is a totally misleading comparison without calling attention to the fact that literally millions of dollars must be spent to recover the coal—otherwise it has no value whatsoever," he said. "These expenditures must include not only mining but other facilities such as rail to open up the market," said Luckett.

Also coal valued at \$25 or more an acre may lie for 50 years and never be touched, but the taxes at the assessed value continue, he said.

#### AERIAL-PHOTO MAPPING CONTINUES

Luckett said the aerial-photo mapping of the state continues at a slow but steady pace. In addition to the 65 counties already mapped, six projects are in progress, another is under contract and 13 counties have requested aerial maps.

The state bears the full cost of the mapping—\$250,000 was appropriated for the purpose this biennium—but county fiscal courts must request a map. And the county government must promise to use the map in its assessments.

Luckett said that the photographing, which includes pictures of principal buildings on all property, has uncovered major assessment shortages in only one county so far. This was in Marshall County in 1957, and a large number of new homes on Kentucky Lake were found to have escaped assessment, the commissioner said.

[From the Courier-Journal, Louisville (Ky.), Oct. 1, 1971]

#### KENTUCKY TAX ASSESSORS TOO LAX, NADER CHARGES

(By Leonard Pardue)

**WASHINGTON.**—Crusader Ralph Nader attacked the way state and local governments administer property taxes yesterday, and he cited Kentucky as a bad example.

Nader charged that at least \$7 billion a year in property tax revenues nationwide aren't being collected by state and local governments because of tax administrative practices.

His chief criticism was that local property tax assessors frequently under assess the value of property owned by major industrial and commercial interests, and in some cases fail to put it on the tax rolls at all.

Under assessment "has literally starved the schools in Appalachia," Nader said in testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity. The committee's inquiry into the subject had led to an appraisal of finances as one cause of lack of equal opportunity. School systems are heavily dependent on property taxes for revenue.

Nader gave these Kentucky examples to bolster his argument:

In Pike County in 1967, 40 to 60 per cent of the county's land was either under assessed or not listed on assessment rolls, according to a fact-finding team appointed by the County School Board, Nader said. Yet that year the school system had a \$113,000 deficit.

In Knott County, National Steel Co. is developing a mining complex including a tipple and preparation plant on 14,200 acres of coal land, and the operation is expected to produce 1,250,000 tons of coal a year. A railroad line is being built to serve the operation. Yet the owner of the land, Elkhorn Coal Corp., has been paying county property taxes of less than 22 cents an acre, Nader said. He did not cite the source of these figures.

In Bell County, the Tennessee Valley Authority acquired title to 8,800 acres of "extremely rich coal land" for which it was required to pay normal property taxes for the first three years of ownership. TVA got the land when a supplier defaulted a coal con-

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

tract. But since the land hadn't ever been listed as appraised by the tax assessor, no taxes had been paid by the former owner and TVA is paying none, Nader said. He cited Whitesburg attorney Harry Caudill as his source.

In Harlan County, U.S. Coal and Coke, a subsidiary of U.S. Steel, in 1966 paid only \$34,500 in property tax on two producing mines valued at \$9.3 million, or about one-tenth what it would have paid in some other states, Nader said.

"Throughout Appalachia, the story is the same," he said. "The people are poor, the schools are poor, but the owners of coal land enjoy a property tax field day."

It was learned after the hearing from a Nader aide, James Rowe, that Nader had not conducted his own investigations of the specific Kentucky counties mentioned. Rowe said the sources of information for the Nader testimony were previous published reports and earlier testimony by others at hearings conducted in Kentucky by the National Education Association.

Nader also cited instances in Texas and Maine—where Rowe said Nader has conducted investigations—and in Indiana and Minnesota to support his view that there exists a national pattern of property-tax favoritism toward commercial and industrial interests.

Listing an Indiana example, Nader said that in Gary, Ind., where the schools face a \$9 million deficit, U.S. Steel "has been stronger than Gary's property tax." State law allows industry to present their own assessments to the local tax assessor who is then supposed to check the figures. But U.S. Steel, Nader said, refuses to open its books to the assessor for such checks.

Nader said that local taxpayer groups in various parts of the country are more and more frequently organizing to seek property tax reforms, which he called "The No. 1 political issue at the local level for middle-class Americans."

Sen. Walter Mondale, D-Minn., the committee's chairman, agreed with Nader's charges of property-tax abuse. "I think that picture is almost beyond dispute," Mondale said.

In response to questions, Nader said he had no reform proposals beyond urging uniform application of the property tax by state and local governments. He also said the federal government might encourage this by insisting on fair property-tax practices as a condition of federal aid.

#### THE BEST GUN CONTROL LEGISLATION—GET THE CRIMINALS OFF THE STREET

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, conditions in Washington, D.C.—the showplace of Western democracy—have deteriorated to an alarming degree. Crime is running rampant. Police spokesmen admit that "thousands of people are robbed every year in Washington." Murder has reached an all-time high among the District residents. Two hundred and thirty-five people have met violent death in the District so far this year. At this rate, the Nation's capital may average a murder a day—especially considering the normally high rate of homicide associated with the holiday seasons.

Conditions have worsened to the point where many people for self-preservation are inclined to seek a return to summary

justice—the law of the gun. Even the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States has taken to answering his door at night with gun in hand, not knowing what danger lurks in the shadows of the night.

We have even reached the point where a citizen is actually suing the Government to allow him to carry a gun in the District. This citizen charges in his suit that he "has good reason to fear injury to his person." The facts bear him out. This is a dangerous city to live in, work in, or visit.

Many of our colleagues have claimed that additional gun control legislation is the answer to this problem. A local radio station has carried editorials entitled "Get the Guns Off the Streets." This is certainly not the answer.

The District has a gun registration law. In fact, the suit by a Virginia resident brought against the city to allow him to carry a gun in the city was caused by the refusal of the Chief of Police to grant the request for a citizen to have the right to protect himself.

Regardless of any laws in existence or proposed, the criminals for the commission of their crimes continue to obtain whatever instruments they require—whether they be handguns, knives, ice picks, or some other item. Any additional restrictive gun laws can only be expected to force the law-abiding citizen to violate the law as he faces the choice of either obeying the law or defending himself and those entrusted to his care.

The answer to the crime wave currently sweeping this city and Nation is not additional gun control legislation. Rather, it is to move immediately to insure that our policemen are adequately trained, highly capable men who are allowed to do their job without unnecessary judicial restraint. We must set out to repeal those laws which protect the criminal at the expense of the law-abiding to the point where the very existence of society is threatened.

We should then move to see that the criminal, once apprehended, meets with swift and sure justice. Again, we must reexamine our laws and remove those impediments to justice that go to such lengths to protect the accused that justice is not served and the legal system of America is made the target of mockery and insult. Then, and only then, will the crime wave that threatens to destroy the fabric of our country be dealt with and stopped.

The answer to crime is to "Get the Criminal Off the Streets."

I insert related news articles in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Washington Daily News, Oct. 26, 1971]

#### JUSTICE AIDE RAPED ON HILL—SECOND INTENDED VICTIM FLEES NAKED INTO STREET

A 25-year-old Justice Department research analyst was raped in a Capitol Hill home early today but another woman about to be assaulted ran naked into the street forcing the attacker to run away, police said.

Police said the rape victim and her husband a lawyer, were visiting three other girl friends in their basement apartment.

#### TRASH

Police said that at 9:30 the hostess went outside to empty trash, but was met by a

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

gunman who forced her back into the apartment.

Waving the gun around, the man robbed the five people of about \$75 and then forced the husband and two of the girls into one bedroom where he tied them up with twine he found in the kitchen.

The gunman then forced the research analyst and another, a Prince Georges school teacher, into a second bedroom where he made them strip, police said.

## ATTACK

The man raped the Justice Department worker, while threatening the second, police said.

He next grabbed the second girl but she yanked herself free and dashed out the front door, naked screaming for help.

Police said the gunman then ran out the back door and was gone by the time police arrived.

## LOOKOUT

Police said they are looking for a Negro man in his 20s, 6-feet tall, 200 pounds, sporting a medium bush haircut and a black mustache and wearing a white and green striped shirt, blue jacket, tan Levi's and blue suede shoes.

## GIRL RAPED ON GU HOSPITAL GROUNDS HERE

A 22-year-old information analyst who lives in upper Georgetown, was raped last night as she walked to her car at Georgetown University Hospital, police said.

It was the third rape on the Georgetown campus within the past month, police said.

They said the girl raped last night had been to the hospital clinic, and, as she walked to her car on the parking lot, a teenage boy grabbed her, threatened her with a knife and forced her to her car, where he raped her and took \$22.

[From the Evening Star, Oct. 29, 1971]

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POLICE SEIZE SUSPECTS IN THREE RAPES

Police today arrested an 18-year-old and charged him with the Monday night rape of a Justice Department employee who was assaulted while visiting a Capitol Hill home.

The youth already was on probation after being charged with juvenile delinquency in two 1969 rape cases, police said.

Purcell Steven Cozzens of the 1200 block of Half Street SW was the third person charged with rape in 16 hours by police hunting suspects in recent cases here.

Earlier, a former D.C. policeman was arrested near Kennedy Stadium and charged with the rape of a 13-year-old girl moments before. An 18-year-old was arrested in connection with the rape of a 67-year-old woman in her Southeast home Monday.

Meanwhile, another woman was raped last night in Northwest Washington as she went shopping.

A squad of five detectives led by Sgt. James Waybright of the police sex squad, armed with shotguns and carrying a U.S. magistrate's arrest warrant, seized Cozzens at his home at 3:10 a.m., Deputy Police Chief Mahlon E. Pitts said.

The youth also is being questioned in connection with the death of a woman involving a sexual assault, police said. They would not identify the case.

Cozzens is on probation until February in connection with two rape cases in September, 1969, involving FBI employees, the police said. He has been charged with assault on a police officer in the past and spent at least nine months at Cedar Knoll, they said.

Pitts said the home of the tall, muscular 18-year-old had been under surveillance since issuance of the warrant about 3 p.m. yesterday. He said Cozzens slipped unseen into the house, however, and was in bed when police went to the door.

Police carried shotguns, Pitts said, because in one of Cozzens' prior arrests he was armed.

In the Capitol Hill case, the Justice Department employee was attacked at gunpoint while she and her husband, also a Justice employee, were visiting friends.

A woman who the couple was visiting was accosted by a gunman when she took some trash out the back door. The attacker forced her back inside, bound the husband and two other women, and forced the Justice employee and another woman to disrobe.

After the first woman was raped, the second fled nude out the front door and called for help. The gunman left by the back door, police said.

Earlier yesterday, police said, Reginald Edward David, 26, of the 400 block of 12th Street SE, was arrested as he hid in bushes near where a 13-year-old girl was raped in a parking lot north of Kennedy Stadium.

David was a foot patrolman in the 5th District from December 1966 to October 1970, who "involuntarily separated" from the force because of a disability "not incurred in the line of duty," police said.

The young victim told police she and two 14-year-old girls were walking across the foggy parking lot about 9:10 a.m. yesterday when a man got out of a car and began to chase them.

The youngest girl stopped to pick up some articles that fell out of her purse and was caught, she said. The man ripped off her skirt and underwear with a knife and then raped her, police said.

Afterward, police said, the girl flagged down one passing police car and her companions hailed another. The officers went to the parking lot, they said, and found a man, whom they identify as David, hiding in bushes nearby.

David, police said, is single and lists his occupation as unemployed laborer. He is being held in lieu of \$10,000 bond in D.C. Jail pending a hearing Thursday.

Police also reported the arrest yesterday of an 18-year-old in connection with the rape of a 67-year-old woman in her Southeast home Monday.

George Gray Jr. of the 1600 block of W Street SE is being held on the charge on \$5,000 bond in D.C. Jail, also pending a hearing Thursday.

Meanwhile, police report that last night, a 39-year-old Northwest Washington housewife was raped when she left her house to go to a market. Police said she was grabbed from behind, and forced into a vacant house, where she was raped and forced to commit sodomy.

[From the Evening Star, Nov. 3, 1971]

## POLICE HUNT GIRLS' KILLER

(By Ronald Sarro and Lance Gay)

D.C. police today were seeking clues in the slaying of two young women whose badly decomposed bodies were found yesterday in an apartment in the Mount Pleasant section of Washington. They apparently had been strangled.

Residents in the building identified the women as Sherry Frahn and Sharon Tapp, both of Sydney, Australia. They said the women, each believed to be in her early 20s, were working their way around the world.

Lt. Joseph O'Brien of the homicide squad said last night, however, that neither has been positively identified.

Police said they still have found no motive for the slayings, which brought homicides in the District so far this year to 235, compared to 229 for all of 1970.

Deputy Police Chief Mahlon Pitts, chief of detectives, held over the day section of the homicide squad for several hours yesterday. Police today continued to comb the area for clues.

## EMBASSY CHECKING

Officials at the Australian Embassy 10 blocks away from the slaying scene—busy with a six-day official visit by Australian

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Prime Minister William McMahon—were attempting today to confirm that the women were Australians.

Police said the bodies were found in the bedroom of a second-floor apartment at 2714 Quarry Road NW shortly after 1:30 p.m. Detectives said a special police officer who lives in the building noticed an odor coming from the apartment and asked the building's resident manager to open it with her passkey.

Both bodies were found on a bed. One of the women, dressed in a nightgown, had been gagged with a stocking. The other, wearing a housecoat, had her hands and legs bound with stockings and a stocking stuffed in her mouth.

Sources indicated both women had been strangled. O'Brien said, however, that a preliminary autopsy performed last night was inconclusive. He declined to say if there was any evidence that either woman had been sexually molested.

## LAST SEEN THURSDAY

Neighbors said the women had been living in the sparsely furnished apartment for about three months and were last seen Thursday night.

Both were employed as counter girls at the McDonald's hamburger stand at 18th Street and Columbia Road NW. Other employees at the restaurant said last night the two had worked there for about a month and used the names Sherry Stephens and Sharon Forrest.

They speculated that the two women used pseudonyms because they did not have permits to work in this country.

When they did not show up for work last week, their employer thought they were no longer interested in working and considered them fired. McDonald's did not report their absence to police.

An Australian Embassy official said neighbors told police the women used "words that were quaint to Australia, New Zealand and, in some cases, Canada."

He confirmed that the two were not employed by the embassy and said "they are believed to be tourists who have lived here briefly."

"Identification is still very hazy," he said, adding police have said they found no visas or passports in the apartment.

Neighbors in the three-story brick apartment building described the women as "inseparable," and said they frequently were seen walking in the Mount Pleasant area.

The building is located on a narrow street in a racially mixed neighborhood on the fringes of the District's Spanish-speaking area. The apartment where the bodies were found had a Ronald McDonald clown pasted on the front door.

It is located at the rear of the building near a fire exit leading to a back alley and neighbors noted that persons could enter and leave the building by this exit without being seen.

The mailbox in the entrance-way to the apartment bore a freshly handwritten tag with the names Sherry Frahn and Sharon Tapp on it. There were some unclaimed letters inside the box.

Police were seen leaving the building with four plastic bags containing letters.

[From the Manchester Union Leader,

July 24, 1971]

## CHIEF JUSTICE AT BAY

When the Chief Justice of the United States feels so insecure in Washington, D.C., that he greets reporters who call at his door in the evening with a loaded gun in his hand, this tells us more about conditions in our nation's capital than 10,000 words on the subject. It is certainly ironical that it is previous decisions of the same Supreme Court over which Chief Justice Burger now presides that are in large part responsible for the increase of crime in this nation.

At the top of our back page today we reprint a column from the Hampton Union

entitled "The Big Wheels." This column gives not only an account of Chief Burger's gun toting but describes also two terrible events which recently happened, one of them, incidentally, while this writer was in Washington.

The rape and murder of the young woman took place NOT in some slum area of Washington, but instead in the parking lot of one of the best eating places in Washington. The murder of the naval officer and his son took place on a much traveled and well known public highway.

Sentimental judges and juries who have more sympathy for the wrong-doer than the victim, and the philosophy that it is not the criminal but society which is in the wrong, all have contributed to the freedom from fear which criminals in the United States now feel and this, of course, has led to increased crime.

This newspaper repeats, when the Chief Justice of the United States feels so unsafe in his own home that he has to come to the door with a gun in his hands, it is time for a change—and a mighty big change.

WILLIAM LOEB,  
Publisher.

[From the Manchester Union Leader, July 24, 1971]

COLUMNIST WRITES ABOUT LIFE IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL: RAPE, MURDER, AND THE ARMED CHIEF JUSTICE

(By A. Spokesman)

Hogate's is one of the famous restaurants in Washington. It is on Maine Avenue which runs along the Potomac River just a few blocks from the White House and the Capitol.

On a recent evening a couple married only two years and in their 20s finished dinner and left the restaurant for its parking lot to ride home in their car.

Only a few paces from the door they were accosted by two men, one of whom put a gun to the couple. The young man and his wife were forced into their auto and forced to drive a short distance to an alley. There the young wife was brutally raped repeatedly, and murdered. The young husband had been bound and forced to witness this heinous crime.

A few evenings later a Naval Commander took his wife and children to see the fireworks on the Washington Monument grounds. Enroute home in their station wagon, the Commander was needlessly harassed by a tail-gating vehicle carrying several persons, including one female. As the Commander's wagon approached a traffic light the other vehicle sped around it and drew up sharply in front of it. The Commander got out of his car to protest the actions of these devils and was immediately pounced upon. His 16-year-old son ran to the rescue whereupon one of the hoodlums drew a pistol and killed the Commander and his boy in cold blood.

On another recent evening two newspaper reporters knocked at the door of one Warren Burger, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States of America. The Chief Justice opened the door cautiously with pistol in hand not knowing what might be lurking on his steps. As awful as are the foregoing facts, they related the times as they are in the city which is the home of our federal government.

You can't tell us such a condition is necessary if the people who run that government—all of them—were all doing their job. And if the leaders of government were truly marshalling the decent citizens of the land to do away with permissiveness and tolerance of wrong and leniency of punishment.

Samuel Leibowitz was a tough New York judge for some 30 years. He protected the innocent but meted out severe punishment to the scum guilty of crimes against public safety and public order.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The other night retired Judge Leibowitz was on the Dave Susskind show. He called for a return to respect for parents, and to fear of God, and to effective punishment of the guilty.

It's to bad New York can't return the Judge to the bench. It's to bad the City of Washington and the 50 states don't have many judges like Leibowitz.

[From Washington Post, Oct. 31, 1971]

### VIRGINIA MAN SAYS LIFE IN DANGER SUES TO CARRY GUN IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

A government employee from Arlington has filed suit in Superior Court to force Metropolitan Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson to let him carry a gun in Washington.

Thomas G. Moore, a GS-14 transportation analyst for the Civil Aeronautics Board, charges in the suit that he "has good reason to fear injury to his person."

He states that he was robbed and shot last February in a parking lot near the Universal Building, Connecticut and Florida Avenues NW, where his office is located, and that he is afraid assailants may harm him again.

According to court and police sources, the suit is believed to be the first in the city in which a citizen has gone to court seeking permission to carry a gun under similar circumstances.

### INJUNCTION SOUGHT

Moore, who lives at 1509 S. Columbus St., Arlington, asks for an injunction to force Wilson to grant him a license to carry a pistol in Washington. He says he has been authorized to carry a pistol in Virginia.

Police said yesterday that only about "half-a-dozen" citizens have been granted permission to carry pistols in the District.

They said these individuals had demonstrated beyond doubt that "their lives were in jeopardy."

Although police did not comment specifically on why Moore's application was rejected, one spokesman said, "Thousands of people are robbed every year in Washington. We can't have them all carrying guns."

Under long-standing police custom, the police chief personally reviews all applications for gun permits. No permits are needed to keep guns in homes or businesses, police said.

In his suit Moore says he was shot in the hand during the robbery last Feb. 24 and hospitalized.

### IDENTIFIED ASSAILANT

"Following his return to work he saw and identified one of the assailants and caused said person to be arrested and charged," the suit alleges.

"Following said arrest, threats have been made against the life of the petitioner (Moore). Presently, two of the assailants are free on bond pending trial.

"The threats, the fact that the assailants were apprehended by (Moore) and the vicious nature of the attack gave him good reason to fear injury to his person."

Moore, the father of four children and a Marine Corps veteran, maintains he is "of good moral character and a suitable person to be licensed to carry a pistol." He claims Wilson "erred" in denying the application made last March 26.

[From the Manchester Union Leader, Nov. 2, 1971]

### FACTS REFUTE PROPOSAL FOR ADDITIONAL FEDERAL RESTRICTIONS ON ACQUISITION: LAW-ABIDING U.S. CITIZENS NEED HAND- GUNS

(By Woodson D. Scott)

In a recent editorial on this station a federal bill was proposed which would place additional restrictions on the acquisition of handguns. This concept of gun controls has no foundation in fact.

There is no credible evidence that restrictions on handguns assist in the prevention or detection of crime. The law-abiding citizens of this country need handguns for security, protection of person and property, hunting, target shooting, and recreation.

The law-abiding citizen does not need to be told what amount of money he can spend for handguns, or that he cannot buy them at any price. Legislation of this kind would be a first step in the prohibition of all firearms.

Regardless of any laws in existence or proposed, the criminals continue to obtain whatever instruments they require for the commission of crimes, whether they be handguns, knives, ice picks, or some other items. The restrictions proposed would affect only the citizens who comply with them.

The criminals do not comply with the laws and consequently are unaffected by restrictive gun laws. The manifest purpose of this proposal is to disarm law-abiding citizens which would make all crime easier for the criminals.

Additional handgun curbs are unnecessary and undesirable. The lawmakers of this nation should give their attention to causes of crime and rehabilitation of criminals rather than waste energy on additional proposals of no assistance in the prevention or detection of crime.

## BEWARE OF LADIES BEARING GIFTS

### HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, when the Special Subcommittee on Invasion of Privacy, which I had the privilege to chair for 7 years, initiated congressional consideration of the credit reporting industry, we discovered a truly incredible situation. One-hundred and fifty Americans had their dossiers in the system, opportunities for credit, insurance, and employment were denied by error, negligence or inadequate information, and no Federal agency or law controlled the operations of the industry. Now, fortunately, the situation has improved by the passage of the Fair Credit Reporting Act and while there are still improvements that can be made in that law, at least a strong beginning has been made.

Subsequent to our formal hearings in March and May of 1968, many additional facets of the credit reporting industry came to my attention. Perhaps one of the most dangerous was the habit of credit bureaus conducting a franchised organization known as Welcome Newcomer. Under the guise of distributing free gifts to new residents and familiarizing them with local services, the hostesses were, in reality, gaining personal information for use in building credit ratings and determining recipients for junk mail. I first called attention to this problem in the late winter of 1969 and I urged action be taken.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the Federal Trade Commission has published a consent order against the District of Columbia Credit Bureau which prohibits any of the subterfuge we commented on in 1969. This formal action represents another area where the former Privacy Subcom-

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mittee took effective and pioneering action, and in my view, is another reason why the House of Representatives should establish my proposed Select Committee on Privacy, Human Values, and Democratic Institutions. Hopefully, this measure, which has passed the Committee on Rules, will be brought to the floor during November and I insert the Federal Trade Commission's press release, and consent order, and complaint at this point in the RECORD in the hope my colleagues will find additional reason to vote for the select committee:

## FTC CONSENT ORDER AGAINST DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CREDIT BUREAU BANS DECEPTION IN GATHERING DATA

The Federal Trade Commission today provisionally accepted a consent order prohibiting The Credit Bureau, Inc. of Washington, D.C., 222 Sixth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. from obtaining personal and financial information from new area residents through subterfuge and selling it without their knowledge.

Also named in the agreed-to order is Edward F. Garretson, manager of the firm's credit bureau business which includes the operation of a new resident information-reporting service under the franchised name Welcome Newcomer.

The complaint says Welcome Newcomer hostesses make visits to new residents purportedly to dispense free gifts, familiarize them with area businesses, and make application for charge accounts with local business firms.

Through these hostesses, the complaint charges, the firm has made false claims which have induced newcomers to disclose personal and financial information which they would not have revealed had they known it would be offered for sale.

For example, the complaint says, the hostesses misrepresent that the information will be available only to a limited number of persons. In reality, it is generally available to an unlimited number of persons. The firm places the information in its files for use in making credit reports throughout the United States. Furthermore, the personal information is compiled on lists which are available to anyone desiring to purchase this information.

A further allegation is that new residents are misled into believing that the personal data obtained will be used only as proof that the hostess has called or to make application for charge accounts.

Under terms of the consent order, the firm is required to clearly disclose the purpose for obtaining the information, how it will be used, and to whom it will be available.

The agreed-to order is for settlement purposes only and does not constitute an admission by respondents that they have violated the law.

The complaint and consent order will remain on the public record from November 1, 1971 through November 30, 1971. Comments from the public received during this period will become part of the public record. The FTC may withdraw its acceptance of the agreement after further consideration.

## AGREEMENT CONTAINING CONSENT ORDER To CEASE AND DESIST

(In the matter of the Credit Bureau, Inc., of Washington, D.C., a corporation, and Edward F. Garretson, individually and as manager of the Credit Bureau, Inc., of Washington, D.C.)

The agreement herein, by and between The Credit Bureau, Inc. of Washington, D.C., a corporation, by its duly authorized officer, and Edward F. Garretson, individually, and

as manager of said corporation, proposed respondents in a proceeding the Federal Trade Commission intends to initiate, and their attorney, and counsel for the Federal Trade Commission, is entered into in accordance with the Commission's Rule governing consent order procedure. In accordance therewith the parties hereby agree that:

1. Proposed respondent The Credit Bureau, Inc. of Washington, D.C. is a corporation organized, existing and doing business under and by virtue of the laws of the State of Georgia with its office located at 1600 Peachtree Street, Northwest, in the City of Atlanta, State of Georgia and principal place of business located at 222 Sixth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Proposed respondent Edward F. Garretson is manager of said corporation. He formulates, directs and controls the policies, acts and practices of said corporation, and his address is 222 Sixth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

2. Proposed respondents have been served with a copy of the complaint the Commission intended to issue, together with a form of order the Commission believed warranted in the circumstances.

3. Proposed respondents admit all the jurisdictional facts set forth in the copy of the draft of complaint here attached.

4. Proposed respondents waive:

(a) any further procedural steps;

(b) the requirement that the Commission's decision contain a statement of findings of fact and conclusions of law; and

(c) all rights to seek judicial review or otherwise to challenge or contest the validity of the order entered pursuant to this agreement.

5. This agreement shall not become a part of the official record of the proceeding unless and until it is accepted by the Commission. If this agreement is accepted by the Commission it, together with the draft of complaint contemplated thereby, will be placed on the public record for a period of thirty (30) days and information in respect thereto publicly released; and such acceptance may be withdrawn by the Commission if, within thirty (30) days after the acceptance, comments or views submitted to the Commission disclose facts or considerations which indicate that the order contained in the agreement is inappropriate, improper, or inadequate.

6. This agreement is for settlement purposes only and does not constitute an admission by proposed respondents that the law has been violated as alleged in the said copy of the draft of complaint here attached.

7. This agreement contemplates that, if it is accepted by the Commission, and if such acceptance is not subsequently withdrawn by the Commission pursuant to the provisions of Section 2.34(b) of the Commission's Rules, the Commission may, without further notice to proposed respondents (1) issue its complaint corresponding in form and substance with the draft of complaint here attached and its decision containing the following order to cease and desist in disposition of the proceeding, and (2) make information public in respect thereto. When so entered, the order to cease and desist shall have the same force and effect and shall become final and may be altered, modified or set aside in the same manner and within the same time provided by statute for other orders. The complaint may be used in construing the terms of the order.

8. Proposed respondents have read the proposed complaint and order contemplated hereby, and they understand that once the order has been issued, they will be required to file one or more compliance reports showing that they have fully complied with the order, and that they may be liable for a civil penalty of up to \$5,000 for each violation of the order after it becomes final.

## ORDER

It is ordered that respondents The Credit Bureau, Inc. of Washington, D.C. a corporation, and its officers, and Edward F. Garretson, individually, and as manager of The Credit Bureau, Inc. of Washington, D.C., and each of said respondents trading as Welcome Newcomer or under any other trade name or names, and respondents' agents, employees and representatives, directly or through any corporate, subsidiary, division or other device, in connection with the solicitation, compilation, use, sale or distribution of personal, financial or other information or debt collections or other service in "commerce" as defined in the Federal Trade Commission Act, do forthwith cease and desist from:

1. Representing, directly or by implication, that the personal and financial information obtained by the hostess making the visit for Welcome Newcomer will be used only as proof that the hostess has called upon the newcomer or to make application for charge accounts with firms which do business in the community; or misrepresenting in any manner, the purposes for obtaining any information from whatever source, or how or the manner in which the information is to be used or revealed to third parties.

2. Obtaining personal and financial information without clearly and conspicuously disclosing at the outset, in each introduction or presentation by hostesses or other representatives of respondents to newcomers that such information, in addition to being submitted in connection with any credit applications signed by the newcomer, will be available to specifically identified organizations which subscribe to the Welcome Newcomer service and may solicit the newcomer's patronage.

3. Disclosing any personal or financial information furnished by a newcomer for any purposes other than those described in paragraph 2 without clearly and conspicuously disclosing to the newcomer, prior to obtaining such information, the exact information which will be used, the particular use which will be made of such information, and the parties or entities to whom the information will be made available.

4. Using the trade name "Welcome Newcomer" or any other trade name of substantially similar import or meaning, either orally or in writing, in connection with the collection of personal or financial information for credit rating, debt collection or other purposes without clearly and conspicuously revealing in immediate connection therewith that the name identifies a credit bureau or a service or activity of a credit bureau.

It is further ordered that respondents shall deliver a copy of this Order to Cease and Desist to all present and future hostesses or other representatives engaged in securing personal and financial information from newcomers, and shall obtain a signed statement acknowledging receipt of said Order from each said agent, representative or person receiving a copy of said Order.

It is further ordered that respondents notify the Commission at least thirty (30) days prior to any proposed change in the corporate respondent such as dissolution, assignment or sale resulting in the emergence of a successor corporation, the creation or dissolution of subsidiaries or any change in the corporation which may affect compliance obligations arising out of this Order.

It is further ordered that the respondents herein shall within sixty (60) days after service upon them of this Order file with the Commission a report in writing setting forth in detail the manner and form of their compliance with this Order.

## COMPLAINT

Pursuant to the provisions of the Federal Trade Commission Act, and by virtue of the

authority vested in it by said Act, the Federal Trade Commission, having reason to believe that The Credit Bureau, Inc. of Washington, D.C., a corporation, and Edward F. Garretson, individually, and as manager of The Credit Bureau, Inc. of Washington, D.C., hereinafter referred to as respondents, have violated the provisions of said Act, and it appearing to the Commission that a proceeding by it in respect thereof would be in the public interest, hereby issues its complaint stating its charges in that respect as follows:

Paragraph one: Respondent The Credit Bureau, Inc. of Washington, D.C. is a corporation organized, existing and doing business under and by virtue of the laws of the State of Georgia, with its principal office located at 1600 Peachtree Street, Northwest, Atlanta, Georgia, and its principal place of business located at 222 Sixth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

On or about October 28, 1970, said respondent, The Credit Bureau, Inc. of Washington, D.C., acquired The Credit Bureau, Inc., which was a corporation organized, existing and doing business under and by virtue of the laws of the District of Columbia, with its principal office and place of business located at 222 Sixth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., and controlled and dominated its acts and practices until it was dissolved on or about November 18, 1970. The business operations of The Credit Bureau, Inc. were thereafter continued at 222 Sixth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., by The Credit Bureau, Inc. of Washington, D.C.

Respondent Edward F. Garretson is an individual and was an officer of The Credit Bureau, Inc., and is manager of its corporate successor, respondent The Credit Bureau, Inc. of Washington, D.C. The said individual respondent formulated, directed and controlled the acts and practices of The Credit Bureau, Inc., including the acts and practices hereinafter set forth. He now is primarily responsible for formulating, directing and controlling the acts and practices of the corporate respondent, including those hereinafter set forth.

The aforementioned respondents cooperated and acted together in the carrying out of the acts and practices hereinafter set forth.

Paragraph two: Respondents are now, and for some time long past have been, among other things, engaged in the business operation of a credit reporting service, which business operation includes the gathering, dissemination and sale of personal and financial information from residents newly located in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area. In the course and conduct of their business aforesaid, respondents use the trade name Welcome Newcomer. Individuals designated by respondents as Welcome Newcomer Hostesses make visits to new residents to the area, purportedly to dispense free gifts, familiarize them with area business, and make application for charge accounts with firms which do business in the community.

Paragraph three: In the course and conduct of their business, as aforesaid, respondents now cause, and for some time last past have caused, materials relating to newcomers to be delivered to newcomers who are located in Washington, D.C. and in various States of the United States, and information received from said newcomers to be transmitted from their place of business in Washington, D.C. to persons and businesses located in various other States of the United States and Washington, D.C.

Respondents, therefore, maintain, and at all times mentioned herein have maintained, a substantial course of trade in the aforesaid products and services in commerce, as "commerce" is defined in the Federal Trade Commission Act.

Paragraph four: In the course and conduct of their business, as aforesaid, and for the purpose of inducing newcomers to supply

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

personal and financial information, respondents employ and engage persons (called hostesses) who call on the newcomers in their homes, and through their hostesses respondents have made, and are now making, to newcomers various statements and representations, directly or by implication, of which the following are typical and illustrative, but not all inclusive thereof:

1. The personal data obtained by the hostess will be used only as proof that the hostess has called upon the newcomer or to make application for charge accounts with firms which do business in the community.

2. The information will be available only to a limited number of persons.

Paragraph five: In truth and in fact:

1. The personal data obtained by the hostess is used for purposes in addition to proof that the hostess has called upon the newcomer or to make application for charge accounts with firms which do business in the community, which purpose is not disclosed to the newcomer.

2. The information is not available only to a limited number of persons, but is generally available to an unlimited number of persons. The information is relayed by the hostesses to respondents, who place the information in their files for use in making credit reports throughout the United States. Furthermore, the personal information is compiled on lists which are available to anyone desiring to purchase this information, which fact is not disclosed to the newcomer.

Therefore, the statements and representations as set forth in Paragraph Four hereof were, and are, false, misleading and deceptive.

Paragraph six: Furthermore, it was and is an unfair practice and a false, misleading and deceptive act and practice for respondents to induce persons new to the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area to provide them with personal and financial information which would not have been otherwise revealed by such persons had they been informed of the purpose for which the information was being sought. Respondents' subterfuge and failure to disclose the actual purpose for obtaining such information and failure to adequately disclose that the trade name Welcome Newcomer identifies a credit bureau or a service or activity of a credit bureau, constitute a scheme to obtain personal and financial information through deception and misrepresentation.

Therefore, the respondents' methods, as set forth herein, of obtaining personal and financial information were and are unfair acts and practices and were and are false, misleading and deceptive.

Paragraph seven: In the course and conduct of their aforesaid business, and at all times mentioned herein, respondents have been, and now are, in substantial competition, in commerce, with corporations, firms and individuals gathering personal information of the same general kind and nature as that obtained and used by respondents.

Paragraph eight: The use by respondents of the aforesaid false, misleading and deceptive statements, representations and practices and the failure to disclose the true nature, purpose and use of the information obtained through said visits, has had, and now has, the capacity and tendency to mislead members of the public into the erroneous and mistaken belief that said statements and representations were and are true, and into making contributions of personal and financial information to the respondents by reason of said erroneous and mistaken belief.

Paragraph nine: The aforesaid acts and practices of respondents, as herein alleged, were and are all to the prejudice and injury of the public and of respondents' competitors and constituted and now constitute unfair methods of competition in commerce and unfair and deceptive acts and practices

in commerce in violation of Section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act.

Wherefore, the premises considered, the Federal Trade Commission on this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, AD 1971, issues its complaint against said respondents.

By the Commission.

CHARLES A. TOBIN,  
Secretary.

## AN OLD PRO WRITES OF AN OLD PRO

### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, James L. Kilgallen, one of the true "pros" of the newspaper business, recently wrote in his syndicated column on some of the interesting people he has met in his many years as a topnotch reporter. One of the people he refers to is another "old pro," our good friend, the Honorable James A. Farley. Jim Farley I am sure needs no introduction here, but I would like to share the article with my colleagues. Under the permission heretofore unanimously granted me, I include the article by James A. Kilgallen at this point in the RECORD:

[From the San Antonio Light, Sept. 21, 1971]

#### THE PEOPLE WHO LEFT THE DEEPEST

IMPRESSION

(By James L. Kilgallen)

From time to time, young people just starting in the newspaper business ask me whom I admired the most among the many top personalities I have met in the course of my work.

Now I have always striven for objectivity in covering the news. I have attempted, in fairness to the readers, to keep my personal likes, dislikes and opinions out of any story I have written.

However, from all the contacts I have had, certain individuals are bound to take on a special stature that exalts them above all the others.

So, on a purely personal basis not just for their accomplishments but on how they directly impressed me, I would nominate as my five "must admired" figures the following: Capt. Edward V. Rickenbacker, James A. Farley, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, Bernard M. Baruch and Winston Churchill.

To the "honorable mention" rolls in this department I would assign Franklin D. Roosevelt, Alfred E. Smith, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Herbert Hoover, Thomas E. Dewey, John L. Lewis, Francis Cardinal Spellman, Jack Dempsey and Konrad Adenauer.

And if I were permitted to select one newspaperman for my personal "Hall of Fame," I would毫不犹豫地 nominate William Randolph Hearst Sr. (1863-1951) for whom I worked for many years but, sadly, never met.

#### NOT ALONE

Hearst was a man of extraordinary ability who exerted a profound influence on American journalism. Under his direction, many men and women rose to individual fame in literature and art. Nor am I alone in this appraisal. Herbert Bayard Swope, for many years one of Joseph Pulitzer's top editors and, hence, a competitor, ranked Hearst above his own famed publisher as a journalistic giant.

Returning to my gallery of "most admired," I first met Capt. Rickenbacker when he was a racing driver at Indianapolis Speedway. During World War I, he went overseas as a sergeant-driver on Gen. Pershing's staff. Then he transferred to our fledgling air

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

force became commander of the famous 94th "Hat in the Ring" fighter squadron and personally scored 26 victories over German flyers. He returned home with just about every valor decoration there was.

For a while, Capt. Eddie ran his own Rickenbacker Motor Co. and then became an executive with Eastern Air Lines. I recall an assignment I had with him when he was demonstrating successfully that it had become possible, on his airline, to "have breakfast in Los Angeles and dinner in New York."

During World War II, while on an inspection tour for the War Department, Rickenbacker's plane crashed in the Pacific. The war hero and his companions floated on a raft for days before rescue. They were saved from starvation when a seagull swooped down and perched on Rickenbacker's hat. The men ate the gull.

Now retired, Capt. Eddie lives in New York City, respected and honored by all who know him.

Jim Farley, who twice master-minded Franklin D. Roosevelt into the presidency, remains today the best liked and respected politician I have ever met. He reached his political pinnacle in the 1930s as Democratic national chairman and postmaster general. One of his characteristics is his loyalty to friends.

## VISITS HIM

Farley stood by the late James J. Walker when the latter resigned under fire as mayor of New York in 1932 and went abroad. While most of Walker's friends deserted him, Farley went out of his way to visit Jimmy in Paris and when the ex-mayor returned to New York, Farley was the one prominent politician who went out to the ship to greet him.

Now 83, the six-foot, 2½-inch Farley is chairman of the board of Coca-Cola Export Corp. and has no intention of retiring. He walks to his office daily from his apartment in the Waldorf Towers.

Most of my contacts with Dwight D. Eisenhower were in the World War II days when he was supreme commander of the Allied forces and I was a correspondent for International News Service. There was no thought then that he would become the 34th president of the United States.

For a man in his high position in the war effort and his tremendous responsibilities, "Ike" certainly was one of the most genial and warm-hearted men I have ever known.

It appeared to me that he was just as popular with our British allies as he was among our own men and I believe his sincerity and persuasive leadership contributed greatly to the Allied unity which was instrumental in our winning the war.

Bernard Baruch, author of the "Baruch Plan" for control of atomic energy, was a millionaire financier by the age of 35 and was an unofficial adviser of U.S. presidents from Woodrow Wilson to Dwight Eisenhower.

But Baruch had a common touch as shown by his habit of sitting on park benches and chatting with anyone who came along and as illustrated by this little story he told me once in an interview:

One day as Baruch was alighting from a taxi near his office, another car drew up and the driver began berating the cabby in profane language.

The stranger leaped from his car and swung at Baruch. The financer stepped inside the swing and dropped the man with one punch. What the other fellow did not know was that Baruch was so good a boxer in his college days that heavyweight great Bob Fitzsimmons once advised Baruch to become a professional fighter.

I met Winston Churchill four times—first in Italy at a press conference the day after Rome was liberated in World War II, again in May, 1945 when he inspected Hitler's bunker in Berlin and twice on his post-war visits to this country.

What impressed me most about Churchill was the clarity of his mind and his artistry with the English language. He could explain a complicated problem concisely, with a minimum of words. And, of course, he was a man of strong character. As his friend, Bernard Baruch, once said of him:

"Adversity brought out the best in him. I never knew him to make an ignoble proposal. He was, indeed, a civilized man. And he belongs to all the world."

The joys and excitement of being a reporter do not spring entirely from associations with great men and great events, however. Sometimes a routine little assignment at the other end of the scale can open your eyes to the world and make you see what a wonderful and variegated place it is.

## CUPRO-NICKEL EISENHOWER DOLLAR COINS NOW BEING DISTRIBUTED TO BANKS

## HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Reserve System, which controls the distribution of all U.S. coins for general circulation, has begun distributing to banks throughout the country the new issue of cupro-nickel \$1 coins authorized by Congress last year. They should be available to the general public without difficulty, and also, of course, without any fees or side payments, for \$1 each.

These coins are made without any silver. A limited number of \$1 coins containing 40-percent silver has been issued by the Bureau of the Mint on special orders as commemoratives, and cost \$3 each in the uncirculated form and \$10 each as proof coins. It is therefore hardly likely that any of the silver dollars will turn up in general circulation as \$1 coins, unless they have been stolen.

But for those who wish to have and use the large silverless "cartwheels," the legislation we enacted provided for unlimited coinage of nonsilver \$1 coins in the same size as the old silver dollars minted up to 1935.

## COINS HONOR EISENHOWER AND THE APOLLO 11 MISSION

The new coins—both the silver ones and the nonsilver ones—bear the likeness of the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower on the obverse and, on the reverse, a design emblematic of the landing of the Apollo 11 mission on the moon.

The Eisenhower portrait on the \$1 coins was specifically provided for by an amendment to the 1969 coinage bill offered in the Committee on Banking and Currency by the gentlewoman from New Jersey (Mrs. DWYER), after the Treasury Department, in answer to a question of mine, said the administration would like to so honor the late President and General of the Armies but, rather than make the decision administratively—as it legally could have done—preferred to have Congress make the designation. So this was a bipartisan effort to honor a great American, and was unanimously agreed to in the Bank-

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ing and Currency Committee, and later by the House.

The design on the reverse side of the \$1 coin commemorating man's first landing on the moon stemmed from a floor amendment offered by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. CASEY), which was further amended by an amendment of mine. The Casey-Sullivan amendment was then unanimously approved by the House, and was recommended by the House conferees in the final version of the coinage legislation in 1970.

The new coin will undoubtedly become a favorite pocketpiece, just as many of us used to carry one of the old silver dollars, and perhaps still do. Also, it should enjoy widespread use in the West, where the absence of silver dollars after 1964 became something of a political issue. I suspect we will also soon be seeing many vending machines taking the \$1 coins and also the 50-cent coins honoring the late President John F. Kennedy which are also being produced now without silver content for general circulation. My only concern as a consumerist is that the higher value coins now available for general circulation do not contribute to making the old 5-cent candy bar into a 50-cent or \$1 item in the vending machines.

## FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM ANNOUNCEMENT ON DISTRIBUTION OF \$1 COINS

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include as part of my remarks a release from the Federal Reserve System yesterday announcing the start of distribution of \$1 coins for general circulation through the banking system, as follows:

Federal Reserve Banks and Branch Banks have begun supplying to banks across the nation some 62 million copper-nickel dollar coins commemorating the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower, and the first landing on the moon.

One side of the coin bears the image of the late President. On the other side is a reproduction of the emblem worn by the astronauts of Apollo 11: an eagle, against the moon's surface.

The dollar being distributed today for banks to put into the hands of the public was the first dollar coin for general circulation since 1935. A 40 per cent silver Eisenhower-moon landing dollar was made available in specially produced "proof" condition to the public—by mail order from the Mint—last July 1 at \$10 per coin. At the same time, an "uncirculated", mass-produced, 40 per cent silver Eisenhower dollar of the same design was made available, also by mail order from the Mint, at \$3 each. These coins are not expected to circulate. The coins now being sent to commercial and savings banks for use by the public are expected to circulate at face value.

Coins are manufactured by the Mint, and distributed to the nation's banks by the Federal Reserve System. The Federal Reserve estimates the cupronickel Eisenhower dollar will reach all banking institutions, via regular armored car delivery routes and registered mail, not later than the end of this week. The Federal Reserve told Reserve Banks and Branches by wire on October 21 the Mint had advised that all Reserve Offices would have supplies of the new dollar coin by November 1 adequate for an equitable initial distribution. The wire suggested that all banking institutions be advised sufficiently in advance to place initial orders. It is these orders that are now being filled.

The new, silverless, Eisenhower dollar is the

same makeup—a copper core, with cupronickel cladding—as current dimes, quarters and half dollars. The traditional 90 per cent silver U.S. dimes, quarters and half dollars were discontinued in 1965 due to a growing shortage of silver, in the face of rapidly mounting demand for coins.

In 1964 a 90 per cent silver half dollar, memorializing the late President John F. Kennedy, was issued. This was followed in 1965 by a 40 per cent silver clad Kennedy half dollar, replaced in 1971 by a cupronickel Kennedy half dollar.

**THE EMPRESARIO, DON MARTIN DE LEON**

**HON. JOHN YOUNG**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. YOUNG of Texas. Mr. Speaker, located in the 14th Congressional District of Texas, which I am privileged to represent, is Victoria County and the city of Victoria which holds a proud place in the history of our State. Mr. A. B. J. Hammett makes a significant contribution to our knowledge of that history in his book entitled, "The Empresario, Don Martin De Leon." A review of the book has just been completed by Mr. Joe Petty, member, Victoria County Historical Survey Committee, and I am pleased, herewith, to share the text of the review with my colleagues:

**THE EMPRESARIO, DON MARTIN DE LEON**

(By Joe Petty)

One of the great and glaring gaps in published Texas History is the sad lack of books about its Empresarios.

To be sure, there is the great one by the late Dr. Eugene C. Barker, of the University of Texas, on Stephen F. Austin, who is so often referred to as "The Father of Texas". This is because he was the first one, the most successful one and cut the trail for many that were to follow.

But for the most part that courageous group of leaders, who had the foresight to see what the wilderness of this Mexican Province could become, and risked their fortunes (and often their lives) to make it happen, is still untold.

A. B. J. Hammett, a Business Leader, Banker and Investor of Victoria, has corrected that lack for the Mexican Empresario, who established and laid out Victoria, that thriving and beautiful South Texas city on the lower reaches of the Guadalupe River, the Capitol of Martin De Leon's, "De Leon Colony," and was to be the site of so much significant Texas History.

No one person and his family has suffered more embittering injustice and maltreatment by other Texans than Don Martin De Leon and his children and relatives. Many of his direct descendants still live today in the town he founded, Guadalupe Victoria. They should welcome this book. For at long last, A. B. J. Hammett has written well the sad and tragic story of the mistreatment, robbery and exile of Don Martin De Leon and his family. The sad story of his son Don Fernando and his widow and other members of the family fleeing to Louisiana, for their personal safety. He has written the shameful story of their being robbed of their lands and their cattle, their herds of horses and fine imported European furniture in that ugly and chaotic time of blind bias and prejudice against anyone and anything Mexican by Americans in that period immediately after San Jacinto.

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

It is a well established historical fact, that the flag that flew over the Alamo when Travis and his men were besieged there, had on it the figures 1824. The meaning being that these Texans (citizens of Mexico) were fighting for the constitution of 1824, and against the tyranny of Santa Anna. How ironic it is that Don Martin De Leon was a close and intimate friend of Guadalupe Victoria, the first President of Mexico under the constitution of 1824. Martin De Leon and his family were on the same side as the Texas heroes that paid the supreme and ultimate sacrifice at the Alamo, yet he and his family, who had contributed so much in that cause were vilified and robbed as if they had been the defeated enemy.

A. B. J. Hammett has not been alone in trying to bring a belated justice and attention to the Mexican Nationals that aided the Texas Revolution. General Hobart Huson, the internationally famed lay historian of Refugio, brings a late light to the contributions of those Texans he calls, "Tejanos" to the Texas Revolution. It is high time it be known.

Mr. Hammett has worked closely from accepted and established local and regional histories of this area. To cite two, Victor Rose's, History of Victoria, which is basic and Mrs. Kate O'Connor's much later and most outstanding work, Presidio La Bahia, that tells us so very much about the Franciscan and Spanish Missions and Presidio system in this buffer province of Mexico.

But most happily, and the thing that makes the book truly unique, Mr. Hammett has been granted the full confidence of the De Leon family and complete access to all the De Leon papers, photographs, day books, diaries, journals, personal correspondence, etc. This treasure trove of prime material has never been used before in this way. It has enabled him to throw bright lights into areas that have so very long been shadowed. From this wealth of previously untouched material, he is able to reconstruct the daily life and the personalities of these early day pioneers of a frontier Colony. With the co-operation of Patricia De Leon, he has been given the color of verbal tradition within this proud and closely knit family.

This reviewer, a long-time collector and dealer in Texana and Southwestern Americana can state without fear of contradiction, that nothing seems to disappear more rapidly than local and regional history. Nor escalate faster in value once they are gone. The purchase of multiple copies of either the regular or special edition of this book could prove a prime and lucrative investment.

The Publisher has chosen twenty-four well-done illustrations to enrich the book and add visual interest. It is printed on the best of heavy book paper and has a top quality binding. A detailed index has been added that provides the reader with a quick, ready reference to all proper names, places, subjects, etc.

**HISTORIC ELECTION IN SALT LAKE CITY**

**HON. SHERMAN P. LLOYD**

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, a significant and historic election was held yesterday in Salt Lake City.

J. Bracken Lee, who served for 8 years as Governor of Utah and for the past 12 years has served as mayor of Salt Lake City, voluntarily retired. Before he was elected Governor, he served as the mayor of Price for 12 years. It can be said of Mayor Lee that when he was made, they

threw the pattern away. He has served the people of his State as an honest fiscal conservative with distinction and with a unique and forthright outspokenness which has drawn to him perhaps as large a number of loyal and unwavering hardcore supporters through thick and thin of any public servant in Utah's history.

E. J. "Jake" Garn, 39 years of age, who for the past 4 years has served as a Salt Lake City commissioner, has been elected mayor to succeed Mayor Lee. Jake Garn is a dynamic young leader, believing in an activist approach to the problems of urban growth. So far as his decisive and forthright statements on issues is concerned, he is much like the man he will succeed. The problems of urban growth and the correlation of city and county services will be met with great forcefulness by Mr. Garn.

Conrad Harrison, also a member of the Salt Lake City Commission, who was Mr. Garn's opponent in the final election, is a consistently able public servant, and Salt Lake City is fortunate to have the continued services of Commissioner Harrison, whose term as commissioner does not expire.

Two new city commissioners were elected to Salt Lake City's commission form of government. Jennings Phillips, who has served capably as city treasurer, will bring to his new responsibilities a vast knowledge of public affairs and of the human elements of our city. Also elected was an intelligent and promising young city prosecutor, Stephen Harmsen, who has great potential for effective public service. George Catmull, who in my opinion was an exceptionally good commissioner and director of the difficult streets department, voluntarily retired with the thanks of the majority of responsible people.

Yesterday's election was a most important milestone in the history of Salt Lake City, a city which was "a new community" planned by Brigham Young in 1847 and which has grown to be one of the most beautiful cities of the world at America's crossroads of the West.

**BLACKWATER WILDLIFE REFUGE**

**HON. WILLIAM O. MILLS**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. MILLS of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the First Congressional District of Maryland holds many attractions for tourists. One of the finest attractions is the Blackwater National Wildlife Refuge in Dorchester County. The Sunday, October 31, 1971, issue of the Washington Post contained an article by staff writer Barbara Guinn which details the appeal this center has for thousands of annual visitors. I am inserting in the Record at this point a copy of the article for the information of the Members:

A WILDLIFE REFUGE  
(By Barbara Guinn)

Hunting Canadian geese, a pastime usually associated with the affluent male, can be enjoyed by the entire family—providing you do your hunting at Blackwater National

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Wildlife Refuge and do your shooting with a camera.

The refuge, a resting and feeding area on the Atlantic Flyway, the natural path of millions of migratory birds that extends from Canada to Florida, is located in Maryland's Dorchester County on the Eastern Shore of Chesapeake Bay. It's about a two-hour drive from the Washington Beltway. The children can start scanning the sky for the graceful gray birds with black necks and black and white heads as you near Easton, often referred to as "the Goose Capital of the World."

Actually, you'll probably hear the unmistakable honking of the birds well before you see them. Almost invariably, the flocks—which can number in the thousands—will sweep in with a V-shaped formation at high altitude while three or more "scouts" fly low to reconnoiter the cornfields or marshy areas. Only when these lead birds have mysteriously communicated an "all clear" signal will their flock come in for a landing.

One of the best ways to see not only the geese, but ducks and all manner of wildlife in their natural habitat is to drive through Blackwater Refuge—an area of 11,000 acres under the watchful administration of the Interior Department. Over the past 38 years there has been a great increase in the bird population and nowadays there are more than 100,000 geese and at least 150,000 ducks during peak fall periods.

More than 250 species of birds have been identified at the refuge. When I was there last fall, the reported census for the week (posted at the Visitors' Center), showed that, in addition to tens of thousands of Canadian geese, there were 200 snow geese, 100 blue geese, 40,000 mallards, 50 shoveler, 25 bufflehead and 10 whistling swan living in the wetlands and fields.

A Wildlife Drive winds along a creek and through the marshland, and here you can come almost close enough to touch the 15- to 18-pound geese. We drove to within 20 feet of a magnificent snow goose. At a greater distance, perhaps a few hundred feet, one can view swarms of birds flying or resting in the fields or water. In addition to the auto road, a hiking trail has recently been opened along the edge of a marsh and through a wooded area.

Start your visit at the Visitors' Center, which boasts a handsome and informative display explaining the area. Time permitting, you can enjoy a short picture show and talk.

The refuge has a beautiful picnic area with wall-to-wall pine needles, grilles and well-kept rest rooms. There is no charge.

The geese, which usually begin arriving in mid-September, use the refuge as a motel, according to manager W. H. Julian. "Some stay for a while and then move on to the Carolinas and Florida. Others use the refuge as their base until they head back to Hudson Bay in April," says Julian.

For in-flight photographs, Julian recommends that you either arrive early (many of the geese fly out by 9:30 a.m. to feed in nearby cornfields) or plan to be there from 3 p.m. to dusk when the birds return for the night. The following rules are designed for everyone's benefit:

1. Never disturb birds at rest in the fields or in the water. Don't honk horns or approach them on foot—all this will do is cause them to fly away to a distant location for the balance of the day.

2. Birds have become adjusted to cars. Your auto is a good "blind" from which to take photos.

3. Never use flash bulbs or auto headlights in the refuge.

4. Keep pets in the car or on a leash.

5. Take your time, you'll be rewarded by great sights if you drive through the refuge at 10 or 15 m.p.h.

6. Be sure to take along film and picnic supplies including charcoal. Nothing is available for sale in the refuge.

During Waterfowl Week, Nov. 20 to 28, there will be bird banding demonstrations and retriever demonstrations on the 20th and 21st, and bird banding demonstrations again on the 26th, 27th and 28th. An art exhibit will feature paintings and decoys.

The refuge is open seven days a week, 8 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. No charge.

If you plan your wild goose trip the weekend of Nov 12, 13, and 14, you might want to visit the waterfowl festival scheduled for the Tidewater Inn in Easton. Sponsored by the Talbot County Chapter of Ducks Unlimited, proceeds will go to projects aimed at saving the natural habitat needed for breeding grounds of wild ducks and geese in Canada.

The festival will include a show of the country's outstanding waterfowl carvers and collectors including the work of the Ward brothers of Crisfield, Md.; an art exhibit; an antique gun collection, and demonstrations on how to carve a duck decoy and paint the basic feather detail. There will be a buy-sell-and-swap center. Hours are 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. on Friday and Saturday; 1 to 5 p.m. on Sunday. Admission charge.

A trip to this part of Maryland would not be complete without a stop at the Wye Mills area. Here you can see the 450-year-old white oak with its 165-foot spread, thought to be the oldest oak in the U.S. This is a one-tree state forest! Close by you'll see a one-room school house.

The Old Wye Church, which held its first service Oct. 18, 1721, has services at 11 a.m. on Sunday and is open for conducted tours on Sunday afternoons and other days when volunteers are available. Restored in 1947 by Colonial Williamsburg's architect and through the financial assistance of Arthur A. Houghton Jr., the church has a cantilevered pulpit and sounding board inlaid with walnut in a field of butternut and holly woods. Be sure to see the original 1737 silver communion service.

If you visit the church between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. on Saturday, Nov. 6, you will find the best of the members' needlework and homemade foods for sale during their annual bazaar. A hot lunch will also be sold.

The old Wye Mill which once ground flour for George Washington's troops, is open during the summer.

For a detailed schedule of Blackwater Refuge events during Wildfowl Week, write to the Refuge Manager, W. H. Julian, Rt. 1, Box 121, Cambridge, Md. 21613. Telephone: 301-228-2677.

Directions: Take Exit 31 from the Beltway and follow Route 50 (John Hanson Highway) east past Annapolis and over the Chesapeake Bay Bridge (Toll: \$1 for car and all passengers, each way). Continue on Rt. 50. (At a point about 5 miles past where Rt. 50 and Rt. 301 divide, you'll see signs for the Wye Oak and Wye Mills area—a two-mile side trip). Follow Rt. 50 through Cambridge, then take Rt. 16 for 7 miles to Church Creek; then go left for 4 miles on State Route 335. Here you'll see a refuge entrance sign. The Visitors' Center is about 2 miles further east.

## UNITED NATIONS' CHINA VOTE

## HON. STEWART B. MCKINNEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, opinions on the United Nations' China decision have been many and varied, but none will have the global impact as that which eventually crystallizes as the majority view of the Members of the Congress of the United States. At present

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the loudest voices being heard in the House of Representatives and the Senate are those crying "get out" and/or "cut the funds."

These pleas, I believe, must be viewed in the proper perspective and that includes a thorough review of what is fact. First, I think it essential to examine the founding premise of the U.N. and in essence, that is to promote world peace through common understanding. An admirable concept, no doubt, but certainly an awesome task.

There are those who would credit the U.N. with the fact that since its inception, there has been no world war; a debatable assertion, I agree, but a truism nonetheless. To be sure, there has not been total peace since 1945, but the ruptures have been at best confined.

Second, what should be dismissed is that the U.N. was created solely for what we like to think of as the "good guys." Nothing could be farther from the truth for if the belligerent is not there to talk, how does one begin a two-sided discussion of peace. The U.N. was designed to be a community of nations—"good guys" and "bad guys" alike. True, it has not totally accomplished this end either. It's interesting to note that the nation of the winner of this year's Nobel Peace Prize, Willy Brandt, is not on the membership list of the U.N. Strange that the country which provoked the last world war and, in effect, solidified the need for a "League of Nations" would today—when the future of the U.N. is in doubt—bring forth this year's apostle of peace.

Third, and to the present question, it should be remembered that Taiwan withdrew from the U.N. Both Peking and Taiwan agreed that there could be no "two-China" policy. The "expulsion" vote, which has been scorned and praised, was anticlimactic and, in large measure, a childish rubbing of salt in an open wound.

Should we now compound the childishness by advocating a "cut and run" policy? Should the big boy on the block, who owns the bats and balls, take his equipment home because he lost last week's game? There are those who ascribe the loss of Taiwan to a loss of U.S. world prestige. If this were so, would not this tatter become a tear if we were to get out?

And what would an indiscriminate and intemperate cut in funds accomplish? Probably a collapse of the U.N., and this may be a desired end for some, but it will also open the floodgates of accusation as to who was responsible for killing the world's only peacekeeping mechanism, good or bad as it may be.

In retrospect, I think it would also be agreed that the vote admitting Peking was inevitable as evidenced by the yearly attrition of those nations supporting the United States in this matter.

What is interesting is that those who advocate a cut in funding have couched their request in the call for a "review" of the U.S. financial picture vis-a-vis the U.N. With this I agree, but it should not be a one-shot effort—engendered by one vote—it should be an ongoing, permanent process; an approach I favor whenever taxpayers' money is used.

Therefore, I do not favor abandoning

the U.N. nor do I favor a rash cut in funding. I will support any move, at any time, to "review" our funding since this is totally consistent with my overall legislative philosophy.

I would say that if there is a lesson to be learned from the China vote, it is this: We must now double our efforts in the pursuit of peace and build on our position at the U.N. with a strengthened policy of positive action, not reaction, for we must work toward the day when the U.N. will accomplish its goal and that is world peace.

#### LET'S CUT THE SMUT

#### HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill which will, I believe, be a significant contribution to the efforts of decent citizens throughout the Nation who wish to halt the current epidemic flow of obscene materials.

Every day mail containing offensive sexually oriented material passes through our postal system, a traffic which soils everything it touches. In situations which occur daily, citizens are being assaulted in their own homes by an increasing barrage of unsolicited smut, a situation over which neither State governments nor individual persons have any appreciable control. However, it is evident that the Federal Government does possess the authority and the resources to deal effectively with this curse, and it is my belief that the bill I am introducing today will be a contribution toward using that power.

Mr. Speaker, my bill, which is similar to legislation recently introduced into the Senate by Mr. GURNEY, represents a new approach to combating obscenity by giving our individual citizen access to a direct course of action as opposed to the present situation in which the citizen is dependent on governmental action. The bill would give the citizen who receives mail or whose household receives mail of an obscene nature a civil action against the mailer for interference with his right of privacy. The bill provides for compensatory and punitive damages, and includes a definition of obscenity by which to measure the material.

Since the first major obscenity decision came down from the Supreme Court in *Roth v. United States* (354 U.S. 476 (1957)) those manufacturing and trafficking in pornography and obscenity have regarded the law as being on their side. Unfortunately, things have degenerated to the point where people who would never go into a dirty bookstore or X-rated movie theater increasingly find themselves the unwitting and unwilling recipients of similar material being sent through the mails.

The Supreme Court has made plain our right to protect ourselves from such unwanted intrusions in the case of *Rowan v. Post Office* (397 U.S. 728 (1970)). The Court upheld Federal legis-

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

lation allowing a person to notify the post office of receipt of sexually provocative mail and of his unwillingness to receive further material from the sender.

Last year we extended the above protection to allow a person or head of a household to notify the postal system that he does not wish to receive, and his children under nineteen do not wish to receive, any sexually oriented advertisements in the mail. This new provision eliminates certain weaknesses of the first law; namely, the householder need no longer wait until he receives the first mailing before complaining and a separate action against each sender is no longer necessary. This 1970 provision has been challenged and upheld by a three-judge Federal district court in a recent case. *Pent-R-Books, Inc. v. U.S. Postal Service*, 39 L.W. 2733 (D.C. Cal. June 10, 1971).

As another hopeful sign last term the Supreme Court held that the mails may not be used to transport obscene material even if the material has been ordered by the recipient. *Reidel v. United States* (402 U.S. 351 (1971)).

Mr. Speaker, while recent legislation has aided in protecting citizens from the flow of filth pouring through the postal system, these statutes by and large have been dependent on administrative action and governmental suit for their effectiveness. The bill which I am introducing will provide a more immediate and accessible weapon against the pornographers, and for this important reason I urge its prompt consideration and approval by the Congress.

#### OPPOSITION TO TAX ON ADVERTISING

#### HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, the District of Columbia's proposed sales tax on advertising has aroused serious controversy from my own State, for they feel it will be a precedent-setting tax. I am, therefore, placing in today's RECORD, a copy of a telegram and a letter dated October 29, from the Allied Daily Newspapers; a copy of a letter of April 2, 1971, to State Senator Martin J. Durkan, of the Washington State Senate, and asking that Members of this House read these carefully prior to voting on the proposed advertising tax.

ALLIED DAILY NEWSPAPERS  
OF WASHINGTON,  
Seattle, Wash., October 29, 1971.

HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN,  
U.S. House of Representatives, Cannon House  
Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. HANSEN: Following up on a telegram sent to you this morning, I am writing with regard to H.R. 11341. This bill, which we understand cleared the House District of Columbia Committee, had tacked onto it at the last minute a section extending the D.C. sales tax to the sale of advertising. We would be very distressed if this provision were not removed from the bill on the House floor.

During the session of the Washington Legislature early this year, the Allied organization, Washington Newspaper Publishers Association and the Washington State Association of Broadcasters had occasion to address letters to the leadership of both the Washington House and Washington Senate regarding extension of the state sales tax to advertising.

In that letter we set forth the reasons such a tax has not been adopted in any state, and why it should not be adopted. The same reasons, of course, apply to the District of Columbia. Therefore, I am taking the liberty of sending to you a copy of the letter we sent to one of the leaders in the State Legislature.

Respectfully,

PAUL R. CONRAD,  
Executive Director.

APRIL 2, 1971.

HON. MARTIN J. DURKAN,  
Washington State Senate,  
Legislative Building,  
Olympia, Wash.

DEAR SENATOR DURKAN: There has been a lot of talk around the Legislative Building lately about extension of the sales tax to "services". We take no position one way or the other on the general principle involved. Sales tax obviously fits the sale of tangible personal property much more comfortably than taxation of "services", but states have been successful in extending the tax to many services and, if Washington must have additional state revenues, this is certainly one of the options available.

However, there are "services" and there are "services", and some don't lend themselves to sales tax at all. Labor, as a "service", is a good example. Advertising is another.

No state applies its retail sales to advertising. This is not because the advertising media are skillful lobbyists. It is because advertising does not lend itself to the retail sales tax. The few states that rely on a "gross receipts tax", rather than a pass-on sales tax, do apply that levy to advertising (Washington's business and occupation tax being an example). But even here, the peculiarities of advertising become evident. The interstate character of broadcast advertising requires an apportionment of the advertising revenue between local and regional-national. It also requires apportioning of listening audiences between those living in-state and those out-of-state.

The ephemeral character of advertising is even more evident when one contemplates applying the sales tax to advertising transactions. Again, in the broadcasting field, ad sales are concluded in New York, involving stations all across the nation. The Washington station is only a small part of the package. An agency makes the purchase in behalf of a manufacturer. How is the State of Washington supposed to add a sales tax to that portion of the transaction involving Washington advertising?

What, indeed, is advertising? The established media are obvious enough. Transit, billboard, the "yellow pages" and the signs on the backs of taxis are still fairly easy to identify. But what about church programs, school yearbooks, direct mail campaigns, telephone solicitations, signs on bus-stop benches and truck-stop place mats? Advertising takes a myriad of forms, from candidates' sound trucks to sky-writing. Point-of-sale displays, door-to-door calls of the "Avon Lady," and truck-side messages are all advertising.

In short, advertising is not like most "services", which are performed in a given place on a given thing, whether it be an ailing automobile, a soiled suit, or an over-grown head of hair. This lack of situs, this indefiniteness of audience, this complexity of advertising sales

transactions, make for monumental discriminations. One has to start with the reality that no other state does apply its sales tax to advertising. So right off the bat Washington media would have to function at a 4.5% or 5.5% disadvantage compared with all other (out-of-state) media. And in-state advertisers—merchants and other businessmen—would likewise operate under this disadvantage.

And because of the nature of advertising, this discrimination isn't just limited to the border areas. Certainly there it takes on its most exaggerated form, as newspapers, radio and television signals come over the border effortlessly from out-of-state, immune from the Washington sales tax.

But advertising comes into the state—right to its center—just as easily. National magazines enter every week, their slick pages selling products in direct competition with Washington media. The entire state can be blanketed by direct mail advertising, slipping in from outside the state borders and quite impossible to tax.

The local manufacturer or merchant, seeking to market his products, uses local media, while national advertising and national media escape the levy, the local business as well as the local media are discriminated against. One shouldn't lose sight of the fact that it is merchants (some 60,000 of them), not the media, who actually pay the tax.

Finally, there is a dollars-and-cents consideration which cannot be overlooked. The state relies heavily on sales tax for its income—as heavily as any state. Sales tax revenue relies on sales. Sales rely on advertising, to stimulate wants and bring buyer and seller together. The state is a silent partner in every sales transaction, taking its 4.5% profit off the top, and in the process benefiting from the merchant's advertising without paying a bit of the cost. Indeed, it has been observed that by rights the state should bear its fair share of the advertising expenses of its "partners". We aren't expecting the state to start subsidizing advertising, but it makes more sense than taxing it.

Because advertising is the goose that lays the golden eggs, as far as the state is concerned. The last thing the state wants to do is to discourage the most vigorous sales promotion.

The legislature of the state of Iowa extended its sales tax to advertising in 1967, and soon acquired an education in the field. A district trial court held the tax unconstitutional (as violating the interstate commerce clause of the Federal Constitution, and as delegating too much tax-writing authority to the executive branch of the state government). While the State Supreme Court subsequently reversed this ruling, it was headed for an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court when the next legislature convened.

National advertisers had refused to pay the tax. The state's newspapers, radio and television stations were caught between advertisers and the state. There developed a concern that advertising expenditures would be trimmed by businesses, with consequent loss of sales—and sales tax. So the legislature repealed the tax on advertising.

Earlier North Dakota's legislature included advertising in a package of sales tax extensions. But before the new taxes could even be imposed, a state referendum rejected the package, and no taxes were imposed on advertising there.

These are the only instances of modern times when sales taxes have been extended to advertising. They serve to confirm the uniqueness of advertising and its inherent incompatibility with the sales tax.

Our message is self-serving, of course. But we feel that it is in the best interests of the state, and of the Legislature, to bring it to you now, before you make decisions as to extension of the sales tax to newsservices.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Your patient attention to this rather lengthy letter is much appreciated.

Sincerely,

JAMES E. TONKIN,  
President, *Allied Daily Newspapers of Washington.*

JERRY ZUBROD,  
Manager, *Washington Newspaper Publishers Association.*  
(Fort Gail Flint, President).

JAMES A. MURPHY,  
President, *Washington State Association of Broadcasters.*

[Telegram]

SEATTLE, WASH.  
October 29, 1971.

Representative JULIA BUTLER HANSEN,  
*Cannon House Office Building,*  
*Washington, D.C.:*

House District of Columbia Committee has passed out H.R. 11341 with last minute addition of section to apply D.C. sales tax to advertising. We are today mailing you information explaining why such a tax would be very ill advised. We urge you to speak against and vote against such a tax.

PAUL CONRAD,  
*Allied Daily Newspapers of Washington.*

## DEATH OF RICHARD L. EVANS, THE "SPOKEN WORD" FROM TEMPLE SQUARE

### HON. SHERMAN P. LLOYD

OF UTAH

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. LLOYD. Mr. Speaker, early last Monday morning one of the great leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and a noted American, Richard L. Evans, died. He was known to virtually all the Members of this House.

Elder Evans was credited with having one of the largest pulpits in the world with his "Spoken Word" radio broadcasts with the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. For more than 40 years Elder Evans brought comfort and wisdom to millions of listeners throughout the world.

His ability to express uplifting and hopeful thoughts, simply and concisely made his sermons classics in their own time. These small sermons have been compiled and published in seven volumes. He was given the Freedom Foundation Award in 1961 for one of his "Spoken Word" Sunday morning talks.

Elder Evans was appointed a member of the First Council of the Seventies of the LDS Church in 1938 and 15 years later was selected as one of the Twelve Apostles of the Church in which capacity he served until his death.

He was a civic and educational leader as well as a church leader. He was president of Rotary International from 1966-67, a member of the Utah State Board of Higher Education and the Brigham Young University board of trustees. He was a former member of the University of Utah board of regents and former editor of the Improvement Era, the monthly LDS Church magazine.

A son of John Alldridge and Florence Nelsen Evans, he was born March 23, 1906 in Salt Lake City. His father was killed in an accident when Elder Evans was only 10 weeks old.

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He married Alice Ruth Thornley of Kaysville in the Salt Lake Temple August 9, 1933 and had four sons; Richard Jr., John, Stephen, and William.

After attending Salt Lake City public schools he entered the University of Utah where he earned two degrees, a bachelor of arts in English and a master of arts in economics. In 1956 the university conferred the honorary degree of doctor of letters on Elder Evans.

He interrupted his college studies from 1926 to 1929 to serve a mission for the LDS Church in England. There he served as secretary of the LDS European Mission and was associate editor of the *Millennial Star*, British Mission magazine.

One of the most widely known and beloved leaders of the church, Elder Evans will be remembered best for his profound ability to inspire and edify his listeners. During the 41 years of the "Spoken Word" Elder Evans touched on virtually every topic affecting the spiritual welfare of mankind.

I am sure that all members of the LDS Church and all citizens of Utah feel a deep loss with the death of Elder Evans.

## SOVIET CIVIL DEFENSE

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, in August of this year I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD excerpts from the "Soviet Civil Defense Handbook," translated by the Oak Ridge National Laboratory. I have recently read with interest a publication of the Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla., entitled "Soviet Civil Defense, 1969-1970," by Prof. Leon Goure. I am pleased to include at the conclusion of my remarks the summary preface to this report so that my House colleagues can review the major points of this informative analysis:

#### SUMMARY

Civil defense activities in the Soviet Union date back to 1924. In 1932 the USSR Council of People's Commissars established the first centralized national defense organization called Local Anti-Air Defense (MPVO). However, Soviet civil defense for the nuclear age came into being in 1961 with the organization of Civil Defense (Grazhdanskaya Oborona) under the control of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR. The new program was charged with developing and implementing measures designed to protect the population, industry and agriculture against the effects of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons, to develop a large civil defense organization and a widespread corps of civil defense units and to train the entire population on a compulsory basis in civil defense. Financial support was provided from the national budget as well as by various levels of territorial administrations and economic organizations.

The scope of the program and its activities has fluctuated with the degree of priority assigned to it by the Soviet Government and the attention given it by the Communist Party. In 1966, the importance of the program was upgraded as a result of an unusual

endorsement by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU which was incorporated also into the Congress' Resolution. The net effect of this was the increased support of the program by Communist Party organizations at all levels which, in turn, allowed the civil defense organizations to demand greater cooperation from the local administrative and economic organizations and a larger share of resources. An examination of open Soviet sources indicates that since that time the Soviet civil defense program has increased in scope and intensity and that this high level of activity also continues to be sustained at present.

Soviet spokesmen continue to argue for a high state of preparedness for war and assert that far from diminishing, the threat of war not only persists but may even be increasing as a result of the greater willingness of the "imperialists" to resort to violence in the face of the growing socialist gains in the world. Although Communist China is also cited as a possible threat to the Soviet Union, the West, especially the United States, continues to be identified as the main enemy. This has led some military writers to imply that the Soviet Union should seek military superiority over the West. The ability to protect the population against attack and to assure essential industrial production in wartime continues to be perceived as a critical factor in national survival and victory in a nuclear war. For this reason, Soviet civil defense is said to be an essential element of Soviet defense capability.

Soviet military doctrine ascribes a decisive character to the first strike, which it believes can determine the course and outcome of a war. The targets for such an attack include not only the enemy's strategic forces but also his administrative, industrial, transportation and communications centers. Because of the decisiveness of the first strike, Soviet spokesmen argue for a "preemptive" strike which will blunt the enemy's attack and facilitate the active and passive defense of the Soviet Union. Soviet spokesmen indicate that they expect civil defense to have to deal primarily with the damage inflicted by the residual enemy forces which survive the Soviet first strike and Soviet anti-air and anti-missile defenses.

The general character of the Soviet civil defense program continues to emphasize the need to protect the population and the economy, not only from nuclear but also from attacks with chemical and bacteriological weapons. It emphasizes pre-attack evacuation of the population from target areas, the building of shelters, the preparation of industry for wartime operation, the organization and training of civil defense formations, large-scale post-attack rescue and emergency repair activities, and the training of the entire population. The momentum of the program and its further improvement appear to be partly the result of increased involvement in it of local Communist Party organizations and state-administrative organs. Close party supervision helps to insure that civil defense is given the proper attention by all concerned.

The recent literature reflects increased concern with the problem of effective command and control of civil defense by staffs and commands. It calls for wider use of automated systems, computers and rapid communication systems, and for acceleration in the development and application of new scientific and technological discoveries in civil defense. There is also evidence of a growing role being assigned to military civil defense forces which operate in conjunction with civilian units. Because they are provided with heavy equipment they have an important mission in the post-attack rescue and repair operations.

Pre-attack evacuation of the unessential urban population to rural areas and the dispersal of essential workers to suburban zones

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

is viewed as the best means of protecting people living in potential target areas. Planning and organization of these measures, especially of dispersal of workers, appear to be proceeding and being perfected. They are reported to be tested in exercises held by factories in various parts of the country. At the same time some writers suggest that there may be insufficient time to complete the evacuation before an attack and recommend the construction of shelters or the pre-war decongesting of large cities.

The main emphasis in shelter construction remains on blast shelters for work shifts remaining in the target areas and on fallout shelters for the rest of the population. Industrial shelters are reported to have been built in many localities, but others are said to be still under construction. The building of dual-purpose shelters in the cities and wide use of subways, caves and tunnels is coming increasingly into practice as a means of reducing shelter costs. Although some writers doubt that there will be sufficient time to complete the fallout shelter construction program prior to an attack, it appears at this time, that in the main such shelters will be only built in the event of a threat of war. Improved designs and techniques, as well as the training of the population in shelter construction, is said to allow for a rapid acquisition of the needed capacity. The data suggest, however, that several days will be required for the evacuation of people and shelter construction.

Various measures are also recommended for reducing the vulnerabilities of industry to attack, including planned industrial dispersal in the construction of new plants. However, the emphasis is on low-cost measures, designed to avoid unnecessary damage and to expedite repairs to plants and services on the periphery of the area of devastation.

The compulsory 21-hour civil defense training program of the general population, the most recent of six such courses given since 1954 has been continued with refresher lessons and greater stress on exercises for those who have completed it. Special emphasis is placed on the training of children and youth, starting with civil defense competitions and tactical exercises in summer camps by 4th graders and older children. It appears that school children in the 5th to 11th grades now receive a total of 115 hours of training not counting extra-curricular exercises and competitions. It is reported that in 1969, some 16 million school children participated in militarized games called "Zarnitsa" which included civil defense exercises. New training programs were added in 1970 for students in technical and vocational schools. Civil defense propaganda also remains at an all-time high with extensive use being made of all media of mass communication.

Along with indications of improvements in civil defense, Soviet sources also report the persistence of many deficiencies, ranging from slow construction of industrial shelters to apathy among some administrators and elements of the population, to unevenness in the quality of planning, organization and training. For the present, the priorities clearly favor measures to protect those sections of the population which are believed to be most essential to the war effort and the viability of the country and its political-administrative system.

The outstanding features of the current Soviet civil defense program may be characterized as follows:

Soviet sources give strong evidence that far from being a mere paper program, civil defense in the Soviet Union has markedly expanded its scope and activities and has been able to call on increased investments of manpower and resources. It appears to be at the present time the largest program of this kind in the world.

Although the Soviet Union has kept the costs of its civil defense program secret, the evidence indicates that the annual investments in it greatly exceed those of the United States or of any other Western country.

The effectiveness of Soviet civil defense appears to depend greatly on receipt of several days of strategic warning of an attack and on a Soviet first strike against enemy strategic forces, as well as administrative and industrial centers.

The protection of the population is to be accomplished by a combination of evacuation and dispersal of residents in potential target areas and of construction of various types of shelters, while industrial survival is based on a system of dispersal and of low-cost hardening measures.

Civil defense training and education of the population is expanding and there is strong evidence of the existence of a large civil defense organization which is still growing as more specialized civilian and military units and formations of all kinds are coming into being.

Although the implementation of the program continues to suffer from various shortcomings and Soviet reports cite many instances of public and administrative apathy, the cumulative effort over the past decade and a half in shelter construction, training, equipment acquisition, planning and other measures, appears to have provided the Soviet Union with a very significant and still growing civil defense capability.

The Soviet civil defense system gives priority to assuring the survival of the more essential elements of the Soviet state, i.e., the Party and administrative apparatus and the industrial workers. In wartime these elements are expected to organize and sustain the war and recovery efforts and maintain continuous essential industrial production; in peacetime the civil defense system assists in dealing with damage caused by national disasters.

## HEARING FROM THE POW/MIA RELATIVES

### HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

MR. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, there is not one of us here today who has not almost daily felt the deep concern and anguish of this country over its men missing and prisoners in Southeast Asia. Unfortunately, both Hanoi and certain doves in the Congress have chosen to make political hay out of the grief of these families. I would like, therefore, to insert the following letter in the RECORD, since it clearly expresses the overriding concerns of the POW families.

The letter follows:

POW-MIA INTERNATIONAL, INC.,  
Tustin, Calif., October 26, 1971.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN GOLDWATER: As American citizens, we realize that there are many important matters that must be dealt with every day by the Congress, i.e., education, foreign aid, voting rights, etc., but as families of POW/MIA's and California residents, we also feel that our Congressmen, more than any others, carry the heavy burden of keeping the plight of the prisoners and missing continually before the American people by reason of the fact that the highest number of POW/MIA's come from California!

Out of 38 Congressmen from California, a few, a very few, are putting forth every ef-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

fort to resolve the POW/MIA issue in an honorable way without thought to politics. Other California Congressmen have seen fit to completely ignore the incredible inhumanity of Hanoi and the Viet Cong regarding our men. Some have even stooped to the level of making our men political pawns to further their own political ideology and ambitions, to such an extent that they have duped some families into aiding and abetting their personal goals. It is our belief that the POW/MIA issue *cannot and should not* be mixed up with anyone's personal views on the morality or the politics of the Vietnam conflict.

We thank you for your efforts on our behalf, but we do urge you, Congressman Goldwater, to make the POW/MIA issue your personal crusade—to ask not for a withdrawal date, not for immediate release of POW's but to ask and demand that Hanoi be made to abide by the Geneva Accords, to which they are signatories; to allow inspection of POW camps, to release names of all POW's, to allow the exchange of mail, and to account for the MIA's. We ask that you support this effort for what it is, strictly humanitarian, to relieve the mental and physical anguish of over 1600 men and their families. Everyone regardless of his own personal ideologies, joined together in a solid unity of support and prayer when our Apollo 13 Astronauts were in danger; are our POW/MIA's not worth the same unselfish support?

We do not ask much—just that the inhumanity to our men and their families be halted. Is this too much to ask of our own elected Congressmen and fellow Americans? We would appreciate an answer from you telling us what you are doing to bring pressure on Hanoi to abide by the international laws in the treatment of those of your constituents who are POW/MIA's and their families.

What did you do in behalf of the POW/MIA's today? This week? This month?

Sincerely,

LAVONNE LAUDERBAUGH,  
POW/MIA International, Inc.

VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW'S VISIT  
TO GREECE

## HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 27, 1971

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I applaud Vice President AGNEW's action in visiting Greece. Certainly his week-long sojourn, although considered controversial by the liberal press in the United States, went a long way toward improving United States-Greek Government relations. Much harm has been done to this long, historic, and close relationship by those who have been more concerned with the format of the Greek Government than they have with the internal security of that nation and the suppression of communism there. Greece is a very important part of the world and it is becoming increasingly so in view of the growth of Russian strength throughout the Mediterranean. Greece plays a key role in NATO and in the defense and security of the free world in the Mediterranean area.

The actions taken and the words spoken by the Vice President during his visit to Greece should go a long way toward reestablishing the confidence of that nation's people in America's policies.

There had been serious concern because of published reports of the statements and actions of public figures and of the Congress.

I hope that the Vice President's example will serve to still some of the criticism expressed in and out of Congress about the Government of Greece. It would seem much more appropriate that these critics turn their attention to the enemies of freedom rather than to the governments of our friends. By no stretch of the imagination can the governments of friendly nations be considered as harsh or as indifferent to the future of their nationals as the communist dictatorships which are entrenched in so many parts of the world. Yet we do not criticize these. We criticize our friends. This is a very short-sighted policy. The Government of Greece has provided stability and progress for its people. It continues to support the policies of the Western Powers. Greece is one of our most important and most needed allies. Let us be sensible in our comments about these good friends. We owe Mr. AGNEW our thanks for providing long overdue recognition and support to Greece and the Greek people.

THE DISARMING CANDOR OF  
AGNEW

## HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, today's issue of the Washington Evening Star includes a column by Mr. James Reston concerning Vice President AGNEW and confirms what a good many of us who have been privileged to know and work with the Vice President already knew—that he is a man of complete candor who speaks straight from the shoulder in both private and public.

While members of the liberal press establishment do not agree with the Vice President on most public questions, it is obvious that they at least have a great deal of respect for him and his style and certainly that respect is merited.

I insert the text of the Reston column in the RECORD at this point:

## THE DISARMING CANDOR OF AGNEW

(By James Reston)

Vice President Agnew has been accused of almost everything except a lack of saying right out what he thinks, and one of the attractive aspects of this compulsive candor is that he applies it to himself.

He doesn't ignore the fact that this city is wondering about whether he will be the Republican vice presidential candidate next year, or pretend that speculation on the point is manufactured by his old antagonists in the Eastern liberal press.

In fact, while he is more critical of the "effete snobs" of press and television than anybody else in this administration, he is also more available to them and more willing to discuss their problems and his than anybody else in the capital.

Are people wondering about his future? Well, he says he wonders about it himself, but he doesn't worry about it. To him, this is a question for the President to decide.

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There is an illusion in this town, he says, that everybody fights for the ground he holds and struggles for power and position, regardless of private life, or the interests of the party, but he doesn't feel this way.

He will do what he is asked to do, he says: Get out, because home holds no terrors for him, or go on, if that is what the President wants him to do. It is interesting that he doesn't appeal primarily to the Republican party, where he has a stronger and more loyal conservative constituency than anybody else, including the President himself.

Whatever the President decides about a running mate next year, the vice president is not going to appeal to this conservative element in the party, which is startled by the President's new welfare, new economic, and new China and Soviet policies.

It would be very easy to do so. He obviously has his doubts about the wisdom of the President's pragmatic move to the left. He is much more ideological than his chief, but he is clearly not going to lead any charge against the President's policies, no matter what he thinks privately about it all, and he will undoubtedly leave the whole question about the Republican nomination of a vice president to Nixon.

On the question of a different Republican vice presidential candidate, if there is to be one, he is equally candid. Again, he defers to the President, but here he thinks the party in the nominating convention at San Diego, will find that there are many Republicans who will want the job and feel that they have more claim on it than the Democratic Secretary of the Treasury, John Connally.

If it comes to a change, then there will, he thinks, be many Republican senators and governors who will make the argument for themselves, in opposition to Connally. Party loyalty, he says, is a powerful influence in nominating conventions, and in a way, Connally is in a comparable position to Mayor John Lindsay of New York: Able and attractive, but a new convert in a different party, who will not be easily accepted by the party faithful.

From the vice president's own point of view, it is a sensible and honorable position. He did not choose the role he has played as vice president. He has been the battering ram of the Republican party, assigned by the President, and as such, he has been a divisive figure in American politics, always out front, scalding the opposition, and in the process, making enemies and loyal supporters.

But the amiable thing about him is that he understands all this and is prepared to accept the consequences. If his usefulness has been destroyed in the struggle, he is willing to accept it, and go back to Baltimore to his private life, or run again, or campaign for Nixon's re-election, even if he is dumped.

Not many men in the battle for personal, party, and national power would be quite as relaxed in the struggle as he is. It is easy to argue against his philosophy and his pugnacious tactics, but at least he says in private what he says in public, and since very few politicians in Washington risk such candor, he is not a man to be lightly dismissed in the coming struggle of the presidential campaign.

ON SCHOOL PRAYER—A THREAT TO  
RELIGION

## HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, November 8, we will vote on the proposed School Prayer

Amendment. I am sure that a majority of my colleagues will examine this issue rationally and join me in opposing House Joint Resolution 191. This amendment would seriously infringe on the rights that are guaranteed by the first amendment of the Bill of Rights and reaffirmed by the Supreme Court decision of 1963. The separation of Church and State is one of the most important fundamental principles of our great Nation. We must not allow a small group of religious fanatics to misrepresent the issues by playing on our emotions.

I am certainly not against prayer or organized religion. In fact, the strong opposition to the amendment by all of the major religious organizations that I have talked with has only reaffirmed my convictions on this issue. They recognize, as I do, that every person's freedom to worship must be respected. Under no circumstances should the State enter into the business of prescribing prayer.

I would like to recommend the following article to my colleagues, written by Philip B. Kurland of the University of Chicago Law School. This article appeared as an editorial in the Los Angeles Times on Sunday, October 31. It is an excellent and timely examination of the issues involved in the vote on the School Prayer Amendment.

The editorial follows:

**ON SCHOOL PRAYER—A THREAT TO RELIGION**  
(By Philip B. Kurland)

Certainly the American people can, by constitutional processes, choose to allow compulsory prayer ceremonies in their public schools. That is what the proponents of the constitutional amendment now pending in the House of Representatives are seeking to accomplish.

But before the American people or their representatives make that choice, they ought to be informed of the issues so that the choice may be a reasoned one and not simply a matter of emotional response to irresponsible rhetoric. The question is not whether we "restore God to the classroom."

The proposed amendment, House of Representatives Joint Resolution 191, is itself short if not clear. It reads: "Nothing contained in this Constitution shall abridge the rights of persons lawfully assembled, in any public building which is supported in whole or in part through the expenditure of public funds, to participate in nondenominational prayer."

While the language is vague, its apparent purpose is to permit schools to impose a requirement of prayer ceremonies on students, although it could be interpreted to allow students who dared to do so to remove themselves from the company of their fellows while such school exercises took place. There is also a negative pregnant in the proposed language that could expand the present constitutional inhibition. Should the amendment become law, *denominational* prayers in legislative halls and executive mansions would become at least constitutionally suspect.

The reason for the existent constitutional rule that now prevents such school ceremonies was stated by Mr. Justice Frankfurter in his opinion in *McCollum v. Board of Education*.

"The secular public school did not imply indifference to the basic role of religion in the life of the people, nor the rejection of religious education as a means of fostering it. The claims of religion were not minimized by refusing to make the public schools agencies for their assertion. The non-sectarian

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

or secular public school was the means of reconciling freedom in general with religious freedom. The sharp confinement of the public schools to secular education was a recognition of the need of a democratic society to educate its children, insofar as the State undertook to do so, in an atmosphere free from pressures in a realm in which pressures are most resisted and where conflicts are most easily and bitterly engendered. Designed to serve as perhaps the most powerful agency for promoting cohesion among a heterogeneous democratic people, the public school must be kept scrupulously free from entanglement in the strife of sects. The preservation of the community from divisive conflicts, of Government from irreconcilable pressures by religious groups, of religion from censorship and coercion however subtly exercised, requires strict confinement of the State to instruction other than religious, leaving to the individual's church and home indoctrination in the faith of his choice."

But, say the supporters of the proposed amendment, these defects implicit in the utilization of the public academy for instilling religious faith are not relevant to the proposed amendment. First, they say, because there is no coercion on the public school student authorized by the amendment. Second, they say, because the only prayers authorized are "nondenominational" prayers, thereby eliminating fear of sectarian conflict.

Neither answer is accurate. There is coercion and there is an invitation to sectarian strife. For we must remember that if public education is free it is also compulsory except that students may attend private schools, most of which, at the elementary and high school level, are religiously controlled.

The coercion may be more subtle than physical compulsion to be present during the engagement in these exercises. As the same justice pointed out in the same case:

"That a child is offered an alternative may reduce the constraint; it does not eliminate the operation of influence by the school in matters sacred to conscience and outside the school's domain. The law of imitation operates, and non-conformity is not an outstanding characteristic of children. . . ."

That there will be sectarian strife is almost as readily assured. What is a "nondenominational prayer"? Who will frame it? What religions can accommodate their teachings to it? As the American Council on Education noted some years ago: "The notion of a common core suggests a watering down of the several faiths to the point where common essentials appear. This might easily lead to a new sect—a public school sect—which would take its place alongside the existing faiths and compete with them." Do we want a state religion? No one reading today's newspaper headlines should think so.

At least some leaders of some of the churches recognize the dangers and deplore the possibilities of "nondenominational prayer." In 1962, Father Gustave Weigel, a learned Catholic student of the problem, pointed out: "The moral code held by each separate religious community can reductively be unified, but the consistent particular believer wants no such reduction."

And the official magazine of the United Presbyterian Church said at the same time: "If you have faith-in-general, you have no faith to speak of. Faith has to be something-in-particular. A nondenominational prayer is doomed to be limited and circumscribed. If prayer starts soaring, it starts to be controversial, which is the one thing a nondenominational prayer dares not to be."

The Supreme Court, in the Vitale case, which the proposed amendment seeks to overturn, said: "It is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by government."

Are the American people, who have already turned over control of so much of their activities to government, prepared to reject this precept about the proper role of government in specifying religious activities? Thoughtful evaluation rather than visceral reaction suggests that the Vitale rule is one of the bulwarks of America's freedom from the ills that continue to plague those countries where "toleration" rather than "freedom" is the guide to government action in the field of religion.

If, as has been suggested, the churches are losing their holds on the minds and hearts of young Americans, they will not be succored by rote recitations of "nondenominational" prayers which can reflect neither the words nor the spirit nor the teachings of any religion. "Non-denominational" prayer will not "restore God" to the classroom; it will degrade religion not exalt it.

If this is what the American people want, but only then, they should support the proposed amendment. If they have any notion of the real meaning of religious belief and our history of developing religious freedom, they will recognize the proposed amendment as antireligious, not pro-religious.

At best, the proposed amendment invites state-imposed religious dogma and religious strife; at worst, it assures them.

## FOREIGN AID RECIPIENT SWEDEN OCCUPIES WATERGATE PENTHOUSE

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the usually austere Government of Sweden has recently announced that it is going first class with its diplomatic corps—a \$190,000-a-year chancery to occupy the entire penthouse of the Watergate South, which also is the home of a large number of the Washington wealthy.

These are the representatives of the same Swedish Government that last month twice voted against the Nationalist Chinese in the U.N. and which for the years 1946-71 has qualified as a poor emerging nation to milk the U.S. taxpayers out of \$135,300,000 in foreign aid.

Perhaps Mr. Palme's anti-American delegation feel that, by doing business on top of the bankers and decisionmakers at the Watergate, they can more effectively lobby against the United States and gain more American taxpayers' funds.

As Prime Minister Palme has said, it is not that he dislike Americans; it is just that he prefers his friends in North Vietnam over those Americans trying to save the world from the Communist scourge. It is known that his country has a long record of trading with the enemies of free countries.

We wonder if the Swedish delegation in Hanoi enjoys such luxurious penthouse accommodations. Or then it could be that their working quarters in Hanoi are not so luxurious because Hanoi does not give them foreign aid or an open, free market on which to peddle Swedish merchandise; or it could be that they chose to get off Embassy Row by moving up rather than out of the District because of their fear of our black residents who dominate Washington.

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November 3, 1971

A newsclipping follows:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 31, 1971]  
PENTHOUSE DIPLOMACY: SWEDES SET UP SHOP  
AT WATERGATE  
(By Michael Kernan)

The Swedish Embassy has moved into its new chancery, the entire penthouse of Watergate South (making it one of the first major embassies to have its chancery in an office building here), and the whole delegation is delighted.

Reason: the old chancery at 2249 R St. NW, bought in 1920, had become so packed with people that bathrooms were being remodeled for more offices. The embassy already had built an annex to the elegant old townhouse, had bought a second building, rented a third as well as space in a fourth.

In recent years several chancery buildings have been erected both on and off the old Massachusetts Avenue "embassy row," and many embassies maintain extra office space downtown. But the Swedish move establishes its entire operation on a private site not owned by Sweden. Choice of the top floor was dictated partly by security reasons. The national emblem adorns the front portico of the Watergate.

With 24,000 square feet, probably double the old four-story mansion, the staff of 58 at least has elbow room—and a view. Every office has a view: the military section chief can literally wave at his counterpart in the Pentagon, the political section overlooks the State Department, and the others get a panorama of the JFK Center, the Potomac and the rest of the Watergate itself.

Rent is \$190,000 a year, and the chancery probably will remain there for 5 to 10 years—"which means 10 years," commented Ambassador Hubert de Besche. Eventually the embassy plans to build a chancery on Nebraska Avenue next to the residence.

The unusual plan, adapting to the Watergate's curious kidney shape, was designed by Goteborg architect Bjorn Hulten and cost \$115,000 to complete. Centered on a circular reception room-library with sliding doors, it has 46 rooms for officials, three conference rooms, lunch, archive and storage rooms, plus access to the terrace and the garage.

The garage is good news to employees who had to park on Sheridan Circle at the old place. A small bus augments the city bus lines, which are not particularly convenient to the Watergate.

Swedish furniture and contemporary art, not to mention the blue-and-yellow color scheme, give the place an unmistakable air of Sweden.

## TIME TO TURN FROM U.N.

## HON. EDWARD HUTCHINSON

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, the fact that the United States has continually provided a large percentage of the moneys for the operation of the United Nations has been a subject of displeasure among many of my constituents for several years.

The recent anti-American display by some delegates to the U.N. during the vote to expel the Republic of China has not served to improve the U.N. image with my constituents.

The Coldwater Daily Reporter, a leading newspaper in my district, accurately

reflects the attitude of many, when it suggests that perhaps it is time for the United States to reassess its position in world politics and reconsider its membership in the United Nations.

The Government of the United States certainly has been generous with their money to the U.N. This Government currently pays over one-third of the cost.

The U.S. Government has also been generous in its foreign aid program to many of the U.N. members. In fact, of the 59 U.N. members who voted to expel the Republic of China, all but eight have been recipients of aid totaling \$47 billion.

It is the feeling of many in this country that the United States can turn its cheek to some of our so-called friends only so often. Others think it has been slapped once too often.

Mr. Speaker, I include an excellent editorial from the October 26, 1971, Coldwater Daily Reporter at this point in the RECORD.

## TIME TO TURN FROM UN

The foreign minister of Nationalist China aptly described it. The UN is "a circus." It's time the United States sat down and reassessed its position in world politics. When a nation of 14 million people is dismissed from a "world body" by votes of nations half that size simply to kick the United States in the teeth, it is time to reconsider our membership.

It was a foregone conclusion that Communist China would gain entrance to the UN and in fact this position was supported by the United States. That a nation of 700 million people should be represented in a world organization is rather hard to argue against. That a nation of 14 million people should be represented in a world organization is just as difficult an argument to reject.

The United States now pays about 35 percent of the cost of the United Nations. Far out of proportion to its population. Without the financial support of the United States the United Nations would have been bankrupt many years ago. If nothing else the United States should reassess that budget so that those nations making the most noise and dancing and rejoicing over United States defeats should help pay the bills.

With the United States suffering its worst defeat in the United Nations in its 26 year history, we wonder what those who have espoused the establishment of a world government and a UN army are thinking today? How long would it take the communist nations and their allies to bring the strongest nation in the world to its knees through the UN?

It is even sadder to contemplate on the fact that while the United States was suffering defeat many of our so-called allies and friends sat on their votes and watched. Such nations as Italy, the Netherlands, Turkey and even Laos where American boys so recently shed their blood.

We know it is folly to expect that Congress and the administration will consider completely rejecting the UN. But is it not time for Congress to demand that the United States only pay its fair share? And is it not time for the administration to reassess our world position and deal with individual nations on the basis of mutual benefit while placing less and less emphasis on a so-called "world" organization?

It's time to stop trying to run the world. It's time to put the United States and our interests first. This is the only language our enemies and friends understand.

## "SUBVERSION" IN SOUTH AFRICA

## HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, in February, 52 Members of the House and Senate issued a statement in which we protested the arrest and detention under the Terrorism Act of the dean of Johannesburg, South Africa, the Very Reverend Gonville A. French-Beytagh, an outspoken foe of apartheid.

On Monday, the dean was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment after being convicted of four of the 10 charges against him under the Terrorism Act. Distressing as this verdict is, it can no longer shock those of us who have seen the South African Government arrest, imprison, and condemn countless men and women who sought only to speak out against the horror of apartheid and aid its victims. Rather, this most recent outrage in Pretoria only makes a further mockery of a government which is too frightened to allow justice and the rule of law to be sovereign in its land.

I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point the newsstory on this event from the New York Times, along with an excellent editorial:

[From the New York Times, Nov. 2, 1971]  
JOHANNESBURG DEAN GETS 5-YEAR TERM ON  
PLOT CHARGE

PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA, November 1.—The Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, an outspoken opponent of South Africa's racial separation policies, was sentenced today to five years' imprisonment under the sweeping provisions of the Terrorism Act. He was released on \$14,000 bail pending appeal, which is not expected to be heard before next March.

As the Chief Justice of the Transvaal, Judge Petrus Cillie, ended his five-hour reading of the judgment of the Very Rev. Gonville French-Beytagh, after a three-month trial, another clergyman, the Rev. Ian Thompson, stood up in the crowded courtroom and declared: "I want to be found guilty with the Dean! God has asked us to feed the needy!"

The white-haired, 59-year-old Dean was convicted of four of the 10 charges against him, which carried a minimum sentence of five years.

In pleading for the minimum sentence, the defense attorney, Sidney Kentridge, had told the court that the Dean's channeling of money to persons and organizations under legal proscription had been "acts of charity," whatever the source of the money and who ever received it.

One of the specific acts for which Mr. French-Beytagh was convicted was the distribution of money in South Africa on behalf of the Defense and Aid Fund, a British organization that is banned here under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The Terrorism Act was introduced by the Government in 1967 to provide legislation covering activities inimical to established authority not included in the Suppression of Communism Act of 1951 and other laws.

It created the new offense of "participation in terrorist activities"—any action committed or attempted that endangers law and order, or conspiracy to incitement or to commit such acts. The Terrorism Act allows the indefinite detention of suspects or of anyone believed to be withholding information about "terrorist activities."

The dean was convicted of the following charges:

Possession of pamphlets belonging to the manned African National Congress, the South African Communist party and other banned organizations.

"Encouragement" to violence in an address at a meeting of the South African Black Sash, a liberal women's anti-apartheid group. Incitement of a police undercover security agent, Kenneth Jordaan, a member of the dean's church, to take part in a violent uprising against the state.

Distributing money on behalf of the Defense and Aid Fund.

A guilty verdict on any one of the 10 counts would have been enough to have caused the dean to be found guilty of the main charge—that of participating in terrorist activities and a conspiracy aimed at violent overthrow of the South African Government.

The Dean stood impassively as the sentence was passed. Women in the courtroom gasped and sobbed.

#### WIDE REACTION SEEN

Mr. Kentridge asserted that the proceedings would cause a "sense of shock and stupefaction far beyond the confines of this courtroom." He added that the Dean took full responsibility for all that had been done in his name.

"What he has done," the attorney said, "he has done of a sense of duty to God and man."

In passing sentence, Justice Cillie said that the Dean had not been on trial for his political views. He ruled that several of the acts of incitement charged against the defendant had not been proved, and that there was no evidence that the Dean had assisted any plans to commit specific acts of sabotage.

But, he said, the Dean's address to the Black Sash constituted "violence and all that" and contained statements that had encouraged people to "contravene the laws of the country, thereby supporting violent revolution."

#### BORN IN SHANGHAI

Dean ffrench-Beytagh, a bachelor, was ordained an Anglican priest in South Africa in 1939. He was born in Shanghai of British parents—his passport is now held by the South African police—and as a youth he traveled as an odd-job man and hobo in Australia and New Zealand.

Before being appointed to his present post in Johannesburg, Mr. ffrench-Beytagh was Dean of Salisbury, Rhodesia, for about 10 years. In the Anglican Church, the deal is the clergyman in charge of a cathedral church.

Mr. ffrench-Beytagh strongly opposed the policies of Prime Minister Ian D. Smith, whose Government declared Rhodesia's independence from Britain in 1965, and he returned to South Africa in that same year.

[From the New York Times, Nov. 2, 1971]

#### "SUBVERSION" IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Very Rev. Gonville ffrench-Beytagh, Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, is a subversive in the eyes of South Africa's racist Government because he says: "I believe the doctrine of apartheid is abhorrent to Christianity." He is a revolutionary in the sense that, although he rejects violence, he has come to believe violence is "almost inevitable" under South Africa's draconic system of repression for the country's non-white majority.

A court in Pretoria has now convicted Dean ffrench-Beytagh of subversion and sentenced him to five years. He was charged with distributing funds from abroad to black South Africans connected with the outlawed African National Congress. Although the prosecu-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

tor claimed the 59-year-old clergyman was "part and parcel" of a plot to overthrow the Government, he took care to remind the court that under the Terrorism Act no proof of participation in terrorist activities is required for conviction.

The prosecutor was right about that if about nothing else in this travesty. Anyone arrested under the Terrorism Act is guilty unless he can prove his innocence "beyond a reasonable doubt." The range of "terrorist" activities is so sweeping that a person can be convicted if his alleged offense is adjudged "to embarrass the administration of the affairs of state."

What Dean ffrench-Beytagh really did was to use the funds he received to provide food parcels, medicines and schoolbooks to needy families, including those of men imprisoned for political activities. He was brought to trial for the reason that South Africa's security police have been hounding other church officials and expelling foreign missionaries: Many churches have become increasingly effective witnesses against the inhumanity of apartheid; and a Government based on that hideous doctrine cannot tolerate such opponents.

#### REMARKS AT DEDICATION CEREMONIES AT CLEVELAND STATE UNIVERSITY

#### HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, on October 20, the Cleveland State University formally dedicated its new university tower and classroom and lecture center, which is a landmark not only in an architectural sense, but also in terms of the effort to give all Clevelanders an opportunity to receive the benefits of a higher education. At that time President Harold Enarson of Cleveland State gave a thought-provoking statement on the role of the university in today's society.

I would like to commend to the attention of my colleagues the text of his remarks:

#### REMARKS AT DEDICATION CEREMONIES BY DR. HAROLD L. ENARSON

Mr. Chairman, Trustees, Distinguished Public Officials, Faculty, Students, Staff, Friends of the University.

All speakers have been repeatedly reminded of the sweet uses of brevity. I expect to honor this trust, though it requires saying too much too quickly.

We pause here briefly today in search of the saving grace of perspective, to reflect not simply upon the meaning of the two new buildings which we at long last occupy, but upon the meaning of the University which these serve.

A lyric of the 60's—or was it the 50's—had the captivating title "On A Clear Day You Can See Forever." Not true of course—not even in the eternal blue of Cleveland skies and our fresh, smoke free air. But there are occasions when we must lift our eyes from immediate concerns, from the compelling present and look to the future. This must be made such a moment.

Recently I flew in to Cleveland from the north along the lakefront. University Tower stood stark and clear on the Cleveland skyline, the vital center of our growing university. No doubt about it—CSU is a new, small

city within the city, with boundaries steadily reaching westward toward downtown Cleveland. I found symbolic meanings both in our closeness to downtown and in the distance that makes us stand apart.

The University is the creature of the people, organized and funded to meet their needs. The program in your hands reads—and I quote "A state university is a gift—a people to people gift—a monument to the generation which foresaw great needs and burdened themselves to provide ways and means to meet these needs." There should be no confusion on this score—whether on the part of students or faculty or administrators. We shall not thrive nor prosper nor even survive unless we work diligently to attune ourselves to the changing requirements of a social order now seemingly in permanent flux. All this is well understood in the legislative halls! It is not as well understood in the halls of academe.

But if CSU is the creature of the people of Ohio, it also must be said quickly that it is a very special kind of creature. All this is well understood—for the most part—in the halls of academe. It is not as well understood in the legislative halls or in the councils of men who pride themselves on being practical.

It is easy to say what the university is not.

It is not just another state agency, to be ordered, policed, regulated by external authority.

It is not a factory with a production line easily measured in costs per student credit hour and numbers of graduates.

It is not an institution whose programs and dreams lend themselves to cost-benefit analysis and the calculus of conventional economics.

It is not a service station to supply the trained manpower for the local economy.

It is not a social system of policed and directed tranquility.

Nor is the university a community service agency.

It is harder to say what the university truly is. But yield me a moment more and let me try.

The university is a place for the exchange of ideas or it is nothing. Ideas of all kinds—ideas sound, unsound; conventional, unconventional; provocative, reassuring; plausible, implausible; pedestrian, extreme.

The university is a friendly and hospitable arena for personal growth, a place of exploration where all are committed in some degree to self-renewal and self-identity.

The university is a home of learning, with more resources in knowledge than we could absorb in a lifetime.

The university is all this and more. And the "more" in this complex reality lies in the domain of faith—almost an animal faith. It is a faith in an orderly universe whose secrets can be uncovered, in reason and dialogue as the path to better approximations of truth, in persuasion as a way of life, in mutual respect as the touchstone in all our affairs, in competence as the necessary preface to performance, in civility as the true measure of our humanity, and in the possibility of liberating our minds from passion and prejudice. I call this faith because in the turbulence of the 1960's these once self-evident truths have been challenged as seldom before in our national history.

We are told that there is a crisis in public confidence in higher education. And so there is. But there is another kind of crisis, one too easily obscured. Very simply, it is that we risk a failure of nerve in our own ranks. Our vision for a better future dims. We begin to doubt our capacity for self-government. We harbor secret doubts that we will not be given the resources to do the job, that we will enjoy the consent of the governed in the internal affairs of the university. In the

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

words of Pogo, we seem at times to face "insurmountable opportunities."

I say that nerve—by which I mean courage and commitment—can and will prevail. CSU, with the help and support of Trustees, faculty, students, legislators, Clevelanders, has come a long, long way in its first six years. The saving grace of perspective reassures us. Pogo to the contrary, the opportunities are "surmountable." John Gibel said it beautifully, at CSU "we are now putting it all together."

Thanks to all of you for letting me share in this ceremony and in the continuing adventure that is Cleveland State University.

## NIXON RESPONSIBLE FOR TAIWAN OUSTER

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, the November 6 edition of *Human Events* news-magazine contains an analysis of the factors underlying the expulsion of Nationalist China from the United Nations. *Human events* determines, correctly I think, that the major reason for Free China's ouster from that body is the current administration's rush to embrace Mao Tse-tung and company.

Excerpts from the article follow:

## NIXON RESPONSIBLE FOR TAIWAN OUSTER

With tireless and consummate skill, President Nixon has finally achieved another wondrous goal for this Republican Administration: admission of Communist China into the General Assembly of the United Nations, a seat on the Security Council for Mao's government and the complete and public humiliation of our long-time ally, Taiwan.

There is something breathtaking about this revolutionary accomplishment, and it will be interesting to see how many Republicans in 1972 choose to run on this platform, a platform tailored to the tastes of Teddy Kennedy and Chou En-lai but formally forged in the Oval Office at the White House.

Diplomatic circles believe that the repercussions, if not favorable to the United States, will at least be widespread. The action taken by the United Nations last week has clearly jeopardized Taiwan's existence as a country free from Communist control, it has seriously undermined the pro-Western government of Japan, and it has even helped to subvert the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The move is also quite likely to transform the United Nations into a primary battlefield for international Maoist subversion.

Face-conscious Asians are undoubtedly reassessing their allegiances in the wake of Taiwan's ouster. From Malagasy to Indonesia, millions of overseas Chinese, dominant in trade and many of the professions of Southeast Asia, will be encouraged to shift their loyalties from the Republic of China to the rising Red Star on the mainland.

The U.N. maneuver has not only tossed a king-sized scare into our Asian allies who obviously fear American abandonment, but it has sown an enormous amount of distrust with our friends in other parts of the world as well. For if the U.S. is so blithely willing to permit the jettisoning of an ally, a charter member of the U.N., a regime for which hundreds of thousands of Americans lost their lives or were seriously wounded in World War II, how, America's friends are asking, can the free world continue to rely on the U.S. in the face of aggression?

How, they would like to know, can they trust the word of a President who par-

ticipates in the betraying of old friends and simultaneously signals he may abandon others by reducing America's presence throughout the world and permitting the Soviet Union to develop decisive military superiority?

The truth is that President Nixon has suffered a diplomatic Bay of Pigs in his obsession to court Peking. And Taiwan's expulsion—the major betrayal, the core of last week's disaster—is largely due to the actions of the President, not the United Nations, ignominious as the role of the U.N. has been.

The U.N., admittedly, deserves its fair share of the blame for slavishly following the line laid down by the Communist government of Albania, Peking's friend in court.

Albanian Foreign Minister Nesti Nase introduced the winning resolution to seat Mainland China and eject Taiwan by calling for the U.N. to "expel the puppet Chiang Kai-shek" and get rid of the "Chiang Kai-shek clique." He urged the world body to give the United States the "soap so that, like Pontius Pilate, they may wash their hands" of Taiwan.

"The world at large," Nase continued, "knows that American imperialists have committed and continue to commit the most serious of crimes against the Chinese people. . . . Ceaselessly they have led against the People's Regime of China a policy of war and aggression. . . ."

Belittling our support for Red China's admission, Nase claimed that the United States "has continued its hostile anti-Chinese policy, which is born of the hate that it nourishes toward revolution and socialism and of its aggressive designs for world domination."

Whether the U.N. majority actually swallowed whole all that Red rhetoric is doubtful, but the majority willingly lined up against the United States and behind Nase's resolution. The final vote which brought many of the delegates to their feet in wild applause was 76 in favor, 35 opposed and 17 abstentions (see page 23).

But the key decision that signalled the end for Taiwan came a few hours earlier when the Assembly voted 59 to 55 to reject the American draft resolution that would have declared the expulsion of the Nationalists an "important question" requiring a two-thirds majority for approval.

As the electrical tally boards flashed the news that the "important question" proposal had failed, pandemonium broke out on the Assembly floor. Delegates jumped up and applauded, while Salim Ahmed Salim, the youthful chief delegate from Maoist Tanzania, hopped to his feet and led his colleagues in a frenzied victory jig in the front row of the General Assembly Hall. Decked out in a black tunic buttoned up at the neck, Salim had performed a first in the U.N. with his victory dance.

Albanian delegates, who were floor managers for the dump Taiwan effort, were less frenetic than their Tanzanian co-sponsors, but they also smiled, applauded and exchanged embraces. So did the Algerians, who served as co-managers in the Albanian effort.

"For long minutes," noted the *New York Times*, "the packed hall rang with applause and cheers for the winners. There was rhythmic clapping. The Soviet Union's delegate, Yakov A. Malik, who voted against the United States—though Moscow is less than enthusiastic about Peking these days—applauded discreetly and smiled benignly."

The U.N. must be clearly called to account for exchanging a peaceful, prosperous and generous member of the family of nations for the rampaging revolutionaries on the mainland dedicated to wrecking the human spirit. But it was the President—and nobody else—who was primarily responsible for jerking the rug out from under Taiwan.

The official Administration line is that we fought hard to retain the Republic of China's membership, and U.N. Ambassador George

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Bush made a valiant effort to do so. But insiders at the U.N. stress that the various actions taken by the President and the State Department systematically undermined Bush's position.

The President's sudden announcement (not cleared with Taiwan) that he would voyage to Peking, the President's support of Taiwan's eviction from the Security Council in order to ease Peking's U.N. entry and his sending of White House aide Henry Kissinger not once but twice, to the Communist capital on the mainland, the last time on the eve of the U.N. vote, were all part of the pattern that paved the way for Taiwan's ejection.

Potential supporters of the U.S. just did not believe we had our hearts set on rescuing Taiwan. And many believed that if the U.S., as evidenced by Kissinger's trips, were coming to a broad understanding with Peking, they would be advised to hop aboard the pro-Peking bandwagon as well. Why should they risk antagonizing the Communist colossus by supporting Taiwan when the U.S. looked as if it were about to strike a cozy deal of some sort?

The second Kissinger trip was particularly crucial in persuading the delegates the United States was not serious about salvaging Taiwan.

Rep. Edward Derwinski (R-Ill.), an American delegate to the U.N., told *HUMAN EVENTS*: "In my judgment, the timing of Kissinger's trip to Peking had an adverse effect" on the vote. "Kissinger's presence in Peking as the vote was about to come up was impossible to explain."

While the President's White House aide was visiting the Great Wall, the Ming tombs and the Summer Palace, the delegates received the distinct impression that the United States was more concerned with its new ties to Peking than its old links with Taiwan.

Nor is this all that damaged our position at the U.N. A sizable number of delegates, particularly the Japanese, deplored the fact that the President himself furnished only token support for Taiwan. Not once, it was noted, had the President made a major statement on Taiwan's behalf. Not once had he intervened in a major way to persuade our allies to side with us on this issue.

"If the United States had been as interested in retaining Taiwan's membership as it was in embracing Peking," said one observer, "then the President would have pulled out all the stops—economic enticements, threats of retaliation and a promise to use all the parliamentary weapons at our disposal, including the veto." But the President did none of this. Indeed, he went out of his way to discard any of the parliamentary devices he could have used to retain Taiwan's seat.

Just five days prior to the opening of the General Assembly, the President handed Red China yet another handsome peace offering. He agreed that Red China should be entitled to enter the General Assembly and the Security Council on a simple majority vote.

In the past, the U.S. had interpreted the U.N. provisions to mean that Red China should not be seated at all because of its flagrant violation of the U.N. Charter and because it had been labelled an "aggressor" nation by the U.N. Moreover, we have previously held that the admission of Red China is an important question requiring a two-thirds majority, not a simple one.

The President also spurned possible use of the veto power to salvage Taiwan. When a reporter asked the President if Dr. Walter Judd were not correct in stating that the expulsion of Nationalist China was subject to a veto, the President admitted that "there are differing legal opinions you can get. . . . We, however, have reached the conclusion that the position we presently take . . . is the legally sustainable one."

The President thus acknowledged that he was not going to employ the veto and that

he was deliberately taking a position detrimental to Taiwan, even though other legal opinions were available.

As former Rep. Judd put it: "Everybody could see—almost everybody drew the conclusion that the United States didn't really believe in its own resolution." As a consequence of our half-hearted efforts, the U.S. fell five votes short on the key vote. In fact, some 18 countries that had voted with us in 1970 either opposed us or abstained in the vote this year. And it defies the imagination to believe that such a massive defection could have occurred unless the United States had greased the skids.

We are constrained to agree with Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.), who just might be President Nixon's opponent next year:

"The expulsion of Taiwan from the United Nations is being viewed around the world as an unprecedented diplomatic defeat for the United States. The American people now have a right to ask what further price we are going to have to pay in order that the President have a cheerful reception when he arrives in Peking.

"We all desire improved relations between Peking and Washington. And President Nixon, on July 15, personally assured the American people that 'normalized relations' with China would not be 'at the expense of our friends.' But the expulsion of Taiwan is eloquent evidence that the Administration does not deliver on its pledges.

"I agree with those who say that our recent defeat was 'symbolic,' but I cannot accept the view that it was 'merely symbolic.' For what the U.N. vote symbolized, in fact, is that America's position of world leadership has been eroded.

"Throughout this fiasco the Administration failed to convey a convincing impression of what its real policy was. Capitals around the world were alive with speculation that the U.S. commitment to the maintenance of Taiwanese representation was nothing but a *pro forma* effort. On the eve of the crucial vote, the President's most trusted adviser was deep in conversation in Peking. When the Administration sought to rally support, the damage had already been done."

How harmful will Taiwan's expulsion be? The most immediate and devastating impact, reports the *Washington Post*, "is already occurring in Taiwan... In the view of several Asian specialists, Chiang's loss of status will inspire elements within his regime to seek to work out some kind of deal with the Communists." Moreover, the Republic of China's influence throughout Asia and Africa is bound to diminish while Red China's influence is bound to wax.

In addition, business investment in Taiwan, already having fallen off because of the government's increasingly unsure status, is expected to plummet even further, as a number of businesses are convinced that Taiwan's ejection is the first major step toward the crumbling of the Chiang Kai-shek regime and a possible take-over by the Communists.

The Red Chinese victory at the U.N. is also expected to scuttle the pro-Western government of Japan. As a result of Nixon's lurch toward Peking, Prime Minister Eisaku Sato has come under increasing pressure from leftward forces in his country to ditch Taiwan. Many members of Sato's ruling Liberal-Democratic party, supported by Japanese interests eager to tap the Red Chinese market, have urged that Japan now break its links with Taiwan and establish diplomatic relations with Peking. More than a few specialists in the area also believe Sato will shortly be forced to resign from office and that he will be replaced by a pro-Peking man.

Taiwan's ouster, ironically enough, may also speed up what the President claims to be against: the neo-isolationist sentiment spreading over the country.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

In the crucial vote at the U.N., for instance, only three NATO countries—Greece, Portugal and Luxembourg—supported our position, and in the final tally not a single NATO nation cast its ballot for Taiwan. Thus there are predictions that some conservatives, reacting to the U.N. vote on expulsion, will join with the liberals in gutting NATO the next time the Mansfield resolution on European troop withdrawals comes before the Senate.

In the wake of Taiwan's expulsion, the President, it seems to us, should try to redeem the situation to some extent. He could, for instance, recall our ambassador to the U.N. as a sign of his active displeasure with that organization's actions on the Taiwan issue. Instead of commenting on Taiwan's ouster through his press secretary, as he did last week, he should personally announce a renewed commitment to Taiwan for the purpose of shoring up that government's spirit and indicating to investors that the Republic of China will not be abandoned. Meanwhile, the President should take action to pacify the government of Japan and to restore confidence in our allies who have been shaken by our recent policy toward an old ally. To do nothing is the sure path to further disaster.

### OUR OWN GESTAPO

#### HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the widespread concern which has been felt throughout the Nation about the bungling tactics of Federal agents who administer the 1968 gun control law is well expressed in an editorial from the *Panama City News Herald* of Wednesday, October 20, 1971. I submit it for the RECORD:

#### OUR OWN GESTAPO

Federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents in Washington, D.C., probably are lying low for the moment after a raid in which a Washington resident was shot in the head a couple of months ago.

The victim was Ken Bellew, a collector of antique firearms. At last report he was in a Washington hospital with a bullet in his brain. A federal bullet.

Accounts of the raid in newspapers and in a national magazine are almost unbelievable.

Briefly, the Gestapo-like raid occurred one evening when Bellew was taking a bath in his Washington apartment and his wife—who was not fully dressed—was in the bedroom.

Suddenly there was a fearful hammering on the front door and loud demands that he open up. Before Bellew could get out of the tub, the door flew off its hinges, battered by an 80-pound steel battering ram.

A group of bearded, long-haired men dressed in old clothing charged in. Bellew—on his way to the door—snatched up an old single-shot antique pistol to defend himself. Several shots were fired. Bellew fell to the floor with a bullet in his brain. Most reports seem to agree that he fired the antique pistol, but only after being shot at, and that the ball hit no one.

When the dust settled it turned out that the bearded men were undercover agents the ATF and that they were there to search Bellew's apartment because of a report that he had live hand grenades in his possession.

The raiders found a single deactivated grenade, according to reports. It was a souvenir of World War I. A paperweight. Harmless.

Subsequent investigation indicated that they had drawn their search warrant on

the basis of information given an officer in another city by an unidentified person—third-hand, unconfirmed information, given without the necessity of an oath by the original complainant.

One congressman remarked later that he could not understand the need for haste on the part of the raiders, the battering down of the door, the sudden charge into Bellew's living room.

"After all, if he had hand grenades, he couldn't flush them down the toilet could he?" the congressman asked.

Hardly, it was an ill-conceived, stupid, bungling, Keystone-cops sort of raid untypical of the professional law enforcement agent and loaded with deadly hints of what the future might be like if some people get the national gun control laws they seek so eagerly.

Uninformed police were present and they could have entered the room first, at least letting Bellew know that the raid was a police raid and not an invasion of his home by hippies bound on rape, robbery and worse.

But they stood outside in the hallway and let the bearded ones do their thing, with deadly results for Bellew, who thought he was defending his property and perhaps his life and that of his wife.

Perhaps the raiders were chided later by their superiors. Perhaps not. No report of disciplinary action has been brought to our attention.

At very least, the boys ought to be a little embarrassed.

After all, you still don't know who triggered the false air raid alert that upset the whole nation a few months ago, do you?

### DR. GABOR—NOBEL PRIZE WINNER

#### HON. STEWART B. MCKINNEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 3, 1971

Mr. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, I know that my colleagues will want to join me in an expression of congratulations to Dr. Dennis Gabor who is the recipient of the Nobel Prize for Physics.

Although a British citizen, I am sure you know that for more than half of each year, Dr. Gabor makes his home in Stamford, Conn. His choice of Stamford, I should point out, is no accident since that is where he continues his work with his lifelong colleague and friend, Dr. Peter Goldmark, a man who, like Dr. Gabor, has realized the valuable correlation between human renewal and urban renewal.

Dr. Gabor, as he pointed out in an interview following the announcement of his award, is not a "pure research for the sake of research man." His principal interest in life is to apply science to the solution of social problems, an attitude which is not only admirable, but deserves our unqualified gratitude.

He feels, Mr. Speaker, that Western civilization is in need of redirection and that "everything rests on the basis of science but that spiritually, we have nothing." I would hope that this award, and the recognition of his contributions, will mark the beginning of that redirection so that we may move forward as Dr. Gabor would want us to. I firmly believe that this can be accomplished if others follow his lead and apply their particular aspect of science to the solution of social ills. Nothing could make this country greater.