

ity adjustments in pay rates of Federal employees; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HANLEY (for himself, Mr. UDALL, Mr. MOSS, Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mr. NICHOLS, Mr. O'NEILL, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. REES, Mr. REUSS, Mr. ROE, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. ROY, Mr. RYAN, Mr. ST GERMAIN, Mr. SARBAKES, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. SISK, Mr. JAMES V. STANTON, Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia, Mr. TIERNAN, Mr. WALDIE, Mr. WILLIAMS, and Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON):

H.R. 11843. A bill relating to comparability adjustments in pay rates of Federal employees; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 11844. A bill to amend title 10 of the United States Code so as to permit members of the Reserves and the National Guard to receive retired pay at age 55 for non-Regular service under chapter 67 of that title; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. MOSS:

H.R. 11845. A bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to authorize the Civil Aeronautics Board to permit an air carrier to hold both scheduled and supplemental certification; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 11846. A bill to amend the War Claims Act of 1948 to abolish the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ROE:

H.R. 11847. A bill to amend the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. SCHWENGEL:

H.R. 11848. A bill to amend the act requiring evidence of certain financial responsibility and establishing minimum standards for certain passenger vessels in order to exempt certain vessels operating on inland rivers; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 11849. A bill to amend chapter 81 of subpart G of title 5, United States Code, relating to compensation for work injuries, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

H.R. 11850. A bill to restore to Federal civilian employees their rights to participate, as private citizens, in the political life of the Nation, to protect Federal civilian employees from improper political solicitations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. STEELE:

H.R. 11851. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction to a taxpayer who is a student at a college for certain expenses incurred in obtaining a higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. STUCKEY:

H.R. 11852. A bill to designate certain lands in the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge, Ga., as wilderness; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BADILLO:

H.J. Res. 971. Joint resolution relating to the publication of economic and social statistics for Spanish-speaking Americans; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. SCHWENGEL:

H.J. Res. 972. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to disapproval and reduction of items in general appropriation bills; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. UDALL:

H.J. Res. 973. Joint resolution relating to the publication of economic and social statistics for Spanish-speaking Americans; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. YATRON (for himself, Mrs. ABZUG, Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois, Mr. ASPIN, Mr. BRADEMAS, Mr. BURTON, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. DELLENBACK, Mr. DERWINSKI, Mr. EILBERG, Mrs. GRASSO, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. HARRINGTON, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts, Mr. KYROS, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. MITCHELL, Mr. MORSE, Mr. PETTIS, Mr. ROE, and Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania):

H.J. Res. 974. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the third Sunday in October of each year as "National Shut-In Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. YATRON (for himself, Mr. ST GERMAIN, Mr. STEELE, Mr. TIERNAN, and Mr. WINN):

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H.J. Res. 975. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the third Sunday in October of each year as "National Shut-In Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEMP (for himself, Mr. PODELL, Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. STEELE, Mr. VANDER JAGT, Mr. CAMP, and Mr. GUBSER):

H. Con. Res. 462. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress with respect to placing before the United Nations General Assembly the issue of the dual right of all persons to emigrate from and also return to one's country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. BENNETT:

H.R. 11853. A bill for the relief of Michael E. Toro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRASCO:

H.R. 11854. A bill for the relief of Anthony M. Daleo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ECKHARDT:

H.R. 11855. A bill for the relief of Ibrahim Mohamed Zaki Oweiss; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. EDWARDS of California:

H.R. 11856. A bill for the relief of Hilda I. Rodgers; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HANNA:

H.R. 11857. A bill for the relief of Patrick W. Russ; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HÉBERT:

H.R. 11858. A bill for the relief of Christine R. Anderson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STEPHENS:

H.R. 11859. A bill for the relief of William H. Spratling; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

158. The SPEAKER presented a petition of Ron Jones, Nedrow, N.Y., relative to the terms of a treaty between the United States and the Iroquois Confederacy; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### COMMUNITY SCHOOL CENTER DEVELOPMENT ACT

**HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.**  
OF MICHIGAN  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, today, I have introduced the Community School Center Development Act. This will serve as the House version of the same act recently introduced in the Senate by Senators CHURCH and WILLIAMS. I congratulate them for their initiative in this matter.

The crisis in our schools is an acknowledged fact, particularly in our city schools and schools in low-income and rural areas. The problems are manifold—outdated curriculum and teaching materials, inability to attract and keep good teachers, lack of public support and willingness to pay for improvements, the dilemma of community participation and control, inadequate tax base, the unfair financing reliance on

property taxes, educational experience not adequately personalized to the needs and potential of individual children, and so forth.

In short, the relationship between the school and the individuals and groups who make up the community around the school is confused and inadequate for the needs of our time. As a result, not enough young people are realizing the potential they must if they are to be productive and involved citizens in the 1970's, 1980's, and 1990's. Another widely documented condition in today's society is the loss of a sense of community. The forces which fragment and divide a community are greater than those which bring people together to participate and share in larger common interests. This problem can and must be overcome.

One encouraging response to these problems is the community school concept—where the school becomes a fully utilized, decentralized community center, open from early in the morning until late at night, 6 or 7 days a week. The community school concept was pioneered

and developed in Flint, Mich., over 30 years ago under the leadership and direction of Charles Stewart Mott and the Mott Foundation. Mr. Frank Manley, of Flint, first organized the concept which the Mott Foundation carried forward.

Under the community school program, the school becomes a neighborhood facility serving not only schoolchildren but adults, senior citizens, community groups and the like with a full array of services: educational, social, recreational, health, local government, public safety, vocational and, in general, whatever the community wants and needs. Everybody in the community gives something to the effort and everybody gets something.

Although there is no pat formula which can be uniformly applied to all communities, there are some battle-tested ways of helping communities to establish their own particular kind of community education as a function of their own special needs, problems, and resources. There is good evidence that this approach can help to make education more responsive to the community, more meaningful to both children and adults, and in the

process give a neighborhood a rallying point around which to form a new sense of mission and involvement which cuts across age and interest groups.

The Community School Center Development Act which I have introduced today is aimed at expanding the community school program nationally. It will provide every community throughout the United States with the opportunity to become a part of an educational program which has not only demonstrated its success in over 600 school districts across the United States, but also has unique cost effective benefits which make it attractive to our taxpayers and school systems which are already financially strapped. We have found for example that we can increase facility utilization by 150 percent with a 5-percent increase in operating expenses. This is a bargain that the country desperately needs.

This act is designed to promote the expansion of the community school program in several ways: First, it authorizes Federal grants to be made to colleges and universities interested in developing or expanding community education centers for the training of community school directors. Second, it will make Federal funds available to school districts wanting to establish new community school programs—or expand ongoing programs. These grants may also help cover the cost to communities or school districts for the training and salaries of community school directors.

In order to promote the adoption of community school programs across the Nation, the Commissioner of Education is authorized to distribute information on these programs to local communities as well as appoint up to 25 four-man teams to assist interested communities in program development. Finally, a Community School Advisory Council will be appointed to advise the Commissioner of Education on policy matters relating to community schools.

As a product of the Flint community school system, I have long supported this concept and have worked jointly with the Mott Foundation to encourage its development. Since coming to Congress in 1967, we have worked to acquaint Members of Congress as well as various Federal officials with the unique advantages of this program. While a member of the District of Columbia Subcommittee on the Appropriations Committee—in September of 1967—the Mott Foundation—working together with our District of Columbia Subcommittee of Appropriations, its Chairman WILLIAM NATCHER, and District of Columbia school officials for a pilot project involving two District of Columbia schools—an elementary and a junior high school. More important than the financial support, the Mott Foundation and the Flint school people shared their experiences, technical assistance, and expertise with District of Columbia citizens, educators, and students to see if this concept could work in a major urban center. The results have been so positive that the program has grown to 13 community schools with further plans for expansion. The evidence takes the form of such things as:

Overall increase in average daily attendance.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Improved attendance at PTA meetings. Window breakage decreased and illegal entries into the school was reduced. Library book circulation increased.

Elementary school children's reading score levels improved.

Greatly increased pride and involvement in the school and the educational process on the part of parents, teachers, students, and citizens in the surrounding neighborhood.

Recently, a group of District of Columbia senior citizens and blind people—who attend adult education classes sponsored by the District of Columbia Community School program—visited the White House to explain to President and Mrs. Nixon how Flint schools and the Mott Foundation have helped District of Columbia start its own community school program—and how this type of program could help other cities and other senior citizen groups around the country.

In addition, we have discussed the community school concept with HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson who indicated his support for the concept and stated that—

We are assessing ways in which the Federal Government might contribute to strengthening the community school concept.

Both the Economic Opportunity Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act have identified the community school concept as an integral part of any community action program designed to help a disadvantaged area. However, I feel very strongly that the time has come for the Federal Government to go beyond passively applauding the merits of the community school program and actively contribute to its further growth and expansion.

In addition to the many social and educational advantages stemming from the community school program, there are a number of unique economic advantages worth mentioning:

In Flint alone—which has a population of approximately 200,000, 92,000 people use our schools after school hours; 80,000 adults are presently enrolled in 1,200 adult education classes; a millage election has not been defeated since 1950; no community school program involves expenditures of more than 5 percent of the school's total operating budget—and utilization of the facility is increased by 150 percent; 4,200 adults are now enrolled in high school credit classes—aimed toward graduation; and 230 adults graduated from the adult high school in 1971.

In conclusion, the reasons and advantages for the Federal Government to undertake leadership in encouraging the community school program include the fact that; it attacks multiple community-related problems; it uses existing systems and facilities and thereby avoids duplication; remains flexible and reflects the needs and wants of the local area each of which are different; it is a cost-effective investment; and it helps build a sense of neighborhood and community which is so badly needed in today's fragmented society.

Education is not a partisan issue—and I would like to urge all of my colleagues here in the House to join in supporting the Community School Center Develop-

ment Act. I am hopeful that we will see the same kind of enthusiastic support for this program here in Congress as has been shown in so many communities throughout the United States.

I attach the bill so that it can be printed in full at this point in the RECORD.

H.R. 11709

A bill to promote development and expansion of community schools throughout the United States

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

### SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Community School Center Development Act".

### STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. It is the purpose of this Act to provide recreational, educational, and a variety of other community and social services through the establishment of the community school as a center for such activities in cooperation with other community groups.

### DEFINITIONS

SEC. 3. As used in this Act the term—

(1) "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of Education;

(2) "State" includes, in addition to the

several States of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of

Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the

Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the

Pacific Islands;

(3) "State educational agency" means the State board of education or other agency or officer primarily responsible for the State supervision of State elementary and secondary education or if there is no such officer or agency, an officer or agency designated by the Governor or State law;

(4) "Council" means the Community Schools Advisory Council;

(5) "institution of higher education" means an educational institution in any State which (A) admits as regular students only persons having a certificate of graduation from a school providing secondary education, or the recognized equivalent of such a certificate, (B) is legally authorized within such State to provide a program of education beyond secondary education, (C) provides an educational program for which it awards a bachelor's degree or provides not less than a two-year program which is acceptable for full credit toward such a degree, (D) is a public or other nonprofit institution, and (E) is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association or, if not so accredited, (i) is an institution with respect to which the Commissioner has determined that there is satisfactory assurance, considering the resources available to the institution, the period of time, if any, during which it has operated, the effort it is making to meet accreditation standards, and the purpose for which this determination is being made, that the institution will meet the accreditation standards of such an agency or association within a reasonable time, or (ii) is an institution whose credits are accepted, on transfer, by not less than three institutions which are so accredited, for credit on the same basis as if transferred from an institution so accredited. Such term also includes any school which provides not less than a one-year program of training to prepare students for gainful employment in a recognized occupation and which meets the provision of clauses (A), (B), (D), and (E). For purpose of this subsection, the Commissioner shall publish a list of nationally recognized accrediting agencies or associations which he determines to be reliable authority as to the quality of training offered;

(6) "local educational agency" means a public board of education or other public

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

authority legally constituted within a State for either administrative control or direction of, or to perform a service function for, public elementary or secondary schools in a city, county, township, school district, or other political subdivision of a State, or such combination of school districts of counties as are recognized in a State as an administrative agency for its public elementary or secondary schools. Such term also includes any other public institution or agency having administrative control and direction of a public elementary or secondary school; and

(7) "community school program" means a program in which a public elementary or secondary school is utilized as a community center operated in cooperation with other groups in the community to provide recreational, educational, and a variety of other community and social services for the community that center serves.

## TITLE I—COMMUNITY EDUCATION CENTER GRANTS

SEC. 101. (a) The Commissioner shall make grants to institutions of higher education to develop and establish programs in community education which will train people as community school directors.

(b) Where an institution of higher learning has such a program presently in existence, such grant may be made to expand the program.

## APPLICATIONS

SEC. 102. A grant under this title may be made to any institution of higher education upon application to the Commissioner at such time, in such manner, and containing and accompanied by such information as the Commissioner deems necessary. Each such application shall—

(1) provide that the programs and activities for which assistance under this title is sought will be administered by or under the supervision of the applicant;

(2) describe with particularity the programs and activities for which such assistance is sought;

(3) set forth such fiscal control and fund accounting procedures as may be necessary to assure proper disbursement of and accounting for Federal funds paid to the applicant under this title; and

(4) provide for making such reasonable reports in such form and containing such information as the Commissioner may reasonably require.

## AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 103. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this title.

## TITLE II—GRANTS FOR COMMUNITY

SEC. 201. (a) The Commissioner may, upon proper application, make grants to local educational agencies for the establishment of new community school programs and the expansion of existing ones.

(b) Grants shall be available for the training and salaries of community school directors as well as actual and administrative and operating expenses connected with such programs.

## APPORTIONMENT

SEC. 202. (a) The number of project grants available to each State, subject to uniform criteria established by the Commissioner, shall be as follows:

(1) States with a population of less than five million shall receive not more than four projects;

(2) States with a population of more than five million but less than ten million shall receive not more than six projects;

(3) States with a population of more than ten million but less than fifteen million shall receive not more than eight projects; and

(4) States with a population of more than fifteen million shall receive not more than ten projects.

(b) Grants shall be made to the respective State educational agencies for payment to the appropriate local educational agencies.

## CONSULTATION WITH STATE EDUCATIONAL AGENCY

SEC. 203. In determining the recipients of project grants the Commissioner shall consult with each State educational agency to assure support of a program particularly suitable to that State and providing adequate experience in the operation of community schools.

## PAYMENTS

SEC. 204. Payments under this title shall be made from a State's apportionment to any State educational agency which has been selected by the Commissioner in accordance with section 203.

## AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 205. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this title.

## TITLE III—COMMUNITY SCHOOL PROMOTION PROMOTION

SEC. 301. In order to promote the adoption of community school programs throughout the United States the Commissioner shall—

(1) accumulate and disseminate pertinent information to local communities;

(2) appoint twenty-five teams, consisting of not more than four individuals on each team, to assist communities contemplating the adoption of a community school program; and

(3) establish a program of permanent liaison between the community school district and the Commissioner.

## ADVISORY COUNCIL

SEC. 302. (a) There is hereby established in the office of the Commissioner a Community Schools Advisory Council to be composed of seven members appointed by the President for terms of two years without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code.

(b) The Council shall select its own Chairman and Vice Chairman and shall meet at the call of the Chairman, but not less than four times a year. Members shall be appointed for two-year terms, except that of the members first appointed four shall be appointed for a term of one year and three shall be appointed for a term of two years as designated by the President at the time of appointment. Any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall serve only for the remainder of such term. Members shall be eligible for reappointment and may serve after the expiration of their terms until their successors have taken office. A vacancy in the Council shall not affect its activities and four members thereof shall constitute a quorum. The Commissioner shall be an ex officio member of the Council. A member of the Council who is an officer or employee of the Federal Government shall serve without additional compensation.

(c) The Commissioner shall make available to the Council such staff, information, and other assistance as it may require to carry out its activities.

## FUNCTION OF THE COUNCIL

SEC. 303. The Council shall advise the Commissioner on policy matters relating to the interests of community schools.

## COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS

SEC. 304. Each member of the Council appointed pursuant to section 302 shall receive \$50 a day, including traveltime, for each day he is engaged in the actual performance of his duties as a member of the Council. Each such member shall also be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary

expenses incurred in the performance of his duties.

## AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 305. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this title.

## TITLE IV—MISCELLANEOUS PROHIBITIONS AND LIMITATIONS

SEC. 401. (a) Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system.

(b) Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize the making of any payment under this Act for the construction of facilities as a place of worship or religious instruction.

## JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 402. (a) If any State or local educational agency is dissatisfied with the Commissioner's final action with respect to the approval of applications submitted under title II, or with his final action under section 405, such State or local educational agency may, within sixty days after notice of such action, file with the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which such agency is located a petition for review of that action. A copy of that petition shall be forthwith transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Commissioner. The Commissioner shall file promptly in the court the record of the proceedings on which he based his action, as provided for in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code.

(b) The findings of fact by the Commissioner, if supported by substantial evidence, shall be conclusive; but the court, for good cause shown, may remand the case to the Commissioner to take further evidence, and the Commissioner may thereupon make new or modified findings of fact and may modify his previous action, and shall file in the court the record of the further proceedings. Such new or modified findings of fact shall likewise be conclusive if supported by substantial evidence.

(c) Upon the filing of such petition, the court shall have jurisdiction to affirm the action of the Commissioner or to set it aside, in whole or in part. The judgment of the court shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code.

## ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 403. (a) The Commissioner may delegate any of his functions under this Act, except the making of regulations, to any officer or employee of the Office of Education.

(b) In administering the provisions of this Act, the Commissioner is authorized to utilize the services and facilities of any agency of the Federal Government and of any other public agency or institution in accordance with appropriate agreements, and to pay for such services either in advance or by way of reimbursement as may be agreed upon.

## PAYMENTS

SEC. 404. Payments to a State under this Act may be made in installments, in advance, or by way of reimbursement, with necessary adjustments on account of underpayment or overpayment, and may be made directly to a State or to one or more public agencies designated for this purpose by the State, or both.

## WITHHOLDING

SEC. 405. Whenever the Commissioner, after giving reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to a grant recipient under this Act, finds—

(1) that the program or activity for which

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such grant was made has been so changed that it no longer complies with the provisions of this Act; or

(2) that in the operation of the program or activity there is failure to comply substantially with any such provision; the Commissioner shall notify in writing such recipient of his findings and no further payments may be made to such recipient by the Commissioner until he is satisfied that such noncompliance has been, or will promptly be, corrected. The Commissioner may authorize the continuance of payments with respect to any programs or activities pursuant to this Act which are being carried out by such recipient and which are not involved in the noncompliance.

#### AUDIT AND REVIEW

SEC. 406. The Commissioner and the Comptroller General of the United States, or any of their duly authorized representatives, shall have access for the purpose of audit and examination, to any books, documents, papers, and records of a grantee, under this Act, that are pertinent to the grant received.

#### REPORTS TO THE CONGRESS

SEC. 407. The Commissioner shall transmit to the President and to the Congress annually a report of activities under this Act, including the name of each applicant, a brief description of the facts in each case, and the number and amount of grants.

#### THE WAR IN VIETNAM

#### HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, the war in Vietnam has been dragged on and prolonged for months and years now, to the point where the American people are impatient for an end to the American involvement. My constituents in the Third Congressional District of New York continually raise their voices to implore that everything be done to bring this tragic conflict to a close.

The village of Great Neck Estates, in a special meeting of the board of trustees on September 15, 1971, passed the following resolution, which clearly expresses the sentiments of not only the residents of the village, but, I think, the wishes of the majority of Americans. I therefore commend this resolution to my colleagues, and join the trustees of the village of Great Neck Estates in urging the withdrawal of all American troops from Southeast Asia.

The resolution follows:

#### RESOLUTION

Whereas military spending for the Viet Nam War represents a substantial portion of the Federal Budget and diverts public funds from more urgent needs of this nation, including purposes which benefit municipalities, both large and small, and their residents; and

Whereas the President of the United States has already taken initial steps to terminate American involvement in the Viet Nam War; and

Whereas doubt exists throughout all segments of the Nation and our Government as to the propriety and morality of now prolonging the said War.

Now, therefore, at a Special Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Village of Great Neck Estates, held at the Village Hall on

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

September 15, 1971, the Board of Trustees of the Village of Great Neck Estates has unanimously passed the following Resolution:

Be it resolved that the Board of Trustees of the Village of Great Neck Estates, County of Nassau, State of New York, hereby urges the President and the Congress of the United States to do all in their power to withdraw all United States military forces from Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia as soon as possible and not later than December 31, 1971.

#### DAILY DEATH TOLL

#### HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, starting on November 8 and continuing until Thanksgiving, a group of Americans are "dying" symbolically each day in front of the White House, or as near as they can get to it. There are 300 of them daily—the same as the number of human beings that are actually dying every day in Southeast Asia. These concerned people from many areas of the country, cooperating in the Project Daily Death Toll, under the leadership of two groups—the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Clergy and Laymen Concerned—are showing clearly, dramatically, quietly, peacefully—the horror of the sheer numbers of dead that are paying the toll in a war that is said to be "winding down."

I can only hope that these dedicated people achieve their objective—to reach the minds and hearts and consciences of the Nation, so that the "winding down" of the war becomes not another cynical copout but turns into the reality of ending the war now.

Each week in the news we get matter-of-fact, almost cheerful reports of how few Americans are dying in the war in Vietnam—the "low average weekly body count" as compared with some previous time—now that "the war is winding down."

What we do not hear is that each day the war goes on, 300 Vietnamese are killed—plus more Cambodians and Laotians. We do not hear that the average tonnage of bombs dropped by the United States is higher now than ever before. We are not told of the constantly rising average monthly number of new war refugees in Indochina.

"Now that war is winding down"—how reassuring that sounds. Winding down to what? Until when? President Nixon has assured us that by next July—still seven and a half months away with 300 dying daily—there will be "only a residual force of no more than 100,000 troops" left in the war zone; in order to protect this residual force, of course, it will be necessary to continue and perhaps increase the air support—which means, very likely, more and more and more killed, made homeless—civilian as well as military, if military is the right word to use for the subteenage boys, as in the Cambodian forces.

The President has the power to end the killing. He can set a date for the with-

drawal of all troops from Southeast Asia and put an end to the bombing. With those steps, the killing would stop and the American prisoners could come home. Negotiations could easily settle the remaining political questions.

#### THE CANCER BATTLE REQUIRES A SEPARATE AGENCY

#### HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, very recently the Senate passed a measure calling for a concerted effort on the part of this Nation to find the cause of cancer plus an accompanying cure or cures for this killer.

Such a laudable objective is meaningless in itself unless accompanied by legislation setting up some structure upon which to mount the effort. This the Senate sought to do by calling in its measure for the creation of an independent agency to handle, oversee and administer this long overdue work. I favor this approach, for a variety of reasons which I shall delineate.

This body has just passed a similar measure, again with laudable purpose. It seeks the same goal as the Senate bill does. Unfortunately, it does not provide the appropriate machinery for doing so. That is why I was one of the five Members who opposed the final form of the legislation.

For years, I have felt that the National Government should and must mount this kind of massive, all-out research and scientific work. Nationally, I feel that the overwhelming majority of Americans favor such activity. If we can spend billions upon sterile wars and weapons systems cost overruns, we can surely appropriate and invest a reasonable sum of money to attack the menace that is the disease of cancer.

Yet it seems that we are intent upon diffusing rather than concentrating our efforts. The House-passed version calls for the setting up of such an agency as we have in mind within the already existing framework of the National Institutes of Health.

This organization is a massive operation, entering into dozens of health and research fields on behalf of the American people. In recent years we have found that by its very vastness and diversity, some work and projects have gotten lost in the shuffle. Funds intended for one good work somehow are diluted because yet another laudable undertaking requires people, equipment, space and funds. None of this is ever done by accident. No one ever acts in bad faith. Most of what emerges is excellent work, yielding a good return to the taxpayer.

Unfortunately, the nature of the beast we deal with here is vast. A cancer attack program envisioned by the Congress would inevitably, almost certainly be watered down as other programs have been within this complex operation that is the National Institutes of Health.

In order for us to make the progress we seek in conquering this disease, we must create a special agency, fund it, staff it, equip it and give it one instruction, and only one instruction—find a cure for cancer as swiftly as is humanly possible. Or at the very least, isolate the cause of as many varieties of the disease as is possible.

This would not be done under the measure the House has just passed. We will only lose the force and momentum already built up by merging this quest with so many others.

In no way do I denigrate the other efforts that are aimed at ridding mankind of so many other afflictions. In no way do I question any motives, for all involved in this area, I believe, operating in the most sincere manner possible. I still feel, however, that the Senate-passed version was the correct approach to take, and that we have missed a vital opportunity by putting our measure in the final form it took.

Mr. Speaker, because the House version of the bill is different than the one the Senate passed, 79 to 1, there will be a conference to iron out the differences. I sincerely hope the conferees will seize this opportunity to go forward with the concept of a single new agency to mount an all out attack on this merciless killer—cancer.

#### NATIONAL WEEK OF CONCERN FOR OUR PRISONERS OF WAR

#### HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the efforts of my colleague the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. ZION) to designate a National Week of Concern for Our Prisoners of War in Indochina. It has been 7 years and 235 days since the capture of the first American POW. The time has come to bring this statistic to an end. We cannot afford to delay.

The profound concern of all Americans about our POW's and MIA's is clearly evident. In my talks with the families of American POW's, I have been given to understand that the setting of a definite withdrawal date would accelerate the return of our POW's. We also know that the conditions under which these servicemen are incarcerated are so poor that many of them will be unable to survive much longer. Thus, plans for a residual force and the refusal of the administration to set a withdrawal date are actually working against the very men whom they are trying to save.

We cannot allow our brave servicemen to become pawns in a faulty political chess game. We in the Congress must demonstrate our genuine concern for the plight of these men by taking steps to end the war as soon as practicable and thus secure their immediate release. An early end to this war is the best way to guarantee their safe return home and to prevent any more Americans from suffering a similar fate.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

#### SALVATORE J. REALE OF OZONE PARK HONORED

#### HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, a most interesting and courageous story developed recently when Salvatore J. Reale subdued a knife-wielding robbery suspect in New York City. Mr. Reale is a resident of Ozone Park, N.Y., in my congressional district, and I am particularly proud of his unselfish and brave actions in this case.

Recently Mr. Reale was honored by the mayor of New York City for his heroic action. I want to take this opportunity to bring the facts of this incident to the attention of my colleagues in the House by placing in the RECORD at this point the text of the Long Island Press article in the presentation of the Distinguished Service Award to Salvatore J. Reale:

PRIVATE EYE HONORED—GETS DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD

(By Howard Reiser)

Nine-year-old Gina Marie Reale had this big smile across her face, just like any young girl or old girl for that matter, would have if she were picked up and kissed by Mayor Lindsay.

To Gina, this was even more important than the fact that her dad, an Ozone Park private detective was being honored by the mayor for subduing a knife-wielding man who had allegedly pulled off a \$300 showroom robbery and then slashed the victim across the chest.

"Gina couldn't stop talking about how she wanted to meet the mayor," said Reale yesterday after receiving a "Distinguished Service Award" for his act. "And she is so flattened that the mayor gave her so much attention."

Moments earlier, the 34-year-old head of the Roma Investigations Agency in Brooklyn stood with his family in City Hall's Blue Room and listened to Lindsay and Police Commissioner Patrick Murphy laud him for his act.

"This is something I never dreamed of" he said. "And I just can't believe how many telephone calls of congratulations I've been getting."

On Wednesday Reale, who was guarding a \$100,000 shipment of diamonds at 51st Street and 6th Avenue in Manhattan, fought for his life against the knife wielder for a full five minutes on a crowded street and not one person came to his aid.

"About 500 people stood around," Reale told the mayor and Murphy yesterday. "No one helped me, but after I finally subdued the suspect every one started to clap."

The 5-foot-10, 170 pound private eye was up against a 6-foot-2, 200 pounder later identified as James Jones, 29, who gave addresses in Corona and Manhattan.

"It was a difficult situation," said Reale. "But you have to act quickly and do what you have to do."

The action for which Reale was praised yesterday began to unfold at about 3 p.m. Wednesday when the detective and one of his men, Pierre Thompasonas of Queens Village were guarding Jack Hertz of Howard Beach, jewel trader, who was delivering \$100,000 in cut diamonds to the Diamond Exchange.

The three men, standing at the 51st Street location, heard screams and saw Jones running, making slashing motions with an open switchblade knife, and scattering pedestrians before him.

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Chasing Jones was Albert Lattanz, 62, manager of a Sperry Rand showroom. Police said Jones had grabbed \$300 from Lattanz' cash register after slashing the manager across the chest.

Reale then left his two companions to chase the suspect for five blocks before catching up with him at 54th Street and 5th Avenue. Jones turned on Reale with the knife and the detective drew his gun. The two then scuffled, fell to the sidewalk and rolled out onto 5th Avenue, halting traffic.

Following a five-minute fight Reale subdued the suspect just as police cars arrived.

Reale, whose wife, Nina and father, John, proudly took part in yesterday's ceremonies, recalled he had met Lindsay once before.

"It was three years ago," he related. "I was a bodyguard of his for three hours when he visited the Flatlands Industrial Park."

#### ADMISSION OF COMMUNIST CHINA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

#### HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, the admission of Communist China to the United Nations has been described as a recognition of reality. I will not quarrel with that view, although I question just how much reality was involved in the parallel vote expelling Taiwan.

However, there is one reality I would like to discuss, and that is the issue of member dues to support the U.N. and its numerous subagencies.

Mr. Speaker, the United Nations is behind in its dues collections and other assessments by \$176-plus million. The Soviet Union owes nearly \$87 million, and the other Communist bloc countries are delinquent \$31 million. At the same time, the United States is bearing a disproportionate 33 1/2-percent share of the costs. Or to put it more accurately, the American taxpayer is shouldering this load; I sometimes think we lose sight of just who is footing the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe we have ever had a satisfactory explanation of just why the U.N. is unable to collect from many nations. How does the U.N. operate if it cannot collect its assessments? Why have we taken on such a magnanimous share of the costs?

I think it is time we had these, and some other questions answered, and I have written to Secretary of State William Rogers for some of the particulars on the operation of the United Nations. I believe public demand is going to require our cutting back our contribution to a rightful 5.8 percent as the price of continued participation within that organization. With the notorious reluctance of the Communist nations to pay their fair share, I doubt if the American taxpayer is going to be willing to add Red China to its financial burden.

Despite the many weaknesses of the United Nations, I do not believe that we should resign our seat because of our "defeat" on the Taiwan vote. Ignoring mainland China has only served to aggravate, not solve, world problems, particularly in the Far East. Red China's

entry into the United Nations will at least make that nation accountable to the remaining member nations concerning its actions.

I recently read a speech by a prominent elected official who deplored efforts to reduce the U.S. contribution to the U.N. on the rather tenuous theory that the organization is more important to America today than it has ever been. I found this a little difficult to accept, particularly in light of the fact that this official studiously avoided any suggestion that the delinquent countries at least contribute their fair share.

Mr. Speaker, do we believe that we are winning friends by contributing the lions share of the costs of operating the U.N.? Will we never learn that successful diplomacy is not measured in dollars? I sometimes wonder. I am convinced that you cannot run an effective organization by assuming the financial burden of others, as we have done. I would hope the Congress takes a firm position in this respect.

#### SEA-VEST

#### HON. BROCK ADAMS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, our current unemployment rate in the Pacific Northwest is extremely high, and all of us are seeking means to help those who have lost their jobs and are looking for work. I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the fine work which is being done by Sea-Vest, or Self-help Employment Association for Volunteer Engineers, Scientists and Technicians, to aid in this effort. I would like to include in the RECORD a statement of their purpose and the service which they provide to unemployed persons:

#### SEA-VEST

I. What is Sea-Vest? Sea-Vest is an organization of unemployed and under-employed engineers and other professionals, dedicated to assisting its membership in finding suitable employment.

The VEST program is sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor through the State Employment Services. VEST stands for Volunteer Engineers, Scientists, and technicians. Sea-Vest is the portion of the VEST program sponsored by the Washington State Employment Service, and covers the entire Puget Sound Area.

II. How does Sea-Vest differ from private and other volunteer employment agencies? Sea-Vest is primarily an employment agency. It differs from private employment agencies in that there is no fee to either employer or employee, except that the members are obligated to work at Sea-Vest at least 8 hours per week. Many work 40 hours or more.

It differs from other volunteer employment agencies in that as an unpaid arm of the federal and State governments, it is provided quarters, furniture, equipment, reproduction services, telephone service including to the federal telephone network, franked mailing privileges, and clerical support by the government.

III. How can Sea-Vest serve the prospective employer? Sea-Vest can provide the employer with pre-screened candidates who are qualified for his job openings. We can assist him in defining his jobs and the characteristics most suitable in the man to fill them. Our

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Special Projects Group can assist potential employers in feasibility studies and proposals. The prospective employer need only contact our Job Finder Organization.

IV. How can Sea-Vest serve the professional? We can help him help himself in finding a suitable job. We provide assistance in writing effective resumes, learning good interview techniques, and can refer him to jobs. He must come to our offices to register and to contribute.

V. Can Sea-Vest provide information to Groups? Our Publicity Group will be glad to provide information to any individual or groups. We are anxious to provide speakers to business, trade, and fraternal groups for their meetings.

VI. How can I contact Sea-Vest? We are located on the second floor of the Old Washington State Patrol Building at 905 Dexter Street, Seattle, Washington. To telephone our Job Finders Group or Publicity Group, call (206) AT4-9752. For other services call 285-2300, Ext. 1 or 2.

#### ALASKA PROCLAIMS SUPPORT OF VETERANS DAY

#### HON. NICK BEGICH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

OF ALASKA

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this opportunity to show the people of the United States Alaska's support for our veterans. Recently, the Nation celebrated Veterans Day in an effort to show its gratitude to all the Americans who have served in our Armed Forces. We in Alaska felt it only proper that we show our appreciation to those brave Americans by proclaiming our support of Veterans Day and urging all Alaskans to observe this day appropriately.

It is the bravery and courage displayed by our veterans that makes the United States the great Nation it is. They, above all else, are the leaders of freedom and democracy. Their vigorous defense of democracy and freedom has been proof to the world of the desire and need for men to be free.

The following is a copy of the proclamation made by Governor Egan of Alaska. I am inserting this proclamation so my colleagues may share in Alaska's pride in our veterans:

#### PROCLAMATION: VETERANS DAY

The Congress of the United States and the Legislature of Alaska have designated the fourth Monday in October a legal holiday to be known as Veterans Day, and have dedicated it to the cause of peace with honor, and to show the respect and admiration we have for our veterans.

American servicemen have responded to their Nation's call to duty in the face of loneliness, hardship, danger, and even death. After each war or conflict these dedicated Americans who performed so valiantly as servicemen return to build a stronger country.

The men and women who have served in our Nation's armed forces have made a major contribution to the preservation of America's freedom. The Nation and the free world are eternally grateful for the contributions of American veterans to the advancement of the cause of an honorable world peace.

We have set aside one day of the year to honor the dead and the living whose actions have testified to their courage and devotion to country. We can never repay our debt to them, for it is beyond price, but we can show

our recognition of the gift they have made their country.

I, William A. Egan, Governor of Alaska, do hereby proclaim October 25, 1971, as Veterans Day and urge all Alaskans to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies expressive of our desire to maintain peace, and our determination to preserve those principles of freedom for which so many brave men and women of our Nation have given their lives. Further, I urge that we pay proper homage to the millions of our fellow citizens who, by their service of our country, have advanced and maintained the cause of peace. I also call upon all Alaskans to display the flags of the United States and the State of Alaska on all public, business, and residential buildings on Veterans Day.

Dated this 19th day of October, 1971.

WILLIAM A. EGAN,  
Governor.

Attest:

H. A. BORUHU,  
Lieutenant Governor.

#### PRISONER OF WAR: VINNY McGEE

#### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, our Nation has rightly been concerned with the plight of American prisoners of war in Southeast Asia. However, there is another type of prisoner of war who has gone practically unnoticed in the press and the public eye. This is the draft resister who has chosen to violate the selective service law rather than his conscience and has gone to jail as a consequence.

The story of one of these prisoners of conscience, Vinny McGee, was movingly told in a recent issue of the Union Theological School Journal. This article was brought to my attention by the Reverend Robert Miller of the Union Theological School, a former mayor of Englewood, N.J. I commend it to my colleagues as evidence that the spirit of idealism and devotion to conscience are alive and well in America today:

[From Union Theological Seminary Journal, October 1971]

PRISONER OF WAR: VINNY McGEE  
(By Tom F. Driver)

The prisoner of whom I write is a captive of war, a P.O.W. held by his own government, which he has never betrayed and to which, in fact, he is uncommonly devoted. He did refuse to follow its orders in a matter offensive to his conscience, for which reason that government holds him captive day and night.

Lieutenant Calley is also a prisoner of war in much the same sense, though I find the ironies of that similarity almost too great to bear. Calley, I believe, offended his own conscience in order to do what he thought his commanders wanted. For that he became a convict. McGee disobeyed directives in order to follow his conscience. For that he became a convict. Calley slaughtered. McGee refused to be part of a military that causes slaughter. Both are convicts.

To the Government, I suppose, both erred in opposite directions. To behave would be to take a middle way. That seems reasonable until we ask what way lies in the middle. The middle way is a war—in particular, the Vietnam War, which has been an atrocity and nothing but an atrocity since 1954. Such a median McGee refused even his tacit support, and so he became a prisoner.

He is a Federal prisoner No. 173154. He is

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confined at Allenwood, the prison farm in Pennsylvania. He is convicted of three minor infractions of the Selective Service Law: not returning a questionnaire, not carrying his draft card, not going for a preinduction physical. His sentence is two years. His case was heard by the Supreme Court. He is a Roman Catholic and a pacifist. From 1967 to 1969 he was a student at Union Theological Seminary, a friend, sometime antagonist, and confidante of John C. Bennett. Among his admirers who yet disagree with him is John N. Irwin, who has entertained the convict at his offices in the Department of State.

The case of Vincent F. McGee, Jr., is a case of "establishment protest," of conscience and Christian witness. To understand it, you have to know that the most impeccable forms of religion can be breeders of adamant resistance. McGee's is a story of particular interest to Union Seminary and the neighborhood it lives in, for this is the milieu in which Vinny was born and brought up.

When I first met McGee, I was astonished by two things. First, he was the only student at UTS I had then (or since) met whose home was Morningside Heights. Union attracts students from all over the world, but to come here from 122nd Street is unheard of!

Second, he was uncommonly mature. I met him on a night when Bill Coffin of Yale was discussing resistance with Union students in the Social Hall. Late in the evening, a voice was heard from the rear of the room. It was a flat voice with only the hint of an Irish lilt, but what grabbed me was its words of wisdom about taking an action and being responsible for it. "Who's that?" I asked. "That's Vinny McGee," someone said. When the meeting broke up, I bee-lined toward him. I saw him last inside the walls of Lewisburg.

Here is the story in brief. Raised in a lower middle-class Irish family as patriotic as it was religious, Vinny attended Corpus Christi Church on 121st Street, where his early mentor was The Rev. George B. Ford, that great Catholic liberal born out of time who has been loved on the Heights for more than four decades. Vinny became an altar boy and, at fourteen, a student at Minor Seminary. Finishing high school, he took time out to do office work in a Wall Street law firm. Thinking to return to seminary, he applied to Dunwoodie, the diocesan school, only to be turned down because of his Ford-inspired liberalism. (The time was 1962.) He went instead to the University of Rochester, where he studied by night while supporting himself by day in a job on the production line at Eastman Kodak.

While at Rochester, where he also managed to study at Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Vinny became a conscientious objector and so notified his draft board. "I could not," he says, "reconcile the gospel with killing." The draft board (in New York City) replied that they would consider his CO claim when his student deferment expired. But Vinny's pacifism kept growing. He reasoned that the instrument of killing was not only the Army but also the draft system that fed it. If he wouldn't go into the Army, he shouldn't be in the Selective Service System either. "It struck me that the only thing of which I was a card-carrying member was the Selective Service System."

But if you are in, how do you get out? Not even a plea of insanity will release you from its files. To be a male citizen of a certain age is to be under that system. So goes the law. But is the law just? In particular, is it just to the pacifist conscience? McGee decided to raise that issue.

Of course, he could have left the country. He thought about that and decided not. He could have gone underground, but he is very much an above-ground person. He doesn't even like things under the table. There's an Irish forthrightness about him. He looked for the gesture that would make his position

clear, and from which he could scarcely turn back. He found it in a well-known act to which he gave an unprecedented twist.

In the spring of 1967 he went to a peace demonstration in Central Park and burned his draft card. That is, and here he broke ranks with other burners, he sent half of it up in flames while he put the other half in an envelope with a letter. He walked out of the park to a mailbox and posted the letter and the charred evidence to Lyndon B. Johnson.

History does not yet record the reaction of the President to this piece of mail, which perhaps he never saw; but the Government seems to have decided that McGee was a ringleader of the resistance movement. At least, the Prosecutor later said that he was. In truth, he was no such thing—too much the individualist. It seems to me the Government finds it preferable to deal with conspiracy than with conscience, from which it follows that every resister is a conspirator. McGee was said, without any evidence, to be a conspiratorial leader; and this provided the line of his interrogation before two Grand Juries. I have to laugh, because he didn't even know the people in the resistance movement. Of course, as soon as the Government moved, he knew them all.

Anyhow, the Federal Attorney in New York threw the book at him. In September of 1967 Vinny entered Union Seminary. He was already classified 1A, and by December he had been summoned for induction and had refused to "step forward." He was then indicted on four counts, more than any other resister up to that time. ("Oh, said Joan Baez upon meeting Vinny at her marriage to David Harris, 'so you are the most-indicted man in the movement!') The Government did not, however, prosecute him for draft-card burning. It simply got from a Grand Jury two indictments concerning that offense (this makes six in all), which it is still able to pull out of the drawer any time it wishes.

In the fall of '68, Vinny was tried and convicted on four counts. These were the three minor offenses I mentioned above, plus the only one that usually matters: refusal of induction. I skip over the trial now, to return to it later.

The case went through the Court of Appeals to the Supreme Court, where it was heard in February of 1971. The verdict was handed down on May 17. (That was Union Seminary's Pilgrimage Day, when J. Brooke Mosley was installed as President. I got the news in a phone call from Vinny just as I was about to go to the Quadrangle to "celebrate." Mosley had met Vinny the previous Christmas and was immediately warmed by him.)

The high court sustained conviction, with only Justice Douglas dissenting. "If there were a lawlessness in this case," said Douglas, "it was that of the Selective Service Board." But who, as we must ask so often these days, is Justice Douglas among so many? The majority opinion was from the pen of Justice Thurgood Marshall.

What happened next is full of technicalities. Please bear with me, for on technicalities hang American law and justice.

In 1970, in *Gutknecht v. U.S.*, the Supreme Court had ruled that a person's induction into the Army could not be "speeded up" for any punitive reason. That meant, contrary to General Hershey, that the draft could not be used to punish resisters. Just this had been attempted in McGee's case. However, his defense had been prepared before the Gutknecht decision, so the court had not ruled on that point *a propos* McGee. The trial judge, Thomas Murphy, was now asked to overturn McGee's conviction for refusal of induction, and he did so! Nor did the Government contest this, for it was patent from the record that the draft board had indeed, once McGee ceased cooperating, moved hastily to put him in I-A and summon him to "service"—that is, to force him to back down or else. Now, nearly four years later, and even

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after a trip to the Supreme Court, this strategy was invalidated.

People like me (and including many lawyers) think that, if the Government's prosecution strategy fails, the defendant ought to benefit. This proves to be a naive expectation. Judge Murphy was now asked, quite logically, to reduce sentence. He answered: "Motion denied." He ruled on this the very day that McGee was taken into custody, July 6, 1971; and the two-year sentence began.

To those who were present at Vinny's trial, the most revealing testimony was that of the draft-board chairman, the first such ever to be subpoenaed to testify in court. Under cross-examination it became clear that 1) the draft board kept no minutes of deliberations at its meetings, 2) the chairman could barely recall the meeting, if it ever took place, at which McGee was re-classified I-A, 3) McGee's long-standing request for CO status was not evaluated on its merits, and 4) the draft board had reacted more to prodding by the FBI than to the contents of McGee's file.

Yet all this testimony was destined, by Judge Murphy's order, never to reach the ears or eyes of the jury. In such manner may our courts reserve to the judiciary the right to decide the most sensitive issues in jury trials. Murphy "found," as a matter of judicial privilege, that the draft board had done as it should. As a result, the very issue McGee had sought to raise before a jury—the merits of the draft system—was withheld from the jury. When the Government later declined to challenge the dismissal of the main charge against Vinny, it was to prevent the actions of the draft board from being re-examined. And anyway, what did the Government lose? For McGee was put away for two years just the same. A prisoner of war is a prisoner of war.

So McGee, who once proudly walked the halls of Union Seminary, who was a stalwart member of the Union Commission, and who played a mediating role in the Black crisis of 1969, is now a jailbird. He withdrew from UTS in 1969, to become the Executive Director of Business Executives' Move for Peace in Vietnam ("establishment protest" again), the post he held until his arrest. Last April he was married. Now he resides at Allenwood. Three nights a week he teaches some fellow-prisoners to read and write. His treatment to date has not been inhumane. He requested, and has given subscriptions to *The New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*. Among his books at Allenwood is Bethge's life of Bonhoeffer. Yet the Government, its guards and wardens, command two years of his life. The name for this, at best, is involuntary servitude. It was one of the issues over which our fathers fought the War of Independence from England.

I raise not here the question of pacifism nor even the rights and wrongs of the Vietnam War. I raise, in Vinny's name, the question of the right of government to command the lives and consciences of its citizens.

The draft requires two years. The court shall require the same. I feel sure this was the equation in Judge Murphy's mind. It is a formula that leaves unquestioned the right of Government to force people to give up their lives. "Called upon to sacrifice" is the euphemistic phrase. Cruelty is the right name—cruelty to people, and cruelty to language. By the latter you may do the former. A sacrifice not willingly made is not a sacrifice but a butchery. A call backed up by threat of prison is not a call but an imperial decree.

McGee's is a sacrifice, but only because he has chosen, within the limits of loyalty to his nation, the form it will take. Were I in his clothing, I should be bitter, but he is not.

For that reason, I shall give him the last word. He wrote this poem while at Lewisburg, "behind the wall," where they can put him again at any moment if he does not watch his step.

## WAR PRISONERS

These are saner bars—inside.  
No more the shadow bars of myth and hopes  
and credibility.  
Easier grasp the limits—  
Lie fallow avenues of chance.  
Light up other fires or go out in widow's  
weeds and stripes.  
No Pauline baskets for the cheering crowd.  
Tears misguided here.  
Fellow prisoners,  
Take up the bars,  
The job's not over yet.

VINCENT F. MCGEE, Jr.,  
Lewisburg Penitentiary, July 1971.

## RED CHINA EXPLOITS U.N. TO FURTHER WORLD COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, earlier today in my 1-minute speech, I warned our colleagues that Red China would exploit her seat at the United Nations for propaganda purposes in promoting revolution around the world.

No better example can be found than a recent story from Rhodesia concerning Mozambique. The brazen announcement by Communist China calling for a Vietnam-style guerrilla war to liberate Mozambique from "the Portuguese colonialists backed by U.S. imperialism" makes a mockery of any pursuit of world peace by the United Nations. It is further evidence that the United Nations is now being overtly used to further Communist style "peace"—which can only be when there is no resistance to communism.

The warmaker in Korea is still the enemy of peace even though she may occupy a seat among her enemies—the member nations of the United Nations.

I insert a newsclipping at this point in the RECORD.

[From the Rhodesia Herald, Oct. 29, 1971]  
PEKING SET FOR ACTIVE ROLE?—CHINA WANTS VIETNAM-STYLE GUERRILLA WAR IN MOZAMBIQUE

HONG KONG.—The Government of Red China has called for a Vietnam-style guerrilla war in Africa.

In the official weekly Peking Review, Mao Tsetung's Government has suggested that such a war would be suitable to "liberate" Mozambique from "the Portuguese colonialists backed by U.S. imperialism."

The story said such a struggle was necessary because "the hearts of the ordinary people are with the guerrillas fighting for national independence and liberation".

The article represents a shift in emphasis on the subject of colonial wars in Africa from passive support on the part of Peking to potentially active participation.

The Chinese have for years professed solidarity with what they term "revolutionary struggles", in places like Mozambique, but they have never before seemed quite so eager to share in the action. Furthermore, this marks the first time Peking has drawn a parallel between the devastating war in Indo-China and struggles elsewhere in the world. Up to now, Vietnam and its surrounding neighbours have been treated as a special case.

However, the article does not commit Peking to a fullscale war. That was left to a

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Frelimo leader, Samora Moises Machel. His word on the subject, they reasoned, would be more effective an instrument of propaganda than that of a Chinese editorial writer.

In an interview with a New China News Agency reporter in Peking, he claimed that one-third of Mozambique is now in the hands of terrorists, expressed his sympathy for revolutionary groups elsewhere in the world and said he expected complete victory soon.

This in itself was not unusual, but the space devoted to the interview and the verbal embroidery put around it by the Chinese Press seems to indicate that somebody in Peking thinks the anti-Portuguese revolution is more important than others.

"Protracted revolutionary struggle has made the Mozambique fighters deeply understand the truth," said the story. "Only by mobilizing all the people can the revolutionary war be won."

It quoted Machel as saying: "We and the Vietnamese people are comrades in the same trench. Our aim is the same: it is to oppose imperialism and colonialism and for independence and freedom for the motherland."

The report—as distinct from Machel—suggested that the Mozambique rebels might be wise to "persist in a protracted people's war and continuously defeat the enemy," a statement which has in the past been applied to the efforts of Hanoi's Government to take over South Vietnam.

## SIGNIFICANT

The story also pledged China's "complete support", for the Mozambique revolutionary movement, instead of the usual "solidarity". While this may seem a mere semantic trifle to those unacquainted with Peking's rhetoric, it is regarded as significant here. Such slight changes in wording occurred before China's massive arms shipments to North Vietnam and also before the entry of Chinese "volunteers" into the Korean War.

What gives Peking's new stance a frightening edge is the presence of several thousand Chinese technicians and labourers in two of the countries adjoining Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, and the possibility that the Chinese shipping which even now moves in and out of Dar-es-Salaam at a furious clip is carrying a lot more than merely materials for the Tanzam Railway.

The only puzzling thing about China's suddenly-increased interest in the seven-year-old Mozambique rebellion is why it has happened now instead of years ago.

About the only reasonable answer Chinese experts here can supply is that China now feels the Vietnam War is coming to a close and the effort expended in Indo-China up to now can profitably be turned elsewhere.

But why Mozambique?

There are several good reasons, none related to Portuguese "colonialism". First, a rebel victory in Mozambique would give China three friends and allies all lumped together in the same section of Africa. Second, they consider the Portuguese can easily be defeated, and a real Vietnam-style war in Mozambique would give China a chance to get in on the winning side without taking very much risk. And third, support of an anti-colonial war in Africa with more than mere platitudes would gain China even more support from small, newly independent nations around the world than she already has.

## DEFINITION TIME

## HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, definition time:

Peacetime Economy 1972: One in which the Administration military appropriation request "floats up" above that for 1971 by nearly five thousand times a million dollars." [1971 Adm. request: \$68,745,000,000; 1972 Adm. request: \$73,540,000,000.]

Ain't peace grand. About seventy-three million five hundred forty thousand grand.

## IMPROVE OUR HIGHWAY SAFETY

## HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, we have made great gains over the past several years in highway safety. There are new techniques and new devices that are saving lives daily, and as a member of the Public Works Committee, I am proud to have taken part in the hearings and debates on legislation concerning the implementation of these techniques and devices.

Although our efforts to save lives and reduce injuries on our Nation's highways have been successful, we cannot ignore the staggering statistics of highway accidents last year. That one statistic in and of itself is enough for me to increase my efforts on highway safety. But there is more. The property loss runs into millions of dollars. And the human suffering caused by the loss of a loved one is not measurable in dollars and cents. How can you calculate the senseless loss of a loved one in a traffic accident.

Mr. Speaker, the ranking minority member of the Public Works Committee, my friend and colleague, Mr. WILLIAM M. HARSHA, has long been a powerful supporter of highway safety. He has a long and outstanding record of accomplishment in this field, and I am proud to have worked with him in this vital area. He too, feels there is more to be done; that the work cannot stop now.

Mr. HARSHA articulated his feelings about highway safety last week in a letter to the President. In that letter, Mr. HARSHA calls for a White House Conference on Highway Safety which would bring together a coterie of professional people interested and trained in promoting safety on our highways.

I support Mr. HARSHA's proposal, and would like at this time to add my voice to his in calling for this conference. For the benefit of my colleagues, I hereby submit for printing in the RECORD a copy of Mr. HARSHA's letter to the President.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., November 10, 1971.

Hon. RICHARD M. NIXON,

President,

The White House, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I would like to take this opportunity to express the deep concern and dismay I feel over the frightening toll of deaths and injuries sustained each year on our Nation's highways. As you well know, last year alone fatalities on American highways exceeded all combat deaths resulting from the entire Vietnam War. I believe, Mr. President, there are solutions to this problem which we can and should pursue.

In my judgment, the greatest single obstacle to a quick reduction of this needless, tragic toll is the lack of an adequate and dependable source of funding for highway safety programs. Put simply, we have much of the technology to combat the causes and reduce the carnage on our roadways, but we have not allocated the money to get the job done.

Because I feel Americans can no longer complacently accept this appalling loss of life and treasure, earlier this year I introduced a bill, H.R. 9482, which has a two-fold purpose. If enacted, my bill will produce a quantum jump in funds allocated for safety programs while once again focusing public attention on our present, inadequate safety campaign. Briefly stated, my proposal would direct an amount equal to 40 percent of the revenue derived from the excise tax on alcoholic beverages toward funding of this greatly expanded highway safety effort.

My estimates indicate that over \$2 billion would be generated annually by this legislation. I envision that these funds would be used to increase the scope and efficiency of our present safety efforts.

In conjunction with my legislation, I would like to request that you, Mr. President, convene a White House Conference on Highway Safety. Such a gathering would bring together all elements of our society interested in promoting safety on our highways. Included would be highway engineers, builders, users, insurance representatives, safety experts and others dedicated to reducing traffic mishaps to an "irreducible minimum". By promoting increased coordination and cooperation in both the public and private sectors, I believe the Conference could make a significant contribution to the cause of highway safety.

I further believe that the Conference will yield an added dividend by helping to mobilize the kind of massive popular support which will bring final success to our safety efforts.

In addition to these benefits, the Conference could seek to identify specific highway problems for priority attention and to formulate plans for funding promising new avenues of research. I am convinced that through progressive planning, dramatic breakthroughs in the safety field can and will be made.

Finally, emphasis and attention could be given to the investigation and development of plans and programs in such additional areas as:

1. installation of breakaway signs, cushioned rails and abutments and other safety features throughout the entire Federal-aid highway system at the earliest possible date.

2. expanded construction of preferential bus lanes, traffic flow devices, and fringe area parking facilities to help reduce urban traffic congestion, and

3. reduction of urban area traffic "bottlenecks".

Mr. President, I urge you to call a White House Conference on Highway Safety early in 1972. I have discussed the advantages of such a convocation with other Members of Congress, with representatives of the Executive Branch and with private citizens, and all are favorable to the idea. In addition, I am personally contacting officials of State government and of the highway industry to encourage their support for my proposal.

I am convinced, Mr. President, that through your participation in the Conference you can make highway safety the national issue and concern that it should be. Rest assured that I will do everything in my power to be of assistance to you in making the Conference a success.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM H. HARSHA,  
Representative to Congress.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### NO SPECIAL FAVORS, PLEASE

#### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, during the past week, the two Chicago newspapers published by the Newspaper Division of Field Enterprises, Inc., have spoken out sharply against any special concessions to the news media in the form of exemptions from phase II of the wage and price control program.

Mr. Marshall Field, publisher of the Chicago Sun Times and the Chicago Daily News, may well have set the pace for the Nation in the newspaper industry in rejecting any special exemptions for his two publications.

Since this entire subject will become part of a national dialog in the issue, I am today placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD both of the editorials.

The Chicago Sun Times editorial follows and immediately after it, the Chicago Daily News editorial:

#### PRICE CONTROLS FOR THE MEDIA

Exemption of news media—newspapers, magazines and broadcasters—from Phase II price controls is under study by the government. It is the position of the Field Newspapers—publishers of the Chicago Sun Times and The Chicago Daily News—that there should be no such exemption; circulation and advertising rates should be subject to whatever government controls and regulations are adopted for all businesses.

Our position is contrary to that taken by some media spokesmen. They believe that the exemptions of World War II and the Korean War for the communications media should be allowed.

We do not believe the present conditions or the state of the communications industry warrant such exemptions. The wartime exemptions were granted by Congress which listened to arguments that any power to regulate the news media would collide with the First Amendment of the Constitution which forbids passage of any law that would abridge freedom of the press. Congress wished to avoid any challenge that controls might be used to affect editorial judgment.

We yield to no one in our zeal to protect freedom of the press which is a fundamental right of the people to an uninhibited and untrammelled flow of news and opinion. We have for example, stood firm against proposals for licensing or other state or federal special legislation intended to put government in a position to interfere with a newspaper's right to be the sole judge of its editorial content or its right to access of information. We most recently argued against the right of the government to prohibit publication of the Pentagon Papers, a position upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.

We do not, however, believe that a general price regulation, applied with uniformity to business and industry generally, falls in the category of the restrictions described here. During the present freeze, we have been prevented from putting into effect an increase in advertising rates that was announced before the Aug. 15 presidential proclamation and which was to take effect Sept. 1. The increase was deemed necessary because of increases in our own expenses, particularly new and more costly labor contracts already in effect. If the Price Commission should authorize an increase under such particular circumstances, as the Pay Board has au-

thorized noninflationary wage boosts, we surely will accept it. But this would be under rules adopted for all businesses and not because of an exemption for the media. During the freeze and the economic burden it has put on us, we have no complaint that our rights under the First Amendment have been imperiled.

Price controls will not inhibit our freedom of expression or our responsibility to criticize the government itself or the operations of the controls themselves. Publishers should not feel that they must be exempt from the law so as to preserve their duty to act as a check on government. To the contrary we believe the press and other communications media would be more credible in the eyes of the public if they operate under the same laws written for other businesses.

#### NO SPECIAL FAVORS, PLEASE

In the discussion of Phase II wage and price controls, the possibility of exempting newspapers and other news media has been advanced by various media representatives. Some publisher spokesmen favor such an exemption on grounds that applying controls to the media would collide with the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of the press. We do not agree.

We believe that in matters pertaining to their commercial operations, newspapers and other media should be treated like other private businesses. We consider ourselves subject to the same rules, regulations and laws that apply generally to our readers and advertisers. As we see it, the special protection of the First Amendment was intended to protect our right to print what we consider fit in our news and editorial columns.

We would of course oppose any efforts by government officials to use their regulatory or lawmaking powers to gag the media so as to cover up corruption or suppress embarrassing news, or attempt to stifle the free expression of editorial opinions. But Phase II economic controls are not intended to intimidate the media or compromise the integrity of news reporting or editorial views.

In World War II and the Korean War the media were exempted from price controls. This was done by Congress to avoid any possible contention that such controls were invoked unconstitutionally to influence the editorial content of newspapers and other media. Such exemptions were unnecessary then, and are now.

It so happens that as a business the Field Newspapers—The Daily News and The Sun Times—did suffer financially from President Nixon's wage-price freeze in August. Increases in advertising rates that we had scheduled for Sept. 1 were postponed by the freeze, resulting in a substantial loss of revenue. Because a newspaper cannot recoup losses in the way a manufacturer of less perishable products sometimes can, this is a permanent loss. Our losses (other media were more fortunate in their timing) were our bad luck; we accept them as such.

We are prepared to continue to cooperate down the line with the President's Phase II. We expect to be subjected to the same regulations as any other business operating under the free enterprise system. We expect and will insist that the controls be fair and uniform, but we want no special privileges on questionable constitutional grounds. We will stand on our constitutional rights only when doing so coincides with the public interest—specifically, the peoples' right to know. The main thrust of the wage-price controls is to try to contain the inflation that long threatened to make beggars of us all. The public interest will be best served if the controls work. So far as we are concerned, making them apply to the media is one way of helping to ensure success.

REPRESENTATIVE JIM WRIGHT OF  
TEXAS REVIEWS ENVIRON-  
MENTAL CHALLENGE WITH REASON  
AND ELOQUENCE

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, millions of Americans are concerned about the condition of the world in which they live. The crusade for a clean environment has produced many spokesmen, but none more realistic than our colleague in the House of Representatives, JIM WRIGHT of Texas.

On November 4, Representative WRIGHT addressed the National Water Resources Association in Dallas, Tex., in remarks entitled, "Nature and Man—and Water." Representative WRIGHT discussed the creation and maintenance of a clean environment. His thoughts reveal a thorough and well-reasoned view of the environmental situation, and they were expressed with great clarity and eloquence.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the text of Representative WRIGHT's remarks be printed in the RECORD.

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

NATURE AND MAN—AND WATER

(Remarks of Representative JIM WRIGHT)

Let us think together of Man and Nature—and of Water, nature's most priceless gift and man's most useful servant.

Nature is a marvelous mechanism. So is the human body. Both were engineered and created by the Divine Intelligence to perform their appointed functions efficiently and effectively.

But just as the human body can get out of balance and require corrective surgery to perform its functions properly, so also nature itself can get out of balance and require the corrective, healing surgery of man to perform its functions effectively, efficiently, and beneficially in the interests of both nature and man.

Nature exists for man, and man is expected to exercise beneficial dominion.

He is not expected to prostrate himself supinely before the floods; nor to abandon the arid earth to dust where water lies beneath the soil; nor let the waters wash away the land and leave both man and earth bereft. All of our knowledge cries out against such folly.

In the past two years, a sudden public awareness of our environment has burst upon the scene like an earthquake. To those of you who for decades have led the lonely and often thankless struggle for conservation and environmental quality, this should be great good news. A public awakening was long overdue! But—as is so often the case—the price we pay for long public neglect is a sort of hysterical over-reaction.

Unfortunately, among the new converts there is vast misunderstanding of all that the dedicated handful of conservationists has been doing for all these years. There is a deadly tendency to want to stop everything, to tear out all that man has built, to reverse the hard-won victories the conservation movement has achieved, and—incredibly—to turn the clock back to the unenlightened era when nature ravaged man and man was powerless to protect himself.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

For many in the newly popular "ecology" movement, scapegoats have become more popular quarry than solutions. Stopping programs of resource development has become more fashionable—and it was always easier—than performing those programs.

For some the Environmental Policy Act of 1969 has been misconstrued as a trumpet call to retreat into the past and seek the improbable goal of a dead and distant age before man's massive intrusion, when nature was supreme—an age when floods were thought to be the inevitable will of God and when it was the accepted rule that a river would cleanse itself in seven miles without any help from man.

But those who so interpret the commandment of that legislation have failed to understand its meaning.

Nowhere do I read in these purposes any intent to halt the development of our nation's water resources.

Nowhere do I see expressed a desire to lock up our rivers for the exclusive enjoyment of those few who wish only white-capped waters running rampant and uncontrolled.

Nowhere in that legislation is implied a call for retrogression. The law contains no mandate for any self-appointed group to exalt itself above the established agencies of orderly government and bring their work to a grinding halt!

Nowhere in that law do I read any intent to abrogate the clear will of Congress as reflected in water development projects fully authorized for construction—and some of them already begun—by the Bureau of Reclamation, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Corps of Engineers.

There comes a point in every human society when study must give way to action. The average water resource development project of the Corps of Engineers today must traverse the labyrinthine path of almost 18 years of study and restudy between the point of a survey resolution and the turning of the first spadeful of dirt.

Conservation and development are not mutually exclusive. Development of the earth's resources is the tool by which man carries out the goal of conservation.

There is no irreconcilable gulf between a sound ecology and a sound economy.

To be a wise conservationist or an intelligent environmentalist does not mean to halt our development and harnessing of the water resources of our planet. To greater or lesser degree this has been necessary since man first intruded upon the earth. It is more necessary today than ever because there are more and ever more people.

We cannot, alas, keep people from intruding upon the earth. And the interest of people must come first.

Twentieth-century America, like the prodigal son, has drawn heavily upon the bank account of its native endowment and squandered the substance in riotous misuse. More bountifully endowed than any nation in history, we've adopted the rather casual assumption that Providence protects America. We've extracted the riches of our natural legacy, exploited them to build a shining society, and wasted them in copious quantities.

We recall that other civilizations, also blessed with a spark of greatness, have strutted across the stage of world eminence only to fade and wane, their brief, bright promise unfulfilled. In the uncomprehending sand and heat of arid desert waste, their monuments lie buried.

Let no future archaeologist tell the story for us. We have the knowledge to tell it for ourselves—if we have the wisdom. There is enough water to serve our needs for future time, if we learn to use and reuse it well. And there is enough time to do what we must. But there's not much of either to spare.

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON TRADE  
WITH RHODESIA

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, the Congress has spoken on the matter of trade with Rhodesia and I am hopeful the President will heed the voice of the people.

I was gratified by the House action a few days ago regarding the importation of chrome ore from Rhodesia. For too long, our own Government placed the sanctity of the United Nations above the security of the United States by going along with the absurdity of sanctions against our friends in Rhodesia, but now that matter can be rectified. All that is required is the backing of President Nixon for the action of Congress.

As each Member of Congress knows, the United Nations decided that the United States would not accept critical ore from Rhodesia. The effect of this decision was to make us dependent on Russia to supply us with a material which is widely used in defense programs to protect us from Communist attack. What an anomaly. While Russia purchased quantities of chrome ore from Rhodesia at low prices, the United States purchased chrome ore from Russia at a price almost double that paid by the Soviets for what may well have been the same ore.

The United States went along with this charade for years, Mr. Speaker, despite statements by many Members of Congress that should have jolted the administration into corrective action. Now action has been taken by the Congress to bring sanity into the picture, and I trust the President will promptly take the lead in implementing a new policy on chrome purchases.

It is more than a little interesting that the United Nations General Assembly has seen fit to criticize the Congress for exercising its own responsibilities in a sensible way on the question of Rhodesian chrome. It is disconcerting that our own representatives to the United Nations sat on their hands while this was going on. It would appear that they overlooked the fact that their responsibility is to the United States when we are under attack.

Having taken a decisive step with regard to Rhodesia, the Congress now should direct its attention to correcting other situations which punish our friends and help our enemies.

South Africa is a case in point. This vigorously anti-Communist government has managed to maintain a strong economy despite hostile attitudes fostered by the United Nations wherever possible. South Africa protects the vital sea lanes around the southern tip of the African Continent and insures the availability of a very important port for the United States and other Western powers. The number of these is shrinking. It stood with the United States on the China question before the U.N. Despite our halting attitude, South Africa has not wavered in her friendship for the United

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

States. Instead of appreciation for the constant support, the United States has played the deadend game of the U.N. toward South Africa. That organization has just rewarded us for years of overgenerous support by repudiating the most important proposal our Nation has advanced in the U.N. for years.

To the credit of Congress, it can be said we have sustained the sugar quota for South Africa. We should take any remaining steps which are needed to bring about normal trade and closer relations with South Africa.

These votes are an indication that the Congress is fed up with having U.S. policy dictated by the United Nations. Let us now finish the work we have begun by reinstating full and friendly relations with our friends.

## OKINAWA

## HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, Okinawa lies within 1,700 miles of all the Asian nations with which the United States has security agreements.

The Roanoke, Va., World-News in an editorial of November 15, 1971, discusses Senate notification of a treaty by which the United States gave Okinawa to Japan.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial captioned "Who Won Second Battle of Okinawa?" be inserted in Extensions of Remarks.

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

## WHO WON SECOND BATTLE OF OKINAWA?

The eventual reversion of Okinawa to Japan—sealed in the Senate last week in a lopsided treaty ratification vote—was hinted at by none other than John Foster Dulles. In 1951, in an effort to appease the Japanese, he recognized their right of "residual sovereignty" over Okinawa and the chain of islands of which it is a part.

Dulles could not have foreseen that so many other factors—neo-isolationism in the U.S., revived nationalism in Japan, etc.—would change residual to actual sovereignty. But it has happened, and by the middle of next year, Okinawa, "Keystone of the Pacific" will be a Japanese prefecture, or state.

Eighty-four senators ratified the reversion agreement, in spite of the island's importance to the military (though that importance is diminishing in an age of new strategic weaponry) and in spite of all the money the U.S. has poured into the island, only a portion of which it can ever expect to regain.

The strategic importance of Okinawa—in strictly geographical terms—is evident when one realizes that within a radius of only 1,700 miles lie all the Asian nations with which the U.S. has security agreements. No other Pacific island fills the military needs of the U.S. as neatly as does Okinawa.

Virginia's Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr. aided by Sen. Barry Goldwater carried out a valiant rear-guard action against ratification. Sen. Byrd's major contention is that as long as our commitments in the Pacific and Asia remain, it makes no sense for us to give up partial control over the major base that gives those commitments credibility.

It is a moot question as to how much the agreement diminishes U.S. control over the military use of Okinawa. We still will retain military use of 100 installations on the island; but the actual use in combat would have to be after consultation with the Japanese government. Premier Sato has assured the U.S. that Japan will continue to let us use the base in fulfilling any Pacific treaty obligations; but the senator points out that he is making such a verbal guarantee only for his government, which won't be in command much longer.

Whatever the developments in implementing the agreement, there will be SOME decrease in U.S. control over the military use of Okinawa. And Sen. Byrd considers Okinawa so important to our commitments, that if the agreement is ratified by the Japanese the U.S. should reduce its commitments in Asia and the Pacific.

Perhaps that was also the indirect message of the vote in the Senate: that the U.S. is overcommitted in the area and that unrestricted use of Okinawa is one of the factors that has lead us into that overcommitment.

The Okinawans have been pampered by aid from both the U.S. and Japan and buoyed by military employment; it is highly probable that any real American disengagement from the military affairs of the island would dump an enormous responsibility on the Japanese government.

There is an interesting side issue in the Okinawan question that shouldn't escape notice: The Soviet Union maintains an iron grip on several northern islands that the Japanese could claim with as much validity as they have claimed Okinawa. They probably won't demand reversion of Habomei, Shikotan, Etorofu and Kunashiri because they know all they would get from the Soviet Union would be a very scrubable belly-laugh.

## THE NEED FOR PROFIT

## HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, we must preserve and maintain an economic system in America that allows the making of profit. Neither individuals nor corporations can, or will, remain in business unless they can make a profit.

Taxes are paid from profits and our huge costs of government—State and Federal—are paid from profits. Hard work, industry, enterprise, increased production efficiencies all leading to a profit—these must be preserved and encouraged—not destroyed by collectivism.

Unfortunately, profit is already very much under control as is pointed out by a recent article published by the American Economic Foundation. I commend this article to the thoughtful consideration of all who realize that we must not kill the goose that lays the golden egg.

The article follows:

## THE FALLACIES WE LIVE BY—THAT PROFIT IS NOT ALREADY "UNDER CONTROL"

Here is the situation in a nutshell, as reported by the Wall Street Journal on May 13th. Since 1965, the Gross National Product has increased 52%, wages and salaries are up 60% and profits are down 4%.

What has been "controlling" profits? First, the power of labor to virtually write its own wage ticket. Second, the growing customer resistance to the prices forced upward by

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unearned, inflationary wage increases. Management, if it is to save the business, must collect (or try to collect) from the customer, the inflated wages and enough profit to reward the stockholder, whose invested savings make the business possible. As you can see from the above figures, profits have been the whipping boy of inflation.

There is an old story of a Scotsman who was scientifically reducing the daily rations of his mule. "Just when I got him eatin' right, the danged critter up and died." This has already happened to some businesses and it could happen to a lot more. Profit is the essential food of free enterprise.

Vice President Agnew spoke an important truth when he said: "Rising corporate profits are good for the average man, and are needed more than ever by the poor." There are few, if any, "average men" who, directly or indirectly, do not depend upon profit to bolster the strength and security of their investments, life insurance, pensions and retirement funds. All the poor people and welfare clients rely upon profit to produce the taxes needed for their public assistance. Corporation income is taxed twice—first, when it is earned, and second, when stockholders pay taxes on their dividends. Profit is indeed important to both the average man and the poor man.

In the face of these facts, why is there so little public sympathy for the corporation and so much public support of higher wages? Incredible as it sounds, most people still believe that profit amounts to at least as much as payroll. This fairy tale has been believed for more than fifty years.

The following figures (in billions) from the Wall Street Journal give the facts:

Year	Wages, salaries	Corporate profits
1965	\$359	\$46.5
1966	394	49.9
1967	423	46.6
1968	465	47.8
1969	509	44.5
1970	541	41.2

From these figures, which would you say has lacked control, profit or wages?

## HEARING ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT NEEDS

## HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, among the witnesses appearing at the hearing on community development needs which I conducted in Walnut Ridge, Ark., on October 23, was Dr. Lonnie E. Talbert. He is chairman of the division of general business and economics and professor of economics in the College of Business at Arkansas State University.

During these hearings, I have attempted to have presented testimony from witnesses representing a variety of areas which have a direct interest in the revitalization of the economy of nonmetropolitan areas. Dr. Talbert's testimony was excellent and would, I believe, be of some value to my colleagues who are concerned about the problem of outmigration from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan regions and the need for expanded community

development in small towns and communities.

Therefore, I would like to share Dr. Talbert's testimony at this time.

The testimony follows.

STATEMENT BY LONNIE E. TALBERT

Congressman Alexander, I am Lonnlie E. Talbert, Chairman of General Business and Economics Division and Professor of Economics, Arkansas State University. I wish to express my appreciation to you for this opportunity to express my views on the problems and needs associated with economic development in East Arkansas.

Years of economic growth and development have meant years of change for all segments of our society at the national, state and local levels. Some of these changes have taken the form of geographical shifts in economic activities and productive resources. History reveals that for many years we have experienced the movement of industrial activities from the north to many areas of the southern regions because of the shift in markets and the search for labor. The agrarian south has been able to furnish this labor supply because of farm mechanization which released much labor from agriculture. In fact, the "surplus" labor created in this fashion was more than enough to supply the needs of incoming industry; therefore, we experienced the outmigration of thousands of people to other areas in search of jobs. This shift of population has been true not only from south to north but also from rural to urban as well.

We are cognizant that these changes in the name of economic development have brought with them many problems for both the recipients (cities) and the givers (rural areas or small towns). The cities have received a large block of the poor and unskilled citizens to house, educate, serve and protect. The rural areas and small towns have lost thousands of citizens who had the potential of being educated and skilled and made into productive elements of our economy, but because of a lack of foresight and planning, they have been thrust into the role of a deprived, dejected mass of social problems in our metropolitan areas. So, in a sense, both the cities and rural areas have lost in this shuffle of resources and so have the unfortunate individuals caught in the middle.

Now, let's bring the discussion up to date and down to the immediate area we are discussing today. I have reference to the five-county area of Clay, Greene, Jackson, Lawrence and Randolph counties. Arkansas has had a net loss in population for the past several decades up until the most recent one. From 1960 to 1970, the State experienced a 7.7 percent increase in population as compared to a 13.3 percent increase for the Nation. Appendix Table I of this report will show that four of the five counties being considered here today experienced a net loss in population during the decade of the sixties and the other county, Randolph, had only a 1 percent increase. Although the rate of decrease in population varied among the counties, it tends to show that this area is still experiencing a loss in population while much of the other parts of the State and Nation are increasing in population. When one compares the income situation in this area with that of the State and Nation it stacks up on the low side. Appendix Table 2 reveals that for 1960 the per capita income was considerably lower in all five counties than for the State, and in 1969 the same was true except for Jackson County. Jackson County had an increase of 111.5% in per capita income for 1960 to 1969 which placed its per capita income at \$2,677 as compared to \$2,642 for the State as a whole. Not only were the other four counties lower in per capita income in 1960 but all four counties experienced a smaller percentage increase in per capita income than did the state as a

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whole. This means the counties grew worse relative to the State during this period. These data tend to show that the problem of low income and out-migration from the study area still persist even today. The primary reason for this situation is the lack of job opportunities for the young people graduating from high school and for those who have been displaced through mechanization of agriculture and other factors.

A check will find that these people are moving to urban and metropolitan centers in search of job opportunities. For some of them who have skills that are in demand this is perhaps the thing to do since there is nothing to attract them to stay in the area. For thousands of others, we know from previous experiences it will be a mistake.

The question that many people are asking is, "What can be done to stop this greater and greater movement of people to metropolitan areas?" They contend that people are going to move where they want to regardless of the circumstances. Personally, I don't believe this is true and recent developments will bear me out. Recent census data reveal that despite the urbanization trends, the central cities have been developing at a slower rate than have the urban communities during the past decade. Many central cities have actually experienced an absolute decline in population since 1960. This reversal of population movement is a very significant factor when one starts examining the implications for economic development.

Our demographers tell us that because of the deplorable living conditions in the central city, the high crime rates and related factors, many of the people who are leaving these areas are moving to the suburban communities and many are moving out to the rural communities and small towns. We also find that the centrifugal forces pulling population away from central cities have also drawn commercial and industrial establishments to the suburbs and to the small to medium size cities. As manufacturing structures become obsolete replacement structures are required, manufacturers find zoning regulations restrictive, inexpensive land sites are no longer available, modern horizontal layouts are unavailable and the cost of remodeling obsolete structures prohibitive. In addition, external economies such as well developed transportation networks and diversified labor forces that were formerly available only in central cities have now been extended to outlying areas, even "rural" areas.

In many instances this reversal of the population movement is not because of lack of job opportunities in the central city but because of a desire to improve the living environment of the family. May I cite briefly a personal example in this regard. About eight months ago I hired a secretary who had just moved from Detroit, Michigan into our area with her family. She and her husband both gave up good paying jobs and moved south to a small rural community where neither had any job prospects. This was a very courageous thing for them to do but they felt so strongly about getting away from the large metropolitan area and the disadvantages which it holds for rearing children that they were willing to take the risk.

This reversal of population movement may assist the urban centers to "catch up" on many problems that have been attributed to past migration patterns. However, at the same time, it means that rural areas and small cities are faced with a dual problem now, that of attempting to provide incentives for their people to stay and at the same time provide opportunities to those who desire to come back. In order to provide these accommodations, it will be necessary for the smaller cities and towns to improve their image as well as the physical facilities and to increase employment opportunities.

We know that in order for employment to occur it is necessary that jobs be made available and that skills be created to fit those jobs. This simply means that the task of economic development and increasing the economic well being of people in our rural areas and small towns will necessitate the investment of considerable funds in two primary areas: (1) the training and retraining processes to equip labor for the jobs, and (2) to provide the necessary environment to attract industries to the smaller communities.

Let me hasten to add at this point that I do not advocate that every small town and hamlet needs a plant or two plants or that every person born and reared in a small town or hamlet should necessarily remain in this location for the remainder of his lifetime. We have considerable evidence to show that people working in small towns where only one or two industries are located are very vulnerable. If one or both plants are suddenly shut down this leaves the people in a very precarious situation. Also, we find that many small towns are characterized by low wages, low-skill workers, low taxes, tax exemptions, and a starved public sector. This condition leads to a low quality public sector management and low quality public services. Generally, these communities are also less able to compete for federal funds. Communities such as these certainly need assistance to improve their present situation with respect to public management; however, considerable preparation would need to occur before they were really ready to pursue a vigorous program of industrialization.

On the other hand, there are many communities of the 10,000 to 50,000 population range which are viable with respect to economic development and can become job centers for thousands of people in the surrounding area. We find this happening to some extent already.

The leaders in many of these communities will tell you that before they can make much additional progress toward economic development through job creation, there are several specific and serious needs that must be met. These needs include the improvement of educational facilities, both public school and training and retraining programs for adults, the improvement of public utilities, sewer systems, housing, recreational facilities, transportation facilities, police and fire protection, solid waste disposal, hospitals, ambulance service, and perhaps other similar facilities. The establishment and improvement of these facilities is a prerequisite to any long range plans of economic development.

Another ingredient that is vital is that of developing good leadership in the communities. It will be necessary to recognize and develop youthful leadership to provide assistance now and guidance in years to come in order to provide continuity to the development process.

In brief, one of the primary goals of economic development in small communities would be to encourage private investment in the form of industrial expansion. But, before these private endeavors will be forthcoming, it will be necessary for the public sector to meet the test and provide certain physical facilities, educational programs and a sound financial base.

With proper planning, which is certainly one of the first items that should be undertaken, I can foresee many new developments taking place in our small to medium size towns. These developments need not be limited to the traditional industrial and manufacturing type enterprises. It is true that industrial decentralization is "happening" around the country, and has been for several years. We also know that in recent years one of the fastest growing areas of employment has been in the service industries. We find much of this type of employment now filter-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ing through to these small communities. We find additional emphasis being given these days to such developments as centers for science and technology and local county science laboratories. These kinds of endeavors are not oriented toward raw materials or markets but rather located where the proper facilities and trained labor can be acquired. Other possibilities for economic development in this five-county area and other similar areas would certainly include tourism and recreation. It is ideally situated for these kinds of development activities.

What would be the results of planned economic development for small communities? It would provide first of all for an improved tax base which would lead to additional funding for future expansion and therefore provide sort of a multiplier effect. On the other hand, it would provide jobs

and income for people living in or moving into the area. These people would also be paying taxes and enjoying a higher level of living. This would mean less dependence on the public sector.

Others who will be appearing on the program today are much better prepared to tell you about the specific difficulties encountered in attempting to pursue some of the projects and proposals I have just mentioned. I am sure that without exception the local public officials who are here today will testify to the fact that one of the major obstacles in pursuing these economic development projects would be the lack of financial resources. I realize there are various sources of funds available for different kinds of undertakings. However, there are instances where sufficient funds are not available for certain endeavors or the criteria for obtaining said

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funds are so rigid and waiting time is so long that officials become discouraged.

In these few minutes I have only been able to scratch the surface on some of the problem areas confronted by local communities. There are many others that are related only indirectly to economic development but are nevertheless very important.

Congressman Alexander, it is a pleasure indeed for me to go on record at this time in support of your new community development proposal. Such a proposal could provide the much needed financial resources which are the key ingredients in promoting the community facilities necessary for the economic development processes to occur. This issue is very urgent because the problem is now upon us and will become increasingly more important in weeks and months ahead. Thank you.

APPENDIX TABLE I.—TOTAL POPULATION, URBAN POPULATION AND PERCENT CHANGE FOR ARKANSAS AND SELECTED COUNTIES, 1960 AND 1970

Area	Total population		Urban population		Percent urban		Percent change (total population 1960-70)
	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	
Arkansas.....	1,786,272	1,923,295	765,303	960,865	42.8	50.0	7.7
Clay.....	21,258	18,771	2,776	5,792	13.1	30.9	-11.6
Green.....	25,198	24,765	9,947	10,639	39.5	43.0	-1.7
Jackson.....	22,843	20,452	7,007	7,725	30.7	37.7	-10.5
Lawrence.....	17,267	16,320	3,547	3,800	20.5	23.3	-5.5
Randolph.....	12,520	12,645	3,665	4,544	29.3	35.9	1.0

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1960 and 1970.

Mr. Speaker, this is the ninth 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; October 28, pages 38121-38123; November 3, pages 39156-39158, and November 11, pages 40813-40817.

DR. WILLIAM D. McELROY, DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION, LEAVES LEGACY OF ACCOMPLISHMENTS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Dr. William D. McElroy, director of the National Science Foundation, is leaving NSF to return to the academic world and I wanted to take this means of commanding and congratulating Dr. McElroy for his outstanding work as director of the Science Foundation.

Dr. McElroy is an able and competent administrator, a distinguished scientist, a great American with an acute perspective of the role of science in Government and in the Nation generally.

Dr. McElroy has been an able and innovative administrator, has welcomed new ideas, new concepts, and new proposals. He is always seeking ways to improve programs of education in science

and as director has rendered a distinct national public service.

During Dr. McElroy's tenure of service he has broadened the base of NSF support to include smaller colleges and universities of the Nation in programs of the foundation to a greater degree than heretofore.

He has recognized the basic premise that science belongs to all the people of America and has sought to strengthen instruction in science throughout our country.

I have had occasion to observe Director McElroy in his appearances before the Subcommittees on Independent Offices, Housing, Space, Science Appropriations, and have been impressed by his great ability and interest in scientific advancement and new knowledge.

We commend Dr. McElroy as he leaves the Science Foundation but wish him good luck and success in his new work at the University of California.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—  
HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks: "How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,600 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

APPENDIX TABLE II.—PERSONAL INCOME ESTIMATES—SELECTED COUNTIES, ARKANSAS 1960 AND 1969

Area	1960		1969		Percent change, 1960-69
	Total personal income (thousands)	Per capita income	Total personal income (thousands)	Per capita income	
Arkansas.....	\$2,459,000	\$1,372	\$4,963,000	\$2,642	101.8
Clay.....	24,563	1,155	40,506	2,118	64.9
Green.....	29,897	1,186	51,389	2,075	75.0
Jackson.....	28,926	1,266	55,259	2,677	91.0
Lawrence.....	18,178	1,053	31,396	1,931	72.7
Randolph.....	12,824	1,024	23,455	1,867	82.9

Source: State and County Economic Data for Arkansas, Industrial Research and Extension Center, College of Business Administration, University of Arkansas, Little Rock, Ark.

INTERNATIONAL TOASTMISTRESS WEEK

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, in today's fast-moving and progressing society, the need for better communication is essential. Communication not only on a large worldly scale, but also on the individual level. We are constantly in contact with more and more people than ever before and we must be able to communicate with them.

Providing this individual self-improvement is one of the major opportunities offered by the International Toastmistress Clubs. They are dedicated to leadership in this area. They provide the opportunity for Alaska's women to obtain the communications skills needed to move ahead in today's society.

To show Alaska's appreciation for the dedication shown by these women, Gov. William A. Egan of Alaska proclaimed the week of October 24 as International Toastmistress Week. Following is a copy of the proclamation for my colleagues' inspection:

PROCLAMATION

INTERNATIONAL TOASTMISTRESS WEEK

Communicative skills of effective speaking and listening are the basis for achieving greater understanding throughout the world, and the development of leadership skills is necessary for the efficient functioning of our modern society.

Individual self-improvement provides the key whereby Alaska's women can realize their full potential as a motivating force in today's world.

The International Toastmistress Clubs throughout the world, including the seven

clubs in Alaska, are dedicated to providing the opportunity for developing these leadership talents.

As Governor of Alaska, I, William A. Egan, do hereby proclaim the week of October 24-30, 1971, as "International Toastmistress Week" in recognition of the praiseworthy achievements of the International Toastmistress Clubs, and urge all Alaskans to avail themselves of this opportunity to acquaint themselves with the fine program carried on by these clubs.

Dated this 19th day of October, 1971.

WILLIAM A. EGAN,  
Governor.

## SECOND-MORTGAGE NIGHTMARE

### HON. WALTER E. FAUNTROY

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

MR. FAUNTROY. Mr. Speaker, Ronald Kessler of the Washington Post has recently written a hard-hitting, illuminating article discussing Washington's second-mortgage money market. According to Mr. Kessler, "judges, lawyers, lenders, and bankers familiar with the problem call it a widespread and vicious racket that preys primarily on blacks, the poor and uneducated, taking away their homes over illegally inflated loans."

The article is well worth reading, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 17, 1971]

#### THE SECOND-MORTGAGE NIGHTMARE

(By Ronald Kessler)

You need money, and the man in the carpeted office is eager to help with a loan. As security, he'll take a second mortgage on your home. Just sign here.

Signing there for some Washington residents has started a waking nightmare when they discover they are repaying double and triple what they actually received as a loan, plus standard interest, in apparent violation of D.C. usury laws.

Unless they file suit, home owners who find the burden of paying off the inflated sums too great lose their homes and up to 15 years in first mortgage payments they have put into them. They suffer these losses over small loans that sometimes have more than been repaid.

The lenders promptly resell the house at windfall profits.

Just how often this occurs is not clear. Those who file suits generally obtain court orders stopping the sales, avoiding loss of their homes.

But judges, lawyers, lenders, and bankers familiar with the problem call it a widespread and vicious racket that preys primarily on blacks, the poor and the uneducated, taking away their homes over illegally inflated loans.

One former second mortgage lender admits to giving some \$5 million in inflated second mortgages, or second trusts as they are technically called in Washington, over three years. And more than 100 lawsuits have been filed in U.S. District and D.C. superior courts since 1968, many in the past year, to stop foreclosures over allegedly usurious, inflated loans given through fraud.

"This is one of the worst rackets in the nation," says Howard T. Frazier, national director of the 1,500-member Consumer Education and Protective Association, Inc. "The poor and the black are being taken time and again and put out on the streets, while everyone else rakes in the profits."

Inflation of mortgages to double and triple

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

what was actually received is "worse than usury, it's unconscionable," says L. A. Jennings, chairman of Riggs National Bank, the area's largest bank.

The foreclosures that result from these mortgages in Washington are an "outrage," says one U.S. District Court judge, and another refers to much of Washington's second mortgage business as a "vicious racket."

One who should know, Joel Kline, until recently under consideration for appointment as Maryland's new banking commissioner, calls the business "usurious, immoral, and illegal." He admits to once being in the business himself, as a purchaser of second mortgage agreements, but he says he was not aware at the time that the loans he bought were inflated.

Informed of the practices found by The Washington Post, Seymour Glanzer, chief of the U.S. attorney's fraud unit, said he will investigate "the whole foreclosure procedure, how it affects home owners, and any irregularities by which home owners may be defrauded and deprived of their money or property through false pretenses or schemes."

Glanzer, adding he intends to consider presenting the matter to a grand jury for action, said the investigation will focus on possible violation of federal fraud law, which carry penalties of up to five years in prison or up to \$1,000 in fines for each offense.

Some 20 persons have lost their houses to second mortgage lenders since last June 1, auctioneer's records indicate. Most of the owners lived in the houses. How many of the foreclosures may have stemmed from inflated mortgages is not known.

#### JUDGE CITES OUTRAGE

But one U.S. District Court judge, who asked that his name not be used because of foreclosure cases pending before him, said he believes "outrageous" foreclosures occur far more frequently than the 100 court suits would indicate because many of the victims are too poor to afford lawyers to file suits for them and aren't aware of free legal aid programs.

Once a home owner files suit, he can generally save his house until the case is settled. But auctioneers' records indicate that sometimes the return receipts on registered letters notifying home owners of foreclosures do not come back, apparently indicating they did not receive the notice.

Another difficulty is that to stop foreclosure, home owners must pay about \$250 as an auctioneer's fee, most of it for classified newspaper advertising announcing the auction dates. But Washington's two house foreclosure auctioneers submit to home owners for reimbursement a newspaper bill at a higher rate than the discount rate the auctioneers actually pay for the ads.

The targets of the court suits, some filed as recently as a month ago, are companies and individuals in the second mortgage business, a small local industry of perhaps 100 persons who either make the loans, or finance them by buying the loan agreements from the lenders, estimates Harold Rothman, the former lender who admits to creating \$5 million in inflated loans.

Second mortgages are relatively small loans in which a house serves as collateral. They may be used for any purpose, although legitimate ones are commonly used to help pay a downpayment on a house. If the second mortgage lender forecloses because payments are behind, the remaining first mortgage payments must be assumed by the new owner.

First mortgages, the principal way of financing the purchase of a house, are not involved in the suits, nor are banks and savings and loan associations. Banks are prohibited by law from giving second mortgage loans except in unusual circumstances because the loans are considered too risky, and S&L's rarely give them as a matter of policy.

Federally regulated S&L's can only give a second mortgage if they already hold a first mortgage on the property.

Those involved in the court suits, on the other hand, are hardly fly-by-night operators. One of the principal targets of the suits is Alvin J. Steinberg, whose full-time job is president of County Federal Savings and Loan Association in Rockville. Steinberg is also a director and past president of the United Givers Fund's distribution arm, the Health and Welfare Council, and he is chairman of the D.C.-Maryland regional board of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League.

Steinberg, who operates his second mortgage business for personal investment out of an unlisted telephone number in Bethesda's Linden Hill Hotel, says he only buys the loan agreements, or notes as they are called, and has no knowledge of how they were created or if they were inflated. He forecloses only as a last resort, he says and the unlisted number, which he says was "unintentional," was not to make it difficult for anyone to reach him.

Another target of the suits is Kline, the former candidate for appointment as Maryland's banking commissioner, who is a Montgomery County investor.

Prefacing his remark with, "This is off the record," Kline ended an interview by offering to contribute to any charity this reporter chose.

On the record, Kline acknowledged that all the second mortgage notes he bought until he went out of the business in 1968 were inflated. He did not know this at the time, he said, but he said he should have. Much of Washington's second mortgage business, Kline observed, is "usurious, immoral, and illegal, and should be exposed."

At the heart of the problem, critics such as Frazier say, is the fact that only half the states require court review prior to foreclosure. In these states, a judge or court auditor examines loan documents and hears any defenses by the home owner to determine if the loan was usurious or fraudulent, or if foreclosure would be unjust.

In Maine, Rhode Island and California, court suits have been filed to challenge foreclosure without court approval as a violation of the U.S. Constitution's dictum:

"No person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

Virginia Knauer, President Nixon's consumer adviser, has begun a review of state foreclosure laws to determine if they adequately protect borrowers as well as lenders, and if not, what changes should be made.

In Maryland, court approval of foreclosures is required, while in Virginia it is not. In Washington, there is this anomaly:

To evict a tenant from a rented apartment, a landlord must obtain a court order by convincing a judge that rental payments are indeed behind. The tenant may claim his delinquency is justified because the landlord has not met his obligations.

To foreclose on a home owner, however, a lender, whether he gave a first or second mortgage, simply alleges to a private auctioneer that mortgage payments are behind. Mortgage agreements generally permit foreclosure after payment is as much as a day late, although in practice Washington lending institutions generally wait three months before foreclosing. On the lender's allegations, the auctioneer sets an auction date, and the new owners who successfully bid on the property are recorded in the land records.

As a result, says Bettin Stalling, past national president of the Federal Bar Association, the government lawyers' group, and former American Bar Association committee head on mortgage law, foreclosures can and do occur in Washington that are "unconscionable, unnecessary, and vicious."

Consider the suit of John Henry and Emma D. Young, Civil Action No. 387-70 in U.S.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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District Court. Their house at 2004 C St. NE was sold at an auction last year over a loan that had its beginnings in 1966, the suit states.

A friend had suggested that they could consolidate debts they had for a used car, a vacuum cleaner bought on time, and auto insurance, by taking one loan from All-State Mortgage Co., formerly on Georgia Avenue NW.

All-State, which has no relation to Allstate Insurance Cos., was a purchaser of some of the second mortgage agreements created by Monarch Construction Co., a defunct home improvement company. The Washington Post in 1967 disclosed Monarch's practice of pressuring home owners into signing second mortgage agreements to pay for installation of "town house fronts" on their homes, then failing to complete the work properly.

A grand jury investigation called by Glanzer of the U.S. attorney's office resulted in the conviction of eight persons on fraud charges involving Monarch and other home improvement firms. Four of the eight received prison sentences.

The Youngs visited All-State, and were told by "a nice man who was like helping us." Mrs. Young said recently, that they could have a \$1,200 loan to pay off the old debts. It would be payable at \$45 a month for three years, he said.

In the legal language of the lawsuit, the Youngs, both black and with grade school educations, relied on "defendant All-State's representations and their good faith (and) signed the papers (agreeing to the loan) according to defendant All-State directions, without reading them . . . ."

## SIGNED THIRD MORTGAGE

What they signed, according to the suit and land records, was a third mortgage (they already had a second mortgage which financed a new back porch) obligating them to repay \$2,190 rather than the \$1,200 actually borrowed. Six per cent interest was to be added on top of \$2,190. And because the \$45 monthly payments would not cover what the Youngs agreed to repay, the excess—\$850—was to be paid as a lump sum or "balloon" payment at the end of three years. The Youngs say they were not told this.

The suit does not state how the allegedly inflated \$2,190 figure was arrived at. But it does say the purpose of the procedure was to violate the D.C. usury law, which then limited interest on such loans to 6 per cent.

On its face, the mortgage agreement or deed of trust signed by the Youngs and filed with the Recorder of Deeds carries interest of 6 per cent. It gives no hint of the Youngs' allegation that the loan was actually for \$1,200. Based on a \$1,200 loan, the repayments which the Youngs agreed to amount to annual interest of 22 per cent, according to a Federal Trade Commission interest expert. Interest rates on other loans that are the subject of the court suits range up to 68 per cent.

"I hate for anyone to know that we was trapped into this; you just don't take time to read these things," Mrs. Young said recently. "He just told me he was inverting (sic) the bills into one loan. He sat back in the chair and explained what the monthly payment would be and on what date, and he didn't say how much I was signing for. He turns around and said, 'Now, Mr. and Mrs. Young, you just sign here.'"

All-State failed to file an answer to the suit, and efforts to reach its representatives were unsuccessful.

The Youngs signed, and they made their \$45 monthly payments for three years to Security National Bank, which acted as the collection agent, the suit says. Rather than demanding the \$850 balloon payment at the end of three years, the lender continued to collect \$45 a month from the Youngs until August, 1969, when they missed a payment

because, the Youngs say, they were on vacation.

Unknown to the Youngs, the note was sold the following month to Steinberg's partnership, Capital Syndicate in Bethesda. Steinberg said the missed payment had nothing to do with the sale of the note, since he does not buy a note if it is in default. If it is in default, he cannot legally qualify as the owner or "holder in due course," he explained.

The next thing that happened in an increasingly confused sequence of events is that Security Bank returned the Youngs' next \$45 payment, saying the collection account had been withdrawn, the suit says.

Robert K. Koontz, president of the bank, says the bank must follow the lender's instructions when he decides to remove his note from the bank, but he should then notify the home owner of where to send payments.

Mrs. Young said she called the bank and was told that if no one notified her, the loan was probably all paid off. All-State was by then out of business in D.C., and Mrs. Young assumed it was paid off.

In going over the course of events later, Mrs. Young told a reporter she had found a letter from Capital Syndicate asking for the balloon payment, which had been reduced through her monthly payments to \$678. But she said she thought it was "some kind of mixup," since the letter didn't refer to All-State or Security National Bank, asked for a balloon payment which she was not aware of, and listed a return address of Pooks Hill Road in Bethesda, where she was sure she had never been.

"I ain't never heard tell of any Capital Syndicate," Young, a janitor, says.

Steinberg says he sent the Youngs three letters, which he displayed to this reporter, but his lawyers declined to make copies of them available.

The next thing the Youngs knew, they say, is that Mrs. Young's sister burst through the red enamel front door of their home one evening with a copy of The Evening Star. Under auctions, in the classified section, it said their house was to be sold at a public auction Jan. 27, 1970.

"It was like a dream. I just got so weak. I couldn't believe it," Mrs. Young said.

The date of the ad was Jan. 26. Mrs. Young saw a lawyer the next day, but it was too late. The house was sold for \$900 (plus assumption of the remaining first mortgage payments). They got no money from the sale.

It could not readily be determined exactly how much the Youngs lost, since they refinanced their first mortgage in 1965. Based on the refinanced mortgage only, the sale wiped out \$3,500 they had put into the house.

The Youngs' suit says they lost their home over a third mortgage balance of only \$678, and that they had already repaid \$1,360 on the original \$1,200 loan.

The Youngs' lawyer referred them to Neighborhood Legal Services, which defends the poor free of charge, and a suit was filed to undo the sale two weeks after it took place.

The realty company that had agreed to purchase the house at the auction voluntarily withdrew its deposit, giving it back to the Youngs, and Capital Syndicate—while saying it had no knowledge of the allegations of fraud made in the suit—recently settled the case by agreeing to forget about the note and the \$678 balance. The Youngs thus regained ownership of their home.

The action is pending against All-State.

Steinberg, 49, a soft-spoken, handsome man with slightly graying hair, said that all the Youngs had to do was "pick up the phone or write a letter," and Capital Syndicate would have stopped foreclosure proceedings.

He said the partnership, whose members he refused to name, is "not looking for foreclosure or lawsuits of any kind" and tries to settle suits such as the Youngs' "as quickly and equitably as possible."

Steinberg conceded it was an injustice to take the Youngs' home for a \$678 debt "from the point of view that they could have stopped it by just calling that it could have all been avoided by the call."

"What would you do?" he asked rhetorically.

As the former head of Capital Credit Corp., a local bill collection agency, Steinberg enunciated a policy that it is better to help a man back on his feet than to set him flat on his back.

"We feel that we are charged with a responsibility to understand the nature of a debtors' problem and try to re-establish him as a respectable member of the community," Steinberg said in a 1957 Washington Post interview focusing on Capital Credit.

Steinberg stressed he is not aware that any of the notes he purchases—fewer than 50 a year—may be inflated. He said he buys the notes for 70 cents to 92 cents for every \$1 owed on the note.

Such discounts, say Joel Kline and others in the mortgage business, should indicate to the purchaser that the loans were inflated. What is involved is a piece of common sense. If the lender or creator of the note gives a \$1 loan, then sells it for 70 cents, he loses money. There would be no reason, as a standard practice, to sell it for anything less than \$1, Kline says.

But if the lender gives a loan of 40 cents, induces the home owner to sign a note saying he owes \$1, then sells it for 70 cents, he has made a good profit, Kline says, without waiting years for interest to come in.

To the "sophisticated purchaser," says Jennings of Riggs, such discounts would mean the loans were inflated.

Efforts to obtain comment on this point from Steinberg were unavailing.

Steinberg said he sees no irony in the fact that he has been an active opponent of black anti-Semitism through the Anti-Defamation League while being charged by black home owners with unjust foreclosure of their homes. Steinberg said, "We have not abused anyone. We gave them ample notice. At Capital Credit we were one of the first companies to hire blacks in clerical and managerial positions."

He added, "We don't single out anybody and to suggest that I'm trying to take advantage of anyone white or black is ridiculous" and "horribly unfair."

Steinberg said he buys most of his notes from Gerald S. Lilenfield, a licensed D.C. real estate broker who has more lawsuits filed against him than any other second mortgage lender.

In 31 suits filed against him since 1968, the 38-year-old Lilenfield is charged repeatedly with inducing home owners to sign inflated, usurious notes, then selling them to others who foreclose.

Asked about the charges, Lilenfield referred all questions to his lawyer, Leonard C. Collins. Collins declined to discuss the cases, saying he did not want to try them in the newspapers.

Lilenfield, whose office is at 1010 Vermont Ave. NW, solicits customers in various ways, the suits indicate. One is through this advertisement, which appeared in Washington newspapers, as recently as a year ago.

Other home owners allege in the court suits that they were visited by Lilenfield at their homes, sometimes when they were being threatened with foreclosure by their first mortgage lender. Lilenfield at times left calling cards from "Jerry Fields," the suits state.

Whatever the method, the suits all charge that the loans Lilenfield gave were fraudu-

lently inflated, and some of the documents submitted with the court complaints provide fascinating insights into how this was allegedly done.

Attached to the suit of the Thorntons, for example, is what is known in real estate terminology as a settlement sheet, an official-looking, lined form that shows charges when houses are purchased or mortgages placed on them.

The form, filled in long hand, shows that the Thorntons received a loan of \$2,500 but signed for a loan of \$5,922, to be repaid over eight years.

How did \$2,500 become \$5,922? Very simply.

The sheet shows that various title search and credit report fees were added to the \$2,500 loan, bringing it to \$2,961.

The \$2,961 figure is then doubled.

The explanation for this calculation, noted where the figure is doubled, is: "8 years—G. S. Lilienfield."

Thornton, then a Post Office clerk, recalls seeing the \$5,922 figure and thinking it was "unusually high," but he says he thought it represented interest at 6 per cent.

"They get you to sign papers, and they say it's 6 per cent, but I don't have no calculating machine to figure it out, and even if I did I wouldn't know how to," he observes.

Actually, the doubled figure of \$5,922 did not include interest, although the settlement sheet which the Thorntons signed indicates it did. An additional 6 per cent interest was to be paid on top of \$5,922, according to the binding deed of trust on file with the recorder of deeds.

Although there was no way for the Thorntons to know this from the documents they signed, the additional interest would have resulted, after they had made monthly payments for eight years, in an unpaid balance at the end of eight years of \$2,284, according to calculations by American Security & Trust Co. on figures supplied, without identification of the parties involved, by The Washington Post. The balance would have been due as a "balloon" payment.

Total repayments on the \$2,500 loan actually received indicate an effective annual interest rate at 30 per cent, according to an FTC interest rate expert.

The settlement sheet is on the letterhead of Realty Title Insurance Co., whose primary assets have since been purchased by District Title Insurance Co. In its answer to the suit, District Title said that although the sheet is on Realty Title's stationery, it is not prepared in conformance with Realty's accounting procedures, was not prepared or authorized by Realty Title, and was used without Realty Title's knowledge.

#### SHEET LACKS CASE NUMBER

Expanding on the company's statement to the court, Thomas Penfield Jackson, a lawyer for District Title, said the settlement sheet bears no case number, and a check of the company's records produced no trace of the fees allegedly disbursed, as indicated on the sheet.

He called the doubled figure on the sheet "a lot of nonsense."

Lilienfield's name, written in longhand as part of the notation beside the doubled figure, appears to be a replica of his signature as it appears elsewhere in court papers submitted by him in other cases.

When asked if he had prepared the sheet, Lilienfield declined to comment again referring inquiries to his lawyer, Collins, who declined to discuss the case. In his answer to the court suit, Lilienfield denied all allegations of wrongdoing.

A letter and other papers in the court file show that after the Thorntons got two months behind in their payments on the loan, it was sold to Capital Syndicate, which immediately threatened to foreclose.

Commenting on whether he was a legal holder of the note if he bought it when it

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

was in default, Steinberg said negotiations to buy it may have started several months earlier when the payments were current. Legal experts, however, say the note must be paid up on the date it is purchased for the holder to qualify as its legal owner.

The Thorntons, who said they had repaid \$1,817 of the original \$2,500 loan, brought suit and obtained a restraining order in District Court to stop foreclosure. Last March, Capital Syndicate settled the case by agreeing to halt further foreclosure action and accepting \$447 from the Thorntons to wipe out the remaining debt.

Not every case against Lilienfield follows the same pattern. The settlement sheet filed with the suit of Marcieo G. Wells and his wife, Mildred, shows that a loan of \$3,008 turned out to be for \$6,995 primarily by adding \$900 as a "commission" to L&S Investment Co., Lilienfield's primary company, and by adding another figure representing 8 per cent interest over the five-year term of the loan.

The interest figure listed is \$2,793. The correct total interest on such a loan would be \$652, according to American Security, which calculated the amount on figures given to it by The Post. (American Security used the declining balance method, the one specified on Lilienfield settlement sheets and used in D.C. on mortgage loans. Another method, add-on interest, would increase interest to \$1,203.)

All commissions must be included as interest when computing interest rates under the D.C. usury law, says Benny L. Kass, former executive director of the D.C. Study Commission on Interest Rates and Consumer Credit.

Effective interest on this loan, according to the FTC, was 40 per cent a year.

Foreclosure on the Wellses, after Lilienfield had sold the note to Capital Syndicate, was stopped by a District Court restraining order. In answers filed with the court, both Lilienfield and Capital Syndicate denied any wrongdoing.

The Wellses settlement sheet is on the letterhead of a different title company, City Title & Escrow Co. An attempt to obtain comment from its president, Richard L. Sugarman, was met by referring questions to the company's lawyer, who also happens to be Collins. Collins reiterated that he doesn't want to try cases in the press.

Before forming City Title, Sugarman was an assistant treasurer of Realty Title and its successor, District Title. He frequently appears as a trustee on Lilienfield loans and has served as Lilienfield's lawyer.

#### SIXTY-EIGHT PERCENT

One Lilienfield loan carried effective annual interest of 68 per cent, according to FTC calculations based on the allegations in a suit.

The suit, filed in District Court, presents a copy of a canceled check from City Title as evidence showing that the plaintiff, Jessie Mae Warren, received \$566.50 as a loan. The deed of trust on file with the recorder of deeds shows that she obligated herself to repay \$2,000, including interest.

At the time she got the loan, Miss Warren admits, she had already filed suit against another lender over similar allegations of an inflated loan. Although her second suit does not claim that she got that loan unknowingly, she says she told Lilienfield what had happened to her the first time and that he assured her he was an honest businessman who would not inflate a loan. The case has since been settled, but she would not disclose the terms.

One suit, by Angeline Bates, alleges that when she fell behind in her payments on a note to Lilienfield, she signed papers giving her house to him, wiping out \$5,500 in equity.

Her settlement sheet, on City Title stationery, shows she received a \$600 loan but

signed for \$1,862, or effective interest, the FTC says, of 25 per cent.

The difference between the loan and what she signed for was explained on the sheet variously as a "placement fee—L&S" (Investment Co.), a fee for "Gerald S. Lilienfield services rendered, and 2 per cent additional interest over eight years—16 per cent."

When Mrs. Bates became late in her payments, Lilienfield told her she could pay \$100 a month as rent to him for a year, and then her house would be given back to her, the suit alleges.

Mrs. Bates was late on the rental payments, too, and she lost possession of the house, which Lilienfield sold a year later for \$13,500. Since the balance of her mortgages was about \$8,000, the suit says, Mrs. Bates lost \$5,500.

In answering the allegations, Lilienfield admitted only doing business with Mrs. Bates and denied allegations of fraud. Subsequently, he offered a bill from a general contractor to show that he put \$3,450 in improvements into the house before he sold it at a profit. The bill, from a part-time contractor who has since died, itemizes only \$540 of the work.

Collins quotes Lilienfield as saying he is now out of the second mortgage business. However, land records show Lilienfield took a second mortgage as part of his compensation on a house he sold as recently as August. The note was immediately sold to Capital Syndicate. Asked about this, Collins declines to comment.

Although none of the suits against second mortgage lenders has gone to trial, the essential allegations in one case, involving Joel Kline, were accepted last April by D.C. Superior Court Judge James A. Belson.

In granting a preliminary injunction halting foreclosure on John W. Wood and his wife, Belson ruled that the Woods had borrowed \$2,000 but signed for \$4,100 and had already repaid \$2,800 when Kline attempted to foreclose.

Kline has not filed an answer to the suit, but in an interview he said he had purchased the note in 1965 from Harold Rothman, then general manager of Maryland Financial Corp., Hyattsville. The Company is no longer in business.

Kline then sold the note to a 71-year-old Silver Spring widow, his distant cousin. Kline continued to manage collection on the note through one of his companies, Ilene Investment Co., and when Mr. Wood, a minister of God of Prophecy Church in Washington, stopped paying because his lawyer advised him he had more than repaid the loan, Kline started foreclosure action.

Comparing the \$2,000 loan actually received with the total repayments required indicates the effective interest on the \$2,000 loan was 31 per cent per year, the FTC says.

In his Silver Spring office, Kline, 32, said he generally purchased second mortgage notes from several dozen people for 60 cents to 95 cents for each dollar owed. He bought some \$200,000 worth of "inflated" notes from Harold Rothman, and Rothman confirms this.

Kline, he said, who said he started buying notes when he was 21, stated: "For me to sit here and tell you that I didn't know (that the loans were inflated), I'd have to be awfully naive—today," he hastened to add. "I didn't know then," he said. "I know the score now. I don't think ignorance is any excuse. I should have known. No question about it."

Kline said if he had been aware of the prices he was paying for the notes, he would have known they were inflated, but he said the day-to-day operation of the business was handled by someone else.

In the interview prior to Gov. Marvin Mandel's selection of another candidate to be banking commissioner, Kline said of himself, "There is no one else better qualified to be banking commissioner."

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Rothman, for his part, acknowledged in telephone interviews from New York City, where he is employed by a jeweler that he asked not be identified, that Maryland Financial under his direction gave some \$5 million in notes over three years, and that the actual loan given on all of the notes was below the face amount. He said he didn't know how many loans he gave.

However, if one assumes an average face amount of \$3,000, the number would be nearly 2,000.

Rothman said he started the second mortgage business with only \$40,000 in capital and eventually employed 40 people. On each loan, he said, he made a profit of \$300 and sold the notes, a day to a year later, to some 30 to 40 customers who paid 50 cents to 80 cents for each dollar borrowed.

Rothman, 52, said his company always told borrowers exactly what they were signing, and he disparages others for "prostituting" the second mortgage business by deceiving borrowers.

"I like to think," Rothman said, "that I put as much integrity as I could into a dirty business."

Mr. Wood affirmed that he knew he was getting \$2,000 but signing for \$4,100.

"When you need money, you got to have some," he explains simply.

"These are people who are really up against it, and they'll do anything to get it (a loan)," said a District Court judge quoted previously. He said inflated notes are "obviously usurious and illegal," and "to take advantage of a person in this fix is terrible."

Those who purchase the notes the Judge added, "know damn well who they're dealing with. They're not stupid." They say they are legally entitled to hold the notes and knew nothing about how they were created, he observed. "That's a lot of poppycock."

It is "clearly unjust," says Maribeth Halloran, the Neighborhood Legal Services attorney who has filed many suits challenging foreclosure, when people lose their homes and thousands of dollars invested in them over usurious, relatively small loans. None of these foreclosures would occur, she contends, if court approval were required first, and the free legal assistance program's law reform unit, which she has headed, has filed several suits questioning the constitutionality of foreclosure without court order.

Miss Halloran, who resigned from the legal aid unit recently, suspects that some lenders purposely foreclose. She says many notes are purchased when the amount owed is low or when difficult-to-collect balloon payments are due.

"When this happens it indicates to me that the noteholders want the houses rather than the payments on the notes," she says.

## LARGE PROFITS CITED

Examination of land records shows that there are large profits to be made in foreclosing. What happens is that the second mortgage lender forecloses, buys the house back at the auction, and resells it on the open market.

In each of the following four transactions, Lilienfield created a second mortgage, either foreclosed or sold it to someone else who foreclosed, then bought the house back and resold it for the prices and profits shown. The houses were both bought and sold subject to assumption of first mortgage payments, which do not affect the net cash profits.

Address	Auction price	Resold price within	At price of	Profit
1365 Emerald St. NE	\$800	6 months	\$8,768	\$7,968
4332 Polk St. NE	500	2 months	9,714	9,214
4138 7th St. SW	500	Same day	6,000	5,500
151 Adams St. NW	1,600	do	10,181	8,581

The profits listed do not take into account the debt owed on the second mortgage, since the court suits allege many debts owed to Lilienfield are greatly inflated. If the debts were deducted, the cash profits made on the transactions would still be substantial.

Some properties become revolving doors, with old and new owners indebted to the same person. At 3464 23d St. SE, for example, Lilienfield placed a second mortgage on the house in 1967. Foreclosure occurred last July. Lilienfield bought the house for \$500 at auction and resold it, giving a second mortgage to the new owners.

The former owner, Charles E. Monroe, a U.S. Supreme Court laborer, lost some \$2,000 in first mortgage payments, according to land records and estimates by the lender, the Berens Cos. Lilienfield's profit, land records show, was some \$9,000, after deducting his painting and sanding expenses, estimated by the new owners at less than \$500.

Monroe bought the semidetached house in 1959. In 1967, he got behind in his first mortgage payments by about two months, he says. To avoid foreclosure, he visited Lilienfield, whose ad Monroe had seen in the paper.

Lilienfield promised to obtain for Monroe a new first mortgage to replace the old one, and give a second mortgage to pay off what was owed on the first mortgage, Monroe says.

The net effect of the intricate transaction, land records show, is that Monroe's monthly payments on the mortgages shot up from \$54 to \$129 and ownership of the house was passed from Monroe to his girl friend.

Monroe explains the change in ownership this way: He says Lilienfield asked him if he knew someone whom Monroe could depend on. This person, Lilienfield is quoted as saying, would act as a cosigner on the new mortgages since Monroe's credit record was not good.

When the papers came back, however, title had passed entirely to the girl friend, who left him about a year ago. Monroe's name does not appear in the land records.

Monroe, living with his four children, continued to pay on both mortgages until last May. At that time, he said, the payments became too much, and he decided that no matter how long he paid, he would never own the house, since it was not in his name.

"It was like paying rent," he said.

Monroe left the house and is living elsewhere with his children.

Foreclosure was ordered, and Lilienfield bought the house back at the auction for \$500, selling it the same day for \$9,900 (plus assumption of first mortgage payments), land records show.

The couple that bought the house, James H. Blackwell, a D.C. special policeman, and his fiancee, Marjorie W. Bell, paid for the house by obtaining a second mortgage from Lilienfield, who immediately sold it to Capital Syndicate.

Blackwell says he learned of the house through classified ads in The Washington Daily News. The ads, it turns out, began appearing last July 2, although the auction, when Lilienfield purchased the house, took place more than three weeks later on July 27, according to land records. Blackwell's copy of a contract with Lilienfield to buy the house is dated July 8, nearly three weeks before Lilienfield owned the house, official records show.

Lilienfield's lawyer, Collins, declined to comment on the matter.

In theory, any profit from an auction sale goes to the home owner, but in practice this rarely happens because of the low prices bid at the auctions, experts say. A suit, settled last April, shows that in one situation when it did, the home owner, Christine J. Price, got little of the alleged \$5,000 profit from the sale.

The reason, the suit charges, is that most of the money was disbursed for various fees

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by City Title, whose president, Sugarman, was also a trustee on the second mortgage that foreclosed.

Among the fees, the suit said, was \$1,725 for legal services. A City Title officer admitted in court papers, and Sugarman confirmed in a telephone interview, that all but \$750 of the legal fee was an "error."

One reason mortgage prices are low is that Washington's deed of trust system of granting mortgages protects home owners by vesting title to houses in two trustees while the mortgages on the homes are being paid off. The trustees are supposed to be disinterested parties.

However, many of the suits against second mortgage lenders allege that one of the trustees who foreclosed was also the holder of the note. At 4332 Polk St. NE, a property cited earlier, Steinberg ordered foreclosure as a trustee on a debt to himself. On this point, Steinberg said it is "much more convenient" to be a trustee on his own notes because notice of fire insurance cancellation on properties gets to him quicker.

## TRUSTEE SILENT

Steinberg said he can't comment on the opinion of some legal experts that such a dual position is a breach of legal responsibility to the home owner and invalidates the foreclosure.

Even if the lender is not himself a trustee, says Vern Countryman, a Harvard Law School commercial law professor, he still picks the trustees, with predictable results. Countryman contends that nationally, the trustees, who handle the auction arrangements on a foreclosure, do not advertise the sales effectively because it is to the advantage of the lender that few people show up to bid. The lender then can buy the house back at a low price, Countryman says.

In Washington, as many as 12 foreclosure ads appear on a single day in The Evening Star, where the auctioneers generally advertise. The ads list the address of the property and a one-phrase description—frame dwelling, row-brick dwelling. Any resemblance to house-for-sale ads as they appear elsewhere in the classified section ends there.

The ads do not mention how many rooms the house has, the size of its lot, or its proximity to schools. Those who prepare the ads acknowledge that the average house-hunter would be hard-put to find the home of his dreams from the foreclosure ads.

The ads are placed at least 30 days after the home owner has been notified by registered mail that the house is to be foreclosed. Some 3,000 letters are sent each year, according to the recorder of deeds' office, which must by law receive a copy. Since most of the homeowners pay up, only 500 houses actually go to auction and are sold.

On a recent afternoon, a property was being auctioned every 10 minutes in the green-carpeted offices of Thomas J. Owen & Son, which handles more than 90 per cent of the house foreclosure business in Washington.

One of Owen's auctioneers, a lean, blond man in a blue suit and green shirt, steps to the front of the room and starts talking rapidly to the three men and a reporter seated before him.

## AUCTION DESCRIBED

"Ladies and gentlemen, may I have your attention please . . ." He reads the foreclosure notice as it appeared in the paper, then opens the floor for bids.

One of the men is a trustee on the mortgage foreclosing and does not bid, although he must be present. The other two bid the house up in increments of \$100.

"You'll take it then?" one of the men says. The other nods.

The house is sold . . . for \$500.

Four of the five houses sold are bought back by the lender, who is more often than not the sole bidder.

Thomas J. Owen, who heads the auction company, is also president of the Washington Board of Realtors and a director of the Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade. He said he generally refuses to auction a property unless the mortgage payments are three months overdue. He said he also sends a postcard to the occupant of each property just before foreclosure to give them final warning. This is not required by law, while the registered notice is.

Last March, of 77 return receipts requested on 77 registered letters sent out, 25 receipts failed to come back, indicating the owners probably didn't pick up the letters at the Post Office after letter carriers found no one home, Owen said. He attributes this to an aversion on the part of homeowners to hearing bad news. (The law does not require that notice be received, only that it be sent.)

Owen charges a commission of \$40 if a house is sold, \$30 if foreclosure is stopped before the auction, and a sliding commission on houses sold for \$10,000 or more.

He sends his bill to the trustees who order the foreclosure, and eventually the money comes out of the pocket of the homeowner.

The bill lists Owen's commission plus expenses, the largest of which is about \$200 for five ads placed in the Star for each foreclosure. Owen attaches a bill from the Star, stamped "paid" by the Star, to show for how much he should be reimbursed.

The Star's bill, Owen acknowledges, is based on the paper's rate for a single ad. What he pays, Owen says, is a discount rate based on the large volume of ads that he places each year.

The discount is given to him in the form of a rebate at the end of the year, under the terms of a contract he signs at the beginning of the year, Owen said. Although the Star bills are marked "paid," he does not pay The Star until he gets one bill at the end of each month, Owen said.

Owen says the discount is 6 per cent. His minicompitor, Adam A. Weschler & Son, the only other house auctioneer in the city, says it gets 10 per cent for far fewer ads.

Inquiries at The Star elicited different answers. Lowell B. Steele, classified manager, denied that there are any discounts on auction ads or that the paper sends out two bills. Jack C. Schoo, advertising manager, acknowledged that two bills are sent but denied that there is discount; in a subsequent inquiry, Schoo said he refuses to answer the question of whether there is a discount.

At The Post, James J. Daly, vice president and general manager, said two bills are not given by this paper on any advertisement.

Owen, whose father, Thornton W. Owen, president of Perpetual Building Association, the area's largest savings and loan association, headed the auction company until 1969, defended his billing practice on the grounds that home owners would have to pay the higher ad rate if they placed the ads themselves.

The markup is to cover the expense of preparing the ads, placing them, and guaranteeing payment to The Star, since some of Owen's bills are not paid on time, Owen added. (Owen sometimes requires a deposit from trustees before placing the ads, but this is not the rule.)

Glanzer of the U.S. attorney's office called it a practice that "we have to look into. If it's designed to conceal the truth and is misleading, it's certainly a pernicious practice." The size of the discount, Glanzer added, is unimportant if "someone is being injured or deceived by it."

In 1967, an effort was made to require court approval prior to foreclosures in D.C., but after introducing such a bill, former Sen. Joseph D. Tydings (D-Md.) withdrew it because of opposition from Washington bankers and realtors, including Thomas J. Owen, according to a former Tydings legislative aide.

The former aide, Robert A. Burt, said the

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

local businessmen proposed a compromise: they'd accept a law requiring that registered notice of foreclosure be sent to home owners, if the provision requiring court review was dropped.

Burt, now a University of Michigan associate professor of law, said he and Tydings agreed with the opposition's argument that court review would inflate foreclosure costs and delay them to the point where lenders would be discouraged from giving loans here. The notice law was passed in 1968. Stalling, of the Federal Bar Association, however, says the increased costs would be worth it if they prevented injustices, and the lenders would be in business regardless.

A 1968 American Bar Association survey shows that the cost of foreclosing in many states where court review is required is about the same or only slightly higher than foreclosure expenses in Washington, where no court review occurs. Maryland, where court review is required, however, has one of the highest foreclosure costs, estimated by savings and loan association lawyers at more than \$1,000.

Other reforms to protect home owners have been proposed. John A. Spanogle, a University of Maine law professor who recently worked for Ralph Nader on a consumer credit research project, says inflated loans and unwarranted foreclosures would be considerably diminished if those buying second mortgage notes were held as legally responsible as those that create the notes. Most state laws specifically limit the legal defenses that a home owner can raise against the note purchaser.

Such a change, says Collins, Lillianfield's lawyer, who is a professorial lecturer in law at George Washington University, would practically eliminate illegal second mortgages. What would probably be needed would be a congressional act, he said.

Laws regulating money lending and interest rates in Washington are a mass of exceptions and confusion, says Kass, the interest rate expert.

All lenders in D.C. should be regulated as closely as banks and savings and loan associations are regulated by the federal government, Kass says.

### ADL DENOUNCES POST

The D.C.-Maryland Regional Office of B'nai Brith's Anti-Defamation League denounced The Washington Post for mentioning its name in a story on second mortgage foreclosures.

Jason R. Silverman, director of the regional office, made the statement after learning that the story would describe the practices of Alvin J. Steinberg in buying and foreclosing on second mortgage notes. Steinberg is chairman of the regional board of ADL.

Silverman said mentioning Steinberg's affiliation with ADL in the story makes it appear "that ADL is involved in and party to the allegedly questionable activities of a few individuals," when in fact it is not.

ADL can only conclude, Silverman added, that ADL's name was included in the Post story "for purposes of sensationalism and is irresponsible news reporting."

## CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS NEED REGULATING

### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, any Member of this body who has taken the time to watch an evening's worth of television will understand my reasons for rising today.

Numerous advertisements for educa-

tional and vocational schools are appearing on television, designed for young people who want to have a better life. A number of these ads represent good companies. Unfortunately, many ads represent very bad companies.

I have received, Mr. Speaker, a remarkable letter from a man who sold courses for one of these companies. I feel his remarks shed a great deal of light on the problem we are faced with in trying to improve the lot of our veterans and young people.

Mr. Speaker, I submit the following letter from Mr. Milton Swan of Oakland, Calif., for inclusion in the RECORD, in hopes that my colleagues will get a better understanding of a problem we must deal with as soon as possible:

GENTLEMEN: I would like to take this opportunity to bring to light certain circumstances which I feel should be looked into.

I have just recently been in the employ of a large organization dealing in correspondence course sales here in California and across the nation, with their headquarters located in Chicago, Illinois. The circumstances surrounding my getting the position in the first place were quite bizarre, and only after involvement with the Better Business Bureau was I able to finally acquire the position. I worked for nineteen days with the company and according to predetermined guidelines I was released.

Since I am not with the company any longer I feel it my duty to bring to light certain practices which are quite fraudulent in nature and involve the misappropriation of millions of dollars of government educational funds, fraudulent use of government mails and countless accounts of deceptive sales practices, which have probably been going on since this company began operating on a large scale some years ago.

As a sales representative for Advance Schools, Inc. (Advance Trade Schools Inc.) I was required to present a correspondence course package program to selected applicants with which the area office had made previous telephoned appointments. I would enter their home with a memorized presentation and a slide projector and recordings describing the courses offered. The first part of the presentation consisted of a questionnaire sheet to determine the prospects prior education, status, military experience, credit evaluation, and desires as far as furthering his education. The questionnaire was used basically to evaluate the prospects credit and to determine which of the limited fields we offered he could easily be put into. (If a field of interest could not be determined over the phone.) We then presented a fifteen minute film and recording of a field which we as representatives felt the applicant could be placed in. One of the basic tools of our sales presentation was that "the government was going to foot the bill." Now with the thousands of ex-military types being discharged each year who have not as yet taken advantage of their educational benefits this was made to look like a natural for them to get into a field where they could make "\$15.00 an hour", and since the government was footing the bill they would be a fool not to take advantage of the opportunity. The ex-military person was one type of lucrative prospect for their sales. The next individual was the non-military type who would qualify under the Health Education and Welfare Federally Insured Student Loan Program.

This program allows a prospective student to borrow from the government the necessary funds for his education and not have to pay the government back until nine months after graduation. However, this program is made to look as if the prospective student is getting something for nothing by the representative, in light of the fact that they

have three years to complete the course and the repayment schedule does not start until nine months after that. In many cases this was conveniently passed over by the representative altogether.

Deceptive sales practices of this nature alone would be cause for concern, however, the problem is much more involved than that. If a nationwide graph could be drawn up, you would see that the majority of sales offices in the major cities of the country were located well within range of the nation's poverty pockets and ghetto areas. These lower income areas and under-educated minorities are prime targets for Advance Schools, Inc.

In the sales films that are shown in the homes it is clearly stated that a high school diploma or its equivalent is all that is necessary to qualify for acceptance into Advance Schools home study program, but a representative is quick to inject that all the prospect has to do is pass a preliminary written examination administered right in the home to determine qualification. The test in itself is quite simple, however close to fifty percent of the applicants fail to qualify. This is then quickly graded and when necessary changed to allow each applicant whose credit seems passable to qualify for acceptance into the school. Therefore, today there are thousands of students taking courses with Advance Schools who do not qualify for these courses in the first place but are pushed through one way or the other and the U.S. Government is paying the bill under the Student Loan Program. I have found out recently that there is a five million dollar deficit of payments from people who have one way or the other attempted to educate themselves under this program. This may be a small amount compared to the overall number of students studying under this program but remember a student has up to forty-five months to pay back the government. Consequently, there are a number of years to go before the amounts flowing out from the Student Loan Program become due. And if the present amount is any indication, then in the coming years these amounts will become astronomical. Also it may be noted that approximately \$35,000,000 a month is being pumped into V.A. education by the Federal Government.

As far as I am concerned I would like to see everyone further their education, however, to push someone into a course that they cannot handle, built on wild promises of increased wealth, and success, knowing full well that completion of the course is an unlikelihood, and knowing if the applicant did complete the course, with the schools help to make their records look good, he couldn't find work with his limited knowledge of a given field anyway.

I'm not against education by any stretch of the imagination; however, to feed on poor people and those from minority groups, the very ones that need the advantages of higher education, those are the ones who are most susceptible to misrepresentations and false promises!

Another item to be considered is the practice of making out duplicate forms for ex-military type prospects. Regardless of whether military type prospects eligibility for educational benefits can be determined at the time or not, the individual is still required to sign the student loan forms. This serves as a backup for the School so that if the student does not qualify under his military benefits, his application will automatically be sent in under the Student Loan Program, without the student knowing about it, AND he doesn't usually find out until nine months after graduation!

One of the reasons Advance Schools has been so successful in its sales program is the fact that all the applicant has to do at the time of his enrollment is pay a minimum fee of \$2.50 for state tax and a six to nine dollar fee, depending on the course, for

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

an insurance policy in case of death, or disability. This insures the school will get their money. The maximum any prospective student pays is about fifteen dollars, which in many cases is not picked up at the time of enrollment. The representative may say that the money is not important and that he could pick it up later. Then he fronts the enrollment with his own money, making out a money order with his own name on it. If the applicant kicks out at a later date or cancels his enrollment, the salesman gets his money back. This is quite common since there is a forty-five dollar commission on the sale and it will be going up soon. Also the schools require ten enrollments minimum each month from its representative.

Another infraction involves the paperwork which is necessary to enroll an applicant. There are approximately sixteen forms to be signed by the husband and wife together to complete an application. The law states that a copy of the enrollment application, statement of finance charges, and a record describing the course be left with each applicant. However, in practice only the enrollment application is left in a majority of cases. The plastic recording and the statement of finance charges is conveniently kept by the representative to insure against future cancellations.

Another deceptive sales tool used by company representatives is in the case of a potential ex-military type student. He is told during the interview that he has the right to keep his G.I. education payments instead of sending them direct to the company. In this case his cost for the course will be charged to the Federally Insured Loan Program. (I previously mentioned that all applicants are required to sign both forms). Since the G.I. has signed the student loan form as well as his V.A. forms, the student keeps all reimbursements from the V.A. and the cost is deferred to the Student Loan Program, repayable in forty-five months!!

I would also like to mention a few words about the method in which the appointments are made for the sales representatives for Advance Schools. The names and addresses are randomly selected from the phone book. They are called and asked to answer some questions for an educational survey; or they may be told that "This is Mr. Jones from the Government Educational Benefits Department of . . . Advance Schools" etc. etc. so eventually when an appointment is set up the prospect expects to be visited by a government employee.

In this day and age of catastrophic wastes going on within our governments, the slow drain of our tax dollars for such things as national defense, poverty programs, foreign aid, etc. etc. I'm sure that if we can cut down on wasteful spending of the taxpayers dollars in every way possible, and divert our spending power to useful endeavors, this country will be a better place to live yet!

Respectfully yours,

MILTON D. SWAN.

OAKLAND, CALIF.

## WHAT DID THEY EXPECT?

### HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 16, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday at the United Nations Red China's new Ambassador to the U.N. started off in form. He reiterated Red China's claim to sovereignty over Taiwan and said:

The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan and no force on earth can stop us from doing so.

He spoke of Vietnam in this vein, saying:

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The peoples of the three countries of Indo-China in their war against U.S. aggression.

Of the Middle East tinderbox he spoke of Arab peoples struggle against "aggression by Israeli Zionism."

Of Africa he spoke in behalf of all peoples of all whiteruled countries "in their struggle against white colonialist rule and racial discrimination."

Of Japan and the United States he spoke of collusion between these two nations to create "two Chinas" as being defeated in a victory for Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary line in foreign affairs.

Lies, hatred, anti-American propaganda—cheered no doubt by many of the U.N. member nations delegations.

From Red China—what did they expect?

## CHILD DEVELOPMENT LEGISLATION SHOULD BE DEFEATED

### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, concern is growing around the country among thoughtful citizens that the so-called "child development" provision of the OEO bill currently being considered by a joint House-Senate Conference Committee is ill-conceived. There is a growing recognition that the proposal is misnamed, and that perhaps a better name for this monstrosity would be "child control" act or the "parent replacement act."

Mr. Speaker, I join with those who see this proposal as fundamentally wrong and I contend it should not be approved by this body.

In the House Education and Labor Committee, I was one of the only voices against this proposal. There is no doubt in my mind that it would offer the professional education bureaucrats the greatest opportunity ever imagined to direct thinking along the lines they deem correct. This legislation would open the door for what they call creative education. Stripped of its veneer, this is little more than life adjustment and application of behavioral science techniques which these professional liberals have sought to implement during the past two decades.

On many occasions I have placed in the RECORD information on this trend and my series of speeches started in 1961 with an exposé of the grandiose scheme of the U.S. Office of Education which is contained in its Federal Education Agency of the Future blueprint. Psychological tests or brainpicking tests which invade the private home and personal life of the student have been a part of this pattern.

The opportunity to develop attitudes is what these people are really after. Not the traditional goals of education which are directed toward informing the student and teaching him to think so he will make his own decisions. Rather, to think what these bureaucrats think is right. By taking charge of child development they foster the cradle to the grave de-

pendency on the Federal Government. Even more, however, by fostering a dependency on the Government and its so-called innovative programs, the socio-economic and race mix of students would reach its greatest potential under this legislation. The possibility of abuse is great even though safeguarding amendments offered by Senator BUCKLEY and myself have been incorporated in both the House and Senate versions of this bill.

Parents everywhere should be alert to this invasion of their prerogatives. The defense that it is voluntary due to the inclusion of the Buckley-Ashbrook amendment should not lessen the opposition of parents to this bill. It holds out the greatest possible opportunity for meddling, thought direction and invasion of the rights and responsibilities of the parent. It should be defeated.

At this point I submit for the RECORD a very cogent analysis of the child development bill by my good friend, James J. Kilpatrick. Mr. Kilpatrick hits the nail right on the head and his timely comments are a warning of this proposal's threat to the home and our educational process. The article follows:

#### CHILD DEVELOPMENT ACT—TO SOVIETIZE OUR YOUTH

WASHINGTON.—When the House met September 30, not more than 40 or 50 members had any clear idea of what might be contained in a proposed "Child Development Act." The bill was not even before them.

Before the afternoon had ended, after a legislative coup led by John Brademas of Indiana, the House had voted, 203 to 181, to graft this unbelievable bill onto the Economic Opportunity Act of 1971. The Senate some weeks ago adopted a milder but similar plan. The whole scheme now awaits action by conference committee.

The Brademas bill runs to 11,000 words. It occupies 22 columns of fine type in The Congressional Record. No measure of greater importance has cleared the floor of the 92nd Congress, and few have had less attention from the press.

The bill is a monstrosity. No other word suffices. Many observers had expected, as part of plans for welfare reform, to see some bill enacted that would provide modest federal subsidies for a few day-care centers in major cities. These had been vaguely envisioned as places where welfare mothers could leave their children while they went to work.

Instead, the House has approved a breathtaking, full-blown plan for the "comprehensive" development of children to the age of 14. It is the boldest and most far-reaching scheme ever advanced for the Sovietization of American youth.

The bill begins with a recital that Congress finds "that millions of American children are suffering unnecessary harm from the present lack of adequate child-development services, particularly during early childhood years."

To remedy this harm, the bill directs the secretary of health, education, and welfare to foster programs that will provide "comprehensive physical and mental health, social, and cognitive development services necessary for children participating in the program to profit fully from their educational opportunities and to attain their maximum potential."

Such programs may include food and nutritional services; medical, psychological and educational services; appropriate treatment to overcome emotional barriers; and "dissemination of information in the functional language of those to be served, to assure that parents are well informed." Religious guidance plays no part.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Applications for federal financing would be funneled through various Child Development Councils. These in turn would supervise Local Policy Councils, to be composed either of parents or of representatives "chosen by such parents in accordance with democratic selection procedures approved by the secretary."

Local proposals would float up to a new Office of Child Development. This office would create a committee to develop Federal Standards for Child Development Services. Another committee would prepare a Uniform Minimum Code for Child Development Facilities. The facilities would be financed through a new Child Development Facility Insurance Fund.

Meanwhile, a National Center for Child Development would foster "research." A Child Development Research Council would smile upon it all.

The bill would provide "free" care for all children of families earning not more than \$4,320 a year. Other children would pay a small fee. Congressman Brademas could not really say what the program might cost—maybe \$350 million in fiscal '73—but the House authorization is open-ended.

The bill contemplates, ultimately, federal support of "the entire range of services that have to do with the development of a child."

Doubtless the contrivers of this nightmare had good intentions. In the context of a Sovietized society, in which children are regarded as wards of the state and raised in state-controlled communes, the scheme would make beautiful sense.

But it is monstrous to concoct any such plan for a society that still cherishes the values (however they may be abused) of home, family, church and parental control.

This bill contains the seeds for destruction of Middle America; and if Richard Nixon signs it, he will have forfeited his last frail claim on Middle America's support.

An indication of how the bureaucrats are sidestepping the issues in this controversial bill is best illustrated by the letter which HEW is sending to those parents who have written the President in opposition to child development. Here is a copy of the letter which is being sent out:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
Washington, D.C., November 9, 1971.

DEAR MISS: The President has asked this Office to respond to your recent correspondence concerning child development legislation now being considered by the Congress.

The President has on many occasions stated that strengthening families must be a national priority, and I assure you that any steps to reduce the central role of the family in rearing children would not have the support of this Administration. We seek legislation which helps families, especially families in need, to raise their children as they wish.

Both the bills to which you refer, S. 2007 and HR 10351, are entirely voluntary and specifically provide that nothing in them "shall be construed or applied in such a manner as to infringe upon or usurp the moral and legal rights and responsibilities of parents or guardians with respect to the moral, mental, emotional, or physical development of their children."

While there is room for disagreement about various other aspects of these bills, there is no disagreement about this provision.

Your concern about this issue is a healthy sign that our Nation cares deeply about our children. I am sure that you will find that we will uphold the high value that you place on family life.

Sincerely,

EDWARD ZIGLER,  
Director, Office of Child Development.

The language cited is, of course, the Buckley-Ashbrook amendment. Note that nothing of substance regarding the legislation is included in this HEW response. As stated before, our amendment does insure against coercion by the Government but this does not make the bill acceptable.

Mr. Speaker, there have been problems with the manner in which this provision came to be part of the OEO bill. The opportunity to read and study this proposal was cut short because of the manner in which it came to the floor for consideration. The hearings held were incomplete. Little public exposure has been given to this bill, other than a few misguided editorials whose authors mistakenly view this child development proposal as a day care center bill. Child development is not day care. The House approved day care in H.R. 1. This is something very different. The authors and supporters of the plan have made the differences quite clear, but few seem to be listening to them.

#### OPPOSITION IS BUILDING

I submit for the consideration of the Members a report from the Emergency Committee for Children, a group of academicians and religious leaders opposed to the proposed expansion of public power and bureaucratic control into the lives of this Nation's children and families.

The members of the Emergency Committee include some of the most respected names in American scholarship. A partial list includes: Dr. George Baird, president of the Educational Research Council of America; Dr. George Crane, a psychologist, columnist, and textbook author; Mr. M. Stanton Evans, columnist and editor of the Indianapolis News; Dr. David Crane of Indiana University School of Medicine; Robert Galm, the director of the Indiana Youth Council; Professor Jerzy Hauptmann, editor of Lutheran Scholar magazine; Dr. Will Herberg, graduate professor of religion and culture at Drew University; Dr. Russell Kirk, well-known author, educator, and lecturer; Mr. Fulton Lewis, radio commentator and author; Rev. Angus MacDonald, editor of Religion and Society; Dr. William H. Marra, philosophy professor at Fordham University; Dr. William Oliver Martin, philosophy professor at the University of Rhode Island, an authority on education in the Soviet Union; Dr. Charles Moser, of the George Washington University; Dr. Gerhart Nieheimer, professor of politics at University of Notre Dame and author of "Between Paradise and Nothingness"; Dr. Charles Rice, professor of law at University of Notre Dame and author of "The Vanishing Right to Live"; Dr. George C. Roche III, the president of Hillsdale College in Michigan; Mr. H. Lyman Stebbins, president of Catholics United for the Faith; and Dr. Ben Wood, director of collegiate research at Columbia University.

Mr. Speaker, I submit the whole report of this distinguished group in the interest of legislative and public awareness, because it seems to me that there is a basic misunderstanding as to what is the purpose of this provision to establish a so-called child development program.

The report follows:

A REVIEW AND REPORT OF THE PROPOSED  
FEDERAL PROGRAM OF "CHILD DEVELOPMENT"  
THE BILL S. 2007 AND H.R. 6748

This bill provides for the establishment of "Child Development Programs" (comprehensive childrearing centers), "Child Development Councils" (to govern the programs), and a "Model Federal Government Child Development Program" (to try out the idea on the children of civilian government employees). It also provides guidelines and money for "National Child Advocacy Projects" (to draw attention to the needs of children), "Neighborhood Offices of Child Advocacy", and "Neighborhood Councils on Child Development". A permanent HEW Office of Child Development would also be established.

The bill would see, in a few years, that the Federal government will have assumed a major role in the mental, physical, and social examination, diagnosis, identification, and treatment for every child under 15 years of age in the nation. As a matter of the child's right shall the government exert this control over the family, because, as one proponent of the bill has said, "We have recognized that the child is a care of the State." It would seem that the supporters of this legislation are interested in a Federally-cared for and governmentally-nurtured child.

"CHILD DEVELOPMENT" ADVOCATES

"Recognizing that communal forms of upbringing have an unquestionable superiority over all others, we are faced with the task in the immediate years ahead of expanding the network of such institutions at such a pace that within fifteen to twenty years they are available—from cradle to graduation—to the entire population of the country."

Dr. Uri Bronfenbrenner, a leader at the White House Conference on Children, quotes such statements in his book *Two Worlds of Childhood: U.S. and U.S.S.R.*, one of the popular authorities cited in defense of the child development proposals presently in Joint Conference and shortly to go before the President for approval or veto. The public relations of this bill presented it as strictly a beneficent day care program, to facilitate the employment of poverty-level mothers. The provisions of the bill are somewhat more wide. And the supporters of the legislation indicate their support in such ways as to cause trepidation regarding the eventual course of some of their provisions.

Statements like one by Siv Thorsell, a Swedish child development expert: "It is unreasonable to demand that the parents should meet all the child's needs, still less that the mother should accept responsibility for the child's upbringing to the extent she does now" reflect a lack of proper respect for certain fundamental institutions of society. Dr. Reginald Lourie, President of the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, is openly opposed to the family: "there is serious thinking," he says, "that maybe we can't trust the family . . . to prepare young children for this new kind of world which is emerging."

The child development bill is obviously more than another anti-poverty measure; it is blatantly a social experiment scheme to change the nature of American society by undermining the basic unit of that society: the family. It falls well beyond the range of necessary and proper legislation into the discolored realms of orwellianism and mind-control. It is more than a violation of the rights of citizens: it is an assault on the already weakened fortifications of Western civilization.

CONGRESSIONAL FINDINGS

In examining the legislation, the intent of its framers and supporters must be carefully scrutinized. We find the first section (501) of the Senate bill (S. 2007) particularly revealing in this regard. This section purports to reveal "Congressional findings," namely:

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That "millions of children . . . are suffering unnecessary harm from the lack of adequate child development services."

But there is no evidence that anywhere near such numbers of children suffer such harm. Since the beginnings of the Republic there have been laws governing mistreatment of children. Some children may, indeed, suffer deprivation or cruelty—but they do not suffer the lack of government services. And what are "child development services" anyway? "Comprehensive physical and mental health, social and cognitive development services necessary . . . to profit fully from . . . educational opportunities," says the bill elsewhere [§ 512(2)(A)]. That provides little clarification. What is meant by "mental health services"? Mandatory examination and treatment? Experimental therapy? The bill does not indicate.

That "comprehensive child development programs . . . should be available as a matter of right to all children."

The language of the legislation as it passed the House established in law that children have a "right" which they formerly did not possess. The nature of that right/rights is not explained other than by implication, e.g., the various programs and projects created by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and institutionalized through the HEW Office of Child Development will be available to children as a matter of "right."

Let us presume for a moment that a parent is against a program or unwilling to permit his child to be incorporated into it. The result will be that the parent was/is depriving the child of "rights" established by law, and could be potentially confronted by some remedial action to "restore" to that child his "rights" under the child development act. One could envision the future in which a "child advocate", in an attempt to restore a child's "rights", could obligate the parent to appear before some board or court for purposes of reviewing his qualifications for parenthood.

Even if such a formal mechanism is not established, the child development act, by its nature, when operational, would establish a de facto situation in which those operating the program could cause significant turmoil between the program and the parent, and between the parent and the child.

That "it is essential that such programs be undertaken as a partnership of parents, community, and State and local government, with appropriate assistance from the Federal Government."

But it is not at all "essential" that every level of government become involved in the training of the children of private citizens. History invariably shows that "partnerships" with the government soon become greatly imbalanced. The Child Advocacy section of this bill might be a classic example of that "partnership". Child Advocacy Officers, positions established by this bill to find and satisfy otherwise undiscovered needs of children, will seek to defend the child's right against his parents' ignorance or reluctance to submit him to federal assistance. Professionally-trained, overzealous staffers will be no match for simple parents whose instincts are right, but who are not educated or prepared to argue with program operatives. A de facto situation of coercion will be created.

That "it is the purpose . . . to provide every child with a fair and full opportunity to reach his full potential".

It is good for children to have opportunities for self-improvement; in America today such opportunities exist in multitude, probably more so than anywhere else in the world. The nation's children, from A. Lincoln on, have certainly reached great potential, and have done so without "child development services". The fact of the matter is that such extensive governmental intervention will probably accomplish precisely the opposite of the stated in-

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tent. Large institutions, as opposed to parental initiative, tend to stifle the child's imagination and expressiveness. Government intervention can make the deeply personal experience of growth and education a massive bore, and forget that it is trying to provide opportunities as it becomes preoccupied with standardizing results.

And "to establish the legislative framework of the future expansion of such programs to universally available child development services."

What is perhaps most alarming is the provision for these programs to be universal. Such a provision discloses that the framers implicitly contend that, whatever maladies may exist among the nation's children, they are not limited to the economically deprived. The premise is that practically every child is deprived in some way. But every child in America does not suffer otherwise irremediable wrongs; in fact, most children are well cared for and well provided for by their parents, with adequate amounts of love and generally sufficient amounts of discipline. The demand for universal application of any program to all American children leaves far too much room for irresponsible social experimentation with the nation's youth by excessively idealistic or ideologized executors.

LIMITED HEARINGS

The fallacious contentions and erroneous conceptions of this bill should have been revealed and publicized in the Committee hearings. But the investigative function of the Committee hearings was largely ignored with this bill. The House Committee on Education and Labor, Subcommittee on Education, held a total of three hearings on the bill, with only five main witnesses. Two of them, Congresswomen Chisholm and Abzug, aired some rhetoric on the sufferings of women in need of day care. Two Governors and one former Governor also testified, but their discussion focused almost exclusively on technicalities of administration. Many times before, Federal administration of Federal programs on local levels has created duplication of these efforts with State efforts, squandering considerable money in the process. Governor Moore of West Virginia cautioned in his testimony that ". . . the proposed system . . . would spawn so cumbersome and conflicting a bureaucracy that the needs of children—and of quality services for children—would be overshadowed by political and bureaucratic concerns."

RIGHT TO NOT PARTICIPATE

That the proposed legislation would spawn anything more than an inefficient bureaucracy was not considered in the Hearings. Discussion of the substance of the bill was carefully avoided. With one exception, the written testimony submitted to the Committee was invited and devoted itself to praising the legislation. The one exception was C. Ross Cunningham, of the Christian Science Committee on Publication, who stated that "specific language in the statute itself is necessary to protect those with religious scruples from over-zealous workers at the local level." A clause to exempt children from treatment on grounds of religious objection was later added to S. 2007, perhaps in direct response to this testimony. Testimonies from other religious leaders were evidently not solicited.

Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the limiting provision to permit religious objections might be unconstitutional as a denial of equal protection of the law. Regardless, the provision acknowledging the right of the parent to be free of meddlesome bureaucrats is far too narrow. The right to rear the child rests exclusively with the parent, and the law in the interests of family structure ought to reflect that relationship. While in the minds of many, religion may be the foundation of the parental right, it should be expressed in the law that as a matter of right the parent is not required to either participate in any "child development" program or even explain his reason.

## PARENTAL RELATIONSHIP

Included in the report of the hearings was a recent report of the Education Commission of the States, Task Force on Early Childhood Education. This report supported the adoption of more extensive child development programs, but in one respect it differs significantly from Federal concepts. The first priority of the States regarding child development services was "strengthening of the role of the family as the first and most fundamental influence on child development."

To the Emergency Committee for Children this seems an entirely proper emphasis to maintain. The Bill adopted by the House, like that by the Senate, mentions scarcely anything to indicate respect for this basic institution. The Education Commission of the States was not preoccupied with promoting the "emotional and social adjustment" of children, as seems to be the case with legislative proposals from the Congress.

The potential of this piece of legislation is clearly and definitely the revolutionizing of the traditional family structure in America. The parental role in children's upbringing will be deemphasized and the role of government greatly expanded. As government assumes parents' responsibilities, parents' rights over their children will tend to be sacrificed, *de facto* or *de jure*. Such a development, in our opinion, is contrary to the best interests of our society and not in concert with the Western tradition. It is disastrous and tragic. The family is the cornerstone of emotional stability and strength, the first educator and strongest influence toward decent human natures and relationships. To replace the rich, loving family with depersonalized bureaucracy would be to destroy the most valuable social institution in America, and to weaken immeasurably the strength of the American nation.

## COMMUNALITY FOR CHILDREN

Central to the arguments of certain advocates and sponsors of the child development bill is an implicit direction toward a total revamping of American society, beginning with the popularization of one or another form of collective child-rearing. Occasionally this direction becomes explicit, as in the writings of Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner. Bronfenbrenner's contention is that Soviet society is worth more than American society because the concern of one generation for the next is so much greater there. This concern is exemplified for him in the "children's collectives", where infants from three months of age are brought for communal upbringing.

The most lauded advantage of communalism is the facilitation of discipline. The greatest virtues of a Soviet child are obedience and self-discipline, both developed through skillful fostering of the earnest desire to conform to the group, which, in turn, accepts its values from adults or other authoritative figures, eventually the State. Conformity, thus, is the paramount virtue in collectivized children, and, of course, in collectivized adults.

Yet the Soviet Union seems more than satisfied with its crop of programmed citizens. Plans for the future are burgeoning to make a child's life a series of transitions from nursery to day and night kindergarten, to boarding school, to independent life, in the hopes that, in time, the family "will dissolve within the context of the future social commune."

Dr. Bronfenbrenner is, of course, entitled to his views. But what he advocates is, fortunately, so alien to our culture that any attempt to impose the Soviet system here would be doomed to disastrous failure. However, the proposals of this bill definitely encourage the attitudes necessary for such a system to ever be adopted. This country does not want Soviet childrearing. Conformity has never been regarded as a supreme virtue by the American people; in fact, individuality

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from diversity within and among families is much sounder and more reflective of American institutions. Parents love their children and are dedicated to their welfare. Privacy and personal intimacy are the keynotes of American family life. Congress may write lists of contrived complaints about American childrearing, but such complaints will not reconcile the American public or the traditions of American life to surrendering children to government agents.

## CONCLUSION

We of the Emergency Committee for Children are grateful for the individualistic streak in the American personality, believing that it is the greatest possible protection against the utopian schemes of misguided collectivists. We of the Committee, whose backgrounds are in the Academy and religious life, are united in our concern and opposition to what we see as a significant threat to Western civilization and American society as we presently know it.

## NEED FOR MID-DECADE CENSUS

## HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, my colleague from California, the Honorable CHARLES H. WILSON, who is chairman of the Subcommittee on Census and Statistics of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, on which I serve as ranking Republican member, recently addressed the Federal Statistics Users' Conference on the urgent need for a mid-decade census. I felt that these remarks, which were made before the group at the Madison Hotel in Washington, D.C., on November 16, were both interesting and provocative and should be submitted to our fellow Members for their consideration:

## THE URGENT NEED FOR A MID-DECADE CENSUS

I was most gratified to be invited to speak to this distinguished group of statisticians and most pleased to be able to participate in this Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Federal Statistics Users' Conference. It is usually quite difficult for us in Congress to accept many speaking engagements as our work schedules and commitments are dictated by ever-changing and last minute developments. However, inasmuch as your Executive Director, John Aiken, has so willingly and expertly responded to the requests of my Subcommittee on Census and Statistics, I felt obligated to reciprocate. John had more or less expected me to discuss a topic of great interest and concern to me and my Subcommittee—the enactment of mid-decade census legislation.

I shall talk about the urgent need for such a census series, but let me digress a moment to insert a few observations on the current statistical scene from our vantage point in the Congress, before giving you my feelings on the subject of a mid-decade census. Whereas we are generally pleased with the steady improvement in the technical aspects of planning and compilation of statistical data, we are at the same time taken off balance by various rumblings within the Federal Statistical System, and about which you have been reading in the newspapers.

Without going into detail, I shall only give a brief outline of a few of the items which the Members of my Subcommittee are pressing me for attention, review and action.

1. Reorganization of Federal Statistical Activities.

2. Use of the Census Bureau's undertaking of a "Public Opinion Type Poll" on the Wage/Price Freeze.

3. Recent elimination of professional statisticians in the analysis of the data released by the Office of Employment and Manpower Statistics, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

4. Discontinuance of the press conference by professional BLS statisticians on the employment-unemployment situation in the country.

5. Utilization, staffing, and cost of ever-increasing data processing systems.

In particular, I should relate my concern over the use of the resources of the Census Bureau in undertaking a "public opinion type poll" for presumably measuring the attitudes of the general public on the Administration's recently imposed Wage/Price Freeze. As some of you may know, I issued a press release on this subject. In that press release I indicated my deep concern—without exaggeration my fear, that the statistical program of the Federal government was being purposely manipulated to conform to the policies of the incumbent Administration.

No sooner had I sent out my statement objecting to the Administration's statistical game plan, then I found out that a censor had been installed at the Census Bureau to manage the release of statistical data to the public. A Mr. James Berger was stationed at the Bureau to alter statistical reports so they conform to the Administration's policies. This alone would justify a Congressional inquiry, however, Mr. Berger is not the first Administration stalwart to be appointed to a job at the Census Bureau. Since the present Administration has come to power, there have been no less than three other political partisans appointed to high level jobs at the Census Bureau. This procedure seriously jeopardizes a long tradition of professional career development within the Bureau of the Census.

In reaction to these events, I dispatched letters to the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Treasury demanding the rationale and explanation for authorizing the Census Bureau as the collecting and compiling agency for a public opinion poll. The responses I have received have been totally unsatisfactory and consequently my Subcommittee is reassessing our previous Congressional commitments to the possible scheduling of investigative hearings on this matter plus other topics to which I have just referred. In the meantime, I have directed my Subcommittee staff to carry out a thorough investigation of the statistical activities of our government with specific reference to recent events.

I realize that I am discussing this matter with perceptive and sophisticated people and I would not for a minute attempt to persuade you that as an elected official I am not political in nature. However, in my opinion, the collecting and reporting of statistical data by the Federal Government has been and should continue to be independent of partisan politics. Frankly, I am pledged to the continuance of that tradition.

Before I proceed to the main thrust of my speech, I would extend an invitation to any of you in the audience that may wish to offer some assistance or information on these aforementioned topics to please feel free to get in touch with my Subcommittee staff.

As the United States experiences rapid and volatile growth in terms of population and internal mobility, many census users correctly conclude that a census every decade is simply not adequate. Indeed, five year censuses have been authorized and are being undertaken in the fields of agriculture, manufactures, wholesale and retail trade, services, construction, transportation, and governments. It is an unfortunate anomaly that censuses of population and housing remain on a ten year basis.

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In recent years numerous Congressmen and representatives of many public and private groups have expressed support for a mid-decade population census. During the 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, and 92nd Congresses, legislation designed to authorize such a census has been introduced.

It should be noted that in 1967, Representative Bill Green, then Chairman of the Subcommittee on Census and Statistics, introduced H.R. 7659 proposing a mid-decade census of population. His bill was approved by the House by an overwhelming vote of 255 to 127, but unfortunately died in the Senate for reasons not associated with the merits of the legislation.

In May and June of 1971, hearings were held before my Subcommittee on Census and Statistics to consider the various proposals for a mid-decade census. With a degree of unanimity seldom encountered in Congressional hearings, witnesses stressed the importance of mid-decade census figures for many types of decision making.

Almost universally they pointed out that the forces of economic and social change experienced by the nation since the end of World War II and especially over the past decade have made a national census conducted every 10 years grossly inadequate to meet the immediate and future needs of business, labor, research and planning organizations and government at all levels.

More specifically, the rapid increase in Federal programs allocating block grants and categorical aid to States, localities, and various segments of our Nation's populations, signals a specific need for a mid-decade census.

For example, Governor Rockefeller in a letter to President Nixon pointed out that the Family Assistance Act and the Revenue Sharing Plan proposed by the Administration will be predicated on various census data. Rockefeller went on to say that billions of dollars would be distributed in the proposed special revenue sharing programs for manpower training, urban and rural development, education, and transportation. Any major population shift during the interval of decennial census would result in an unfavorable impact upon a rapidly growing area while unfairly rewarding areas of diminishing populations. Such misallocation of resources results in reduced dollar effectiveness as well as the inequitable distribution of funds.

The Decennial Census taken in 1970 will cost approximately \$220 million. The cost of a mid-decade census will vary according to the scope and methods used in conducting the census. The figure has been approximated at \$150 million in 1970 dollars. A little over a year and a half ago, some ten billion dollars per year were being distributed on a basis of some use of population as a criterion. Relying on outdated statistics from the decennial census in the latter years of the decade costs our government probably considerably more than \$150 million.

State and local governments have greatly increased their role in the area of social and economic reform. The distribution of Federal-State-local taxes, and improvement in the tax structures of the respective governments themselves, require detailed information on income distribution, occupation and employment patterns, distribution of property values, and the like.

The plight of the cities has brought directly to the attention of Congress for relief, and hopefully for solution. Mayors, City Managers, and Administrators are searching for new sources of revenue to meet the continuing and increasing service demands. The National League of Cities and the Conference of Mayors are on record strongly supporting the need for mid-decade census data.

Furthermore, we should not overlook the

business sector of the economy in the consideration of a quinquennial population census. Due to the rapid growth and diversification of business in the economy, more and more firms are finding it increasingly important to have more up-to-date information on the characteristics of our population on a local and national scale. A properly constructed mid-decade census would be of immense value to most business firms today.

It should also be noted that in the area of quinquennial censuses of population the United States has fallen behind other countries in which neither the need for the data nor the ability to pay for them would appear to exceed our own.

Our Subcommittee has traveled to Europe, the Far East and Australia and was met with consistent and overwhelming support for quinquennial censuses. Canada, Japan, Australia and Great Britain are pertinent examples. Canada conducted its first mid-decade census in 1956, and found that one of the chief values of such a census was that it provided information for small areas which cannot be obtained from inter-censal estimates.

This is not to say that support for a mid-decade census is lacking in the United States. In fact, support in this area has increased steadily. Through the years, all levels of the Federal Government as well as State and local governments have given their support along with a wide range of business, labor, and other segments of our society.

Unfortunately, the position of the present Administration is not so positive. On June 10, 1971, in a hearing of our Subcommittee on Census and Statistics, Dr. George H. Brown, Director of the Bureau of the Census, reported that the Administration "does not recommend a mid-decade census."

Dr. Brown stated that the Administration planned to launch a study to determine the feasibility of using administrative records (such as Internal Revenue Service, Social Security, immigration and birth-death data) as a substitute for mid-decade census information.

The Social Security Administration and the Internal Revenue Service do compile pertinent statistics; however, these data do not include the entire population, nor do they provide information by geographic area small enough to identify neighborhood needs.

Since 1960, Congress has enacted some twenty-three laws which require population information for their proper administration and distribution of funds. Equitable distribution of funds under many of these programs, especially housing programs, requires current information on the population of small areas.

Data collected through agencies other than the Census Bureau have further limitations. Regrettably, much of this information is not compatible due to the difference in time and/or procedures in which it is collected and processed. Various characteristics in the census can be related to common geographic areas whereas data from diverse sources present problems.

It was with true regret and surprise that we learned of the Administration's position, especially considering the widespread recommendations and support for the quinquennial census. We had thought from earlier statements made by Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans, Assistant Secretary of Commerce Harold Passer, and Dr. George H. Brown that the Administration supported the establishment of a mid-decade census. Yet, such a setback has not succeeded in dampening the spirit of myself and those others working for a mid-decade census series.

Perhaps at this juncture, I should put in focus several other developments attesting to the germaneness of our position. The Decennial Census Review Committee appointed

by Secretary Stans, and of which I was a member, submitted its report in July 1971. Included among its findings was a strong recommendation for a mid-decade census designed to collect basic population data on a complete enumeration basis.

My own Subcommittee staff conducted a survey of Federal, State and local government officials, planners, statisticians and others who had communicated their feelings about a mid-decade census to our Subcommittee. The results of the survey showed continued overwhelming support for a mid-decade census.

At the time of our hearings early this year, I asked your executive director, John Aiken, to poll the members of the FSUC to determine their views on mid-decade census legislation. In reviewing Mr. Aiken's report, I note that he considers this survey to be the most definitive one ever conducted by the FSUC, and that the rate of response was the highest of any survey taken by this organization. It contains pertinent data of great value to the census planners, and not too surprisingly the results conclusively show an extremely high percentage of respondents favoring a mid-decade census.

Furthermore, the survey fairly well confirmed the judgment of the Subcommittee on Census and Statistics that a scaled down census taken on a complete enumeration basis would be most appropriate and applicable at this point in our history. As another major note of interest, which was highlighted by Mr. Aiken, the FSUC Survey provided strong evidence of the great need for small area data.

I can assure you that we will give full consideration to this apparent demand for such information. The survey was a monumental achievement by the FSUC and we in the Congress wish to commend Mr. Aiken for his splendid effort in effecting this in-depth study.

And finally, I requested the General Accounting Office to conduct a practical and detailed study comparing the use of administrative records versus the establishment of a mid-decade census.

I had expected to release a summation of their report or at least their recommendations to this distinguished group of experts at this annual meeting, but unfortunately, the staff assigned to this task has found this study to be more involved than originally anticipated. Whereas the basic research work has been completed and the findings have been reported, the analysis phase by the policy officials is still in process.

Consequently, we will have to look for a later occasion to announce the GAO conclusions concerning the desirability of the use of administrative records versus the undertaking of a mid-decade census taken on a complete enumeration basis.

As of this date, I still have rather strong convictions to introduce appropriate legislation for the collection and compilation of population data every five years. If the GAO report contains a positive recommendation for a mid-decade census to be taken in 1975 on a complete enumeration basis, then you can be assured that this will play a decisive role in influencing the resultant actions of my subcommittee. If the GAO report should as a first priority present a recommendation other than the above, then we will have to make a reassessment.

In any event, I plan to introduce responsible legislation on this general subject at the earliest possible opportunity next session. This timing will hopefully permit passage of a bill into law before the summer recess. With this schedule there should be sufficient time to allow the Bureau of the Census to plan, prepare and initiate in 1975 a program to produce population data that will meet small area data needs generally.

In conclusion, I wish to re-emphasize my strong and unbending support for such additional Federal census and statistical activities as needed to meet the critical demands of the American people.

#### UNITED NATIONS' DEFICIT

#### HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 15, 1971

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, no organization can operate very long if its members refuse to pay their dues and to provide the funds necessary to carry out the decisions which they themselves have made.

This has been painfully true with respect to the United Nations—the one major international organization which has been operating in the red for a number of years.

According to information which was supplied to me the other day, the arrears of the members of the United Nations are currently estimated at \$186.9 million.

Seven years ago, a former colleague of ours, Congresswoman Edna F. Kelly, of New York, called attention to this problem and introduced a resolution on the subject.

Standing in the well of the House of Representatives, Congresswoman Kelly reminded all of us that nearly 200 years ago, our forefathers in the United States fought the war of independence to uphold the principle that there shall be "no taxation without representation."

She urged that the corollary of that principle—that there be "no representation without taxation"—be applied to the United Nations, and that the penalty of article 19 of the U.N. Charter—denial of vote in the U.N. General Assembly—be enforced against those members who were more than 2 years in arrears in paying their dues to that organization.

Seven years ago, the House of Representatives by a unanimous vote, and then the Senate, upheld the position advanced by Edna F. Kelly.

Unfortunately, the majority of the membership of the United Nations refused to follow the road of fiscal responsibility and have refused to apply the sanctions of article 19 to the delinquent members.

As a result, the United Nations is in worse financial straits today than it was 7 years ago.

As of January 1 of this year, the United Nations owed nearly \$70 million to others.

If the arrears of \$186.9 million were paid, the United Nations would be solvent and able to move forward in carrying out its responsibilities.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the principle enunciated in 1964 by our distinguished former colleague, Edna F. Kelly, is more valid today than it was then. The countries which refuse to pay their dues should not be allowed to vote in the U.N.'s General Assembly.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

In light of the present situation, those who refuse to live up to their agreements under the charter, should be expelled.

#### CANADA'S POSITION ON THE ALASKA PIPELINE ISSUE

#### HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, last week I introduced a joint resolution in the House that would first, delay Federal approval of any permits for the development of Alaska's North Slope oil until at least January 1, 1973 and second, require the Interior Department to undertake an independent and thorough study of a Canadian oil pipeline route as an alternative to the proposed trans-Alaska pipeline. The resolution will be reintroduced with cosponsors after the Thanksgiving recess.

There are both excellent economic and environmental reasons for supporting a Canadian pipeline over the Alaska line. But one important question that many of my colleagues have asked me recently is: Where does the Canadian Government stand on the Alaska pipeline issue in general and, in particular, on efforts to have a Canadian pipeline alternative fully studied before a decision is reached on the proposed trans-Alaska pipeline?

I would like to include in the RECORD today a speech by the Canadian Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, J. J. Greene, which very succinctly states the Canadian position on this issue. His speech makes it clear that the Canadian Government strongly favors our efforts to delay the decision on the Alaska pipeline until a Canadian pipeline route has been fully studied. Mr. Greene's speech follows:

#### NATIONAL RESOURCE GROWTH: BY PLAN OR BY CHANCE? OIL AND GAS PIPELINE DEVELOPMENT

One of the most critical resource developments proposed for the next few years in Canada is that of the construction of pipelines to carry discoveries of gas and oil in Alaska to U.S. continental markets. These proposals are critical in many ways. They raise, immediately, the problem of Canada's geographical situation as a "land bridge" between two parts of the U.S.A. on this continent, and they bring us in a visible and tangible way closer to a decision with respect to our role in the management of the North American land mass.

The day has gone in international affairs when each country can carry on, sovereign in its own territory and impervious to the impact of its actions on its neighbours. This is true of the U.S.A. in its relation to Canada and it is true of Canada's actions in relation to the U.S.A.

In terms of pipelines and the development of the Canadian petroleum industry, there are a few truths which should be noted: 1) the only economic way now known for the U.S.A. to transport its natural gas from Alaska to the continental U.S.A. is by pipeline across Canada. 2) substantial oil and gas potential in Canada lies in the areas in the Yukon and the western portion of the North-

west Territories. They are, however, remote from markets and remote from transportation, but they might become economically accessible and useful to Canada if major oil and gas trunk lines, based on economics of their own, could pass through this potentially resource-rich area of Canada.

Assuming that we can satisfy ourselves that the ecology of our northern environment can be protected, and that the economic impact of such a substantial development can be absorbed constructively, can we deny this vital service to our neighbour? At the same time, would our neighbour not recognize that there are vital services which can be rendered to Canada?

The Canadian Government is not opposed to the construction of oil and gas lines from Alaska through Canada to the continental U.S.A. and the Government of Canada has already acted in a broad way to define the national goals of such a development. On August 13, 1970 I announced some definitive guidelines to assist industry in their planning. These included:

(1) The ministers of Energy Mines and Resources and Indian Affairs and Northern Development will function as a point of contact between government and industry and prospective applicants will receive guidance and direction to those federal departments and agencies concerned with the particular aspects of northern pipelines.

(2) Initially, only one trunk oil pipeline and one trunk gas pipeline will be permitted to be constructed in the north within a "corridor" to be located and reserved following consultation with industry and other interested groups.

(3) Each of these lines will provide either "common" carrier service at published tariffs or a "contract" carrier service at a negotiated price of all oil and gas which may be tendered thereto.

(4) Pipelines in the north, like pipelines elsewhere which are within the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Canada, will be regulated in accordance with the National Energy Board Act, amended as may be appropriate.

(5) Means by which Canadians will have a substantial opportunity for participating in the financing, engineering, construction, ownership and management of northern pipelines will form an important element in Canadian Government consideration of proposals for such pipelines.

(6) The National Energy Board will ensure that any applicant for a certificate of public convenience and necessity must document the research conducted and submit a comprehensive report assessing the expected effects of the project upon the environment. Any certificate issued will be strictly conditioned in respect of preservation of the ecology and environment, prevention of pollution, prevention of thermal and other erosion, freedom of navigation, and the protection of the rights of northern residents, according to standards issued by the Governor General in Council on the advice of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

(7) Any applicant must undertake to provide specific programs leading to employment of residents of the north both during the construction phase and for the operation of the pipeline. For this purpose, the pipeline company will provide for the necessary training of local residents in coordination with various government programs, including on-the-job training projects. The provision of adequate housing and counselling services will also be a requirement.

In response, industry is carrying out research projects with ecological, technical and economic consideration which are commendable and which will allow an early assessment of these questions. The final policy decision for the creation of a gas pipe-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

line has not been taken, but we are prepared to address ourselves to the real problems as soon as industry is ready to present their proposals to us.

Personally, I think that the U.S.A. oil industry has been too hasty and too unplanned in its decision to move Alaska north slope oil across Alaska from Prudhoe Bay to Valdez and then by sea to receiving points in the U.S.A. northwest. Too hasty, because they did not give proper care and attention to the problems of the physical security of the oil line, the security of the environment in Alaska, the protection of the Alaska, British Columbia and Washington coastlines from sea-going tanker disasters, and to the question of the long-term economics of the operation of such a line and for policies which would lend themselves to the maximization of potential oil and gas supplies to the U.S.A.

There is no doubt in my mind that the U.S.A. Government will give the closest examination to the total merits of the alternatives available for the securing of supplies not only to the U.S.A. West Coast market, which is accessible to many supply sources but also to the fast growing and highly urgent problems of the U.S.A. Midwest. National strategies for the U.S.A. are every bit as important to them as our own strategies are to us.

To us it appears that an oil line from Alaska through Canadian territory would have the advantage of ruling out a vulnerable tanker link to markets and would provide more economic transportation of oil to the U.S.A. Midwest. A rough estimate indicates that oil through an all-Canadian line would be in the range of 30 cents a barrel cheaper, delivered at Chicago, than Alaska crude oil shipped by tanker to the West Coast and then by some pipeline from Seattle to Chicago.

I can see no merit whatsoever in the argument that the national security of the U.S.A. requires construction of a trans-Alaska oil pipeline and an ocean route. Canadian policies and Canadian undertakings are no less secure than those given by Americans within the U.S.A., and it will be a sad day for Canada-U.S.A. relations if the development of the Canadian economy, particularly the resource economy, is made to pay a subsidy because of an assertion about insecurity. One of the most important links in the natural gas supply of Ontario crosses the U.S.A. I refer to the Great Lakes pipeline which is 50 percent owned by Trans-Canada Pipelines. I think it has never occurred to us that this line across a "land bridge" in the U.S.A., linking two parts of Canada, is politically insecure.

I cannot believe that any serious concern could be expressed in the U.S.A. with the reliability of an agreement between our two countries under which Canada, for its part of the bargain, would undertake to ensure the uninterrupted flow of Alaska oil down a Canadian "land bridge" line equivalent in volume to any flow which could be put through the TAPS lines.

Failure of the U.S.A. to adequately consider the Canadian route for Alaskan oil could render a signal disservice to the growth of the western Canadian oil economy.

## FRED SCHWENGEL: LEADING FOE OF PRAYER AMENDMENT

HON. WILLIAM M. McCULLOCH  
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. McCULLOCH. Mr. Speaker, all Americans who love freedom owe a debt of gratitude to the gentleman from Iowa, FRED SCHWENGEL. He led the fight against

the so-called prayer amendment at a time when few others had as yet mustered the courage to do so. And FRED SCHWENGEL did so because he was convinced that the proposed amendment posed a threat to our religious freedom. I believe that his efforts were, in no small measure, responsible for the eventual defeat of the amendment.

A number of newspapers have recognized Representative SCHWENGEL's efforts in behalf of religious liberty in their editorials and commentaries. I join with the sentiments expressed in those publications which follow:

[From the New York Times, Nov. 9, 1971]

## LEADING FOE OF PRAYER AMENDMENT

(By Paul Delaney)

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8.—Representative Fred Schwengel, an Iowa Republican, would seem an unlikely leader of the forces in the House that wanted to reject a proposed constitutional amendment permitting prayer in public schools.

Mr. Schwengel is from a conservative, Bible-reading district where a majority of the residents favor prayer in the schools. He and Mrs. Schwengel attend Calvary Baptist Church here every Sunday, and he has served as a trustee, deacon and Sunday School superintendent and teacher at the First Baptist Church in Davenport, Iowa.

The Schwengels hold daily morning prayers at home and he attends the weekly Congressional prayer breakfast and the annual Presidential prayer breakfast.

"Some of my friends warned me against it, but I threw caution to the wind; I had to do it," Mr. Schwengel said today following the House vote against the amendment.

"I am deeply committed to religious freedom," he continued. "I feel so strongly because my mother and father were Baptist in Germany."

"I believe in the great bulwark of separation of church and state. I think we'd lower the quality of prayer if we let the state write it."

Representative Schwengel said he had gotten into the fight as soon as the discharge petition had enough signatures for a vote on the floor of the House.

"I started the ball to rolling immediately. I took the floor every day," he remarked. "Some good friends asked why I jeopardized my political future, and some people have said they would put billboards up all over my district against me, but I've fought billboards before."

The Congressman and friends and aides said they did not know what kind of political result his position would entail.

"Conceivably, his efforts could have an adverse political effect, but we don't know how serious," commented one aide. "But he fights for what he believes and he was never concerned with being hurt politically."

Mr. Schwengel said many residents of his district were against him at first, but he believed that through a process of education "they are for me now." A friend commented that when constituents listened to the Congressman's reasons for fighting the amendment, "their enthusiasm against him changed, if not their minds."

## TO LEFT OF CONSTITUENTS

Mr. Schwengel has always been somewhat of a maverick, and he is a little to the left of his constituency.

A Republican, he was swept out of office in the Lyndon B. Johnson landslide in 1964, only to be re-elected in 1966. Other than that two-year absence, he has been in the House since 1954. He serves on the Administration and Public Works Committees and the Joint Committee on the Library.

He is best known for his fight for home rule for the District of Columbia and against proposals that would allow the width of

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buses operating on the Federal Interstate highway system to be increased.

Mr. Schwengel is also noted for his switch from a hawk to a dove on the Vietnam war issue. He changed his mind after a visit to Southeast Asia in 1967, because, an aide reported, he found wide discrepancies in what was reported in Washington and "the reality of the situation."

[From the Des Moines Register, Nov. 10, 1971]

## COURAGE ON PRAYER

A major effort to get House approval for the school prayer amendment to the Constitution fell only 23 votes short Monday of the two-thirds majority needed. The closeness of the vote will encourage supporters of the amendment to try again.

Iowa Representatives Fred Schwengel, Wiley Mayne, John Culver and Neal Smith deserve commendation for withstanding the emotional arguments to "vote for prayer." Iowa's other House members, William Scherle, John Kyl and H. R. Gross voted for the amendment.

Schwengel merits special praise since he was one of the leading opponents of what was doubtlessly a popular proposal, though a misunderstood one. Schwengel helped make clear that the issue posed by the proposed amendment was erosion of the First Amendment, which guarantees religious freedom for every person while barring the government from interfering with religious matters.

It took courage to object to something as cherished as prayer. Schwengel found himself denounced as vehemently as were the Supreme Court justices who had kindled the controversy by ruling against obligatory school prayers and Bible reading.

After Monday's voting, Schwengel was threatened with political reprisal by supporters of the amendment, who promised to back efforts to unseat the Iowan next year. It is ironic that backers of a constitutional amendment meant to instill greater appreciation for religious influences should show a vindictive attitude after the vote.

[From the Davenport Times Democrat, Nov. 10, 1971]

## THE PRAYER AMENDMENT

The House of Representatives has turned back an attempt to tinker with the Constitution regarding the matter of prayers in public buildings.

In view of all the confusion that has erupted over the issue the action was well taken.

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." So reads the First Amendment.

In 1962 the Supreme Court ruled New York officials were violating this amendment by requiring a certain prayer to be used in public schools. A year later it handed down a similar decision in cases involving Bible readings and recitation of the Lord's Prayer in schools of Maryland and Pennsylvania.

In neither instance did the court deny the right to pray. It did not say a pupil could not pray before school, after it, or even during classes as long as he did it privately and did not interfere with others.

But many Americans got the idea that the right to pray somehow had been diminished. A constitutional amendment was proposed to the effect that "Nothing contained in this Constitution shall abridge the right of persons lawfully assembled, in any public building which is supported in whole or through the expenditure of public funds, to participate in nondenominational prayer."

Opponents, including major churches and religious organizations, eventually came to the conclusion that the very term "nondenominational" eroded the Bill of Rights by implying official sanction. Somebody in the schools would have to decide what qualifies

as a "non-denominational prayer," thereby replacing the free exercise of religion by fiat.

When the amendment came up for consideration Monday, the term "nondenominational" was changed to "voluntary prayer or meditation." Even so, the required number of the members of the House could not see any sense in tampering with the present guarantee relating to religious freedom. It would hardly be worth mobilizing the massive machinery needed to amend the Constitution—two thirds of the States and the Senate membership would still have had to concur to make a point already in the Constitution.

Rep. Fred Schwengel, R-Iowa, has been reaping praise for leading the fight against the proposed amendment but says he has been warned of retaliation by some of his constituents who believe it is "godless to oppose prayer."

We believe that those who make a calm re-appraisal of the arguments for and against the House action will realize that it could not be fairly called anti-religious.

Indeed, it may have scuttled a tempting precedent to toy with other provisions of the Bill of Rights freedoms which protect us from extremists of either the right or left.

[From the Muscatine (Iowa) Journal, Nov. 10, 1971]

THANKS, FRED

Don't believe it if Congressman Fred Schwengel is attacked in the 1972 election as being a "godless" person.

That label will perhaps be pinned on some of the U.S. Representatives who voted Monday to kill the controversial "school prayer" amendment which had been designed to overturn the Supreme Court's ban on organized prayers in public schools.

Congressman Schwengel, who represents this district of Iowa in the U.S. House of Representatives, was one of the national leaders in the fight against the so-called prayer amendment.

By taking the stand he did, Schwengel invited the wrath of an Ohio housewife, Mrs. Ben Ruhlin, organizer of the Prayer Campaign Committee, who threatened political reprisals against leading opponents of the amendment.

Schwengel said Monday, shortly before the debate in the House, that Mrs. Ruhlin "sent word to us that she would come into our districts and put up billboards all over the place opposing us in the next election."

Congressman Schwengel said the proposed amendment would have been a boobytrap for religious freedom. Voluntary prayer, non-denominational or not, is now permissible anywhere. Voluntary prayers have never been prohibited by the Supreme Court and are allowed in schools today.

Opponents of the Prayer Amendment—and that includes most of the major churches and religious organizations—said it would tamper unnecessarily with the Bill of Rights and that it would whittle down the existing protection of religion and breach the wall dividing church and state.

The wall separating church and state in America is built on the First Amendment. "Congress", that amendment states, "shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

In 1962 the Supreme Court held that New York school officials violated the First Amendment when they required a certain prayer be used daily in public school classrooms—even if the prayer was a non-denominational one and participation was voluntary. A year later the court ruled that Maryland and Pennsylvania school officials violated the First Amendment when they required schools to begin the day with Bible reading or recitation of the Lord's prayer. The court said the First Amendment commands the government to be strictly neutral, neither aiding nor opposing religion.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Congressman Wiley Mayne (R Sioux City) supported Schwengel's position by saying the proposed prayer amendment would "qualify and cloud" the protection of the First Amendment and "lead to governmental determination of which prayer was proper and which was not. This is the very danger which framers of the Bill of Rights warned against and labored to avoid."

Keep that in mind next year, during election time, when the cheap "godless" label may be tossed at Schwengel.

His actions were not against prayer. His purpose was to preserve religious freedom. For that, we should be thankful.

### NO DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION FOR RED CHINA

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, a proverb says: First the finger, then the hand, then the arm.

The response to my districtwide report to constituents has been extremely gratifying. This report, mailed to all residents of the 35th Congressional District, dealt solely with the administration's new policy toward Red China and the abandonment of our long-time ally, the Republic of China.

The report requested that my constituents inform me of their views on this matter, whether they agreed with my position or not. To date, 1,659 letters and telegrams have been received, with 1,247 of these replies—over two-thirds—supporting my position in opposition to the new China policy. In addition to this response, our office has received over 400 letters protesting the ouster of Nationalist China from the United Nations.

Clearly there is substantial feeling against embracing Peking at the expense of Nationalist China, at least in the great 35th Congressional District—the most populous in the Nation. As the ill effects of the administration's current course in Asia become ever more apparent and the myth of the "two China policy" is exploded by unfolding events, opposition will surely grow even more widespread—to a point.

That point comes when accumulated misfortunes make opposition look hopeless. This is the point when the myth of inevitability takes hold of the opposition, drives the prospect of possible success from their minds, and seals the fate of Free China with the death's wind of passive resignation. This point need not be reached, and it is imperative that we do all in our power to assure that it is not.

While continuing to oppose the President's journey to the court of Oriental despot Mao Tse-tung, we must also fight to prevent the fastening of the next link of the chain which is being bound around the Chinese people. We must oppose diplomatic recognition of Red China by the United States.

While the expulsion of Nationalist China from the United Nations was a defeat, diplomatic recognition of Red China by the United States would begin a rout. For Free China's ouster from the U.N. to be followed by its ouster from the

United States would be close to a fatal blow. And this is exactly what diplomatic recognition of Red China would mean.

Those same voices which told us that there was no reason why the two China policy at the United Nations could not succeed will be advising us that the United States can have diplomatic relations with both Nationalist and Red China. The same principle, however, applies for our Nation diplomatically, as applied at the U.N. There can be no two China policy.

The evidence is overwhelmingly clear. There are 58 nations which now have diplomatic relations with Nationalist China and 61 nations which have diplomatic relations with Red China. No nation has diplomatic relations with both. This is not just happenstance. Of the 15 nations which have established diplomatic relations with Red China since December 1969, eight severed their diplomatic ties with Free China, and the other seven had none to begin with.

When two governments both claim the entire territory of the other as their rightful domain, as Free and Red China do, diplomatic recognition of the claims of both would take foreign policy wizardry of the first order. As the outcome of the U.N. vote showed, we do not have wizards of this type.

### ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL SICKLE CELL INSTITUTE

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the importance of establishing a National Sickle Cell Institute.

I have introduced H.R. 8423, to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of a National Sickle Cell Anemia Institute, and I have cosponsored H.R. 10935, making a supplemental appropriation for the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for detection and treatment of, and research on, sickle cell anemia.

My district which is the Ninth Congressional District in Massachusetts lies within the city of Boston.

According to the U.S. Census 1970, as reported by the Research Bureau Boston Redevelopment Authority: In Boston, 104,483 of the 641,000 citizens are of black ancestry: this equals approximately 16.3 percent. The census of 1970 almost certainly underestimated the actual population of black citizens and there has been a definite increase in the number of blacks in Boston during the last year or so. It would be realistic to state that the population of blacks in Boston currently numbers between 110,000 and 120,000 which is approximately 20 percent of the population and live in the South End, North Dorchester, and Roxbury areas. A number of surveys have been conducted in the last 35 to 40 years as to the prevalence of sickle cell trait. The several surveys conducted of urban population give

a prevalence level as stated of sickle cell trait of 8.5 percent which means that Boston contains in its population approximately 9,000 individuals with sickle cell trait. Accordingly, the prevalence in Boston of sickle cell anemia must be about 180 individuals.

Today I would like to confirm my continuing support for a significant increase in Federal funds for an attack on sickle cell anemia. I introduced, in May of this year, H.R. 8423 in the belief that it was time to establish a priority effort to gain control of and eliminate this terrible disease of black America.

Sickle cell anemia was first identified more than 60 years ago. Research on a cure for this disease was initiated shortly thereafter but the first major breakthrough in demonstrating the molecular basis for the disease did not occur until 1949 when Dr. Linus Pauling, a well-known biochemist and Nobel prize winner, showed that the characteristic sickling of the red blood cell was due to an abnormal hemoglobin molecule. Just recently, and using Dr. Pauling's work as a basis for the investigation, a small step has been taken toward the evaluation of a new chemical treatment for patients in the acute stages of the disease. We need to exploit this progress which has been achieved if we are to avoid another half century of awaiting a cure.

This disease is unusual in its occurrence. Sickle cell anemia is limited primarily to black citizens of our country who have inherited the trait for the disease from each of their parents. The evidence suggests that the disease became established in the Negro population as a result of some poorly understood evolutionary processes associated with a resistance to malaria. In Africa, where this disease had its origin, the biochemical protective mechanism afforded blacks with the sickling trait a greater degree of resistance against the lethal effects of malaria than blacks without the trait. As a result this mutation of the hemoglobin molecule has survived.

Individuals who inherit the trait for the disease from each of their parents suffer terribly from the disease. The manifestations of the disease in small children is particularly pitiful to see and patients with the disease seldom live beyond the age of 40. One difficulty in combating the disease has been that the disease requires special testing for identification and diagnosis and this testing has not been readily available.

Federal support for investigation of sickle cell anemia is scattered throughout several institutes of the National Institutes of Health, including the National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases; the National Heart and Lung Institute; and the National Institute of General Medical Sciences; and the Health Services and Mental Health Administration. Although coordination of effort has been assigned to the National Heart and Lung Institute, the history of research on this disease indicates that it has never received any priority of attention.

In 1971, President Nixon announced that Federal funds to combat sickle cell disease would be increased to \$6 million. While this level of funding represents al-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

most a fourfold increase in effort, it is not nearly enough to take immediate advantage of the knowledge which is already available and to extend this knowledge to the black population. Clearly what is needed is some means of improving the lot of individuals affected with sickle cell anemia, hopefully by so modifying this aberration of hemoglobin that it does not cause symptoms, or at worse, causes very minor symptoms. This means research. As I have indicated, there have been a few promising signs for the treatment of the disease. Genetic counseling services and screening to identify the presence of the disease could be provided. These services should be provided to their fullest extent.

It is my opinion that one of the major obstacles to a successful confrontation of the problem of controlling this disease is the decentralization of effort which exists now. The attack on this disease requires a strong and centrally controlled administration of effort. The National Sickle Cell Anemia Institute which I am proposing would provide for this direction of effort, and I trust its main thrust would be the underwriting and support of extramural research grants.

There is some indication that the several voluntary organizations which have been trying to secure visibility for the disease and to educate people to its hazards will be coordinating their efforts through affiliation with a newly established National Sickle Cell Disease Research Foundation. Federal efforts in research, diagnosis, screening, genetics counseling, and treatment would profit immeasurably from a similar centralization of effort. The establishment of a National Sickle Cell Anemia Institute would demonstrate also that there is congressional concern with the fact that the disease has been neglected for too long and would assure the black citizens of our country of our intention to provide the continued support necessary to gain control of this disease.

### REPORT FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN—ED ESHLEMAN

#### HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have just recently sent my constituents a newsletter. I am including the contents of that newsletter in the RECORD at this point.

#### WASHINGTON SPOTLIGHT

(Report from your Congressman—  
Ed ESHLEMAN)

PEACE NOT WAR

Amidst political charges and counter-charges and the seemingly endless parade of domestic and international crises, it is sometimes difficult to see the really meaningful things which are happening around us. Where there are problems, there are also solutions. Where there is crisis, there is also stability enough to withstand the crisis and then to resolve it. But most important today, where there once was only the shadow of war across the world, there is a new direction toward peace and cooperation among na-

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tions. The policies of the major powers not only have become centered upon limiting arms and reducing military forces, but there is an evident desire to avoid world war or even regional war.

The effort to curtail military spending is growing in this country, and other countries are experiencing a similar trend. The reason seems to be a worldwide concern with domestic problems for which solutions are impossible without some cuts in the amounts spent on weapons. Domestic problems are in large part related to population growth, for as populations grow so do their demands upon their governments.

And, as governments find they must become more responsive to the needs of their own people, it seems to lead to an international spirit of cooperation in dealing with the huge and complex questions which face everyone. The results of this spirit are a more peaceful world. Consider the evidence. The Soviet Union has become less belligerent because she has recognized that her people are restless and that the restlessness can be cured only by better living standards and a stronger economy. Red China and the U.S. have agreed mutually to seek new relationship. Russia and the U.S. are engaged in talks which may lead to limitations of strategic arms and even to the abolition of nuclear weapons.

The war in Southeast Asia is being de-escalated and could be ended by next year. In Europe, there seems to be a willingness to discuss troop withdrawals on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The Middle East remains a tinderbox, but even there indications are that a peaceful settlement is a very real possibility. In Latin America, rebellion and unrest are not over, but neither do they appear to be the politics of the future.

Throughout the world the trend is towards peace and the methods of peace. And despite the bitter words of our critics to the contrary, the American people are very much a part of that new state of human affairs. It is our past and continued good will, faith and humanitarianism which are in large part responsible for a world moving off in a new direction. That direction is away from war and towards peace.

#### WINSTON WISDOM

Winston Churchill said it, but we certainly should keep it in mind: "No folly is more costly than the folly of intolerant idealism."

#### CUBA CRITIQUE

Some of our self-proclaimed revolutionaries have tried to portray Cuba as a land of freedom and opportunity. In some cases this theme also has been taken up by the news media. One of our more prominent Senators has said that we ought to consider extending recognition to the Castro government. What is often overlooked is the real character of Communist Cuba. For instance, Cuban children are taught the "advantages" of Communism and the "weakness" of religion in school. They are asked to pray to God for candy. After several days of unavailing prayer, they are asked to pray to Fidel for candy. These prayers are answered quickly—and the "lesson" has been learned. But those who learn "In Castro We Trust" must suffer some disillusionment when they see the outside world. While our news media made much of a recent victory over the U.S. by a Cuban basketball team at the Pan American games in Colombia, there was hardly a line about the fact that five members of the Cuban squad defected, cited political repression and asked for asylum in Colombia.

#### POLLUTION SOLUTIONS

A young man told me once that a college professor of his had summed up the environmental quality question this way: "The solution to pollution is dilution." And, when you think about it a little, it makes some sense. But the question facing Congress is how do we go about legislating the proper solutions, whether they be dilution or something else.

Our answer to the question last year in the case of air pollution was to get tough. The result has been that even though some industries claimed we were asking the impossible, the automobile industry in particular, they are now finding new technology to meet the standards we imposed. Therefore, my guess is that on the water pollution question this year, our answer again will be to get tough. And maybe the result will be creeks and rivers and lakes clean enough to be enjoyed by everyone.

#### POINT WELL TAKEN

A colleague of mine contributed this piece of wisdom to the storehouse of congressional knowledge the other day: "Tact is the knack of making a point without making an enemy."

#### SEASON OF THANKS

When our forefathers gathered for the first Thanksgiving more than three centuries ago, they felt it was important to offer thanks together for their new lives in a new home. Togetherness has remained very much a part of this holiday. It is a day when families gather to acknowledge their blessings. From my family to yours, a wish for good food and, most important, good fellowship as we all acknowledge our gratitude for the fullness of our lives, the security of our homes, the inspiration of our faith and the greatness of our Nation.

#### TOO EASY?

The Indianapolis Star suggests that one way an individual can avoid the horrors of prison life is to refrain from committing crime.

#### PRIVATE VERSUS PUBLIC

Private enterprise has come under attack from many directions in recent years. However, it still proves itself capable of doing a job more efficiently in many cases than publicly-owned and operated services. Take the trash collection situation in New York City as an example. There is a city trash collection agency and also a private firm. The private firm collects at a cost of \$17.50 per ton. The cost to the city-run agency is \$49 per ton. The private firm manages to keep 95 percent of its 980 trucks in service. The city keeps only about 65 percent of its 1,850 trucks on the streets. The private firm pays taxes. The "non-profit" city collection costs the taxpayers \$180 million annually.

#### ULTRAMODERN FAIRY TALE

Once upon a time in a far-away country, there lived a little girl called Red Riding Hood. One day her mother asked her to take a basket of fruit to her grandmother, who had been ill and lived in a cottage in the forest. It happened that a wolf was lurking in the bushes, overheard the conversation, went to the grandmother's house, killed her, dressed in her nightgown and jumped in bed to await the little girl. When Red arrived, he made several nasty suggestions and then tried to grab her. She ran screaming from the cottage.

A woodcutter working nearby heard her cries and rushed to her rescue. He killed the wolf with an axe, and Red Riding Hood's life was saved. All the townspeople hurried to the scene and hailed the woodcutter as a hero. However, at the inquest, several facts emerged. The wolf had not been advised of his rights. The woodcutter had not made any warning swings of his axe before striking the fatal blow. The defense stressed the point that, although the act of eating Grandma may have been in bad taste, the wolf was only "doing his thing" and thus should not be punished by death.

The SDS appeared on behalf of the defense and contended that the killing of Grandma should be considered self-defense since she was over 30 and therefore beyond the age of serious regard.

This evidence was convincing enough for it to be decided there was no basis for charges against the wolf. On the other hand, it was

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

felt that the woodcutter should be indicted for unaggravated assault with a deadly weapon. One year after the "Incident at Grandma's," her cottage was made a shrine for the wolf who bled and died there. All the village officials spoke, but Red Riding Hood gave the most touching tribute. She said that, while she had been selfishly grateful for the woodcutter's intervention, she now realized he had overreacted. As she knelt to place a wreath in honor of the brave wolf, there wasn't a dry eye in the forest.

#### BANNING BUSING

To bus or not to bus was the question before the House of Representatives early this month. In several lopsided votes, the House made it clear that it was opposed to Federal funds being used to bus school children to achieve racial balance. As this sentiment became obvious, the black Congresswoman from New York made the emotional but valid point that there was no such concern when black children were being bused past white schools to maintain segregation. But to recognize that segregation was wrong, and that the things used to maintain it like busing were wrong, should not be a reason for compounding those past wrongs. School buses should be used to make the trip to school shorter, not to lengthen the trip.

#### WE GET LETTERS

Mail is important to me. It's one of my principal ways of finding out how you feel about issues or hearing about personal problems you may be having with the Federal Government. I get letters from constituents on all kinds of things which they feel should have my attention. (See letter reprinted at right.) That correspondence gets my personal attention.

I dictate many of the replies myself, and my staff helps draft some of the others. My legislative aides, for example, research many of the questions people ask about particular bills. To those who wonder if their one letter expressing an opinion does any good, my answer is an underlined "yes." I'm listening and I hope you never hesitate to write.

#### SUMMER JOBS

Students who want to work for Uncle Sam next summer should begin making application for qualifying tests that will be given January 8, February 12, and March 11 at colleges and universities throughout the country.

Application for the January test date must be made by December 3. Young people who wait until spring to begin Federal job hunting are nearly always out of luck. Most regular jobs are filled from test rosters, but late-date tests are not as likely to be used for job selection. Parents of students away at school should advise them to see a job counselor at the school and make application for the qualifying tests.

## THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1971

### HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 16, 1971*

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives spent the first 4 days of November debating H.R. 4279, the Higher Education Act of 1971, concluding with a marathon session November 5 which lasted until nearly 3 a.m. the following day. Several important amendments were adopted which eliminated some of the worst features of the bill and

placed a highly significant new restriction on the power of the Federal courts to compel local schools to bus children for purposes of racial integration. But the bill as finally passed represents a large increase in Federal support for colleges and universities, despite the fact that in recent years many of these institutions have forfeited—all too often with good reason—the greater part of the high public confidence and respect they once enjoyed. Consequently, my vote was cast against it.

Specifically, H.R. 7248 would authorize more than \$1.3 billion in new spending during the remaining months of the current fiscal year, and a total of nearly \$5 billion in the next fiscal year and more than \$5 billion in the ensuing 3 fiscal years, for 16 different categories of Federal aid to higher education. The lion's share of the new money—\$955 million for the remainder of the current fiscal year and over \$1 billion for each of the next 4 fiscal years—would go as a general subsidy to all colleges and universities in the Nation, primarily in proportion to their student enrollment.

This new handout drops all pretense that the Federal Government, in engaging in aid to education, is financing only special projects and programs of particular concern to the country as a whole, or those requiring unusually heavy capital expenditures. Now every college and university is to get a direct Federal subsidy simply because it exists. This means an end to meaningful independence for the private colleges—including those which are church-affiliated—for everyone knows now that, especially in education, what the Federal Government subsidizes it increasingly controls. It also means a repudiation of the clearly expressed will of the people in those States, including California, where bond issues and new taxes for State institutions of higher education have been voted down in recent years because of the growing lack of public confidence in these institutions.

One may read through the many pages of argument by supporters of this bill and find scarcely any reference to the most obvious economy a college or university genuinely caught in a "cost-price squeeze" can make: an increase in the faculty teaching load—with a corresponding reduction in the number of high-salaried professors—from the absurdly low 9 hours a week now common, or the scandalous 6 now in effect at some universities, or even the barely reasonable 12 which is now the absolute maximum, to the 15 hours a week which most college professors used to teach as a matter of course. I have taught as many as 18 college hours a week, as many others have done without ill effect, though most do not like to be reminded of it.

Be that as it may, our present system of higher education has, especially in the last decade, rather spectacularly failed to prove itself deserving of more billions of dollars a year from the taxpayers at any level. Nor can it make a reasonable claim to deserve this kind of support unless and until it reforms itself—which means, above all, restoring academic learning as its reason for being and eliminating political agitation, especially by faculty members.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

While H.R. 7248 as a whole did not pertain to primary and secondary education, the issue of forced busing of school children for purposes of racial integration has become so critical that it was applied to this bill in a series of amendments emphatically reiterating the intent of Congress that such busing should not be required by the courts. The most important amendments prohibited lower Federal courts from requiring schools to bus until all appeals from pro-busing decisions had been heard, up to the U.S. Supreme Court. This represented the first action by Congress in modern times under the authority of article III, section 1 of the U.S. Constitution which gives Congress full power to regulate or eliminate the jurisdiction of the Federal courts in specific areas. This is the constitutional authority for the much more sweeping legislation I have introduced (H.R. 10614) to take away entirely the power of the Federal courts to rule on the issue of school busing for racial integration.

## JOHN S. KNIGHT BLASTS U.S. AIR WAR IN INDOCHINA

## HON. JOHN F. SEIBERLING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, among those few national figures who saw from the very outset the folly of our Government's course in Indochina, none has spoken with more force and eloquence than Mr. John S. Knight, president of Knight Newspapers. The latest of Mr. Knight's famous "Editor's Notebook" columns points out that, despite the President's winding down of U.S. involvement in the ground war in Indochina, the air war continues with scarcely unabated ferocity.

Mr. Knight points out that in South Vietnam alone, the United States has dropped four times as much tonnage as was dropped in the Korean war. That only 5 to 8 percent of the air sorties were flown in direct support of troops in battle, and that there have been over 1 million civilian casualties and 6 million have become refugees. He also points out that the air war has resulted in a massive onslaught on the ecology of Indochina. More than one-third of the forest area has been sprayed with defoliants and enough food destroyed by herbicides to feed 600,000 people for a year.

The massiveness of the destruction defies the imagination. All this against a country which has in no way threatened the security of America.

As Mr. Knight so aptly says:

It all adds up to a melange of misconceptions by muddle-headed U.S. leadership through the years.

The text of Mr. Knight's editorial follows:

[JOHN S. KNIGHT'S NOTEBOOK]

BUT WHAT ABOUT THAT OTHER WAR?

During this past week when World War I vets of my vintage observed the true Armistice Day on November 11, casualty lists in

the Vietnam War were reported as "the lowest in months."

"The low casualty levels," said the Associated Press, "reflected a general lull in battlefield action as well as the continuing withdrawal of American forces from combat."

A mere reading of the official casualty list, eight Americans killed in combat, 13 wounded and 33 dead from non-hostile causes, is evidence that we are indeed winding down the ground war as President Nixon proceeds with his "plan."

But what about that other war, the massive deployment of American air power and renewed emphasis on saturation bombing by B-52 Stratofortresses?

A recent report by Cornell University researchers shows that in Cambodia, American air operations have been conducted with sustained intensity since 1970. B-52 raids in Northern Laos, as reported by James McCartney of our Washington bureau at the time, were carried out for more than a year before official acknowledgment. "Protective reaction raids against North Vietnam," says the Cornell report, "strike a wider range of targets than their official description implies."

While the Cornell study concedes that "there has indeed been a significant withdrawal of American air power from Southeast Asia, more than enough planes remain to permit a continuation of the air war on a massive scale."

So it appears that contrary to reports and impressions, the air war in Indochina is not being wound down like the ground war. Cornell's conclusions are that the administration's policy of "withdrawal-without-political-compromise" leaves it still boxed in by the enemy's military initiatives; the only response available is massive retaliation from the air.

To review our past and present policies, what have been the costs and results of massive aerial firepower? The study, sponsored by the Center for International Studies at Cornell University, offers these statistics:

1—In 1971, as much bombing is being done in Indochina as was conducted in all theaters of World War II.

2—By the end of this year, the Nixon administration will have deployed in three years as much bomb tonnage as did the Johnson administration in five.

3—In South Vietnam alone, the U.S. has dropped 3.6 million tons of bombs, almost four times as much as we used in the Korean War. Only 5 to 8 pct. of the air sorties flown in South Vietnam were in direct support of troops in battle; the rest were for interdiction, harassment and retaliation in a country not being attacked from the air.

The result was widespread civil destruction among the population whose allegiance was and is being sought. It is estimated there have been over 1 million civilian casualties, including 325,000 deaths while 6 million people have become refugees.

4—Bombing in North Vietnam between 1965 and 1968 failed to yield significant results. Economic damage inflicted was about \$500 million, casualties reached 100,000 of which 80,000 were civilians. Yet CIA and Defense Department studies showed no measurable reduction in North Vietnam's "will or capacity for contributing to the war in the South."

After the bombing "halt" in 1968, the emphasis shifted first to below the 20th parallel, and then to Laos and the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

5—Despite administration denials, a U.S. major air effort has been carried out in Northern Laos to support the Royal Lao government. Cornell reports widespread devastation of Laotian society, but says despite these massive bombing efforts the Pathet Lao (Communist) now control more territory than ever before.

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6—The direct budgetary cost of the air war has been around \$25 billion, or about one-quarter the cost of the Indochina War.

7—The air war has resulted in a massive onslaught on the ecology of Indochina. More than one-third of the forest area of South Vietnam has been sprayed with defoliants, one-half of the country's mangrove forests killed off, and enough food destroyed by herbicides to feed 600,000 people for one year.

The Cornell study concedes that aerial bombing has undeniable military advantages in conventional warfare with massed troop concentrations. In guerrilla warfare, however, "the American capital-intensive response, substituting lavish firepower for manpower, is both inefficient and indiscriminate."

A conclusion is drawn that heavy civilian damage from the air helps to consolidate enemy morale and projects an unfavorable image of the United States. The study maintains that "it has yet to be shown that air power under Indochinese conditions can reduce the flow of men and materiel enough to curtail guerrilla activities."

While statistics are not in themselves all-inclusive or easy to digest, they do nevertheless provide powerful and convincing evidence of the folly of being drawn into wars which promise neither victory nor the achievement of elusive goals.

The cost of the Vietnam involvement in blood and treasure; the resulting disenchantment of the people at home; the deleterious impact of inflation upon a weakened economy; phony commitments (SEATO); the dubious morality of killing or maiming hundreds of thousands of civilians on both sides—all tot up to a melange of misconceptions by muddle-headed U.S. leadership through the years.

And that, esteemed readers, is precisely what I have been attempting to point out for the last 15 years.

## WATCH OUT FOR THE "SILVER DOLLAR" OFFERS

## HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, on November 3 I called to the attention of the Members, through the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the fact that the Federal Reserve Board had begun distributing to all of the commercial banks of the country the new issue of cupronickel \$1 coins authorized by Congress last year, containing the portrait of the late President Eisenhower on the obverse and, on the reverse, a design emblematic of the landing of the Eagle of Apollo 11 on the moon. I said then that they should soon be available to the general public without difficulty, "and also, of course, without any fees or side payments, for \$1 each."

I have been told that these coins are being offered for sale by coin dealers as something very special for \$1.75 each. Why anyone would pay a premium for one of these coins, I do not know—they are being minted in huge quantities and should be obtainable now or shortly at any bank.

They are not "silver" dollars—there is not a grain of silver in them. Congress authorized the minting of a limited quantity of the new \$1 coins to be

made of 40 percent silver, but these are being sold directly by the mint to individual purchasers as either uncirculated coins at \$3 each or as proof coins at \$10 each.

The mint has limited orders for each type to no more than five per person, and is just beginning to mail out sets to those whose orders were accepted up to October 8, when orders were cut off for the 1971 silver coins. Hence, it is hardly likely that any dealer would have any substantial number of the genuine silver Eisenhower dollar coins available to offer for sale at a premium.

However, the very recent availability of the nonsilver \$1 Eisenhower coins has led to a spate of advertisements for "silver" dollars. One of the leading manufacturers of men's jewelry items is marketing key chains which are attached to Eisenhower dollars, and one ad this morning for this item, at \$8.50 each, refers to the coin as "the new silver dollar." I presume it is a cupronickel dollar, however, worth exactly \$1; of course the key chain may be worth the other \$7.50.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, which has jurisdiction over coinage, I have sent word to the Federal Trade Commission today that advertisement of the cupronickel \$1 coins as "silver" dollars would be false and highly misleading, because, although the cupronickel coins are the same size as the old silver dollars, which contained 90 percent silver, and are identical except in metallic content to the 40-percent silver Eisenhower dollars being sold at premium prices by the mint, they are not "silver" dollars.

So watch out for the offers of "silver" dollars at premium prices, or as special rarities, because they are likely to be the common, run-of-the-mint cupronickel dollar coins available to anyone for \$1 each.

#### BATTLEFIELD THOUGHTS

#### HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ralph B. Doane of Salem, N.Y., has written a poem which I want to call to the attention of the Members of this House because of the circumstances under which it was written and because of the great sacrifices which Mr. Doane has made for his country.

His poem was written by Mr. Doane while aboard ship in the early morning hours just preceding the invasion of Europe during the Second World War. As a result of this invasion Mr. Doane was totally disabled with his spine fractured in four places. He was 18 years of age when this happened.

Mr. Doane has received international recognition for this poem and he has now submitted it to the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission for rec-

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ognition during our Nation's anniversary celebration.

##### BATTLEFIELD THOUGHTS

(By Ralph B. Doane)

The hand of death is over me,  
I see its palm stretched out,  
And know the thoughts that men have  
known,  
The things they fight about.  
A peaceful home with lawn so green,  
And trees to shade the sun,  
A squeaky swing when night draws near  
As children halt their fun.  
A garden plot where flowers grow  
To show their buds above,  
A hand is there to care for them;  
Men fight for things they love.  
A dusty farm with rows of grain  
And work that must be done.  
A sweating brow still high with hope  
That can compare with none.  
The cows to herd, the wheat to tie,  
The grain that must be sown,  
A heart is there to toil beside,  
Men fight for things they own.  
A chapel high upon a hill  
Where cares can all be told,  
A moment's peace from daily strife  
Away from tears and gold.  
A prayer about a distant friend,  
Or things that one should give,  
A minute then to talk to God;  
Men fight that men may live.  
Though death still stalks my every step  
I know my land is right,  
Although I am on battlefields  
I walk with God tonight.

#### NEED FOR ECONOMIC DATA ON SPANISH-SPEAKING AMERICANS

#### HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, for far too many years Spanish-speaking persons have been denied access to many of this country's institutions and have been excluded from the mainstream of American life. Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, and other Spanish-speaking Americans have not been afforded the opportunity to share the benefits of this country on the same basis as other citizens and we have frequently been prevented from fully and equally participating in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of this Nation.

However, the time is long past that we must endure the second-class status to which we have been relegated. The unique and special problems of Spanish-speaking Americans can no longer be ignored. Our government—Federal, State, and municipal—must come to grips with the problems of poverty, deprivation, poor education and housing, and disease with which we are confronted. Our governmental establishments must play a more active role in identifying the urgent and special needs of this country's approximately 15 million Spanish-speaking citizens.

If we are to receive our full and fair

share of Federal, State, and local aid, we must know exactly where we stand—especially in the area of unemployment. However, routinely collected data on Spanish-speaking Americans is generally nonexistent and we frequently do not receive the proportional share of assistance to which we are entitled because of these informational gaps and the lack of meaningful statistics and data.

In order to correct this situation I am today introducing legislation which provides that the Department of Labor and the Bureau of the Census should compile and publish national unemployment rates for Spanish-speaking Americans in the Bureau of Labor Statistics' monthly employment report. In addition, this resolution calls upon the Departments of Labor and Agriculture, in cooperation with the Census Bureau, to collect and publish statistical data which would furnish more useful indicators of the social and economic condition of Spanish-speaking persons in urban and rural America. The resolution further stipulates that the compilation of the unemployment rates for Spanish-speaking persons—which are appreciably higher than any other individual group—would begin no later than January 1972.

Companion legislation is being introduced in the Senate by the distinguished Senator from Minnesota, Mr. HUMPHREY. I commend him for his leadership and initiative in this important area.

The lack of meaningful statistics to determine the actual status of Spanish-speaking persons—such as data on the labor force, total employment and unemployment, hours and earnings—and to ascertain our specific needs in certain areas places us at a serious disadvantage. The supply of this type of social and economic information which this legislation calls for is essential if the Federal Government—as well as other governmental units—are to properly identify and resolve the difficulties encountered by the Spanish-speaking community. This measure is only a first step but an important one in achieving equality.

I believe the Humphrey-Badillo resolution provides for urgently needed information and I am hopeful the Congress will take prompt and favorable action on it.

#### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

#### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks: "How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,600 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

THE IMPENDING SHORTAGE OF  
NATURAL GAS

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I have read with great concern the recent accounts in the local newspapers that the shortage of natural gas, about which the Congress has been repeatedly warned over the past 2 years, has finally reached the Washington area. The local gas utility will no longer accept new customers for any than single residential establishments. Warnings about the potential gas shortage were given to Congress by both administration and gas industry spokesmen at hearings that were held before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee on November 13 and 14, 1969. At that time some local shortages had already occurred and it was obvious that unless some changes in public policy were made that the supply situation would worsen and shortages of gas would occur in many parts of the Nation.

Three years ago, for the first time in U.S. history the amount of gas discovered during a year was less than that consumed. In 1968 the deficit was 5.5 trillion cubic feet out of a total demand of 19.4 trillion feet. In 1969 this experience was repeated and deficit was even larger—about 12 trillion feet. Again in 1970 the reserves fell and reached the 1959 levels. The reasons for the decline in reserves are easily understood. The drilling rate for new oil and gas wells has declined steadily since 1956. At that time over 55,000 wells were drilled per year but this has declined steadily until in 1969 only 33,000 wells were drilled. Without drilling it is impossible to find the oil and gas which the geologists tell us is locked in the reservoirs beneath the on-shore and off-shore lands of this Nation.

In 1969 the Federal Power Commission published a study entitled "A Staff Report on National Gas Supply and Demand." The study concluded that:

A major new government-industry program is needed immediately to insure the continued growth of natural gas service during the next decade. The program must be directed to speeding up the exploitation of the natural gas resource base and the development of supplementary gas sources. Basic elements for consideration should include: exploration incentives; Federal government leasing policies both onshore and offshore; policies for imports of pipeline natural gas and liquefied natural gas; priorities for gas use in a short supply situation and Federal and private R & D expenditures for synthetic fuels.

The report has proved to be all too accurate with respect to the need for Federal action to prevent shortages. The shortages, in fact, no longer can be avoided. They are upon us and we still have not taken action in those areas where changes in policy would reduce magnitude of the supply problem and eventually eliminate it.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Why has the drilling rate been reduced to these submarginal levels? The FPC report estimates that 160,000 feet of new wells would have to be drilled in order to keep our reserves to production ratio from declining further. The actual footage drilled in 1969 was only 148,000. The reasons are clear. Instead of providing the incentives for drilling that it was obvious would be needed to prevent supply shortages we continued to price natural gas at such low values that it was used for purposes for which other fuels could have been used. Natural gas was such a bargain that it supplanted other more costly fuels. Because natural gas is the cleanest of the fossil fuels, not only during its use but also during its production, upgrading and transportation that demand for it has escalated as fuel consumers try to meet the newly enacted environmental standards. The combination of cleanliness and low cost is placing a demand on the supply that will not be able to be met for a number of years.

While there are differences among the experts as to how much oil and natural gas will be found, there is no disagreement that much of these natural resources remains in untapped reservoirs. It is thought we could at last double our known reserves if we provided the right incentives to make it attractive for the industry to drill and find it. However, as long as better investment opportunities exist elsewhere, the financial commitment required to locate and utilize gas and oil reserves simply will not be forthcoming.

In recognition of our Nation's ever-growing energy needs, plus our increasing dependence upon oil from the politically volatile but strategic Middle East, I have introduced several bills in recent months to promote the exploration and utilization of domestic oil and gas resources, including a bill to allow oil and gas operators at 12.5 percent annual tax credit over a 10-year period to offset expenditures made for exploring or developing new domestic oil and gas reserves; a similar tax credit to those who develop a deposit of oil or gas on a secondary recovery basis; and a bill to deregulate the price of natural gas at the wellhead.

Mr. Speaker, since we have recently followed a policy which has effectively discouraged oil and gas exploration thereby resulting in impending shortages of these vital fuel resources, we must make new efforts to extend our indigenous resources to supply the demands of our citizens.

A TRIBUTE TO HAROLD E.  
CHANDLER

HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, whenever personalities of the labor movement are discussed in Los Angeles, the name

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of Harold E. Chandler comes immediately to the forefront.

The late Harold Chandler was a leader in the trade union movement. He was a crusader and a champion for the rights of the rank and file members. He had an immeasurable and intense dislike for those in the movement who did not regard those in the lower ranks with the same respect as those in the upper echelons. He clearly demonstrated this while serving as a vice president of the AFL-CIO Laundry and Dry Cleaning International Union and as secretary-treasurer of Local 52 of that union.

Harold's life was the trade union movement. His membership dated from his high school days when he was employed as a dry cleaner in Troy Laundry shortly after he moved to Los Angeles in 1946. During his long service as a union member he held many positions of trust and responsibility, including service as a member of the executive board, business representative, recording secretary, vice president, president, and as vice president of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO.

Though he devoted many hours to his union responsibilities, he still found time to participate in numerous community activities, and to enjoy his hobbies of billiards, fishing, and other sports.

He served on the executive board of the Los Angeles NAACP, participating diligently in the struggle of black people for equal rights. He also maintained membership in such organizations as Men of Tomorrow, the Urban League, William Nickerson Lodge-Masons, Watts Labor Community Action Committee, ACLU, Los Angeles County District Attorney's Advisory Committee, and the Crenshaw United Methodist Church.

Harold Chandler was born August 13, 1921 in Georgia and died in Los Angeles on August 28, 1971 at the premature age of 50. He is survived by his wife, Myrtle, two daughters, Harolyn Chandler and Madelyn Willis, a granddaughter, Alisa Willis, five sisters, one brother, and a host of devoted friends.

His passing leaves an unfillable void among those stalwart warriors in the battle for a better world for all people, but his life and works stand tall as an example to be emulated by those who will endeavor to carry on in the fight to achieve that goal.

## KGTF WEEK IN GUAM

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, KGTF, Guam's public television channel, began its second year of service to the community last week. As one of the more than 200 stations served by the Public Broadcasting Service, KGTF provides the citizens of Guam with excellent programming in the arts, public affairs, and education. In recognition of the station's service to Guam, Gov. Carlos G. Comacho, proclaimed last week KGTF Week.

KGTF and the Public Broadcasting Service are to be commended, and I call the attention of my colleagues to Governor Comacho's resolution:

Whereas, in the United States, the 211 stations comprising television's educational network, Public Broadcasting Service, have just launched another season designed to provide a "New Face of Television," and

Whereas, Guam's Public Broadcasting Station, KGTF, Channel 12, is beginning its second year of service to the community; and

Whereas, KGTF has captivated the youngsters with such Public Broadcasting Service offerings as "Sesame Street" and "Mister Rogers' Neighborhood" and has begun to broadcast educational programs to elementary schools; and

Whereas, KGTF can only become a source of greater community interest and involvement along cultural, informational, and educational lines as it increases its coverage and expands its broadcasting schedule aimed at both civilians and adults;

Now, therefore, I, Carlos G. Comacho, Governor of Guam, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Organic Act of Guam, as amended, do hereby proclaim the week of November 7-13 as KGTF Week in the Territory of Guam. I urge everyone to recognize KGTF as Guam's Public Broadcast station, capable of enhancing the teaching-learning process in schools through carefully scheduled educational programs, and capable of providing a diversity of stimulating offerings providing both pleasure and satisfaction for all.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of Guam to be affixed in the City of Agana, this 2nd day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-one.

#### REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN JACK McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, as I noted yesterday, the problem of illegal immigration into the United States has had little attention. Its effect on our unemployment situation has gone virtually unnoticed.

Richard Starnes of the Scripps-Howard Newspapers has been doing a commendable job of public service reporting in trying to focus attention on this issue.

Yesterday, I placed in the RECORD an article and column by Mr. Starnes describing the impact of illegal immigration on the American economy, particularly where it concerns jobs and public welfare.

In another article, published in yesterday's Washington Daily News, Mr. Starnes explores another critical aspect of the problem: the fact that illegal immigrants are sending home \$1 billion a year, further aggravating the Nation's balance-of-payments woes.

I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS DRAIN—MIGRANTS EXPORT \$1 BILLION A YEAR  
(By Richard Starnes)

Illegal immigrants working in the United States are estimated to be sending home more than \$1 billion a year—and aggravating the

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

nation's balance of payments problem, described today as the worst in U.S. history.

There is no accurate count of the number of illegal aliens. But a House Judiciary subcommittee on immigration estimated last month that there may be as many as two million.

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service refuses to put a figure on the number of aliens who have eluded its nets. But veteran INS officers have offered a rule-of-thumb estimate of 1.8 million.

Whatever the total it is considerable. In the 12 months ending last June 30 some 412,000 illegal immigrants were shipped out of the country and about 200,000 more were detected but permitted to remain here temporarily.

#### WORK AND SEND MONEY

Talks with INS enforcement officials give this picture of the economic impact of illegal immigration:

Almost all of them work. Of those who are apprehended 95 to 98 per cent are employed, either full- or part-time.

A random sampling of 100 illegal immigrants rounded up in the District area showed their average earnings were \$5,200 a year, of which about \$1,000 was sent to kin in the alien's native land.

Eighteen Chinese "illegals" picked up in the Norfolk, Va., area over a 12-month period showed average earnings of \$7,200. And each had sent sums varying from \$2,000 to \$4,000 to relatives overseas.

There has been no systematic nationwide study of the economic problems created by illegal immigrants. But a spokesman for the National Council of Immigration and Naturalization Service locals (an affiliate of the American Federation of Government Employees) says INS enforcement personnel feel \$1,000 a year is a rock-bottom estimate of the sum the average illegal immigrant sends home in a year.

The union, which claims to represent 5,000 of INS' 6,900 employees, is bitterly critical of the agency administration. It disputes INS statistics, insists U.S. borders are woefully undermanned, and charges that morale among immigration personnel is at shoe-top level.

"An illegal alien who does not work is very rare," says Lee G. Cremer, president of the national council. "That's what they come here for in the first place. And almost without exception they send money home regularly."

#### EXCEEDS \$1 BILLION

If somewhere between one and two million illegal aliens are employed in this country, and if it is assumed the average amount each returns to his homeland is about \$1,000, then the total outflow of cash from this source is well in excess of \$1 billion.

Basic to the disagreement between union and officialdom at INS is a dispute on the best means of keeping illegal aliens out. The union says the INS budget (currently around \$130 million annually) should be doubled to improve enforcement.

INS, which is a branch of the Justice Department, continues to resist growing pressure to add significantly to its enforcement staff, however. Instead, immigration officials say they are pushing for adoption of a law to bar the hiring of illegal immigrants.

#### PENSIONS AND POLITICS

#### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, the so-called Crane amendment to the Hays-Abbit bill (H.R. 11060) has been de-

scribed by the AFL-CIO as "patently antilabor" and "prohibiting all union activity financed by Treasury money connected in any way with Federal elections."

In fact, Mr. Speaker, the Crane amendment does no such thing. What the Crane amendment does is prohibit the use of any dues, fees, or assessments which are a requirement for membership in a national bank, corporation, or labor organization from being spent for a political purpose.

The Crane amendment does prevent the kind of extortion which was so ably revealed by the prize-winning reporter, Jerry Landauer, of the Wall Street Journal in that newspaper on November 15, 1971.

Mr. Landauer's article exposes the corruption and coercion which is involved in the Marine Engineers Benefit Association's pension fund. The MEBA is a constituent unit of the AFL-CIO. They finance their political activities by compulsory assessments of \$10 a month from retired members and widows of members and, according to Mr. Landauer's article, virtually extorting this money from these members before providing them with the remainder of their pensions. I insert his article in the RECORD at this time:

#### PENSIONS AND POLITICS: HOW ONE UNION GETS RETIREES TO FUND CAMPAIGNS

(By Jerry Landauer)

For half his lifetime, 73-year-old James Green has been a union man, proud of his membership in the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, AFL-CIO. He's retired now, living in Baltimore and drawing a union pension of \$315 a month. "Things are getting kind of tough," he reflects. Yet along with nearly 2,000 other pensioners he grudgingly gives his union \$10 every month, "to help them out."

The Marine Engineers, or MEBA, is not a union that seems in need of help. It collects initiation fees of \$1,000 from young men wanting to join, and it can afford to pay President Jesse Calhoun a \$75,000 salary.

But MEBA lacks a membership willing to give generously to the union's political fund. So, to compensate for stinginess among seagoing engineers, it leans on pensioners who can't so easily elude the political collectors—and at times leans on deceased members' widows, too.

Supposedly, the retirees are all donating voluntarily, as federal law requires. But because the union controls pension payments, a member applying for retirement thinks twice before refusing to contribute. Once a pensioner has agreed to give, the union makes sure he doesn't forget; it deducts the \$10 contributions from the monthly retirement checks it sends out.

In most cases, the oldsters supplying political dollars don't know where their money is going. "I didn't know it was for politics," says Jimmy Green.

#### HELP FOR SENATOR FONG

The union's retired men are supplying more than \$250,000 this year, mostly for campaign contributions to help AFL-CIO President George Meany reelect labor's friends and fight political battles such as the one brewing in Congress to compel payment of pre-freeze wage boosts. Collectively, MEBA's pensioners constitute the chief financial backers of the campaign-giving operation of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, the federation's political-action arm.

Last year this union of only 13,000 members managed to send campaign checks to more than 120 candidates for Congress. The individual amounts ranged up to \$6,250, which went to GOP Sen. Hiram Fong of

Hawaii; the union brass bought 25 tickets at \$250 apiece to a fund-raising event for Mr. Fong at New York City's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

In all, the Marine Engineers spent \$450,000 for political purposes last year, displacing the Seafarers International Union at the spearhead of a \$1 million-a-year drive by maritime labor to expand subsidies for the U.S. merchant marine. (Just 11 Representatives opposed a \$506 million maritime subsidy bill for this fiscal year; Senators authorized the money without a roll-call). And only two unions in any field, the 1.8 million-member United Auto Workers and the 455,000-member International Ladies Garment Workers, reported raising more for national politics last year than MEBA.

The bulk of MEBA's money—\$224,617—came from 1,750 or so pensioners giving as much as \$170 each to the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association Retirees Group, an uninformatively titled outfit that's actually a political fund. Pensioner Jimmy Green was among 1,535 men who gave precisely \$120 each, in 12 installments of \$10. As the money rolled in, the retirees group transferred \$201,000, in eight installments, to Mr. Meany's COPE. No other union's fund came close to matching this big gift.

#### I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT THAT STUFF

MEBA's massive political fund-raising is known only to a few labor insiders. President Calhoon won't answer questions about any aspect of the union's fund-raising or political spending. "I'm not going to talk about that stuff," his public relations counselor quotes him as saying. And though the tactics used seem questionable to some, union chieftains appear confident that no government agency will act to break up their collection scheme. So far, certainly, the Justice Department has made no effort to determine how this little union has raised so much political cash.

The union has been careful, however, to avoid infringing certain legal prohibitions. The retirees fund is set up as an independent entity, separate and distinct from the union. If it were admittedly part of MEBA, the fund couldn't donate to candidates for President, Senator or Representative, either directly or through COPE; unions and corporations can't legally contribute members' dues or shareholders' assets to campaigns for federal offices.

Apparently to give the appearance of independence, the retirees fund recently moved from MEBA headquarters near the New York waterfront to a small office in Washington, and to preserve that appearance the union shields the fund's five trustees from interviewers; though their names are known, the union refuses even to tell where they live. "This information isn't secret," President Calhoon's publicist explains. "It's just not available to the press."

#### MR. CALHOON AND MR. GREEN

What is available, though, is the record of political donations; by law, in reports to the clerk of the House of Representatives, a political treasurer must identify the source of all donations exceeding \$100. These reports show, among other things, that MEBA's pensioners are giving more than are most of the union's highly paid brass.

President Calhoon, for one, isn't listed among the donors to separate, straightforwardly named political kitties sponsored by each of the two districts constituting the National Marine Engineers union. His salary last year exceeded \$60,000, plus \$15,473 in "retroactive pay." Vice President Charles A. Black (1970 salary: \$68,851) parted with \$120 for politics, not one dime more than pensioner Jimmy Green (1970 retirement income from the union: \$8,780).

Moreover, the union's collectors rarely seem to tap themselves. John F. Brady, secretary of MEBA District 2 in Brooklyn (salary: \$28,620) and treasurer of the district's poli-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

tical fund, listed no donations above \$100 in his reports to the clerk of the House, not even from district president Raymond McKay (salary: \$43,112 plus \$20,671 for expenses). But Mr. Brady has on occasion collected more than \$100 from widows whose dead husbands failed to pay political "voluntaries," as the union calls them, on time.

Among several cases that can be documented, Mr. Brady in 1969 collected \$705 partly for his political fund and partly to pay union assessments, from Lorraine Clark, a widow in Oshkosh, Wis. He even issued a receipt—for political gifts that must by law be voluntary—in the name of her late husband, Otto Clark, a MEBA man who died months before.

In the same year, Mr. Brady required Jeanne R. Crehan of Kenmore, N.Y., to sign over a \$325 check to the union before she could receive survivor's benefits following her husband's death. "Please have Mrs. Crehan sign this check and return it to the office," he instructed. The written reason: "Mr. Crehan didn't pay any voluntaries, and the \$325 check represents voluntaries of \$65 per year for the years 1964 through 1968 inclusive."

#### A SONG AND DANCE

Indeed, if voluntary means informed consent, no more than a small fraction of the union's vast political income can be so regarded. George Birmingham of Baltimore, an alert 81-year-old, does know that he's giving "to politicians who vote the way our lobbyists want them to." But talks with dozens of donating pensioners suggest that most don't know the political purpose.

Lawrence Henkel of Baltimore believes his annual \$120 gift "pays for our doctors." Lionel Brown of Brooklyn assumes he's giving to some welfare fund: "I'm a union man and I listened to what they told me," he says. George Wansor of New York says he's donating "because the union came to me with a song and dance about hiring a lawyer to take care of our pensions." John E. Palmer, a pensioner in the Bronx, believes he's helping to buy eyeglasses or finance clinic care for other men; "It's got nothing at all to do with politics," he feels sure.

Some fraction of the retirees fund's expenditures (\$30,560 of \$294,312 last year) is indeed devoted to what the fund calls "non-political purposes." But these purposes include large fees to friendly Senators who travel frequently to Baltimore for short speeches. In one six-month period, four Senators each earned fees (the largest, \$2,500, went to Democrat Gale McGee of Wyoming) for imparting knowledge about maritime matters in brief talks to recruits at MEBA's training school there; delivery of just 905 words yielded \$2,000 for Maryland Republican Charles Mathias.

#### MEANWHILE, BACK AT THE SEAFARERS

While the MEBA chiefs won't talk about their politicking, inside sources say they seem confident that the union's collection methods can withstand legal attacks. This confidence could be based on the respectful treatment that Congressmen and ranking Nixon men are still giving the Seafarers International Union, even though that union's political activities have run afoul of the law.

In June 1970, the Justice Department won indictment of the Seafarers on 17 counts of conspiring to violate the election laws. Among other things, the indictment alleged that foreign seamen were paying into that union's political fund (1970 receipts: \$344,905) for the right to work aboard higher-paying U.S.-flag ships.

The union has denied the charges. In any case, all sorts of things have happened since the indictment to keep the Seafarers happy. Lawmakers authorized \$475,000 to dredge a channel leading to the Seafarers training base at Piney Point, Md. More recently, a galaxy of big names—House Speaker Carl Albert, House GOP Leader Gerald Ford, Sen.

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Ted Kennedy, presidential aspirant Henry Jackson, Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans (President Nixon's chief 1968 fund-raiser)—all appeared at the Seafarers annual convention to embrace the union leadership, or, in the words of Maritime Administrator Andrew Gibson, to praise it "for proving that labor unions are looking ahead for the welfare of the working man."

## AMERICAN OIL LEADS THE WAY IN SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION

### HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, American Oil has been recognized by Petroleum Engineer as a pacesetter in conservation of our country's vital natural resources. American Oil received a first-place rating in the publishing company's environmental control development program for its aerated lagoons for treatment of industrial wastes and sewage.

We are proud that American Oil and the entire petroleum industry are continuing to develop new methods of protecting America against pollution. We also salute Petroleum Engineer for its program which makes available to the rest of the petroleum industry the innovations of companies such as American Oil, in hopes that other companies will follow their lead in making pollution in America a thing of the past.

The award to American Oil reads:

Aerated lagoons have become increasingly popular for treatment of industrial wastes and domestic sewage because of their reliability, simplicity, ruggedness, versatility and adaptability.

To improve quality and aesthetic characteristics of the effluent from aerated lagoons treating refinery process waste water, American Oil Co. conducted an extensive pilot plant program investigating several chemical coagulation and filtration or air flotation combination treatment processes.

Results indicated that a process comprised of chemical coagulation and filtration in a mixed-media filter would improve the aesthetic characteristics of the effluent while providing quality consistent with normal expectations for tertiary treatment.

Such a process was installed to treat 1400 gpm of aerated lagoon effluent at American's Yorktown, Va., refinery, and has been in operation since June. A study of the new facility is being partially financed by a research and development grant from the Water Quality Office of the Environmental Protection Agency.

As modified by American's research department, the process consists of a simple gravity filter plus ancillary facilities which include chemical addition and filter backwash equipment. The filter itself is a three media bed held in a concrete tank and supported by a porous bottom grid.

The media materials, anthracite coal, silica sand and garnet, are arranged according to size and density, resulting in a filter bed with decreasing interstitial spacing with depth. Such an arrangement is the reverse of that encountered in conventional single media filters and allows indepth filtration for more effective utilization of the bed volume.

Aluminum sulfate is added to the waste water stream as a primary coagulant immediately prior to the filtration step. Coagula-

tion and flocculation of suspended solids take place within the filter bed where flocculated material is retained.

Material accumulated in the filter bed is removed by backwashing the filter automatically when pressure drop across the bed reaches a predetermined value. Solids, mainly biological cell material, are returned to the aerated lagoon to further enhance biological oxidation of dissolved contaminants.

Limited data obtained to date indicate that effluent quality targets for biochemical oxygen demand, suspended solids, oil and turbidity are all being met or exceeded, American says. Typical removal efficiencies experienced to date are biochemical oxygen demand—45%, suspended solids—90%, oil—60%, and turbidity—90+ %.

**SPEAKER CARL ALBERT CALLS FOR A PROGRAM OF ACCELERATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT, AND STEPS TO STIMULATE THE ECONOMY**

**HON. JOE L. EVINS**

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I was most impressed with the excellent speech which was delivered recently by Speaker CARL ALBERT at the American Petroleum Institute in San Francisco, Calif.

I was especially interested in his review of the plight of our urban areas and in the Speaker's call for an accelerated program of rural development to strike at the roots of this problem—the continuing migration from rural to urban areas, and of the need for a program of rural development.

Because of the excellence of this address I insert the full text of Speaker ALBERT's address in the RECORD.

The speech follows:

**SPEECH OF REPRESENTATIVE CARL ALBERT**

It is a great honor to be on your program. Your organization is not only a major factor in the great industry to which it is oriented; it is also an important arm of the great American economy, the very heart and soul of which are tied to ever-increasing demands for sources of energy.

I am proud of the contributions which the petroleum industry has made to this nation. I am proud that I come from a great petroleum State, and of the leadership it has given to the production and development of the petroleum industry around the world.

I do not need to tell you how important this industry is to my own constituency. Nearly one-half of the gas and one-third of the oil produced in Oklahoma are produced in my Congressional District.

Your industry and the nation have moved into the last third of the 20th century. It might be profitable for us to reflect together on how critical these times are for the quality of life on this planet for future generations.

Change is sweeping the earth at a breathtaking rate. Old patterns of living, the stable institutions, the traditions and customs which charted the course of our lives a few decades ago, are slipping away. The onward rush of technology—the stunning advances in communication and transportation—threaten to make the world we know obsolete.

Our challenge is to find ways to control and channel the forces of change, to dedicate our ingenuity, our foresight, and our

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wisdom to the enhancement of the life of all mankind. The task before us is urgent, the sands of time running out.

Incredible as it may seem, we are systematically destroying the very elements of life from which we draw our breath and our sustenance. Unthinkable as it is, we go on waging destructive wars that solve none of our problems but instead degrade the species and the very quality of life on earth. We have learned to go to the moon but have not yet explored in full the possibilities for life on earth.

We are warned, most aptly I believe, that man has ceased to be a community dweller in this mass society and has lost the affinity with neighborhood that at once provides identity and identification. More than three-fourths of all Americans are living on two percent of our available space, and by the turn of the century, there will be more than 300 million of us crammed into three teming metropolitan belts.

The effect of crowded urban life on the behavior of people is readily observable. Every form of crime, violence, and social dislocation is intensified. Paradox that it may seem, life is de-humanized under the weight of too many people, and the roots are laid for the alienation that has become the hallmark of the American psyche, to be reflected in our arts and our social criticism.

I need not recite in detail the tragedy that life in the inner cities has become. It is an all-too familiar story. We have attempted remedies—urban renewal, manpower training, community action, legal services—but each of these is a finger in the dike. Just as we have learned to divert rivers from their course to the service of long-range human goals, so we must face up to the need for a planned population dispersal to halt the immigration which has made our great cities uninhabitable and unmanageable.

We attack a disease not in its symptoms but at its roots. And one of the roots is the fact that much of the proliferation of urban America over the last fifteen years has been the direct result of rural migration.

The simple truth is that rural America is in a state of disastrous decline. Across the breadth of this land abandoned farmhouses, shuttered storefronts, and decaying towns tell the sad story. One of every four rural dwellers lives in poverty today. Sixty percent of the inadequate housing in this nation is rural. More than 30,000 small towns have no water system, and 32,000 communities are without adequate waste disposal. Rural schools lack libraries, laboratories, and other facilities for quality education. Doctors are woefully scarce. Hospitals are antiquated and understaffed.

The spectre of unemployment, exceeding eighteen percent of the workforce in many areas, is the real clue to the decline of small-town America. While we have concentrated our efforts on the more publicized problems of the burgeoning cities, we have failed to provide any suitable alternative to urban life.

Today unemployment and welfare case loads are proportionately higher in the country than in the city and create insoluble problems where there is no growing tax base. The fourteen million poor in rural America are more than half of the nation's disadvantaged, and we will find no satisfactory solution to urban poverty so long as we ignore its counterpart beyond the city limits.

Simply put, we need opportunity in the country as badly as we do in the city, perhaps even more, for without it we cannot hope to stem migration into our urban centers. This means attracting industry. Once we make it economically feasible for industry to locate where the availability of manpower, energy supplies, and natural resources has not been enough to overcome the lack of transportation, we begin a desirable reversal of our demographic pattern.

Waterway development in my own part of

the country—largely financed by the Federal government—is providing dramatic progress in that direction. Tax incentives, rural credit programs, development of waste disposal and water systems, wildlife development, and recreation are all tools at our disposal for the urgent task of revitalizing life in the great reaches of the land beyond metropolitan America.

I am also concerned that our hopes for the future will not be realized unless we turn our energies to the transformation of our lagging economy. It is my belief that we have failed woefully to apply our ingenuity to the integration of human needs with the imperatives of an increasingly technological industrial base as we approach the 21st century.

The natural flux of the marketplace has simply not provided jobs for men and men for jobs in a satisfactory way. With five million Americans suffering the tragedy of unemployment month in and month out, we are scarcely prepared for the projected addition of twenty million new workers to the labor force in the coming decade. While we have partially committed ourselves to government as the employer of last resort, we need other more permanent solutions—intensive retraining programs, incentives for industry to decentralize, experimentation with a shorter workweek, and long-range plans for economic conversion to reverse the disastrous loss of scientific and technical expertise from our aerospace and defense industries.

The professional and technical occupations are the fastest growing in America. Yet this summer some 75,000 scientists and engineers—five percent of the 1.2 million total—were jobless, and forecasts of 200,000 without work by year's end have been made. The winding down of the Vietnam war and successful arms limitation agreements threaten to accelerate the trend.

The distressing fact is that industries which have for years been dependent on aerospace and defense contracts are not preparing for conversion of their plant and personnel to the great range of civilian needs of the future. These companies, which have been highly successful in bringing together unique combinations of managerial and technical skills, could now be looking to other fields—low-cost housing, mass transit, pollution control, environmental planning, oceanic research, population distribution, health care, and public education, to name a few of the most important.

A massive government-industry partnership is mandated to undo the severe dislocation being caused by the transition in our economy. A program like this could be the key to the massive unemployment problem afflicting our country today. Every engineer put to work creates at least ten jobs in his wake, and an expansion of our minimal industrial participation in fields such as those I have enumerated could also provide the stimulation our lagging economy so badly needs.

Surely our hopes for the future are tied to the full utilization of our capacities and the full development of each individual to the limits of his potential. We cannot afford the idling of one-fourth of our industry, and the joblessness that follows. Inflation is only one facet of the overall problem, and a suspicion that the new economic policy will be neither stimulative nor creative of sufficient new jobs is reflected in the current uncertainty afflicting the country.

Consumers are not spending, capital spending by business remains low, and the decline of the stock market has been precipitous. I quite frankly do not believe we are on the road to satisfactory economic recovery yet, and while in the main the Congress is cooperating with the Administration in the implementation of wage and price restraints that we have so long been urging as part of the solution, I fear that we will find it necessary in the months ahead to devise more

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

stimulative measures to get the economy moving.

The depth of our economic problem was reflected in the President's drastic attempt to reverse our deteriorating international trade picture. Faced with our first foreign trade balance of payments deficit in this century, and increasing uneasiness abroad over the stability of the dollar, the Administration's heavy-handed response could well trigger a trade war similar to ones in the past that have brought with them world-wide recession. If other nations' threats of retaliation are carried through, the import surcharge may blow up in our faces. It is unfortunate that our blunderbuss program has hit old friends and trading partners with the same force as the economic competitors it was aimed at.

Surely a little give on our part is due. An agreement to raise the price of gold, for example, would not cause us long-range damage and could serve as a symbol of our willingness to make some of the sacrifices necessary to solve our own problems. It might be morally justifiable to call in I.O.U.'s from trading partners, but it is unrealistic to expect them to shoulder the entire weight of our dilemma. We must keep in mind that whatever dislocations we are asking them to absorb in our behalf—devaluation, inflation, import surpluses in their own countries—are political liabilities for the party in power and could easily lead to their demise. Diplomacy is essential in this crisis, and the bludgeon simply will not do.

We must acknowledge that new forces are abroad in the world that we have to become accustomed to. Among them are the emergence of Japan and Germany as economic superpowers, the new muscle of the Common Market, the recent awarding of a United Nations seat to mainland China.

What has become most clear is our inability to control events. This may be for the good, for it places a higher premium on skillful diplomacy and reduces the tendency to resort to the threat of force, which all too often has been a prelude to war. We need not despair to learn we are not omnipotent. But we need to stop acting as if we believe we are.

We have learned to live in a world in which the nuclear standoff between ourselves and Russia has created not a reign of terror but rather a strange sort of stability. The same could be true with China. We must look behind the revolutionary rhetoric to determine what this backward nation's real needs are, and I predict—or at least I hope—that its evident eagerness to join the world organization foreshadows that it will be a considerably less belligerent member than expected.

I was of course disappointed at the expulsion of our Taiwan allies. Besides my displeasure at this summary treatment of a longtime friend, I do not like the establishment of such a precedent in a world body necessarily predicated on universality if it is to have a chance to accomplish its aims. But if we are going to be a part of the community of nations in which we expect others to abide by the votes of the majority, we cannot walk away from an action we do not like as a petulant child would do.

The United Nations was not founded as an instrument of American policy. Nor does the admission of mainland China make it a tool of worldwide Communism as some have charged in the heat of the moment. Belgium, Holland, England, France, Ireland, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Canada rejected our two-China stand, and it is hard to believe that a list including such democracies and allies as these would align themselves against the forces of freedom.

The simple truth is that a majority of the nations of the world—many of them already engaged in trade and diplomatic relations with Peking—were no longer willing to go on pretending that the future could be made secure with one-fourth of the world's peo-

ple unexposed to the persuasion and pressures of our only international forum. A decaying society it is, as some of its severest critics aver, but how much more civilized to thrash out international disputes through words rather than bullets!

I sincerely believe that the deep yearning for peace, so evident across the breadth of America today, mandates a continuing quest in every bilateral and multilateral forum available. The true test of our fitness for international leadership lies in the days and months ahead.

And in addition to the overriding issue of war and peace, we are confronted with a growing range of problems that are of multinational concern rather than ours alone. The international drug traffic, pollution of the atmosphere and oceans, the exploration of space—all, like peace, affect nations without regard for boundaries. The days when we could retreat comfortably into isolation are long gone. We must now face up to reality and gird ourselves for the challenge of living and competing in a transformed world.

The new realities impinging on our lives are not the concern of government alone. Citizen-action groups are mobilizing and participating in the political process in unprecedented numbers. Their effectiveness is demonstrated in court decisions and in the shaping of public-interest legislation.

The new public concern being demonstrated by American corporations fits into this picture. There has been in recent months a gratifying involvement of businessmen in community affairs, an involvement that is not based on self-interest but a deeper conviction that our fates are all intertwined for better or worse in a rapidly contracting world.

Such signs portend that we will not let the future overtake us. We are aware of the problems and prepared to accept the challenge.

We know we need reform of institutions, the reallocation of resources, the rearranging of priorities.

We are attempting to broaden our political life and bring government closer to the people.

A broad-based partnership is forming, and this joining of hands between government, business, and the public bodes well for our future. Such an alliance can be the energizing force in the restructuring of the American community—for liveability, breathing space, healthy environment, wholesome recreation, decent housing, quality schooling, and a life of abundance at work and at leisure. The face of our world is changing, and I have confidence that we have the will, the wisdom, and the capacity to shape it to accord to our own vision of the future.

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LATIN AMERICANS SUPPORT  
LATF PROGRAM

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HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to have served for the past 3 years as a member of the National Advisory Board of the Latin American teaching fellowships program, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. I note with interest that my distinguished colleagues in the Congress, the gentlemen from Massachusetts (Mr. MACDONALD and Mr. MORSE), the gentleman from Florida (Mr. FASCELL), the Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS), and the Senator

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from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH) are also supporting the LATF program by serving actively as members of the Board.

I would like to place in the RECORD, for the benefit of my fellow Members and all others interested in U.S. relations with Latin America, a copy of the October 25, 1971, letter I received from Lic. Jorge González Chávez, director of academic programs at Mexico's distinguished Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo.

Lic. Chávez's letter is particularly timely since there is today great concern within our Nation concerning our foreign assistance programs. The letter strongly suggests that foreign aid programs—and I believe this applies to all programs, governmental, private, and mixed—must interact with local institutions in a plan that has been defined by the local institution and which is implemented under their direction. This approach has been the hallmark of the innovative Tufts' program. It is worth noting that while many programs in Latin America have been cut back, the LATF program has been expanded by 550 percent during the last 3 years.

I am pleased that two of my constituents are currently participating in this unique program. Mrs. Kathy Schminsky of Minneapolis is teaching at the Universidad de Simon Bolívar, the splendid new university in Venezuela. In the short space of 3 years this institution has established itself as one of the foremost centers of scientific and technological studies in South America.

Mr. Gary Maybarduk, also of Minneapolis, will begin his 3-year assignment with LATF next month.

Our foreign assistance effort is at a crossroad. As we consider which path we will follow, we must look carefully at those privately developed and sponsored programs that have succeeded so brilliantly. We can learn much from them.

Two programs, both out of Boston, historically a center of Yankee ingenuity, come to mind—LATF of the Fletcher school and LASPAU, which David Henry of Harvard has developed so successfully. I am pleased to place in the RECORD, Lic. Jorge González Chávez' letter. Let us not ignore his statement that "such programs as LATF are widely supported."

The letter follows:

INSTITUTO TECNOLÓGICO  
AUTÓNOMO DE MÉXICO,

October 25, 1971.

Hon. DONALD FRASER,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FRASER: While relations between our countries are quite low at the moment, I find one note of optimism. For some time we here at the Instituto Técnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM) have had professors from the Latin American Teachers Fellowship (LATF) program, which is administered from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University. We are very impressed with the program because its representatives have made a positive impact on our Institute.

Two members of the program stand out. First, Mr. William Cloherty has been in touch with us for a number of years and has done a difficult job well. Second, Mr. Robert Bezdek has been teaching at ITAM since March of this year and has impressed us with his ability to communicate. He has organized conferences, movies, and made outside con-

tacts for us. In addition, Mr. Bezdek has given many talks on various topics in Mexico City, Pachuca, Xalapa, Veracruz, Culiacán, Hermosillo, and Mazatlán. Since he is introduced not only as a LATF professor but also as a full-time professor from ITAM, his speaking tours add to the Institute's prestige.

If you have a chance to visit Mexico, please drop by for a visit.

Hoping that such programs as LATF are widely supported, I remain

Sincerely,

LIC JORGE GONZÁLEZ CHAVEZ,  
Jefe de Servicios Académicos.

**VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION PHYSICIAN, EDWARD D. FREIS, M.D., RECEIVES LASKER MEDICAL AWARD FOR HYPERTENSION CLINICAL RESEARCH**

**HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, throughout the extensive VA hospital system there are currently about 5,000 ongoing medical research projects to help broaden man's knowledge to help save and prolong the lives of tens of thousands of people.

Mr. Speaker, in New York on Thursday, November 11, 1971, an outstanding physician, Dr. Edward D. Freis of the Veterans' Administration's Department of Medicine and Surgery, who is currently on the staff of the Washington, D.C. Veterans' Administration Hospital, received national recognition for achievements in medical research. At that time, before an assembled group of many of the leaders in American medicine and health care, Dr. Freis was presented the Clinical Research Award of the Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation for his work in demonstrating the lifesaving effectiveness of diagnosis and treatment of one of the most common forms of heart disease.

It is of interest to note that this highly coveted award to biomedical researchers was established in 1946, and that 22 winners of this award have subsequently received Nobel Prizes for their work.

The basis for the award to Dr. Freis, and the method in which the research was planned and carried out is an outstanding example of the capacity of the health care system of the Veterans' Administration to do what no other single health care system or institution in America can do. By utilizing the staff and facilities of its 166 hospitals, 202 clinics, and 73 nursing homes, that system has the unique capacity for cooperative research. Through this system, studies of the efficacy of the clinical use of various professional techniques and/or therapeutic drugs can be carried out in the shortest possible time with a maximum of accuracy, a minimum of expense, and be made available for immediate use. As a result, this knowledge can not only be applied to the life-saving care and treatment of veterans, but can subsequently be made available to all people through the scientific community of this country and the world.

The following wording of the Citation

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awarded to Dr. Freis details his outstanding achievement:

CLINICAL RESEARCH AWARD PRESENTED TO EDWARD D. FREIS, M.D. SENIOR MEDICAL INVESTIGATOR, VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. Freis has demonstrated the life-saving effectiveness of the use of drugs in the treatment of moderate hypertension, and the dramatic reduction of deaths from stroke and congestive heart failure, which can be realized when blood pressure is kept within normal limits.

Hypertension—or high blood pressure—is a leading cause of stroke. Stroke, in turn, kills over 200,000 Americans a year, and is the third leading cause of death in our country.

Hypertension affects almost 23 million Americans, and is a major public health problem.

Dr. Freis has been working on hypertension for over 25 years. His recent contribution has been the definitive study and demonstration of the fact that even *moderate* hypertension is dangerous, and should, and *can* be treated successfully.

In 1964, Dr. Freis, with his colleagues in the Veterans Administration, set up the V.A. Cooperative Study Group on Antihypertensive Agents, for moderate hypertension. The results of this five-year, 17-hospital study, established two major points:

1—That drug treatment for moderate hypertension reduced the death rate by more than 50%.

2—That drug treatment is 67% effective in preventing major complications which arise from cases of even moderately high blood pressure. These complications include, among others, strokes, congestive heart failure, and kidney failure.

Dr. Freis' study offers a momentous opportunity to clinical medicine.

It is an exemplary demonstration of the potential of preventive medicine for saving and prolonging the lives of tens of thousands of Americans. The results of this work justify his belief that with continued and intensive efforts, we can control all of the major cardiovascular diseases—the number one killer of our people.

For Dr. Freis' dedication and persistent leadership toward this goal, this 1971 Albert Lasker Clinical Medical Research Award is given.

It should also be noted with great interest by those concerned with the question of bridging the gap of scientific knowledge between the laboratory and the bedside, that Dr. Freis, in his acceptance speech, in the great tradition of American medicine, called for a major effort in this area. He stated:

Thank you on behalf of myself and all of those who have made this advance against hypertension possible. Amazingly the conquest of this most common of diseases has received little public attention. Yet, if we apply the knowledge we already have we can control moderate hypertension now.

There are literally millions of Americans who do not even know that they have high blood pressure. There is, therefore, the need to develop adequate mass screening for the detection of hypertension as well as more effective programs in public education.

How may these goals be achieved? Firstly, by a greater effort on the part of national and local governments to provide facilities and personnel for the detection and treatment of hypertension in the general population. Secondly, the news media, such as television, radio, newspapers and magazines should publicize effectively the simple truth that hypertension now is a controllable disease. This is a real challenge for creative journalism. Thirdly, volunteer health agencies should actively lead and guide this effort.

The problem is one of public education and it is too big to be left entirely to the practicing physician.

There is still another problem which requires public attention. Although the drugs we have today are good they are not ideal. None is effective in all patients and none is entirely free of side effects. However, no new anti-hypertensive drugs have been approved by the Food and Drug Administration in the past 10 years. This is in striking contrast to the situation in Europe where several new drugs have been introduced recently and are being used with benefit by European physicians. Because the American pharmaceutical companies are finding that drug research in hypertension is a frustrating and unprofitable enterprise, their great talents and know-how are in large measure being directed into other channels. Informed public opinion is needed to restore a climate in the FDA where new drug research in hypertension will be encouraged rather than discouraged.

Recent surveys have shown that only 20% of the patients with persistent hypertension in the United States are receiving effective treatment. This fact points up the real need for mass screening and detection of hypertension in its early stages; for intensive public education; for provision of adequate treatment facilities; and finally, for a concerted research effort to develop even more safe and effective drugs than are available today.

Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to publicly congratulate Dr. Freis and the Veterans' Administration on this outstanding achievement, and I hope that it will be possible to expand these research programs in the future so that this great work can be accelerated.

**CONGRESSMAN CHARLES B. RANGEL'S STATEMENT ON SICKLE CELL ANEMIA LEGISLATION**

**HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I commend the Subcommittee on Public Health and Environment of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on the opening of hearings on a dread disease which victimizes the black community—sickle cell anemia.

It is imperative that Congress act promptly to enact legislation committing the Federal Government to a massive program of detection, treatment, and research. While one out of every 500 black babies born in our country dies from sickle cell anemia before their 20th birthday, we have been forced to rely on the goodwill and bigheartedness of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for any Federal funding. It is time for Congress to awaken from its hibernation and earmark funds for sickle cell anemia programs.

On Friday, November 12, I submitted a statement to the subcommittee detailing the need for sickle cell anemia legislation and discussing several feasible mechanisms for carrying out a Federal commitment.

The statement follows:

**STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN  
CHARLES B. RANGEL**

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to present my statement to the Subcommittee on Public Health and Environ-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ment in support of legislation which would commit the federal government to an all-out fight against deadly sickle-cell anemia.

Unfortunately, it is common for the Congress to belatedly acknowledge the problems of the poor and minority groups in the United States. Look how much time was required to enact lead-based paint poisoning prevention legislation or to fund bilingual education programs. Earlier this month, the House of Representatives killed the ethnic heritage studies provision of the Higher Education Act.

That is why these hearings are such a promising step. We in the black community have waited a long time for Congressional action. We watch one out of every 500 black babies born in the United States die from sickle cell anemia by the age of twenty. We see 10% of the black population in this country carrying the sickle cell trait genetically with inadequate means of detection of the trait.

In human terms, what we have experienced can best be described by the graphic tragedy of one patient which appeared in the October 1971 issue of *Ramparts Magazine*:

She is twenty-four years old and has been in the hospital eighteen times. She would get tired easily ever since she was a child; she did not develop as rapidly or as well as the other children; she would often get colds and more respiratory infections. At age seven her tonsils were removed. At age eight she was hospitalized for a month with severe joint pain, fever, and heart murmurs, diagnosed incorrectly as rheumatic fever. At twelve she developed ulcers on both ankles which would not heal, even now, twelve years later. She then began having periodic attacks of severe, incapacitating pain in her bones and joints her back and her abdomen. These "crises" would last about a week, leaving her exhausted, weaker than ever, and sore all over.

When she was fourteen her appendix was removed. At sixteen her spleen was removed. In the last eight years she has had six more hospital admissions for the treatment of her recurrent leg ulcers which have eaten down to the layer of muscle and bone. Two admissions for pneumonia, two for long episodes of fever, chills, night-sweats and diarrhea. Now she tells you, she is urinating blood and her belly is swelling like a balloon and her heart, her doctors have told her, is too big and is getting tired.

She cannot sleep lying down, but only on three pillows, and she wakes up at night gasping for breath. Her eyes have been yellow for six years and her liver, she knows, is not working right. In her life she has received (if she remembers right) eighty-six transfusions of whole blood.

Research has been painfully slow. Dedicated physicians such as Dr. Roland B. Scott and Dr. Angela Ferguson of Howard University have labored for twenty years, hampered by a lack of critically-needed funds.

We have neglected this killing disease for too long. That is why this legislation before you is so important to millions of Americans, many of whom have already given up any hope of substantial federal action. The slashing of \$6,000,000 earmarked by the Senate to fight sickle cell anemia by the House-Senate conference on the H.E.W. appropriations this past summer is a perfect example of our misguided priorities. We callously refuse to fund sickle cell anemia detection, treatment and research yet we enact the military procurement appropriations with scarcely a dissenting vote.

H.R. 10932, my bill to establish a National Sickle Cell Anemia Institute, and H.R. 11171, Congressman Fauntroy's bill of which I am a cosponsor to establish a sickle cell anemia prevention program, are now before the Subcommittee. Each attempts to deal directly with the problems of sickle cell anemia,

rather than leaving programs up to the discretion and goodwill of the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

The National Sickle Cell Anemia Institute would conduct and support research programs for the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of sickle cell anemia and would provide training and instruction in related matters. In addition, it would provide a nationwide screening program for school-age children and set up, with adequate funding, community counseling and education services. An advisory council would be appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to advise, consult with and make recommendations to him on matters relating to the Institute. Finally, the Institute would assist the Secretary of Defense in screening GIs for sickle cell anemia and its traits.

H.R. 11171, the National Sickle Cell Anemia Prevention Act, would empower the Secretary of H.E.W. to make grants to and contracts with public and non-profit private organizations to set up and operate voluntary sickle cell anemia screening and counseling programs and to develop and make available educational materials relating to this dreadful disease. He may also fund demonstration programs. Public Health Service facilities would be made available for screening, counseling and treatment services. Further, the Secretary would prepare an annual report to Congress on the implementation of this legislation. The Secretary of Defense would be required to promulgate rules and regulations for the voluntary counseling and screening of servicemen and civilian Defense Department personnel, as well as potential enlistees and draftees at Armed Forces examining and entrance stations; he, too, would annually report to Congress and make recommendations for additional legislation.

A critical section of H.R. 11171 is the mandate to the Veterans Administrator to notify veterans of the availability of voluntary screening, treatment and counseling programs and to furnish care to eligible veterans.

I cannot stress strongly enough the vital nature of the military and veterans provisions in these two bills. Today, a young man with braces on his teeth is exempt from the military draft, but a young man with sickle cell anemia is still considered suited for military duty. What this means, in down-to-earth terms, is that young draftees and enlistees continue to die shortly after going on to active duty. The *New England Journal of Medicine* on May 14, 1970, recounted the heart-rending deaths of four young men in basic training. The Army had made no attempt to determine whether or not they had sickle cell anemia, and this criminal negligence resulted in their death. It is time for the Congress to tell the Defense Department that our prime concern must be the health of the individual serviceman, that all necessary steps to preserve that health must be taken, and that no American should be forced into military service if that service poses a tangible and lethal danger to his health.

Mr. Chairman, I do not view these two bills as contradictory. Rather they supplement one another. Therefore, it is my recommendation that the Subcommittee give serious consideration to combining the two bills. Specifically, I urge you to establish a National Sickle Cell Institute within the National Institutes of Health to assure black Americans of a Congressional commitment to defeat this disease. The Institute should be endowed with the powers enumerated in H.R. 10932 and H.R. 11171, with special emphasis on treatment and screening of schoolchildren, GIs and veterans. It should be funded annually with a minimum of the \$30,000,000 authorized in H.R. 11171. The Institute should assist the Secretary of Defense and the Veterans Administrator in es-

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tablishing their own voluntary programs, providing technical and professional assistance where necessary. Annual reports to Congress should be required since it is imperative that Congress be fully aware of the progress and difficulties of the sickle cell anemia programs.

Congress must make a pledge now that it will wage war against sickle cell anemia until every citizen of this country can live free of fear that he, or his children, or his friends, will be stricken by the disease. We must guarantee all Americans the best medical care available. Favorable action by the Subcommittee on Public Health and Environment is crucial if we are to make rapid progress in our struggle against sickle cell anemia.

## NORTHERN IRELAND

## HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, the increased inhumane brutality taking place in Northern Ireland concerns me greatly. Recent reports from Amnesty International, a private organization which acts on behalf of political prisoners around the world, indicate that men being detained in Northern Ireland have been subjected to "savage beatings" and torture. The organization called for an international commission of inquiry on the basis of violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

When brutality charges were made earlier this fall, the only public response by Prime Minister Faulkner and Prime Minister Heath was that they doubted the validity of these reports. In token response they appointed an official British commission to look into the situation.

Yesterday the investigating team rejected the brutality charges, while admitting that some of the men arrested under internment had suffered calculated "ill-treatment." I do not know how far one must go before these men would consider it brutal treatment, but I personally feel that the following are acts of extreme inhumane brutality: Subjecting men to deprivation of sleep; standing anywhere from 9 to 49 hours while leaning on their hands, legs apart, against a wall; constant exposure to a high-pitched sound for days on end; a bread-and-water diet; and being hooded with a sack or opaque bag throughout the 2- to 4-day period of interrogation.

A relative of mine from Northern Ireland recently wrote that—

A young teacher, father of five with no politics except civil rights, was taken from his home at 4 a.m. and for 12 days the authorities refused to tell his pregnant wife where he was. Finally, when she was allowed to see him he was almost unrecognizable and a physical wreck.

This too, I maintain, goes beyond simple "ill-treatment."

The brutality, of course, is not limited to one side. The two cases in which young women were tied to lamp posts, had their heads shaven and then had tar poured over them were repulsive. The tension in Northern Ireland has apparently reached the point when no action,

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no matter how brutal, is ruled out. Unless Prime Minister Heath acts and acts now, no life will be safe.

First and foremost there must be an immediate end to the internment policy. Until this is done, there will be no chance for peace to return to the streets of Northern Ireland. And until peace returns, it is unlikely that the serious political, economic and social problems which exist will be resolved.

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**EDUCATORS HAVE NEW RESPONSIBILITY WITH 18-YEAR-OLD VOTE LAW**

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**HON. JACK F. KEMP**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, now that our young citizens, barely out of high school, will be casting their votes, eventually, in every election, it is imperative that our schools develop curriculums to prepare the future voters for their responsibilities.

I am happy to say that Miss Kathleen Louise O'Brien, eighth grade history teacher at Public School No. 63 in Buffalo, N.Y., is one teacher who sees the need for this type of instruction. American history students in her class have spent 3 weeks studying the three branches of the Federal Government. As a result, the children were interested in becoming actively involved in the democratic process. I received a letter from every student as a result of their desire to become involved.

Mr. Speaker, the letters covered a wide range of issues and will take some time to answer. However, to set a good example for other educators who might read these remarks along with my colleagues, I have selected some of the letters to insert. These show that Miss O'Brien has obviously done an outstanding job in stimulating their interest and concern in the workings of government. The letters follow:

BUFFALO, N.Y.,  
October 8, 1971.

Congressman JACK KEMP,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My name is Keith Sharples. I'm in public school 63 in the eighth grade.

My letter is about, well you know how there is all this urban renewal in Buffalo that in the good neighborhoods there is hardly no place to play, most of the times when we want to play in the school playground we get hollered at. They are also going to take down central park for apartment housing then we will have no place to play.

Well I hope you can do something about this.

Thank you,

KEITH SHARPLES.

BUFFALO, N.Y.,  
October 8, 1971.

Congressman KEMP,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My name is Kathy LaLonge and I am an eighth grader of Public School No. 63. My principal's name is Mr. Axlerod, and

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my Social Studies teacher's name is Miss O'Brien.

I am concerned about the High Schools and all the trouble that has been going on. The kids who are getting hurt because of color. I know you can do something about it.

Thank you sir for at least reading my letter. I know you have thousands of letters to read and reply to. I'm sure you'll take action.

Thank you,

KATHY LALONGE.

BUFFALO, N.Y.

Congressman JACK KEMP,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KEMP: My name is Michelle Houck I am an 8th grade student at public school #63. Our principal is Harold D. Axlerod.

We are studying the American Government in our Social Studies class. Our teacher, Miss O'Brien, has assigned the class to write a letter to our Congressman. Our school is on Minnesota Ave. and lies in the 39th district, therefore you are the Congressman I must write to.

Congressman Kemp, how would you control tension and racism in the Buffalo schools? What can we do to teach students in the schools that there should be no difference in race or nationality?

I'd like to thank you for looking at my questions and wish you much luck as a Congressman in the future.

Sincerely,

MICHELE HOUCK.

BUFFALO, N.Y.,  
October 8, 1971.

Congressman JACK KEMP,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR JACK KEMP: Hello, Mr. Kemp. My name is John Bauer. I live at 211 Shirley Avenue. I am thirteen years old and concerned with some state problems. I am concerned with air pollution and water pollution. There are two major problems which are killing life. Air pollution is killing people; they are getting bad eyes, and it is getting into their lungs, and it is irritating them. They don't want to walk around and breathe all this bad air. Then there is water pollution which is killing our fish and fish is a popular food. It is killing a sport which I love fishing; there are no good spots anymore, some but not many. It really isn't hard to stop this if you could get factories to do something with smoke. Invent something so that they could use it over again.

Well, this is about all I have to say. I just wish you could do something about this so it wouldn't irritate people and we could fish again. Then it would be America the Beautiful.

Your friend,

JACK BAUER.

BUFFALO, N.Y.,  
October 4, 1971.

Congressman JACK KEMP,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am an eighth grader. This is an assignment. We are supposed to write on how you are doing. What you think of the Bills and the new stadium?

I wanted to ask you about what you are doing about summer Little League. What I mean to say is that every Little League in our district is run by the city except Ken Little League. They say we will have a field by next year. But they have been saying that for thirteen years. But now at least they have plans. It is now October and they have not even leveled it off or other wise plan grass. My father is vice president. Would you see what you could do.

Thank you for reading my letter and for an answer.

Yours truly,

SCOT GOWANS.

BUFFALO, N.Y.,  
October 4, 1971.

Congressman JACK KEMP,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am Patty Carrington, an eighth grader at P.S. #63. My principal is Mr. Harold D. Axlerod and my Social Studies teacher is Miss O'Brien.

I am a concerned student here at school 63, and I have a problem that is quite important to me. As I am studying the American government right now in Social Studies class, I thought that you, as a representative of my own district, might be able to answer it. My own particular concern is violence. Lately there has been too much violence and too many riots everywhere. Violence in the schools especially bothers me, since the school that I'd been planning to go to when I graduate has had "trouble" lately and now I'm undecided on where to go. Have you any plans to curb violence and unrest in our schools and cities? Any laws that you're planning to enforce or any new amendments that you may introduce?

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this letter.

Yours truly,

PATTY CARRINGTON.

BUFFALO, N.Y.,  
October 8, 1971.

Congressman JACK KEMP,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KEMP: I am an eighth grader of Buffalo Public School No. 63. You probably know this area as the University District. Our Principal is Mr. Harold D. Axlerod, who is a very competent man at his job. We have very fine teachers here and I am glad to be a member of this school.

The reason I am writing to you is this: Here at school we are studying American history and government. I am very interested in this subject and enjoy the various historical parks and forts in New York State, especially the ones that have to do with the Revolutionary War. The 200th anniversary of our country is coming up and many revolutionary battles were fought here in New York State. I was wondering if any special celebrations such as reconstructions of battles and exhibitions will be held in the areas where battles were fought between the British and Americans, during the revolution, in the years 1775-77. If not, are you doing anything for the situation? You should be. It's a good idea.

I appreciate your reading my letter and do sincerely hope that things are planned for the years 1975-77. I think you are a fine Congressman and appreciate the work you are doing to help our area and the country. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

JOHN FITZWATER.

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**WASHINGTON SUMMER INTERN PROGRAM**

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**HON. MARVIN L. ESCH**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, as did a number of my colleagues, I participated in the University of Michigan's Washington summer intern program. I found the program to be both very worthwhile for my intern and very useful to the office. I should like to share with the members of the House an evaluation of the program.

The University of Michigan summer internship in Washington program was

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

organized in 1970. Its purpose was to provide an opportunity for students to gain insight into the operations of our Federal Government by placing them in the offices of Congressmen, Senators and executive agencies. Similar programs have been conducted at such schools as Stanford, UCLA, Berkeley, Wellesley, Mount Holyoke, and Smith.

Over 400 students applied to the University of Michigan program. The 400 applicants were interviewed individually by interns who had participated in preceding years. Through the results of the interviews and on the basis of the information on the application, 100 students were selected to submit résumés to the program. The final selection of interns was made by the individual offices.

Work in congressional offices included regular clerical work, as well as more demanding duties such as answering constituent mail and researching and evaluating special bills. Agency positions provided a variety of office work as well as a number of research projects. Unlike the 1970 program, the one this past summer also expanded into the offices of public interest groups and the mass media. These two types of offices offered yet another view of how our Federal Government functions.

It is agreed by almost all who have participated that the program is a success. For the interns the program affords a unique vantage point from which to monitor the inner working, the political personalities, and the output of at least some segment of the Government. A majority of interns feel that while before they may have intellectually understood some of the problems of the governmental process, the intern programs gave them a chance to realize on an emotional level the necessity of dealing with both ideals and practicalities. Perhaps more than anything else, the program gave the students personal, practical experience which provided insights into government beyond detached academic studies. As one participant says:

I am leaving Washington with numerous new acquisition . . . I know the capitol building as a second home. I have met some of whom I feel are the most brilliant people in our country while at the same time coming across those as equally unqualified yet holding important positions. The word "congressman" now takes on a personal meaning—the role and how he fulfills it are within my understanding. I am beginning to understand how the citizen fits into the democratic set-up and know how he can best fulfill his political desires beyond voting. But most importantly, I now better understand the meaning of the word "politics."

For the offices in which they worked the intern program was also very worthwhile. The interns not only helped relieve the workload but also contributed to the constructive ideas of the offices in which they worked.

Beyond the mutually beneficial values for the students and offices, the intern program is of significant value to the university. In the very fact that it exists, the program helps the university fulfill its primary function of providing students with a worthwhile educational experience.

For all concerned then, the university's Washington summer intern program has

been of great value. I commend those in the university who have developed and coordinated the program, and sincerely hope that it will be continued in the future.

## THE IRRESPONSIBLE FHA

## HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, on October 14, I submitted for the RECORD a Detroit News article written by Mr. Don Ball. The article concerned the irresponsibility of management in the FHA which has enabled HUD to acquire 3,000 vacation homes in the city of Detroit at a cost of \$3 million.

This mismanagement, however, extends beyond fiduciary irresponsibility. Nearly 1,000 vacant Detroit homes have been damaged or destroyed by fire so far this year. Most of these homes are owned by HUD. Besides expending \$250,000 to fight these fires, the Detroit fire department has suffered injuries to 56 of its members. The possibility of future vacant home fires threatens the lives and property of entire Detroit neighborhoods.

Today, I submit for the RECORD a second article by Don Ball indicating how serious and dangerous this problem has become for the city of Detroit. The FHA has not confined its irresponsible management to the city of Detroit, however, and I urge my colleagues to read this article in order to understand the necessity for immediate action to correct this national problem.

The article follows:

[From the Detroit News, Nov. 10, 1971]  
DETROIT PLAGUED BY FIRES IN VACANT HOMES

(By Don Ball)

Nearly 1,000 vacant Detroit homes have been hit by fires so far this year—a rate greater than all such fires in 1970 when the total reached 860.

The fires have ranged from superficial blazes to multiple alarms which damaged adjoining homes. With few exceptions the fires were set by trespassers in the empty houses.

Joseph J. Deneweth, executive chief of the Detroit Fire Department, said yesterday:

"Empty houses pose serious fire hazards to residents in many neighborhoods and already have cost the department an estimated \$250,000 in unnecessary operational expenses.

"We've had 56 firefighters injured so far this year putting out fires in empty houses, many of which would have been torn down anyway.

"I'm afraid that we'll have some persons killed, either citizens or firemen, if something isn't done about the increasing number of fires in vacant houses in the city.

"Because of the large number of vacant houses on some streets, a whole neighborhood could be swept by a fire which got out of control before it was spotted."

Many of the vacant homes hit by fires so far this year belonged to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) as the result of foreclosures on FHA-insured mortgages.

HUD owns dozens of empty houses on some east side Detroit streets.

A substantial number of vacant houses damaged by fires this year were properties of real estate investors who have been un-

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able to find buyers for them since HUD tightened FHA procedures earlier this year.

With few exceptions, the fire-damaged houses have been empty for many months.

Fire Department reports show:

There were fires in 888 empty Detroit homes by Oct. 1 of this year—28 more than the total last year.

More than half of the fires this year apparently were started by children playing with matches.

Fires in some 190 vacant houses were believed by investigators to be the work of professional arsonists, presumably in an effort to collect fire insurance.

At least 14 percent of the fires this year in empty houses were attributed to tramps and thieves.

Typical of the fires was the one last week which swept through three houses on Fairview, just north of Jefferson, on Detroit's east side.

The fire started from an "undetermined cause" around 9 p.m. in the empty house at 1557 Fairview and spread to HUD-owned houses which flanked it on both sides, according to a Fire Department report.

The house where the fire started was gutted. The HUD homes were damaged severely.

Residents in neighboring homes had to be evacuated until the blaze was put out. Their homes also suffered fire damage.

Most of the homes and apartments on the street are occupied and well kept. The three houses had been vacant for more than a year and had been vandalized a number of times.

Residents had complained repeatedly to government agencies that the homes were open to trespass and were a danger to the entire neighborhood.

There also had been an earlier fire in the home at 1557 Fairview.

The residents' complaints brought no response from the government agencies.

The histories of the three vacant houses are typical of the empty houses found throughout Detroit's east side.

The home at 1557 Fairview was bought by a private investor for \$4,000 in March 1970 and has been unoccupied since then. The owner has a \$3,500 loan on the building from a mortgage company.

The city Department of Buildings and Safety Engineering was preparing an order for the demolition of the house as a "dangerous building" at the time of last week's fire.

The home at 1551 Fairview was bought for \$9,500 by Charles E. Williams with an FHA-insured mortgage in August 1967. Williams abandoned the home after the death of his wife and HUD repossessed the house last February.

HUD planned to tear the house down but had not let a contract by the time the fire hit.

The home at 1563 Fairview was bought by a welfare family for \$9,000 in September 1968. The family defaulted on the FHA-insured mortgage and HUD repossessed the house on Sept. 11, 1970.

Last January, HUD officials "programed" the house to be torn down.

Actual demolition of the house had not started when the fire hit last week, 10 months later.

TRANSFER OF POSTAL PROPERTIES  
CREATES NEW PROBLEMS IN IMPACT AID

## HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year when the U.S. Post Office went

out of existence and the U.S. Postal Service came into being, practically all Federal post office buildings were transferred to this new corporation. One of the unexpected results of this transfer, we have discovered, is that more than 700 school districts will receive reduced payments or no payments at all under the impact aid program for this school year.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced H.R. 11809, a bill to give these school districts a temporary reprieve, a 2-year grace period, before their payments are reduced or terminated. I am pleased to announce that I was joined in introducing this bill by Mr. PERKINS, Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD, Mr. MEEDS, Mr. HAWKINS, Mrs. MINK, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. BIAGGI, Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. BELL, Mr. VEYSEY, Mr. PEYSER, Mr. DENT, and Mr. GAYDOS.

Under Public Law 874, commonly known as the impact aid program, school districts are eligible to receive Federal assistance on the basis of students enrolled in their schools whose parents live or work on Federal property. "Federal property" is defined in the act as "real property which is owned by the United States or is leased by the United States, and which is not subject to taxation by any State or any political subdivision of a State or by the District of Columbia." Section 303(1)(B) expressly provides for a "grace period" to a local school district after Federal property has been sold or transferred by the United States. This provision was intended to allow school districts receiving Public Law 874 funds a phaseout period after Federal activity ceased.

However, section 303(1)(B) expressly excludes "any real property under the jurisdiction of the Post Office Department and used primarily for the provision of postal services." The recent transfer by the General Services Administration of Federal facilities under their jurisdiction to the newly-created U.S. Postal Service threatens to cause tremendous hardships to those school districts which have been receiving payments on behalf of children whose parents work in such facilities. Approximately 700 school districts in about 200 congressional districts are affected by these transfers to the U.S. Postal Service.

It is the purpose of my bill to give these districts similar treatment to that given other districts in which Federal property has been sold or transferred. The amendment would authorize a 2-year "grace period" for such school districts in order to allow them to receive the impact aid which they have already budgeted for this year and to receive funds for 1 more year as they reduce or eliminate their reliance on the program.

Include the following:

H.R. 11809

A bill to provide that for purposes of Public Law 874, Eighty-first Congress, relating to assistance for schools in Federally impacted areas, Federal property transferred to the United States Postal Service shall continue to be treated as Federal property for two years.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all real property of the United States which was*

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

transferred to the United States Postal Service and was, prior to such transfer, treated as Federal property for purposes of the Act of September 30, 1950 (Public Law 874, Eighty-first Congress), shall continue to be treated as Federal property for such purpose for two years beyond the end of the fiscal year in which such transfer occurred.

### POST OFFICE BUILDINGS TRANSFERRED TO POSTAL SERVICE JURISDICTION

Attached is a listing, by State and Congressional District, of Post Office Buildings claimed in prior years which have been transferred to the jurisdiction of the U.S. Postal Service and have been declared ineligible for the 1971-72 school year under the definition of Federal property contained in section 303(1) of P.L. 81-874. The P.L. 874 applicants claiming them are indicated with each.

Other Post Office Buildings were transferred but, to date, have not been claimed or have been determined ineligible under P.L. 874 prior to the transfer. Not all buildings that were transferred will become ineligible.

#### ALASKA At Large

Cordova City S.D.  
1606 Ketchikan Gateway Borough S.D.  
2 Greater Sitka Boro S.D.  
305 Wrangell Pub. Schs.

#### ARKANSAS

*Fourth Congressional District*  
Camden S.D. No. 35, Quachita County.

#### CALIFORNIA

*First Congressional District*  
Old Adobe U.S.D., Petaluma.  
Tamalpais U.H.S.D., Larkspur (also 6th Cong. Dist.)  
Larkspur S.D. (also 6th Cong. Dist.).  
Marin Jr. Col. District, Kentfield (also 6th Cong. Dist.).  
San Rafael S.D. (also 6th Cong. Dist.).  
San Rafael H.S.D. (also 6th Cong. Dist.).  
Dixie S.D., San Rafael (also 6th Cong. Dist.).  
Novato Unif. S.D. (also 6th Cong. Dist.).

#### Third Congressional District

Rio Linda U.S.D.  
Sacramento City Unif. S.D.  
Los Rios Jr. Col. Dist., Sacramento.  
Robla S.D., Sacramento.

#### Fourth Congressional District

Washington Unif. S.D., North Sacramento.  
Marysville Jr. Unif. S.D.  
Fairfield Suisun Unif. S.D.  
Martinez Unif. S.D.

#### Fifth Congressional District

San Francisco Unif. S.D. (also 6th Cong. Dist.).

Catati Elementary S.D., Sonoma County.

#### Sixth Congressional District

Larkspur S.D. (also 1st Cong. Dist.).  
Marin Jr. Col. District, Kentfield (also 1st Cong. Dist.).

Tamalpais U.H.S.D., Larkspur (also 1st Cong. Dist.).

San Rafael S.D. (also 1st Cong. Dist.).

San Rafael H.S.D. (also 1st Cong. Dist.).

Dixie S.D., San Rafael (also 1st Cong. Dist.).

Novato Unif. S.D. (also 1st Cong. Dist.).

San Francisco Unif. S.D. (also 5th Cong. Dist.).

#### Eighth Congressional District

San Leandro Unif. S.D.  
Berkeley Unif. S.D.  
Fremont Unif. S.D.  
Pleasanton, Jr. S.D.  
Amador Valley Jt. U.H.S.D., Pleasanton.  
Oakland Unif. S.D.  
Murray S.D., Dublin.  
S Co. Jt. Coll. Dist., San Leandro.  
Hayward Unif. S.D.

San Lorenzo Unif. S.D.  
Peralta Jr. Col. Dist., Oakland.  
Castro Valley Unif. S.D.  
Emery Unif., S.D., Emeryville.

#### Tenth Congressional District

Palo Alto Unif. S.D.

#### Eleventh Congressional District

Laguna Salada U.S.D., Pacifica.  
Jefferson S.D., Daly City.  
Jefferson U.H.S.D., Daly City.  
San Mateo U.H.S.D.

#### Thirteenth Congressional District

Los Angeles Unif. S.D. (also 17th, 20th, 21st, 22d, 24th, 26th, 27th 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st Cong. Dists.).

#### Fourteenth Congressional District

Pittsburg Unif. S.D.  
Mt. Diablo Unif. S.D., Concord.  
Lafayette S.D.  
Richmond Unif. S.D.  
Walnut Creek S.D.  
Orinda U.S.D.  
Acalanes U.H.S.D., Lafayette.  
Moraga Sch. Dist.  
San Ramon Valley Unif. S.D., Danville.

#### Fifteenth Congressional District

San Joaquin Delta Jr. College, Stockton.

#### Seventeenth Congressional District

*Twentieth Congressional District*  
*Twenty-First Congressional District*  
*Twenty-Second Congressional District*  
*Twenty-Fourth Congressional District*  
*Twenty-Sixth Congressional District*  
*Twenty-Seventh Congressional District*  
*Twenty-Eighth Congressional District*  
*Twenty-Ninth Congressional District*  
*Thirty Congressional District*  
*Thirty-First Congressional District*

Los Angeles Unif. S.D.

#### Thirty-Fifth Congressional District

Oceanside U.S.D.  
Chula Vista City S.D.  
Santee S.D.  
Grossmont U.H.S.D.  
Cajon Valley S.D., El Cajon.  
Escondido U.S.D.  
S. Bay U.S.D., Imperial Beach.  
Lakeside U.S.D.  
Sweetwater U.H.S.D., Chula Vista.  
Lemon Grove S.D.  
La Mesa Spring Valley, S.D.  
San Diego Unif. S.D.  
Orange Glen S.D.  
Jamul Las Flores U.S.D.  
Grossmont Jr. Col. Dist.  
Sweetwater Jr. Col. Dist., Chula Vista.  
San Diego Comm. Col. Dist., San Diego County (also 36th and 37th Cong. Dists.).

#### Thirty-Sixth Congressional District

*Thirty-Seventh Congressional District*  
San Diego Comm. Col. Dist., San Diego County (also 35th Cong. Dist.).

#### COLORADO

*First Congressional District*  
S.D. No., Denver.

#### Second Congressional District

Jefferson Co. S.D. No. R1, Lakewood.  
Englewood S.D. No. 1.  
Adams Arapahoe Jt. S.D. No. 28, Aurora.  
Adams Co. S.D. No. 14, Commerce City.  
S.D. No. 6, Littleton.  
Westminster S.D. No. 50.  
S.D. No. 12, Denver.  
Mapleton Pub. S.D. No. 1, Denver.  
St. Vrain Valley S.D. Re. 1J, Longmont.

#### Third Congressional District

Colo. Springs S.D. No. 11.

#### Fourth Congressional District

Roaring Fork S.D. Re. 1, Glenwood Springs.  
Garfield S.D. Re. 2, Rifle.

#### CONNECTICUT

*Second Congressional District*  
Town of East Lyme Bd. of Ed.  
Town of Colchester Bd. of Ed.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

New London Bd. of Ed.  
Town of Salem S.D., Norwich.  
*Third Congressional District*  
Milford Public Schs.  
City of W. Haven Bd. of Ed.  
Derby Bd. of Ed.  
Orange Co. Bd. of Ed., Orange.  
New Haven Bd. of Ed.  
Town of Oxford Bd. of Ed.  
City of Waterbury Bd. of Ed., New Haven County.  
*Fourth Congressional District*  
Bridgeport Bd. of Ed.  
Town of Stratford Acting as a S.D.  
Shelton Bd. of Ed.  
Trumbull Bd. of Ed.  
Town of Monroe Bd. of Ed.  
*Sixth Congressional District*  
Windsor Locks Public S.D.  
Granby Bd. of Ed.  
Enfield Bd. of Ed., Thompsonville.  
Windsor Bd. of Ed.  
Hartford Bd. of Ed.  
Town of Suffield Bd. of Ed.  
Bloomfield Bd. of Ed., Hartford Co.  
**DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**  
*At large*  
D.C. Public Schools.  
**FLORIDA**  
*Ninth Congressional District*  
*Tenth Congressional District*  
Broward Co. Bd. of Pub. Instr., Ft. Lauderdale.  
*Eleventh Congressional District*  
*Twelfth Congressional District*  
Dade Co. Bd. of Pub. Instr., Miami.  
**GEORGIA**  
*Third Congressional District*  
Muscogee Co. S.D., Columbus.  
Harris Co. Bd. of Ed., Hamilton.  
Houston Co. Bd. of Ed., Perry.  
Crawford Co. Bd. of Ed., Roberta.  
Twiggs Co. Bd. of Ed., Jeffersonville.  
Pulaski Co. Bd. of Ed., Hawkinsville.  
*Fourth Congressional District*  
De Kalb Co. Bd. of Ed., Decatur.  
City Schs. of Decatur.  
Atlanta Pub. Sch. System (also 5th Cong. Dist.).  
Fulton Co. Bd. of Ed., Atlanta (also 5th Cong. Dist.).  
*Fifth Congressional District*  
Atlanta Pub. Sch. System (also 4th Cong. Dist.).  
Fulton Co. Bd. of Ed., Atlanta (also 4th Cong. Dist.).  
*Sixth Congressional District*  
Clayton Co. Bd. of Ed., Jonesboro.  
Bibb Co. Bd. of Ed. & Orph., Macon.  
Henry Co. Bd. of Ed., McDonough.  
Carroll Co. Bd. of Ed., Carrollton.  
Fayette County School System, Fayette County.  
Monroe Co. Bd. of Ed., Forsythe.  
*Seventh Congressional District*  
Cobb Co. Bd. of Ed., Marietta.  
Douglas Co. Bd. of Ed., Douglasville.  
Paulding Co. Bd. of Ed., Dallas.  
*Ninth Congressional District*  
Cherokee Co. Bd. of Ed., Canton.  
**HAWAII**  
*First Congressional District*  
*Second Congressional District*  
Bd. of Ed. of State of Hawaii, Honolulu.  
**ILLINOIS**  
*First Congressional District*  
*Second Congressional District*  
*Third Congressional District*  
Chicago Public Schools No. 299 (also 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, & 11th Cong. Dists.).

*Fourth Congressional District*  
Posen Robbins Sch. Dist. No. 143 1/2, Cook County.  
*Fifth Congressional District*  
*Sixth Congressional District*  
*Seventh Congressional District*  
*Eighth Congressional District*  
*Ninth Congressional District*  
Chicago Public Schools No. 299 (also 1st, 2d, 3d, 10th, & 11th Cong. Dists.).  
*Tenth Congressional District*  
Chicago Public Schools No. 299 (also 1st, 2d, 3d, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, & 11th Cong. Dists.).  
Melrose Park Broadview S.D. No. 89, Maywood.  
Park Forest S.D. No. 163.  
Rich Twp. H.S.D. No. 227, Park Forest.  
Provise Twp. H.S.D. No. 209, Maywood.  
Cook Co. E.S.D. No. 102, La Grange Park.  
Komarer S.D. No. 94, North Riverside.  
Harvey Pub. Schls. Dist. No. 152, Cook Co.  
West Harvey Dist. Schl. Dist. No. 147, Cook Co.  
*Eleventh Congressional District*  
Chicago Public Schools No. 299 (also 1st, 2d, 3d, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, & 10th Cong. Dists.).  
*Twelfth Congressional District*  
Mundelein Cons. H.S.D. No. 120.  
Twp. H.S.D. No. 110, Highland Park.  
Mundelein E.S.D. No. 75.  
Grayslake Comm. H.S.D. No. 127.  
Community Unit S.D. No. 60, Waukegan Lake Co.  
*Fourteenth Congressional District*  
Lisle E.S.D. No. 70.  
Maercker S.D. No. 60, Clarendon Hills.  
Downers Grove H.S.D. No. 99.  
Downers Grove E.S.D. No. 58.  
Naperville Comm. H.S.D.  
Naperville E.S.D. No. 78, Wheaton.  
Lace Marion Hills S.D. No. 61, Wheaton.  
Goodrich S.D. No. 68, Woodridge.  
Comm. Cons. S.D. No. 181, Hinsdale.  
Hinsdale Twp. H.S.D. No. 86.  
Darien Pub. Sch. Dist. No. 61, DuPage Co.  
Joliet Pub. S.D. No. 86 (also 17th Cong. Dist.).  
Joliet Twp. H.S.D. No. 204 (also 17th Cong. Dist.).  
Plainfield Comm. Cons. S.D. No. 202 (also 17th Cong. Dist.).  
Lockport E.S.D. No. 96 (also 17th Cong. Dist.).  
Lockport Twp. H.S.D. No. 205 (also 17th Cong. Dist.).  
Community Consolidated Schools, DuPage Co.  
*Seventeenth Congressional District*  
Georgetown E.S.D. No. 177.  
Joliet Pub. S.D. No. 86 (also 14th Cong. Dist.).  
Joliet Twp. H.S.D. No. 204 (also 14th Cong. Dist.).  
Plainfield Comm. Cons. S.D. No. 202 (also 14th Cong. Dist.).  
Lockport E.S.D. No. 96 (also 14th Cong. Dist.).  
Lockport Twp. H.S.D. No. 205 (also 14th Cong. Dist.).  
*Nineteenth Congressional District*  
Rock Island S.D. No. 41.  
Moline S.D. No. 40.  
East Moline Pub. S.D. No. 37.  
Hampton E.S.D. No. 29.  
Comm. Unit S.D. No. 200, Sherrard.  
Geneseo Comm. Unit S.D. No. 228.  
Rockridge Comm. Unit S.D. No. 300, Taylor Ridge.  
Comm. Unit S.D. No. 115, Oquawka.  
*Twenty-Second Congressional District*  
Comm. Unit S.D. No. 335, La Harpe.

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## INDIANA

*Sixth Congressional District*

Clark Pleasant Comm. Sch. Corp., White-  
land.  
Mooresville Cons. Sc. Corp.  
Metropolitan S.D. of Martinsville.  
Franklin Comm. Sch. Corp.  
Comm. Sch. Corp. of Southern Hancock Co.,  
New Palestine.  
Greenwood Comm. Sch. Corp.  
Center Grove Comm. Sch. Corp., Green-  
wood.

*Seventh Congressional District*

Avon. Comm. Sch. Corp., Indianapolis.  
Plainfield Comm. Sch. Corp.

*Eighth Congressional District*

Metropolitan S.D. of Mt. Vernon.

*Ninth Congressional District*

Metropolitan S.D. of Vernon Twp., Croth-  
ersville.  
Scott Co. S.D. No. 2, Scottsburg.  
Salem Comm. Schs.

*Eleventh Congressional District*

Metropolitan Sch. Dist. of Lawrence Twp.,  
Indianapolis.  
Metropolitan S.D. of Warren Twp.  
Indianapolis Pub. Schs.

## IOWA

*First Congressional District*

Bettendorf Comm. S.D.  
The Davenport Comm. S.D.  
Pleasant Valley Comm. S.D.  
Burlington Comm. D.S.  
Danville Comm. S.D.  
Mediapolis Comm. S.D.

*Sixth Congressional District*

Sergeant Bluff Luton Comm. S.D.  
Westwood Comm. S.D., Sloan.  
Sioux Comm. S.D.  
Lawton-Bronson Comm. Sch. Dist., Wood-  
bury Co.

*Seventh Congressional District*

Lewis Central Comm. Schs., Council Bluffs.  
Council Bluffs Comm. S.D.

## KANSAS

*Second Congressional District*

Unif. S.D. No. 437, Topeka.  
Unif. S.D. No. 501, Topeka.  
Unif. S.D. No. 343, Perry.  
Unif. S.D. No. 340, Meriden.  
Unif. S.D. No. 337, Mayetta.  
Oskaloosa Unif. Sch. Dist. No. 341.  
Shawnee Heights Unif. S.D. No. 450, Te-  
cumseh.

Unif. S.D. No. 464, Ronganoxie.

*Third Congressional District*

Shawnee Mission Rural H.S.D. No. 6.  
Common S.D. No. 110, Overland Park.  
Antioch C.S.D. No. 61, Overland Park.  
Shawnee Common S.D. No. 27.  
Roeland C.S.D. No. 92, Shawnee Mission.  
Prairie S.D. No. 44.  
Valley View C.S.D. No. 49, Overland Park.  
Olathe Unif. S.D. No. 233.  
Unif. S.D. No. 231, Gardner.  
Bonner Springs Unif. S.D. No. 204.  
Unif. S.D. No. 500, Kansas City.  
Stanley Unif. S.D. No. 229.  
Shawnee Mission Unif. S.D. No. 512.

*Fourth Congressional District*

Haysville Unif. S.D. No. 261.  
Valley Center Unif. S.D. No. 262.  
Unif. S.D. No. 260, Derby.  
Maize Unif. S.D. No. 266.  
Unif. S.D. No. 259, Wichita.  
Unif. S.D. No. 265, Goddard.  
Unif. S.D. No. 263, Mulvane.

*Fifth Congressional District*

Leon Unif. S.D. Jt. No. 205.  
Douglass Unif. S.D. No. 39.  
Rose Hill Unif. S.D. No. 394.

Andover Unif. S.D. No. 385.  
Unif. S.D. No. 353, Wellington.  
Unif. S.D. No. 356, Conway Springs.  
Arkansas City Unif. S.D. No. 470.  
Belle Plaine Unif. S.D. No. 357.  
Osage City Unif. S.D. No. 420.  
Unif. S.D. No. 434, Overbrook.  
Unif. S.D. No. 454, Burlingame.  
Marais Des Cygnes Valley D. No. 456, Melvern.  
Lawrence Unif. S.D. No. 497.

## KENTUCKY

Third Congressional District  
Louisville Public Schools.

## Sixth Congressional District

Berea Ind. Sch. Dist.  
Fayette Co. Bd. of Ed., Lexington.  
Clark Co. Bd. of Ed., Winchester.  
Georgetown I.S.D.  
Paris I.S.D.  
Courbon Co. Bd. of Ed., Paris.

## LOUISIANA

## First Congressional District

St. Bernard Parish Sch. Bd., Chalmette.  
Orleans Parish Sch. Bd., New Orleans (also 2n Cong. Dist.).

## Second Congressional District

Orleans Parish Sch. Bd., New Orleans (also 1st Cong. Dist.).  
Jefferson Parish Sch. Bd., Gretna.

## Sixth Congressional District

St. Tammany Parish Sch. Bd., Covington.

## MAINE

## First Congressional District

S. Portland Bd. of Ed.  
Old Orchard Beach Sch. Dist.  
Biddeford Suptg. Sch. Comm.  
Cape Elizabeth Sch. Dept.  
Portland Pub. Schs.  
Yarmouth S.D.  
Town of Jefferson Sch. Committee.  
Windsor.  
Sch. Adm. Dist. No. 57, East Waterboro.  
Maine Sch. Adm. Dist. No. 35, South Berwick.

## Second Congressional District

Calais Sch. Dept.  
Vanceboro Sch. Dept., Danforth.  
Sch. Admin. Dist. No. 19, Lubec.  
City of Bangor Sch. Committee.  
Twn of Machias S.D.

## MARYLAND

## First Congressional District

St. Marys Co. Bd. of Ed., Leonardtown.  
Calvert Co. Bd. of Ed., Prince Frederick.

## Third Congressional District

Bd. of Ed. of Balt. Co., Towson (also 7th Cong. Dist.).

## Fifth Congressional District

Prince Geo. Co. Bd. of Ed., Upper Marlboro.  
Bd. of Ed. of Charles Co., La Plata.

## Sixth Congressional District

Bd. of Ed. of Fred. Co., Fred.  
Bd. of Ed. of Washington Co., Hagerstown.  
Bd. of Ed. of Howard Co., Ellicott City (also 8th Cong. Dist.).

## Seventh Congressional District

Bd. of Ed. of Balt. Co., Towson (also 3d and 4th Cong. Dists.).

## Eighth Congressional District

Bd. of Ed. of Mont. Co., Rockville.  
Bd. of Ed. of Howard Co., Ellicott City (also 6th Cong. Dist.).

## MASSACHUSETTS

## First Congressional District

Town of Hatfield Sch. Comm.

## Second Congressional District

Wilbraham Sch. Committee.  
Hampden Wilbraham Reg. S.D.  
Ludlow Sch. Comm.  
City of Springfield Sch. Comm.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Sch. Comm. of the City of Chicopee.  
City of Holyoke Sch. Comm.  
Twn. of W. Springfield Sch. Comm.  
Westfield Sch. Comm.

## Third Congressional District

Shrewsbury Sch. Committee.  
Southboro Sch. Comm.  
Milford Pub. Schs.

## Sixth Congressional District

Nahant Sch. Committee.  
Middleton Sch. Committee.  
Saugus Sch. Committee.  
Danvers Sch. Comm.  
Lynnefield Sch. Committee.  
Rowley Sch. Comm., Georgetown.  
Lynn Sch. Comm.  
Masconomet Reg. S.D., Boxford.  
Swampscott Pub. Sch.  
Salem Public Schools.

## Seventh Congressional District

Town of Wakefield, S.D.  
City of Revere Sch. Comm.  
Marlborough Sch. Comm.

## Tenth Congressional District

New Bedford Sch. Comm.  
Fairhaven Sch. Comm.  
Town of Dartmouth Sch. Comm.  
Acushnet Pub. Sch.

## Twelfth Congressional District

Falmouth Sch. Comm.  
Bourne Sch. Comm.  
Town of Barnstable Sch. Committee.  
Town of Sandwich Sch. Committee.

## MICHIGAN

Second Congressional District  
Pub. S.D. of City of Ann Arbor, Washtenaw Co.

## Seventh Congressional District

Sch. Dist. of the City of Flint, Genesee Co.

Eighth Congressional District  
Lansing Sch. Dist., Ingham County.

## MINNESOTA

## First Congressional District

I.S.D. No. 196, Rosemount.  
I.S.D. No. 191, Burnsville.

## Third Congressional District

I.S.D. No. 14, Fridley.  
I.S.D. No. 12, Circle Pines.  
Anoka Hennepin I.S.D. No. 286.  
I.S.D. No. 16, Minneapolis.  
Brooklyn Center I.S.D. No. 286.  
Special S.D. No. 1, Minneapolis.  
I.S.D. No. 281, Robbinsdale.  
I.S.D. No. 271, Bloomington.

## Fourth Congressional District

I.S.D. No. 621, New Brighton.  
I.S.D. No. 625, St. Paul.  
North St. Paul Maplewood S.D. No. 622, N. St. Paul.  
I.S.D. No. 624, White Bear Lake.  
I.S.D. No. 831, Forest Lake.  
I.S.D. No. 833, Cottage Grove.  
I.S.D. No. 623, St. Paul.

## Sixth Congressional District

I.S.D. No. 742, St. Cloud.  
I.S.D. No. 912, Milaca.  
Princeton I.S.D. No. 477.  
I.S.D. No. 728, Elk River, Sherburne Co.

## Eighth Congressional District

I.S.D. No. 137, Lindstrom.  
I.S.D. No. 138, Lindstrom.  
I.S.D. No. 139, Rush City.  
I.S.D. No. 138, North Branch.  
I.S.D. No. 578, Pine City.

## MISSISSIPPI

## Fifth Congressional District

Biloxi Mun. Sep. S.D.  
Ocean Springs Mun. Sep. S.D.  
Gulfport Mun. Sep. S.D.  
Bay St. Louis Mun. Sep. S.D.  
Jackson Co. Unit S.D., Pascagoula.  
Harrison Co. S.D., Gulfport.  
Laurel Municipal Sep. S.D., Jones Co.

## MISSOURI

## Fourth Congressional District

Cons. S.D. No. 2, Raytown.  
Reorg. S.D. No. 7, Lees Summit.  
Grain Valley S.D. No. 4.  
Ft. Osage S.D.R. 1, Independence.  
S.D. of the City of Independence.  
Blue Springs Reorg. S.D. No. 4.  
Wellington Napoleon Schs. R. 9.  
S.D. of Kansas City.  
Grandview Cons. S.D. No. 4.  
Hickman Mills Cons. S.D. No. 1.  
Reorg. S.D. No. 7, Odessa.  
S.D. of Harrisonville R. 9.  
Kingsville S.D.R. 1.  
Center S.D. No. 58, Kansas City.  
Midway Reorg. S.D. No. 1, West Line.  
Belton S.D. No. 124.  
Raymore Peculiar S.D.R. 2.  
Warrensburg S.D.R. 6.  
Cass Co. S.D. No. R. 8, Creighton.  
Archie Pub. Sch. Reorg. Dist. R. V, Archie.  
Miami Reorg. S.D. No. 1, Bates Co.

## Sixth Congressional District

Clay, N. Kansas City S.D. No. 74.  
Liberty Publ. S.D. No. 53.  
Richmond S.D.R. 13.  
St. Joseph S.D.  
Polo Public S.D.R. 7.  
Excelsior Springs S.D. No. 40.  
Reorg. S.D. No. 2, Kansas City.  
Norborne S.D.R. 6.  
Lawson Reorg. S.D.R. XII.

## Seventh Congressional District

S.D. of Springfield R. 12.  
Willard S.D.R. 2.  
Republ. S.D.R. 3.  
Fair Grove S.D. No. R. 10.  
Greene County S.D. R-8, Greene Co.

## MONTANA

## Second Congressional District

Billings E.S.D. No. 2.  
Billings H.S.D.  
H.S.D. No. 1A, Great Falls.  
E.S.D. No. 1, Great Falls.  
Vaughn S.D. No. 74.

## NEBRASKA

## Second Congressional District

S.D. of Omaha.  
Rapillion Publ. S.D. No. 27.  
Ralston S.D.  
S.D. of the City of Bellevue.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

## First Congressional District

City of Portsmouth Bd. of Ed.  
Oyster River Coop. S.D., Durham and Madbury.

Rollingsford S.D.

City of Dover S.D. No. 11.

Timberland Regional Sch. Dist., Atkinson.

North Hampton S.D.

S.D. of the Town of Exeter.

Nottingham Cooperative S.D.

Winnacunnet Coop. S.D., Hampton.

Concord U.S.D.

Newmarket S.D.

Epping S.D.

Raymond S.D.

Londonderry S.D.

Derry Coop. S.D. No. 1.

Manchester S.D. No. 37.

Goffstown S.D.

New Boston S.D.

Merrimack S.D.

Candia S.D.

Hooksett S.D., Suncook.

Allanstown S.D., Suncook.

Hudson S.D.

## Second Congressional District

Gorham S.D.  
Berlin Sch. Dist. No. 3, Coos Co.

## NEW JERSEY

## First Congressional District

Brielle Bd. of Ed.

Boro of Freehold Pub. Schs.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

*Second Congressional District*  
Bloomfield Mun. S.D. No. 6.

*Third Congressional District*  
South Belmar Bd. of Ed., Monmouth Co.  
Middletown Twp. Bd. of Ed.  
City of Perth Amboy Bd. of Ed., Middlesex Co. (also 15th Cong. Dist.).

*Fourth Congressional District*  
Trenton Bd. of Ed.  
Hamilton Twp. Bd. of Ed.

*Fifth Congressional District*  
Morris Hills Reg. H.S.D., Rockaway.

*Sixth Congressional District*  
Bd. of Ed., Cinnaminson Twp.  
Burlington City Bd. of Ed.  
Burlington Twp. Bd. of Ed.  
City of Beverly Bd. of Ed.  
Riverside Twp. Bd. of Ed.  
Westhampton Twp. Bd. of Ed., Mt. Holly.  
Edgewater Park Twp. Bd. of Ed., Beverley.  
Florence Twp. Bd. of Ed.  
Burlington Co. Voc. Bd. of Ed., Mt. Holly.  
Pemberton Twp. Bd. of Ed., Browns Mills.  
Moorestown Twp. Bd. of Ed.

*Seventh Congressional District*  
Hackensack Publ. Sch., Bergen Co.

*Eighth Congressional District*  
Passaic Bd. of Ed., Passaic Co.

*Tenth Congressional District*  
Bd. of Ed. of Newark (also 11th Cong. Dist.).

*Eleventh Congressional District*  
Bd. of Ed. of Newark (also 10th Cong. Dist.).

Essex Co. Voc. Schs., Essex Co.

*Thirteenth Congressional District*  
Jersey City Bd. of Ed., Hudson Co. (also 14th Cong. Dist.).

Bayonne S. A.

*Fourteenth Congressional District*  
Jersey City Bd. of Ed., Hudson Co. (also 13th Cong. Dist.).

*Fifteenth Congressional District*  
City of Perth Amboy Bd. of Ed., Middlesex Co. (also 3d Cong. Dist.).

**NEW MEXICO**

*Second Congressional District*  
Clovis Municipal S.D. No. 1, Curry Co.

**NEW YORK**

*First Congressional District*  
C.S.D. No. 5 Twn of Brookhaven, Holbrook.  
U.F.S.D. No. 5 Twn of Islip, Bayport.  
U.F.S.D. No. 2 Twn of Babylon, Huntington.  
C.S.D. No. 5 Twn of Smithtown, Kings Park.  
U.F.S.D. No. 1 Twn of Huntington, Elwood.  
U.F.S.D. No. 12 Twn of Islip, Brentwood.  
U.F.S.D. No. 3 Twn of Islip.  
Ctr. S.D. No. 7 Twn of Islip, Oakdale.  
Ctr. S.D. No. 11 Twn of Brookhaven, Centereach.  
U.F.S.D. No. 10 Twn of Huntington, Commack.  
U.F.S.D. No. 3 Twn of Brookhaven, Port Jefferson Station.  
U.F.S.D. No. 1 Twn of Babylon, Dix Hills.  
U.F.S.D. No. 9 Twn of Islip.  
U.F.S.D. No. 5 Babylon, Suffolk Co (also 2d Cong. Dist.).

*Second Congressional District*  
U.F.S.D. No. 5 Babylon, Suffolk Co. (also 1st Cong. Dist.).

U.F.S.D. No. 21 Twn of Oyster Bay.  
U.F.S.D. No. 2 Twn of Hempstead, Uniondale.  
U.F.S.D. No. 22 Twn of Farmingdale.  
U.F.S.D. No. 17 Town of Oyster Bay, Hicksville.  
Town of Hempstead, East Meadow, Nassau Co. (also 4th and 5th Cong. Dists.).

Central S.D. No. 4, Twn of Oyster Bay, Nassau Co. (also 4th and 5th Cong. Dists.).

*Fourth Congressional District*  
*Fifth Congressional District*  
Town of Hempstead, East Meadow, Nassau Co. (also 1st Cong. Dist.).

Central S.D. No. 4, Twn of Oyster Bay, Nassau Co. (also 1st Cong. Dist.)

*Sixth Congressional District*  
*Seventh Congressional District*  
*Eighth Congressional District*  
*Ninth Congressional District*  
*Tenth Congressional District*  
*Eleventh Congressional District*  
*Twelfth Congressional District*  
*Thirteenth Congressional District*  
*Fourteenth Congressional District*  
*Fifteenth Congressional District*  
*Sixteenth Congressional District*  
*Seventeenth Congressional District*  
*Eighteenth Congressional District*  
*Nineteenth Congressional District*  
*Twenty-first Congressional District*  
*Twenty-second Congressional District*  
*Twenty-third Congressional District*  
*Twenty-fourth Congressional District*  
School District of the City of New York, Brooklyn.

*Twenty-fifth Congressional District*  
City S.D. of the City of Peekskill.  
City S.D. of Yonkers, Westchester Co.

*Thirty-fourth Congressional District*  
*Thirty-fifth Congressional District*  
S.D. of the City of Syracuse.

**NORTH CAROLINA**

*Third Congressional District*  
Onslow Co. Bd. of Ed., Jacksonville.

*Fifth Congressional District*  
Forsythe Co. Schs., Winston-Salem.

*Sixth Congressional District*  
High Point City Schs., High Point, Gullford Co.

*Seventh Congressional District*  
Fayetteville City Bd. of Ed.  
Cumberland Co. Bd. of Ed., Fayetteville.  
Hoke Co., Bd. of Ed., Raeford.

*Eighth Congressional District*  
Rowan Co. Admin. Unit S.D., Salisbury.

**OHIO**

*Fourth Congressional District*  
Bethel Local S.D., Miami Co.

*Seventh Congressional District*  
Mad River Twp. Local S.D., Dayton.  
Dayton City Bd. of Ed.  
Vandalia Butler City Schs.  
Fairborn City S.D.  
Northridge Local S.D., Dayton.  
New Carlisle Bethel Local S.D.  
Kettering City S.D.  
Xenia City S.D.  
Washington Twp. Local Schs. Centerville.  
Beaver Creek Local Bd. of Ed., Xenia.  
Springfield City S.D.  
Madison Twp. Local S.D., Trotwood.  
Jefferson Twp. Local S.D., Dayton.  
W. Carrollton City S.D.  
Northeastern Local S.D., Springfield.  
Urbana City Sch.

*Eleventh Congressional District*  
Exempted Village S.D., Windham.

*Thirteenth Congressional District*  
Akron City S.D.

*Fourteenth Congressional District*  
Barberton City Schs., Summit Co.

*Sixteenth Congressional District*  
*Seventeenth Congressional District*  
Canton City Bd. of Ed., Stark Co.

*Twenty-fourth Congressional District*  
Middletown City S.D., Butler Co.

November 17, 1971

## OKLAHOMA

*First Congressional District*  
Broken Arrow I.S.D. No. 3.  
Skiatook I.S.D. No. 7.  
Sand Springs I.S.D. No. 2.  
Sapulpa I.S.D. No. 33.  
Jenks I.S.D. No. 5.  
Union I.S.D. No. 9, Broken Arrow.  
Owasso I.S.D. No. 11.  
Tulsa I.S.D. No. 1.  
Kiefer I.S.D. No. 18.  
Liberty I.S.D. No. 14, Mounds.  
Sperry I.S.D. No. 8.

*Second Congressional District*  
Pryor I.S.D. No. 1.  
Catoosa I.S.D. No. 2.  
Claremore I.S.D. No. 1.  
Coweta I.S.D. No. 17.  
Inola I.S.D. No. 5.  
Sequoyah I.S.D. No. 6, Claremore.  
Cleveland I.S.D. No. 6.  
Wagoner I.S.D. No. 19.  
Omulgee I.S.D. No. 1.  
Mannford I.S.D. No. 3.  
Oltion I.S.D. No. 20.  
Lone Star Dep. S.D. No. 8, Sapulpa.  
Porter I.S.D. No. 3.

*Third Congressional District*  
Krebs D.S.D. No. 9.  
Wilburton I.S.D. No. 1.  
Panola I.S.D. No. 4.  
Stigler I.S.D. No. 20.

*Sixth Congressional District*  
Elk City I.S.D. No. 6.

## OREGON

*Second Congressional District*  
Creek Co. S.D. No. 2, Creek Co.

*Fourth Congressional District*  
Eagle Point S.D. No. 9.  
Jackson Co. S.D. No. 91, Butte Falls.  
Medford Sch. Dist. No. 549C.  
Central Point S.D. No. 6, Jackson Co.

## PENNSYLVANIA

*Tenth Congressional District*  
Blakely Borough S.D., Peckville.  
Valley View S.D., Peckville.  
Mid Valley Sch. Dist., Oliphant.  
Lakeland Sch. Dist., Lackawanna Co.  
Old Forge Sch. Dist.  
North Pocono S.D., Moscow.  
S.D. of the City of Scranton.  
Riverside S.D., Taylor.  
Dunmore Pub. S.D.

*Eleventh Congressional District*  
Pittston Area S.D.  
Wyoming Area S.D., West Pittston.  
Wilkes Barre City S.D.  
Dallas Sch. Dist., Luzerne Co.  
Wyoming Valley S.D., Kingston.  
Plains Jt. S.D., Plains Wilkes Barre.  
Greater Nanticoke Area S.D.  
Ashley Sugar Notch Jt. Schs., Ashley.

*Twelfth Congressional District*  
Susquehanna Area S.D., Duncannon.

*Fourteenth Congressional District*  
Penn Hills Township, Allegheny Co. (also 20th and 27th Cong. Dists.).

Wilkinsburg Borough Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 18th, 20th, and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Churchill Area Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 18th, 20th, and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Keystone Area Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 18th, 20th, and 27th Cong. Dists.).

Duquesne Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 18th, 20th, and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Braddock Borough Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 18th, 20th, and 27th Cong. Dists.).

South Fayette Twp. Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 18th, 20th and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Clarion S.D., Allegheny Co. (also 18th, 20th, and 27th Cong. Dists.).

S.D. of Pittsburgh (also 20th and 27th Cong. Dists.).

*Sixteenth Congressional District*

Palmyra Area S.D.  
Annville Cleona S.D.  
Cornwall Lebanon Sub. Jt. Sch. Sys.  
Northern Lebanon S.D., Fredericksburg.

*Eighteenth Congressional District*

Wilkinsburg Borough Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 20th and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Churchill Area Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 20th and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Keystone Oaks Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 20th and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Duquesne Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co., (also 14th, 20th and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Braddock Borough Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 20th, and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
South Fayette Twp. Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 20th, and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Clarion S.D., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 20th and 27th Cong. Dists.).

*Twentieth Congressional District*

Penn Hills Twp., Allegheny Co. (also 14th and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Wilkinsburg Borough Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Churchill Area Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Keystone Oaks Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th, and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Duquesne Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Braddock Borough Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
South Fayette Twp. Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
Clarion S.D. Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th and 27th Cong. Dists.).  
McKeesport Area Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. S.D. of Pittsburgh (also 14th and 27th Cong. Dists.).

*Twenty-First Congressional District*

New Kensington-Arnold Sch., Westmoreland Co.

*Twenty-Fourth Congressional District*

Farrell Area Sch. Dist., Mercer Co.

*Twenty-Sixth Congressional District*

Peters Twp. S.D., McMurray.

Connellsville Area Sch. Dist., Fayette Co.

*Twenty-Seventh Congressional District*

Penn Hills Twp., Allegheny Co. (also 14th & 20th Cong. Dists.).

Wilkinsburg Borough Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th & 20th Cong. Dists.).

Churchill Area Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th & 20th Cong. Dists.).

Keystone Oaks Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th & 20th Cong. Dists.).

Duquesne Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th & 20th Cong. Dists.).

Braddock Borough Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th & 20th Cong. Dists.).

South Fayette Twp. Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th & 20th Cong. Dists.).

Clarion S.D., Allegheny Co. (also 14th, 18th & 20th Cong. Dists.).

Sto-Rex Sch. Dist., Allegheny Co.

Carlynton S.D., Carnegie.

Bethel Park S.D.

Montour S.D., McKees Rocks.

West Allegheny S.D., Imperial.

Fox Chapel Area S.D., Pittsburgh.

South Park S.D., Library.

Baldwin Whitehall S.D., Pittsburgh.

Brentwood Boro S.D., Pittsburgh.

Chartiers Valley S.D., Pittsburgh.

West Jefferson Hills S.D., Pittsburgh.

S.D. of Pittsburgh (also 14th & 20th Cong. Dists.).

S.D. of the Twp. of Upper St. Clair, Bridgeville.

*RHODE ISLAND**Second Congressional District*

S. Kingstown Sch. Comm., Wakefield.

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS***SOUTH DAKOTA**First Congressional District*

Brookings I.S.D. No. 122.  
Lennox I.S.D. No. 100.  
West Central I.S.D. No. 184, Hartford.

*TENNESSEE**First Congressional District*

Sullivan Co. Bd. of Ed., Blountville.  
Kingsport City Sch. Sys.  
Sevier Co. Bd. of Ed., Sevierville.

*Second Congressional District*

Knox Co. Bd. of Ed., Knoxville.  
Blount Co. S.D., Maryville.  
Knoxville Bd. of Ed.  
Maryville City Schools.  
Alcoa City S.D.

*Third Congressional District*

City of Chattanooga Bd. of Ed.  
Marion Co. Bd. of Ed., Jasper  
Hamilton Co. Bd. of Ed., Chattanooga.

*Fourth Congressional District*

Warren County Bd. of Ed., McMinnville.  
Anderson Co. Bd. of Ed., Clinton.

*Fifth Congressional District*

DeKalb Co.

*Sixth Congressional District*

Franklin Co. Bd. of Ed., Winchester.

*TEXAS**First Congressional District*

Daingerfield I.S.D.

Cason I.S.D.

*Third Congressional District*

Grand Prairie I.S.D.

Irving I.S.D.

Duncanville I.S.D.

Lancaster I.S.D.

Cedar Hills I.S.D.

De Soto I.S.D.

Dallas I.S.D.

*Fourth Congressional District*

Howe I.S.D.

Terrell I.S.D.

*Sixth Congressional District*

Red Oak I.S.D.

Midlothian I.S.D.

*Tenth Congressional District*

San Marcos I.S.D.

Lockhart I.S.D.

Blanco I.S.D.

Hays Cons. I.S.D., Kyle

*Eleventh Congressional District*

Conally Cons. I.S.D., Waco.

La Vega I.S.D., Bellmead Branch, Waco

Waco I.S.D.

Midway I.S.D., Waco.

Robinson I.S.D., Waco.

Crawford I.S.D. No. 901.

China Spring I.S.D.

Mart I.S.D. No. 101 908.

Lorena I.S.D.

Bosqueville I.S.D., McLenna County.

Rosebud Lott I.S.D., Rosebud, Falls County.

*Twelfth Congressional District*

Birdville I.S.D., Ft. Worth.

White Settlement I.S.D., Fort Worth.

Hurst Euless Bedford I.S.D.

Arlington I.S.D.

*Thirteenth Congressional District*

Lewisville I.S.D.

Lake Dallas I.S.D.

Bridgeport I.S.D.

Denton I.S.D.

*Seventeenth Congressional District*

Cochran I.S.D.

Forsan Co. Line I.S.D.

*Twenty-first Congressional District*

Harlandale I.S.D., San Antonio (also 21st & 23d Cong. Dists.).

S. San Antonio I.S.D. (also 21st & 23d Cong. Dists.).

Southside I.S.D. No. 912, San Antonio (also 21st & 23d Con. Dists.).

Edgewood I.S.D., San Antonio (also 21st & 23d Cong. Dists.).

Southwest I.S.D., San Antonio (also 21st & 23d Cong. Dists.).

East Central I.S.D., San Antonio (also 21st & 23d Cong. Dists.).

San Antonio I.S.D. (also 21st & 23d Cong. Dists.).

North East I.S.D., San Antonio (also 21st & 23d Cong. Dists.).

Somerset I.S.D. (also 21st & 23d Cong. Dists.).

Northside I.S.D., San Antonio (also 21st & 23d Cong. Dists.).

Alamo Hts. I.S.D., San Antonio (also 21st & 23d Cong. Dists.).

Judson I.S.D. No. 916, Converse (also 21st & 23d Cong. Dists.).

*Twenty-first Congressional District*

Harlandale I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 23d Cong. Dists.).

S. San Antonio I.S.D. (also 20th & 23d Cong. Dists.).

Southside I.S.D. No. 912, San Antonio (also 20th & 23d Cong. Dists.).

Edgewood I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 23d Cong. Dists.).

Southwest I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 23d Cong. Dists.).

East Central I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 23d Cong. Dists.).

San Antonio I.S.D. (also 20th & 23d Cong. Dists.).

North East I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 23d Cong. Dists.).

Somerset I.S.D. (also 20th & 23d Cong. Dists.).

Northside I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 23d Cong. Dists.).

Alamo Hts. I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 23d Cong. Dists.).

Judson I.S.D. No. 916, Converse (also 20th & 23d Cong. Dists.).

*Boerne Co. Line I.S.D.**Comal Co. I.S.D., New Braunfels.**Twenty-third Congressional District*

Harlandale I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 21st Cong. Dists.).

S. San Antonio I.S.D. (also 20th & 21st Cong. Dists.).

Southside I.S.D. No. 912, San Antonio (also 20th & 21st Cong. Dists.).

Edgewood I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 21st Cong. Dists.).

Southwest I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 21st Cong. Dists.).

East Central I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 21st Cong. Dists.).

San Antonio I.S.D. (also 20th & 21st Cong. Dists.).

North East I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 21st Cong. Dists.).

Somerset I.S.D. (also 20th & 21st Cong. Dists.).

Northside I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 21st Cong. Dists.).

Alamo Hts. I.S.D., San Antonio (also 20th & 21st Cong. Dists.).

Judson I.S.D. No. 916, Converse (also 20th & 21st Cong. Dists.).

*Devine I.S.D.**Schertz Cibolo I.S.D.**Floresville I.S.D.**Poteet I.S.D.**Marion I.S.D.**Laredo I.S.D.**United Cons. I.S.D., Laredo.***VIRGINIA***Second Congressional District*

Fredericksburg City Schs.

City of Alexandria Sch. Bd.

City of Fairfax Sch. Bd.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Portsmouth City Sch. Bd.  
Sch. Bd. of the City of Norfolk.  
Sch. Bd. of the City of Virginia Beach.  
Sch. Bd. of the City of Chesapeake.

*Third Congressional District*  
Co. Sch. Bd. of Chesterfield Co.

*Fourth Congressional District*  
Co. Sch. Bd. of Prince George Co., Prince George.  
Sch. Bd. of Nansemond Co., Suffolk.  
Sch. Bd. of Isle of Wight Co., Isle of Wight.  
Co. Sch. Bd. of Prince William Co., Manassas.

*Sixth Congressional District*  
Co. of Roanoke Sch. Bd., Salem.  
Roanoke City Pub. Schs.

*Tenth Congressional District*  
Co. Sch. Bd. of Arlington Co.  
Co. Sch. Bd. of Fairfax Co., Fairfax.  
WASHINGTON  
Second Congressional District  
Edmonds S.D. No. 15, Lynnwood.  
Third Congressional District  
Newport Cons. Jt. S.D. Nos. 56, 417.  
Peninsula S.D. No. 401, Gig Harbor.  
Vancouver S.D. No. 37.

*Fourth Congressional District*  
Walla Walla S.D. No. 140.  
Dayton S.D. No. 2.  
Yakima S.D. No. 7.  
Clarkson S.D.  
Union Gap S.D. No. 2.  
Moxee S.D. No. 90, Yakima.  
Naches Valley S.D. Jt. No. 3.  
Zillah S.D. No. 205.  
Selah S.D. No. 119.

*Fifth Congressional District*  
Mead S.D. No. 354.  
Spokane S.D. No. 81.  
Cheney Jt. Cons. S.D. No. 360, 316.

*Sixth Congressional District*  
N. Kitsap S.D. No. 400, Poulsbo.  
Clover Pk. S.D. No. 400, Lakewood Center.  
Franklin Pierce S.D. No. 402, Tacoma.  
Eatonville S.D. No. 404.  
Bremerton Cons. S.D. 1000.  
Uni. Place S.D. No. 83, Tacoma.  
Stellacoom S.D. No. 1.  
Bethel S.D. No. 403, Spanaway.  
Tacoma S.D. No. 10.  
Sumner S.D. No. 320.  
Fuyallup S.D. No. 3.  
Fife S.D. No. 417, Tacoma.

*Seventh Congressional District*  
Kent S.D. No. 415.  
Highline S.D. No. 401, Seattle.  
Seattle S.D. No. 1.  
Northshore S.D. No. 417, Bothell.  
Bellevue S.D. No. 405.  
Fed. Way S.D. No. 210.

WEST VIRGINIA  
*Second Congressional District*  
Jefferson Co. Bd. of Ed., Charles Town.  
Tucker Co. Bd. of Ed., Parsons.

*Fourth Congressional District*  
Cabell Co. Bd. of Ed., Huntington.  
Wayne Co. Bd. of Ed., Wayne Co.

WISCONSIN  
*Second Congressional District*  
Jt. S.D. No. 8, City of Madison.  
Jt. S.D. No. 2, Sun Prairie.  
McFarland C.S.D., Jt. No. 8.  
Jt. S.D. No. 10, Village of Arlington, Poynette.

*Third Congressional District*  
Jt. S.D. No. City of Prescott.  
Jt. S.D. No. 9, City of Elroy.

*Eighth Congressional District*  
Jt. S.D. No. 1, City of Green Bay.  
Jt. S.D. No. 2, West De Pere.

*Tenth Congressional District*  
Jt. S.D. No. 1, City of Hudson-Troy, St. Croix Co.

## RESULTS OF LEGISLATIVE OPINION POLL OF RESIDENTS OF SIXTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA

HON. JOHN R. RARICK  
OF LOUISIANA

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as of November 1, 10,554 constituents had replied to my 1971 legislative opinion poll. This response is a healthy indication that citizens of the Sixth District of Louisiana are interested in good Government.

I was especially pleased to note the responses of many young people who expressed a concern in Government. In general, the views of young adults reflected those of their parents.

Inflation, crime and drugs, and corruption in government, in the order given, were considered the three major problems facing the Nation today. The school crisis rated as the number one problem last year was fourth in importance this year.

Elimination of unnecessary Government spending was given as the most desirable way to curb inflation. The number one choice for revenue sharing was to reduce or repeal the Federal income tax laws so as to leave more money at the State and local levels. A "hands off" policy was the first choice regarding the policy our Nation should pursue in the Mideast. Having both Chinas in the U.N. was favored by 59 percent. Sixty-eight percent indicated that the Federal Government should allow parents to be responsible for the control of their children.

Mr. Speaker, for the benefit of our colleagues I insert at this point in the RECORD the questions asked in the poll and the tabulated results. I am also sending a copy of the results to the President. The answers are on a percentage basis.

The results of the poll follows:

1. What do you consider to be the three most important issues facing us today?

	Percent
Inflation	19.9
Crime and drugs	14.7
Corruption in Government	14.6
School crisis	11.0
Pollution	9.9
Vietnam war	8.8
Communism	7.3
Unemployment	6.2
Distorted news	3.3
Health care	1.8
Poverty	1.3
Mideast	.8
Other	.4

2. How should inflation be curbed?

	Percent
Stop unnecessary Government spending	57.3
Wage and price controls	32.4
Other	5.2
Lower taxes	4.7
Raise taxes	.4

3. Which form of revenue sharing do you prefer?

	Percent
Reduce or repeal income tax to leave money in local community	50.6
Allow personal deductions for all State and local taxes	23.1

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Return part of Federal taxes to State and local governments	21.7
Other	4.6

4. What should our Nation's policy be regarding Midwest dispute?

	Percent
Hands off	61.2
Send arms and planes to Israel	27.2
Other	8.1
Send U.S. troops as police force	3.4
Send arms and planes to Arabs	.1

5. What should our Nation's policy be regarding the U.N. and Red China?

	Percent
Admit both Chinas	59.3
Exclude Red China	31.1
Other	7.3
Exclude Nationalist China	2.3

6. Which role should U.S. Government play in control of children?

	Percent
Let parents be responsible	67.8
Provide legal protection to child against abuse by parents and teachers	11.7
Provide day care centers	8.7
Provide Headstart programs	6.3
Family supervision by Government	5.5

7. Do you favor return of U.S. troops from Europe?

	Percent
Yes	56.2
No	35.6
Undecided	8.2

8. Do you favor U.S. recognition of Red China?

	Percent
Yes	48.6
No	39.0
Undecided	12.4

9. Do you favor U.S. trade with Communist China?

	Percent
Yes	36.0
No	52.3
Undecided	11.7

## URSULINE COLLEGE'S 100TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK  
OF OHIO

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, today, November 17, 1971, Ursuline College in Pepper Pike, Ohio, is celebrating its 100th year of outstanding achievement in the education of young women. Founded in November 1871, by the Ursuline Nuns of Cleveland, Ursuline College is the oldest chartered women's college in the State of Ohio, and one of the oldest chartered liberal arts colleges for women in the Nation. It was founded by Mother Mary of the Annunciation Beaumont, a woman of foresight and courage, who felt that women deserved a more complete education than the "seminary" teaching for elementary school teachers offered to the women of her time. From its founding, Ursuline College has always been open to women of all races and creeds.

As many women's colleges are making plans to become coeducational, Ursuline College, after careful review of its contributions and abilities in the field of education, has elected to remain a women's college. Sister M. Kenan, presi-

dent of the college, explains the reasons for this decision:

At a time when the image and role of women is undergoing great change, we feel that a women's college has much to offer in helping to effect this change in the most positive way. To do something and to be somebody is the best method of women's liberation. At a women's college, a young woman has the unique opportunity to discover how to be somebody and do something well for herself, her family, and her community.

Ursuline College, located in my congressional district, offers a Bachelor of Arts degree in 13 areas of concentration in the arts and sciences. Geared through its liberal arts curriculum to innovation and change both in course content and teaching methods, the college strives for a close cooperation between student and instructor in planning and administering the student's individual program. A low-faculty-student ratio—1 to 11—enables each student to be known as an individual, and classes are kept small to allow for close, personal contact between student and teacher. The faculty is composed of Ursuline nuns and laymen and laywomen of all faiths.

Ursuline students as a whole are highly motivated toward participating in their own education. Over half of the students are the first persons in their own family to receive a college education. Sixty-two percent receive some form of financial aid which many supplement by working part-time in surrounding communities. While the majority of the students are from Ohio, the college increasingly attracts students from out-of-State and foreign countries. A recent survey of graduates indicates a strong-service orientation in their career choices: 23 percent go on to graduate school; 53 percent become teachers; 87 percent of these in public schools; 30 percent enter social work, and the remainder work in the sciences.

One of the significant aims of the college is to educate women to use their skills and talents in the service of their fellowmen. To this end, students are encouraged to contribute 40 hours a semester to volunteer community service in a wide range of activities including tutoring inner city high school students—a program funded by the Lubrizol Corp.—working in hospitals, county welfare programs, and municipal and juvenile courts. The college supports a program of internships in many of its major disciplines in order that students will have genuine work experience in the field they wish to enter.

Because of its outstanding contribution to education for women, it is indeed a pleasure to congratulate Ursuline College on its 100 years of achievement.

#### GRAIN SALES TO RUSSIA

**HON. NEAL SMITH**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the administration recently announced a

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

sale of some grain to Russia. Some of the facts involved in this sale were not made known at that time. I think my colleagues would be interested in knowing more about this sale so that they can form their own conclusion as to its meaning and long-term ramifications. My purpose is not to either endorse or criticize what was done but rather to bring out more of the facts and to alert my colleagues of some of the additional facts involved.

I have prepared a memorandum based upon additional information which I secured and I am also including an article by an alert investigating reporter, George Anthan, from the Des Moines Register.

They are as follows:

##### GRAIN SALES TO RUSSIA

(By Neal Smith)

CCC sold 27.5 million bushels of barley to one exporter and 11.5 million bushels to another exporter. They sold 20.65 million bushels of oats to one exporter and 3.51 million bushels to another. Sale price for some of the barley was 91 cents Duluth, for the rest, it was 88 cents Duluth and 83 cents Minneapolis. Eighty-three cents Minneapolis is the equivalent of 90 cents Duluth. Sale price on the oats was mostly from 40 to 42 cents at the interior points. However, some will come from Norfolk at a higher price. The corn to Russia sold at \$1.20 f.o.b. gulf ports. That is approximately equivalent to 90 cents at Iowa points. Cash market for unrestricted use at Duluth for barley is \$1.20 but Canada is willing to sell it below our cash market price and subsidized. Therefore, the sale of barley could not be made at the cash market price. The Department claims they do not know what Continental and Cargill will receive for the barley and oats which CCC is selling to them at less than cash value for unrestricted use.

They were required to take one ton of corn for each ton of barley and also to take the oats as a part of the deal. They wanted a lot of barley at that price but did not really want oats. CCC was anxious to move the oats because they have been in inventory and they are not selling.

Last year's total utilization of barley was 500 million bushels but that included a big shipment to Romania as a result of the floods and was a one-shot deal. Exports last year jumped from 17 million bushels in the previous year up to 77 million bushels. Without an abnormal sale like the one to Russia, exports would be expected to drop back to around 17 to 20 million bushels. Total supply on hand for this marketing year of barley is 636 million bushels of which 470 million bushels represent production and the rest is carryover. Total use of oats last year was 890 million bushels and total supply is 1.4 billion bushels including a 1971 production of 885 million bushels. Carryover is about 50 percent of one year's production. The carryover of barley consists of 90 million bushels in government hands and 66 million bushels in free stocks.

The grain companies which made the sale to Russia did not want to make the sale unless they could acquire the barley at a low price from one seller. The reasons given by the Department for their sales seem to support the idea that government-held reserves can help promote exports yet they have opposed my reserve bill. One purpose of the reserve bill is to give them an opportunity to promote exports by accumulating supplies at terminal positions and selling them in large blocks as long as they replace that grain with the same number of bushels from interior points within the marketing year.

The Department in 1971 has calculated the nutrient value of barley at 75 percent of the

value of corn bushel for bushel. For 1972 they are calculating it at 80 percent.

It has been said that this may be the first step in expanding commodity shipments to Russia. If they will only buy at prices far below the cost of production, the question that arises is, do we want to permanently subsidize their livestock industry? Why should anyone think that they will buy our corn at its true cash value when what they really want is barley and they won't buy it from us with a corn mixture unless we sell at 75 percent of its cash value in the United States and about 60 percent of its cost of production. Canada produces a lot of barley and would presumably continue to have a supply available at below our cost of production. If we are starting a long range program of selling grain to Russia at less than the cost of production in competition with Canada, these questions must be answered:

(1) Is it in our interest in the long run to subsidize the expansion of the Russian livestock and poultry industry?

(2) Can we compete successfully in a price war where our product (corn and barley mixed) is not as preferable to the customers as straight barley which is available from Canada?

Whether one believes we should or should not develop a long-term subsidized market to Russia, everyone is entitled to know that the sale of grain to Russia was made at prices less than the cost of production and less than current depressed prices in the United States. Everyone is also entitled to know that a heavily subsidized market is probably all that is available in the foreseeable future in sales to Russia rather than a cash market at a price which will earn American farmers at least a return of their cost of production. This situation is not likely to change until or unless there is no other country which is willing to make subsidized sales to Russia.

The information released by the Department last week was incomplete and upon examining the additional information it is obvious that no facts have been presented which justify a conclusion that a profitable cash market in Russia is available as long as other countries with barley supplies are willing to sell at depressed prices.

##### U.S. CUTS GRAIN PRICE FOR REDS

CRITICS SEE SUBSIDY TO SOVIET FARMS

(By George Anthan)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Officials of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) confirmed Tuesday they have approved sale of government-owned grain to the Soviet Union at below U.S. market prices.

The U.S. government is even selling some of the grain at a financial loss.

Critics charged that such a sale means U.S. taxpayers are subsidizing the Russian livestock industry. (The American grain will be used by the Soviets as livestock feed.)

USDA officials said Tuesday that the cut-rate prices were necessary in order to obtain the \$140-million sale of corn, barley and oats to the Soviets. They said that if the U.S. government had not sold the grain at the cheap rates, other countries, possibly Canada, would have.

The sale, announced recently by the Nixon administration, includes 80 million bushels of corn, 30 million bushels of barley and 24 million bushels of oats.

##### TWO FIRMS BENEFIT

The grain actually is being sold to the Soviet by two large U.S. grain companies—Continental Grain Co. of New York City and Cargill, Inc. of Minneapolis, Minn.

USDA officials said Tuesday that corn to be shipped to the Soviet Union has been or is being purchased by the two firms on the open market in the U.S. at going prices.

But, according to the USDA, the barley

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

and oats are being sold to Cargill and Continental by the federal government from stocks of the Commodity Credit Corp., a USDA agency. These barley and oats, they said, will be resold by Continental and Cargill to the Soviet Union.

The USDA said it is selling 24 million bushels of oats at prices ranging from 40 cents a bushel to 43 cents a bushel.

The USDA said recent market prices for oats in the U.S. have ranged from 65 cents a bushel at Minneapolis to 77 cents a bushel at Kansas City. The officials acknowledged that grain bought on the open U.S. market at these points would cost even more delivered to coastal ports.

The oats to be supplied by the USDA to Cargill and Continental will be delivered to several ports, including Duluth, Minn., Baltimore, Md., and Norfolk, Va., the USDA said.

The federal government also is selling 39 million bushels of barley at prices ranging from 83 cents to 91 cents a bushel.

Barley currently is selling at Minneapolis for \$1.30 a bushel, according to the USDA.

## LOAN IS CRITICAL

Representative Neal Smith (Dem., La.) said Tuesday that "the Russians are getting a huge bargain. They're getting our grain at below the cost they could grow it themselves, even if they had our climate. In effect, American taxpayers are subsidizing their livestock industry."

A spokesman for the Farmers Grain Dealers Association of Iowa said the organization has an inventory of oats that it paid 64 cents a bushel to acquire. "I sure wish we could buy it for 40 cents or 47 cents a bushel," he said.

Officials of neither Continental nor Cargill would comment Tuesday on how much the Soviets are paying the two companies for the U.S. grain.

Harold Vogel, a Continental official in New York City, said "I can't give you any information regarding what prices we are selling grain at to the Russians."

A spokesman for Cargill in Minneapolis said, "We don't feel this information would contribute to progress between a buyer and a seller. It would be outside our willingness to publicly discuss these things."

USDA officials contended that they have not been told the prices being charged the Soviets by Continental and Cargill.

Glenn A. Weir, director of the grain division of the USDA's Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, was asked why the U.S. is selling the grain to Continental and Cargill. He replied: "Because we can sell at below the market."

Weir said the barley and oats are being sold to Continental and Cargill at a cheaper rate so the Russians can buy the commodities at world prices, which he said are below the U.S. price.

USDA officials estimated the federal government has from 85 cents to \$1 invested in each bushel of barley it is selling at from 85 cents to 91 cents.

Also, they estimated the government has invested up to 70 cents a bushel for the oats it is selling for up to 30 cents a bushel less.

The government officials acknowledged that American farmers and private grain elevators currently have surpluses of both barley and oats.

Privately held oats surpluses, they estimated, total some 320 million bushels. The USDA holds 197 million bushels of oats.

They estimated privately held barley surpluses at 170 million bushels, plus 35 million in government stocks.

Under federal regulations, the USDA is not allowed to sell government-owned grain at less than 115 per cent of the current U.S. price.

But USDA officials said this prohibition does not supply if the grain is destined for overseas delivery. "It's legal for us to sell at below market price," one official said.

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years to come, I am sure Members will find the article both topical and instructive.

Professor Gardner's article follows:

[From the Saturday Review, Aug. 7, 1971]

GLOBAL POLLUTION—III: U.N. AS POLICEMAN

(By Richard N. Gardner\*)

One of the boldest adventures in international cooperation ever attempted—the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment—will reach a climax at Stockholm, Sweden, during the two weeks from June 5 to 16, 1972. Representatives of 130 countries and several dozen international organizations will come together then to deal with six enormous subjects:

Planning and management of the environmental quality of human settlements everywhere.

Environmental aspects of natural resource management (defined broadly to include animal, botanical, and mineral resources).

Identification and control of environmental pollutants and nuisances of broad significance.

Educational, informational, social, and cultural aspects of environmental issues.

Economic development and the environment (including environmental policies as a component of comprehensive planning in developing countries).

International organizational implications of proposals for action.

Since the conference is limited to two weeks, and since Stockholm has only three conference halls large enough to hold all the proposed participants, there is only one week available to cover each of these items. How can it be done? One U.N. official answers: "The Stockholm conference is like a marriage ceremony. Most things are being arranged beforehand, and as little as possible will be left to chance on the day."

The simile is apt enough. It is difficult to remember any other U.N. meeting so thoroughly prepared in advance as this one. Under the overall direction of a twenty-seven nation preparatory committee, intergovernmental working groups are drafting concrete proposals on marine pollution, soil conservation, environmental monitoring, a World Heritage Foundation, and the text of a Declaration on the Human Environment. Concurrently with these activities, governments are submitting reports describing their experience in environmental management and suggesting ideas for international action. And the interested specialized agencies of the U.N. are preparing a consolidated statement of their current work and future plans.

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A conceptual framework for the Stockholm deliberations is expected to be ready for publication in the spring of 1972. It will be issued as a report on the state of the global environment. Considering that Maurice Strong, Secretary General of the Stockholm conference, only left his former post as head of Canada's International Development Agency to assume his new duties at the beginning of this year, he and his small staff in Geneva will perform a miracle if the conference are able to take more than a fraction of the decisions necessary to preserve the global environment. A senior international official recently put the situation this way:

"The Stockholm conference comes both too late and too early. Too late if its purpose is to arouse public opinion; this has already happened, at least in the developed countries. Too early if it is to take decisive action; most governments aren't ready, and besides in many areas we simply don't have the knowledge necessary."

\*Richard N. Gardner is Henry L. Moses Professor of Law and International Organization at Columbia University and serves as the U.N. representative of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.

Inevitably, then, the most important agenda item at Stockholm will be the last one listed above—international organizational implications of proposals for action. For if final answers to the world's environmental problems cannot be looked for next June, there must be established at least an institutional framework in which those answers can be effectively sought in future years.

Curiously, nobody gave much thought to the organizational question until recently. To help move things forward, a kind of "Mini-Stockholm" was organized at the end of May by two private organizations—the Institute on Man and Science and the Aspen Institute of Humanistic Studies—at the former's idyllic headquarters in Rensselaerville, New York. Under the chairmanship of Philip C. Jessup, former U.S. judge on the International Court of Justice, forty key decision-makers from governments, international agencies, and the scientific community spent three days probing the central question: "How can the international community be organized most effectively for environmental action?"

#### PRELIMINARY CONSENSUS

While the meeting was not intended to and did not reach formal agreement on an institutional design, it yielded a surprising consensus on some issues and usefully clarified the choices facing the Stockholm conference on other matters. The areas of consensus may be summarized as follows:

The new institutions for environmental action should be within the framework of the United Nations. Environmental problems are global as well as regional and local; they need to be dealt with by global as well as regional and local institutions. An organization limited to developed countries or to NATO countries could not deal effectively with environmental problems on the territory of non-members or with the ocean environment, which is the common concern of all. Despite much talk to the contrary, most developing countries face serious environmental problems and want help in solving them. As Strong told the Rensselaerville meetings:

In my recent travels in the developing countries, I have found that while the word "environment" has not yet acquired the magic it has in the more industrialized countries, the issues it embraces are of real and growing concern to them: polluted water supplies, degradation of agricultural lands, depletion of wildlife and fisheries, and, perhaps most urgent, the problem of cities which are growing at rates unprecedented in human history. Some of these cities face the prospect of water contamination and health hazards which will make them unfit for human habitation within the next decade or so. Indeed, the "eco-catastrophes" of which we hear so much are much more likely to occur in the developing world than in the wealthier countries which have the resources to deal with these problems.

One thing not to do is to establish a new U.N. specialized agency. Environment covers a broad range of subjects already being dealt with within the functional responsibilities of existing U.N. agencies—atmospheric pollution in the World Meteorological Organization, environmental health in the World Health Organization, conservation of soil, forest, and animal resources in the Food and Agriculture Organization, etc. Environmental matters also are being dealt with in the U.N.'s Regional Economic Commissions. A Specialized Agency for the Environment would result in duplication of activities and would compound already serious coordination problems.

#### NEW INSTITUTIONS

The principal need is for new institutions at the center of the U.N. system to serve as the "brain" of the international environmental network. The central institutions should undertake a global review of environmental

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

trends, policies, and actions; should determine important issues to be brought to the attention of governments; should suggest priorities for further action in respect of those issues; and should identify gaps in the knowledge and in the performance of organizations carrying out measures of environmental control. The central institutions should draw upon rather than duplicate ongoing work in existing functional and regional agencies and should be flexible and capable of adaption as understanding of environmental problems grows.

One element in the central mechanism should be a small, highly competent secretariat operating on the interface between the scientific community and the political process. It should be headed by an Undersecretary General or a Commissioner for the Environment, and should enjoy sufficient independence within the U.N. system to operate effectively.

Another element in the central mechanism should be some kind of intergovernmental body to which the secretariat would be responsible. There could be an environmental board established by the General Assembly, or an environmental committee under the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), or perhaps even periodic ECOSOC meetings at the ministerial level devoted to the environment.

Some participants in the Rensselaerville meeting urged that environment be kept in the ECOSOC framework so that one institution could face the interrelated issues of development and environment; these people warned that separate bodies on environment and development could result in two sets of conflicting resolutions each reflecting a limited and inadequate perspective. Others urged that environment needed greater visibility and status than could be achieved in ECOSOC, which in their view has an unsatisfactory record.

Although the issue was not resolved, there was agreement that whatever intergovernmental body is created should be composed not just of career diplomats acting upon instructions but of highly qualified government officials responsible for environmental affairs. Moreover, the work of the intergovernmental committee should be reviewed regularly by one of the main committees of the U.N. General Assembly and perhaps also by a periodic "Stockholm conference."

The central secretariat and intergovernmental body should be assisted by some kind of scientific group to provide independent and expert judgment free from government influence. One possibility is an International Center for the Environment (ICE), a proposal that has gained support in the International Council of Scientific Unions. ICE could conduct research on environmental problems and assist specialized agencies such as WMO and WHO in the designing of environmental monitoring networks and in the evaluation of information received. A more modest possibility would be a scientific advisory group attached to the intergovernmental committee and composed of persons serving in their individual capacities, perhaps with subgroups on specific environmental problems.

Whichever possibility is chosen, representatives of some of the specialized agencies at Rensselaerville said, the agencies should design their own monitoring networks and evaluate the data derived from them. The agencies are clearly reluctant to have any central scientific group performing functions that they regard as within their traditional fields of competence.

It was further agreed that the new international environmental institutions should encourage existing agencies to get on with other fundamental tasks. One is the training of personnel needed for environmental management. Another is formulation of environmental education programs for schools and for the general public. A third is establish-

ment of environmental criteria to be applied by national and international development agencies. A fourth is the devising of means to avoid undesirable trade barriers resulting from different national approaches to pollution control.

That was the extent of the consensus at Rensselaerville. But some crystallization of opinion occurred on several other key questions.

Should there be some kind of environment fund—and (if so, what should be the arrangements for its administration? An environmental fund, it was urged, would help coordinate the activities of individual agencies. It would provide developing countries with extra financing over and above existing aid funds to help them take environmental protection measures they otherwise could not afford; it would also assure developed countries that funds they contributed for environmental purposes would be used for top-priority environmental projects. But several governments represented at Rensselaerville were not yet ready to commit themselves to such a fund. Moreover, there was no consensus as to whether a fund should be managed by the U.N. Development Program or by a new body. Nor was there agreement on the kind of governance of the fund that would satisfy both developed and developing countries.

#### HOW SETTLE DISPUTES?

What kind of institutions should be established for the settlement of environmental disputes? More specifically, what degree of international control should be established over the actions of a nation within its territory that might affect the environment of others? Some examples given in Rensselaerville were U.S. uses of the Colorado River injurious to Mexico, possible damage by the Aswan Dam to the fisheries and beaches of the eastern Mediterranean, and the potential climatic effects of contemplated Soviet diversion of rivers presently flowing from Siberia into the Arctic Ocean.

In his address to the opening session of the May meeting held at U.N. Headquarters, U.S. Senator Edmund Muskie proposed that U.N. members should henceforth report to the United Nations on all their actions that might affect the environment of others. While conceding that nations were not yet ready to accept an international veto over national decisions on environmental matters, Muskie urged that every nation not only should make full disclosure of its environmental actions but should consult in good faith with other nations and international agencies when they advanced comments or objections. In cases of disagreement, he said, an impartial group should report on the facts and make appropriate recommendations.

The sessions at Rensselaerville produced a number of different reactions to the issues raised by Senator Muskie. Judge Jessup urged that the International Court of Justice be used for the settlement of environmental disputes. The Court could sit in special chambers for this purpose and make use of scientific "assessors," or fact-finders, where necessary. Other Rensselaerville participants felt a need for more flexible machinery than the Court could provide. In their view, it would be better to bring environmental disputes to the proposed intergovernmental committee on the environment and its scientific advisory group. Dr. Gerardo Budowski, director general of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, suggested that his organization could usefully serve as an "expert witness" in international disputes because of its non-governmental character. In his view, moreover, the international community sooner or later would have to face the need for some kind of "policing" to prevent actions causing irreversible damage to the environment.

The Rensselaerville discussions revealed

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that this thorny issue might be difficult to resolve at Stockholm.

A number of diplomats and government officials expressed doubt that governments would be ready to accept international review of national actions. Dr. Konstantin Ananichev, director of the International Organizations Department of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Science and Technology, emphasized that any new environmental machinery should be of an "international and not of a supranational character" and should operate "only through cooperative actions of sovereign states." However, he also stressed the need for "joint research on agreed international programs" and did not exclude the possibility that such joint research could be organized on a case-by-case basis with the consent of all the parties involved to evaluate the international consequences of national actions.

## POLLUTION AT SEA

What international machinery should be established to deal with pollution of the seas? The participants at Rensselaerville agreed that this was a matter of urgent importance, since the marine environment, accounting for 70 per cent of the Earth's surface, is presently subject to almost no effective measures of protection.

The Intergovernmental Working Group on marine pollution is considering an international agreement regulating ocean dumping (the transportation from national territory to the oceans of waste materials that could harm the marine environment). Even if this were approved at Stockholm and ratified by governments, it would still leave untouched the main sources of marine pollution—the pollutants coming to the oceans directly from land, from rivers, and from the atmosphere.

Should some international machinery be established to monitor and eventually regulate all these additional sources of marine pollution? Should it be global in character, or should we begin with separate regional efforts to clean up the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the North Sea? Should pollution from vessels in maritime commerce continue to be dealt with by a separate agency—the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization—or should one agency deal with marine pollution from all sources? What should be the relation between agencies concerned with marine pollution and the proposed International Seabed Authority that would have responsibility for exploitation of the deep sea bed? Should there be a single agency for all the problems of the oceans, including the difficult issue of fisheries as well? It was clear at Rensselaerville that the international community was very far from a consensus on these fundamental questions.

Finally, which nations should participate in international institutions for environmental control? Senator Muskie urged that the next General Assembly make the United Nations universal in membership; if this were not possible, it should at least invite all governments to participate in the Stockholm conference. This would mean mainland China and both Germanys, to mention the most important, and others such as both Koreas and both Vietnams.

There was strong sentiment at Rensselaerville for the proposition that participation at Stockholm should be universal. But this was coupled with a good deal of uncertainty as to whether the next General Assembly would make the United Nations universal in membership and whether, if it failed to do so, governments not admitted to the U.N. itself would be willing to come to Stockholm.

The Rensselaerville meeting served to underline the complexity of these unresolved organizational questions. Nevertheless, the meeting did reveal one bit of common philosophy on environmental problems. It was best stated by Senator Muskie at the opening session:

The simple truth is that . . . we are far from one world politically. But, by necessity if not by choice, we are one world environmentally. States have sovereign rights—but so do people. We cannot rely on the political habits of the past to save our environment for the future.

## METAPSYCHIATRY AND THE ULTRACONSCIOUS

## HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, I believe my colleagues, and all those who read this RECORD, would be interested in the article written by my good friend and constituent, Dr. Stanley R. Dean, of Miami, Fla., which was published in the November 1971 issue of the American Journal of Psychiatry, on the subject of "Metapsychiatry and the Ultraconscious," and which is inserted immediately following these remarks:

## METAPSYCHIATRY AND THE ULTRACONSCIOUS

Sir: The purpose of this letter is to focus psychiatrists' attention upon a host of esoteric, poorly defined psychic phenomena loosely regarded as occult, mystical, or simply, "psi." For psychiatric purposes a more congruent terminology is needed. I had previously suggested the word "ultraconscious" to designate a suprasensory, suprarational level of mention otherwise known as cosmic consciousness, transpersonal illumination, *unio mystica*, *satori*, *samedhi*, *kairos*, etc. (1, 2).

The existence of the ultraconscious, especially in the Orient, has been recognized since antiquity. Miraculous healing powers have been attributed to it, and from it have sprung the highest creativity and genius known to man. Yet it has received surprisingly little attention from modern psychiatry.

It therefore seems appropriate to propose still another word—"metapsychiatry" (cf. metaphysics)—to delimit the psychiatric ramifications of the subject. The special province of metapsychiatry would be the cognitive and scientific investigation of such diverse "psi" categories as: mental telepathy, ESP, clairvoyance, prophecy, precognition, premonitions, intuition, *déjà vu*, sixth sense, premonitory dreams, miracles, spiritualism, trances, hallucinations, hypnosis, charisma, faith healing, personal magnetism, psychedelic states, auras, psychokinesis (PK), catalepsy, graphoanalysis, tactile sight, radiesthesia, bioluminescence, cosmobiology, etc.

I use the words "cognitive" and "scientific" advisedly for many of these phenomena are adaptive not only to apodictic reasoning but also to objective research by electronic and other technological devices.

Never has the time seemed more ripe for such research. Some countries, notably various Communist states, have instituted government supported laboratories staffed by eminent scientists. Although much of their work is classified, some astounding technological findings are described in a remarkable book by Ostrander and Schroeder (3). According to their impressively annotated data, Russia alone had 20 or more centers in 1967, with an annual budget approximating \$20 million.

Having pioneered the exploration of outer cosmic space, the Russians seem determined to pioneer the penetration of inner psychic space as well. The late Leonid L. Vasiliev, first chief of the state-funded laboratory for parapsychology at the University of Leningrad, stated uncompromisingly: "The dis-

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covery of the energy underlying ESP will be equivalent to the discovery of atomic energy" (4).

It seems to me that our country will not be indifferent to such a challenge, and American psychiatry might well consider the establishment of a Task Force for Metapsychiatry in order to determine the directions to be taken. This would provide us with an opportunity to reexamine ancient beliefs that have remained tenaciously ubiquitous despite scientific indifference. To ride in a laboratory what one believes in a church is surely one of the supreme ironies of our age.

According to Aldous Huxley, mysticism is the only single effective method that has yet been found for the radical and permanent transformation of personality. A modern philosopher, Plochmann, cautioned that the "mystical is neither an asylum of ignorance nor a place where for some reason logic leaves off so that we have to keep quiet" (5). Freud himself was well known for his preoccupation with psychic phenomena. And such contemporary psychiatrists as Kelman (6) believe that ultraconscious faculties are latent in all of us and that major and minor degrees of "illumination" could be developed and used by informed psychiatrists to augment present psychotherapy. Then, if the resulting clinical data were collected, pooled, and collated with technological research, the accrued information might well provide a breakthrough to the practical utilization of this hitherto inscrutable subject. In the process of formation for this special purpose is the American Metapsychiatric Association (AMPA). Inquiries are invited.

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## LESSONS FROM CANNIKIN

## HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, we have been made acutely aware that those who cry "wolf" most loudly to further a given cause also maintain the deepest silence when their pet prophecies of doom fail to materialize. In this regard there was a very perceptive article in the November 12, 1971, issue of *Nature* magazine entitled, "Lessons From Cannikin."

*Nature* is strongly oriented toward the biological sciences and the environment and has been severely critical of the Cannikin test for the past year or so. Nevertheless, "Lessons From Cannikin," from *Nature*, points out the environmentalists were desperately seeking from the scientists a concerted declaration warning of impending dangers when, as a matter of fact, the risks were indeed small, even negligible. The writer concludes:

It is indeed conceivable that the environmental movement has been harmed by the Cannikin affair.

For Nature to have printed such an article about Cannikin is a good indicator that they now recognize that inputs from pseudo-scientists and pseudo-environmentalists should be carefully scrutinized before being accepted for printing. This article should make good reading for some of the political "pros" in this city and elsewhere.

I, my colleagues on the joint committee, and other informed members of this body, many times took to the floor to point out that the issues on which the Atomic Energy Commission was being taken to task as being negligent in preparing for Cannikin were for the most part specious. As many of us have said many times before, if it is the will of this country, of the President and of the Senate to have a comprehensive test ban treaty for political reasons and political reasons alone, let those who would force this issue to do so directly and forthrightly, without reverting to subterfuge. I request that the above-mentioned article be placed in the RECORD.

[From *Nature*, Nov. 12, 1971]

#### NUCLEAR WEAPONS—LESSONS FROM CANNIKIN

What the US Atomic Energy Commission scientists learned from the Cannikin test on the Island of Amchitka will probably never be known, being apparently vital to national security. The lessons for all other participants in the affair are more obvious.

The drama associated with Cannikin was appropriate to a Moon shot. Environmentalists have fought during the past week a desperate court action to have papers on the environmental impact of the test released and then to use them in demonstrating that there were significant risks of earthquakes, tidal waves and radioactive leakage. On the very morning of the test, the Supreme Court sat to hear arguments on the environmental impact, and voted 4 to 3 that the test could proceed. Thereafter the AEC, clear of its last hurdle, went ahead and fired the shot which predictably triggered no earthquakes or tidal waves. It is too early to tell whether there will be any radioactive leakage, but there appears to be no concern about it.

One of the most remarkable and least noted features of this test is that in the fifties and early sixties the United States fired such shots in the atmosphere with impunity. The American public has come a long way in its attitudes since then. Unfortunately, the issues on which the AEC were challenged were in the opinion of many flimsy. It is of course an old political trick to steer clear of the central arguments and try to make the peripheral questions seem more important. The AEC did not even have, consciously, to pursue this policy; the environmental question was the only one which generated a significant amount of heat. To be sure, there is never a zero risk of environmental damage and no scientist has come out with a statement that environmental arguments are nonsense, but it appears to have been the considered opinion of practically all those who studied the problem in a detached manner that the risks were very slight.

What environmentalists would desperately have liked would have been a concerted declaration from scientists warning of dangers. No such statement was forthcoming. It is indeed conceivable that the environmental movement has been harmed by the Cannikin affair. Its members may have learned the hard way that scientists with some sympathy for the movement can be alienated by a stance that scientists could not maintain. They may

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have lost some credibility with those middle Americans who are unimpressed when the Doomsday does not show up to order. The first callers to radio talk shows immediately after the blast were saying, "Well, what was all the fuss about then?" They may also have learned that when dealing with politicians they are talking to pragmatic people for whom a 10 per cent, let alone 1 per cent, chance of catastrophe is acceptable. The environmentalists have to walk on a tightrope above scientists, lawyers, politicians and the general public. The Cannikin affair may have helped them to learn new tactics.

Of course, what Cannikin was really about was national security. If a good number of Senators had banded together early enough to express disbelief that this one explosion was more vital to national security than good relations with Canada and Japan, the soft centre of the Administration's argument would have been revealed. Fresh from previous insults from the new Nixon, these two countries in particular were bitter about the test and are going to be more difficult to deal with in the future as a result of it, earthquake or no. Whether the milliseconds worth of X-rays is more valuable than good relations with two allies is much the most debatable issue in the whole affair.

#### CONSTITUTIONALITY OF INDIVIDUAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION LIMITATIONS

### HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, when the House debates the campaign spending legislation, I shall offer an amendment to the Senate bill, S. 382, if it is offered as a substitute for the House Administration Committee bill, H.R. 11060, to establish reasonable limitations on individual contributions to political campaigns.

Some opponents of individual contribution limitations claim that the amendment would be unconstitutional. Since this is a very complex question of law, which deserves Members' careful attention, I would like to offer the following correspondence between my colleague FRANK THOMPSON of New Jersey, and Prof. Albert J. Rosenthal of Columbia Law School. Professor Rosenthal's letter to Mr. THOMPSON presents a number of strong arguments supporting the constitutional validity of this amendment.

The following is the text of the correspondence between Mr. THOMPSON and Professor Rosenthal:

NOVEMBER 12, 1971.

Prof. ALBERT J. ROSENTHAL,  
Columbia Law School,  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Professor Rosenthal: I understand that you attended a recent seminar on the control of election expenditures and may have some views on the subject which would be useful to the Congress. In particular, as you may know, new legislation is scheduled for debate and, hopefully, action next week in the House of Representatives.

One provision which will be before the House is Section 202 of S. 382 which would, if enacted, repeal 18 U.S.C. sec. 608. This section presently imposes a \$5,000 limitation on individual campaign contributions.

I feel strongly that the \$5,000 limitation or, if it is the will of the Congress, some larger limitation should remain in force. I am con-

cerned about the disproportionate political power and entree enjoyed by large contributors in comparison with the power available to the individual voter who makes no political contributions, or very modest ones. Accordingly, I plan next week to take whatever action I can to preserve either the \$5,000 limitation imposed by 18 U.S.C. sec. 608 or some other dollar limitation on contributions.

In this connection I anticipate an argument from those who oppose individual contribution ceilings that 18 U.S.C. sec. 608 is unconstitutional. In order to counter this argument, I would greatly appreciate a statement from you of your view as to the constitutionality of this statute.

The debate will probably begin on Tuesday, November 16th. The debate is subject to a rule which will abbreviate the proceedings. I am sorry to make this request of you on such short notice, but I would greatly appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible, and, hopefully, by Tuesday, November 16.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW,  
New York, N.Y., November 15, 1971.  
Hon. FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN THOMPSON: This is in response to your letter of November 12, 1971, requesting my views as to the constitutionality of federal legislation, such as 18 U.S.C. § 608, limiting the amounts that may be contributed by individuals for the election campaigns of candidates for President, Senator and Representative.

First of all, there seems little doubt that regulation of the financing campaigns for federal office falls within Constitutional grants of authority to Congress. With respect to Congressional elections, Art. I, § 4, gives Congress control over "[t]he Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives," and the Supreme Court has construed these as "comprehensive words [which] embrace authority to provide a complete code for congressional elections . . ." *Smiley v. Holm*, 285 U.S. 355, 366 (1932); see also *Ex parte Siebold*, 100 U.S. 371 (1880). Authority to protect Presidential elections from undue financial influence does not spring from this clause but has been stated to rest upon the inherent power of Congress "to preserve the departments and institutions of the general government from impairment or destruction, whether threatened by force or by corruption." See *Burrroughs v. United States*, 290 U.S. 534, 545 (1934); *Ex parte Yarborough*, 110 U.S. 651, 657, 666-67 (1884). These cases would also serve as additional support, if any were needed, for legislative power to control contributions for Congressional elections. And since contributions induce the purchase of goods and services, and pay for the costs of speakers and communications that cross state lines, regulation could also be sustained independently under the grant of authority to Congress to regulate interstate commerce (Art. I, § 8, cl. 18).

Assuming, therefore, presumptive Congressional authority over the subject, the question may be raised as to whether restrictions on how much a person may contribute violate his freedom of speech or press under the First Amendment. To be sure, to limit what a person may spend on behalf of a candidate restricts to some degree his ability to communicate his views. But First Amendment rights are not absolute—as illustrated by Justice Holmes' classic example of shouting "fire" in a crowded theatre—and questions of constitutionality necessarily require a balancing of the interests sacrificed against the goals and values sought to be achieved.

Moreover, spending money is not the same as speech-making, even if the former may

pay for the latter; the weight accorded the right to spend would undoubtedly count for far less in any such balancing process than would the right to speak. It should be noted that even in his dissent in *United States v. United Automobile Workers*, 352 U.S. 567 (1957), Justice Douglas (joined by Chief Justice Warren and Justice Black), while contending that a radio broadcast by a labor union on behalf of a candidate could not constitutionally be forbidden, conceded: "If Congress is of the opinion that large contributions by labor unions to candidates for office and to political parties have had an undue influence upon the conduct of elections, it can prohibit such contributions...." (352 U.S. at 598, n. 2).

Assuming, however, that limits on contributions impose some restraint on freedom of speech, this must be weighed against the values sought to be achieved. One such value is the reduction of the possibility of large contributors exerting undue influence over candidates and office-holders. If this were the only interest to be served by limiting contributions, the present \$5,000 limit might seem unrealistically low; in the light of the large scale of the expenses for the typical Presidential or Congressional election, it appears unlikely that a single \$5,000 contribution would exert much sway. On the other hand, to the extent that large numbers of contributions of that size from individuals espousing a common point of view might cumulatively have such an effect, the present ceiling might be justifiable. Cf. *United Public Workers v. Mitchell*, 330 U.S. 75, 101 (1947). But a somewhat higher ceiling would be even less vulnerable, and should increase the weight properly to be accorded the interest in discouraging contributors' undue influence.

There is, however, an additional value to be protected by ceilings on individual contributions, which would undoubtedly be extremely significant in any balancing of constitutional interests regardless of the size of the limit. Since campaign contributions are intended to influence the way people will vote, large ones tend to exert proportionately greater influence. The Supreme Court has repeatedly held that equality of voting power was constitutionally protected, not only in the apportionment cases but also in cases overturning state laws that imposed financial burdens or property qualifications upon the right to vote. *S.g., Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections*, 383 U.S. 663 (1966); *Kramer v. Union Free School District*, 395 U.S. 621 (1969); *City of Phoenix v. Kolodziejki*, 399 U.S. 204 (1970). It is, of course, not suggested that Congress is compelled by the Constitution to eliminate disparities in political influence arising from the differences between rich and poor in their ability to make large campaign contributions. But the fact that the Constitution requires that each man's vote count equally must weigh heavily in favor of the conclusion that Congress is permitted to reduce these differences in power to influence the result, through limiting the size of contributions.

In conclusion, therefore, it is my opinion that restrictions on the size of individual campaign contributions are constitutionally valid, and would on balance greatly contribute to, rather than diminish, the constitutional rights of American citizens.

Sincerely yours,

ALBERT J. ROSENTHAL,  
Professor of Law.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### FRANCE CLOUDS THE FACTS IN ITS ATTEMPT TO DEFEND ITS ANTI-DRUG PROGRAMS

#### HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, Monday's mail brought a pamphlet entitled "French-American Cooperation on Narcotics Control," distributed by the Press and Information Service of the French Embassy in New York. The pamphlet contains many unwarranted statements which do not square with the facts of French failure to successfully crack down on heroin processing and trafficking. It is a blatant attempt to brainwash the American people into believing that the French Government is stopping the merchants who peddle death disguised as a white powder—heroin.

It is important that my colleagues in the House of Representatives take a look at this propaganda piece and recognize its clumsy effort to play hide-and-seek with the truth.

The pamphlet follows:

#### FRENCH-AMERICAN COOPERATION ON NARCOTICS CONTROL

(Ambassade de France, Service de Presse et d'Information)

French and American authorities have been cooperating for several years in the fight against drug trafficking. Recently, however, the increase of drug abuse in several Western countries, including France and the United States, has made it necessary to intensify this fight and strengthen international cooperation in it.

#### NARCOTICS CONTROL IN FRANCE

Within France, the Central Office for the Repression of Illicit Drug Trafficking coordinates the fight of the various government agencies (Police Judiciaire, Customs, etc.) against drug abuse and trafficking. It is represented in various regions of France by the Police Judiciaire to which are assigned special agents trained by the Central Office. The regional police of Paris and Marseilles are assigned greater numbers of these agents, for most of the trafficking occurs within their areas. The number of special narcotics agents has increased considerably in the past few years; it rose from 30 in 1965 to 150 in 1969, 300 in 1970 and in 1971 reached 520; in addition, 3,000 police officers received basic training in narcotics control. Given the nature of their work, customs agents also play a part in the fight against trafficking and they too have received basic training. A new law recently adopted by the French Parliament has increased penalties for trafficking offenses: offensive may be sentenced to from 10 to 20 years' imprisonment and may be fined as much as 50 million F. (approximately \$9 million). These penalties may be doubled in case of repeated offense.

#### INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The fight against trafficking in France has been accompanied on the international level by an increase in the joint efforts in various countries.

On August 6, 1971 President Pompidou sent a letter to the heads of government of the other five countries of the Common Market proposing to coordinate the fight against drug abuse. After describing what he believes is the seriousness of the drug problem, President Pompidou proposed that a twice yearly meeting of the ministers con-

cerned (health, education, interior and justice) should be held. The ministers would be aided by a permanent organization of experts in the fight against drug addiction.

At the same time President Pompidou wrote to the British Prime Minister, Edward Heath, and proposed that the two countries work together now, without waiting for Britain to enter the Common Market. Mr. Heath immediately made it known that he was in favor of this proposal. The replies from other heads of government were also very positive. The details of this plan for European cooperation were presented by French Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann in Brussels on September 20, 1971. France also cooperates very closely with the United States.

#### THE MEASURES TAKEN BY FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES

Included in the measures taken by France and the United States is the assignment of three agents from the US Bureau of Narcotics to Paris and three to the Marseilles region. Two French narcotics agents were likewise assigned in New York to the US Bureau of Narcotics to provide assistance and coordination in all international trafficking affairs concerning France.

The BNDD and the French National Police have organized joint training sessions in Paris, Lyons and Marseilles which the Director of the US Bureau of Narcotics described as an "unqualified success."

A French-American International Commission to combat drug abuse meets four times a year with the participation of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. During the meeting which took place in Washington on November 3 and 4, 1970 and which was presided over by Max Fernet, Director of the French Police Judiciaire, and John Ingessoll, Director of the US Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, a draft protocol between the French and the American governments was prepared concerning the joint efforts of the two countries to combat international drug trafficking. The final protocol was signed in Paris on February 26, 1971 by US Attorney General John Mitchell and by French Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcellin.

At the meeting which took place on May 25, 1971, it was decided to hold an international symposium in Washington in September, to which all European countries belonging to Interpol would be invited. This seminar was held from September 13 to 24 and brought together specialists in the fight against drug abuse from 14 countries in Western Europe.

#### FRENCH-AMERICAN COOPERATION: STATEMENTS BY AMERICAN OFFICIALS

On various occasions, high-ranking American officials have made a point not only of belying the supposed inadequacy of the French effort but also of expressing their satisfaction with the close collaboration between the responsible French and American agencies.

The Director of the US Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, John Ingessoll, in a statement made on July 24, 1970:

"There has been a traditional, fraternal relationship between the French narcotics police and their US counterparts. Upon merger of the US drug enforcement agencies into the BNDD in 1968, I undertook immediate steps to strengthen these somewhat informal contacts with all foreign police agencies in countries which affected the US drug abuse problem. Because French territory was being used illegally for clandestine heroin processing and trans-shipment, special effort was made to formalize the relations with the Surete Nationale and Police Judiciaire in France. These efforts were extremely well received by the French authorities.

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"This cooperation has been manifested in the successful conclusion of several joint investigations conducted by the French police and BNDD agents, the latest of which resulted in the seizure of 344 pounds of morphine-base in the Marseilles area and at Milan with the cooperation of the Italian police. Six international traffickers with Near-Eastern backgrounds were arrested in this investigation."

The Attorney General of the United States, John Mitchell, and the French Minister of the Interior, Raymond Marcellin, in a joint communique published at the close of the latter's visit to Washington on July 31, 1970:

"The French Minister of the Interior, Mr. Raymond Marcellin, has been in Washington from the 29th to the 31st of July 1970 invited by the Attorney General of the United States. His visit took place in the framework of the cooperation between the two countries which was recently emphasized by the visit to the United States of Mr. Georges Pompidou, President of the French Republic."

"The Attorney General of the United States and the French Minister of the Interior had a wide exchange of view concerning in particular the problem of fighting the international traffic of narcotics.

"In this matter there exists the fullest cooperation between the American and the French governments.

"A Franco-American protocol concerning international narcotics control will be signed shortly. It will formalize the existing cooperation between the respective enforcement agencies of the two countries in this particular field.

"The conversations which, for the first time, were held on a ministerial level, form part of the regular consultations which since December 1969 have taken place between the competent French and American services. Three meetings of that kind have already taken place either in Paris or Washington. A new session will be held in Washington in the fall.

"Every three months there will be further meetings of this kind.

"The Attorney General of the United States and the French Minister of the Interior have expressed their satisfaction about the efficiency of the measures taken jointly in the interest of both countries."

The Ambassador of the United States to France, Arthur K. Watson, in a letter to Time magazine published September 28, 1970:

"To prevent rumor through repetition being taken as fact, I want to specifically deny that the U.S. government has any French police reports, or any other reports for that matter, indicating laxity in the enforcement of drug laws in France. Another variation of this story, which appeared in two Paris publications, suggests that we have evidence linking French political figures with the narcotic traffic. It is also without foundation.

"The truth is that we do have a widespread and increasingly successful effort to choke off the drug traffic from Europe and the government of President Pompidou is helping us in every way that it possibly can."

The former Ambassador of the United States to France, Sargent Shriver, in a televised interview on October 7, 1970:

"Let me just say that the number of people working under the French government on that problem in France is about five times as great now as it was 18 months ago.

"Secondly, the clandestine laboratories where heroin is processed in France are very difficult to discover. They used to be, most of them, in Italy and Sicily; and once we were able to work with the Italian government

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

and get them out of there, then they went to France.

"I think the tragedy is that probably if we're successful in getting them out of France, they'll move someplace else. The reason is there's so much money in it. The profits are incredible. And until we start knocking at the people who are actually getting the maximum of the profit, we're not going to stop it simply by getting it out of France.

"I'm in favor of getting it out of France and the French government is working with us; but I'm desperately afraid that if it gets out of there it'll be someplace else simply because of the dollars involved."

The US Secretary of State, William Rogers, in the section of his report on US foreign policy 1960-1970:

"When the Administration undertook an international campaign against illicit drug traffic in 1969, one of the major initiatives was with the French, launched by an exchange of letters, in November 1969, between the President and President Pompidou. It was agreed to intensify cooperative efforts between the two countries to control the illicit production and traffic of heroin. An intergovernmental task force was established and meets quarterly, alternately in Washington and Paris. The number of French and American agents assigned to uncover and eliminate the processing and shipment of heroin was substantially increased. During a recent 12-month period, more than 300 drug traffickers were indicted in France and more than 1,700 pounds of opium and heroin were seized. As part of this continuing cooperation, the Attorney General is visiting Paris at the end of February 1971, reciprocating the visit of the French Minister of the Interior to the United States last summer. On this occasion the two ministers will sign an interagency agreement formalizing and detailing the nature of cooperative agreements between the narcotics control authorities of the two governments."

The US Assistant Secretary of State, Martin J. Hillenbrand, before the European Subcommittee, House Foreign Affairs Committee on July 2, 1971:

"...Illegal drug operations are international in scope. Information developed in one country may lead to arrests and seizures anywhere along the path of the illegal narcotics as it is processed and shipped to the U.S. Recognizing that one cannot always pinpoint the major responsibility for a seizure or arrest, the results are so far encouraging. As a result of cooperation with French authorities and operations in France, seizures of morphine-base and heroin (one pound of morphine-base converts to one pound of heroin) have been: 1969, 992 lbs.; 1970, 1,014 lbs.; 1971 (six months) 2,864 lbs."

The U.S. Secretary of State, William Rogers, in a press conference held at the White House on September 7, 1971:

"...France has been cooperating with us very well, and I think there is an awareness on the part of the French government that the problem is an international problem, not just a problem for the United States. There is no attempt at all to criticize France. I think France has been very cooperative."

### THE U.N. AND NARCOTICS CONTROL

France supported the draft resolution, drawn up by the special session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs which was held in Geneva in September 1970, and submitted to the United Nations Economic and Social Council. The Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet, said in particular on this subject on November 11, 1970:

"In order to achieve the goal it set itself

the Commission recommends that the Council urge the Secretary General to create, as a matter of urgency and as an initial measure, a United Nations fund to combat drug addiction which would be funded by voluntary contributions.

"The French delegation is generally against the proliferation of special funds due notably to the administrative costs they involve. My delegation will, however, vote in favor of this proposal for we see in it a means for the international community to affirm its intention of waging a very intensive campaign against the abuse of dangerous drugs. But my delegation feels that the fund's resources should be utilized mainly to increase information available to national and international services as well as to dispense appropriate technical assistance to such governments as may request it. On the other hand, this fund should not be used to finance the budgetary expenditures of existing agencies.

"The best means of achieving this would be to entrust to an experienced United Nations agency such as the UNDP the management of the funds as was done for population activities . . .

"This is the reason why my delegation will support the draft resolution which several delegations, including that of the United States, are submitting to the Economic and Social Council so as to make concrete the recommendations of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

"Against this international plague, this physical, intellectual and moral pollution which is threatening the young and the adults of all nations indiscriminately, it is fitting to use all possible means, national and international. On a bilateral basis with the United States, we have set up a complete cooperation. We are ready to extend it on a multilateral basis; these efforts have to be integrated into the international effort which is being conducted by the United Nations and in which we mean to participate unreservedly."

### SOME RECENT ARRESTS AND SEIZURES

According to the French Ministry of the Interior, the number of traffickers arrested in France rose from 86 in 1966 to 120 in 1967, 154 in 1968 and 206 in 1969. The number of drug users arrested increased from 82 in 1966 to 155 in 1967, 207 in 1968 and 994 in 1969. Between August 1, 1969 and September 27, 1971, 946 drug traffickers were arrested, including 35 international traffickers; during the same period seizures included 628 kg (1380 lbs.) of opium, 899 kg (1977 lbs.) of morphine-base, 200 kg (440 lbs.) of heroin and 1108 kg (2437 lbs.) of cannabis. During the first six months of 1971, 11 drug traffickers were sentenced to more than 10 years imprisonment and in 1970 and 1971 more than 680 foreigners convicted of drug use were deported.

Special attention is being paid by French narcotics agents to uncovering the so-called laboratories (in fact makeshift installations) where drugs may be processed.

The collaboration of the French and American agencies has resulted in the arrest of numerous traffickers and the seizure of significant quantities of drugs. Arrests and seizures in 1971 include:

January 1: Nice, 3 foreigners, 140 kg of morphine-base (308 lbs.);

January 14: Marseilles, 2 French, 9.5 kg of heroin (20 lbs.);

February 3: Montpellier, 2 traffickers, 2.8 kg of cannabis (6 lbs.);

February 11: Marseilles, 2 foreigners, 2 French, 32 kg of opium (70 lbs.);

February 25: Marseilles, 2 French, 2 foreigners, 358 kg of morphine-base (789 lbs.);

March 3: Orly Airport, 4 foreigners, 70 kg of hashish (154 lbs.);

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

March 21: Nice, 3 foreigners, 140 kg of hashish (308 lbs.);  
 March 31: Marseilles, 1 foreigner, 2.5 kg of cannabis (5 lbs.);  
 April 16: Marseilles, 1 French, 5 foreigners, 162 kg of morphine-base (357 lbs.);  
 May 27: Orly, 12 kg of heroin (26 lbs.);  
 August 16: Paris, 3 foreigners, 18 kg of pure heroin (40 lbs.);  
 October 6: Paris, 4 French, 106 kg of heroin (233 lbs.).

II

In the pamphlet, France boasts of the increased number of police assigned to narcotics control. The French Government states:

Given the nature of their work, customs agents also play a part in the fight against trafficking and they too have received basic training.

This underrating of the vital nature of customs in controlling the flow of drugs, coupled with the decreasing number of customs agents assigned to Marseilles makes me wonder about the depth of the French understanding of the dimensions of the problem. Claude Gravagna, spokesman for the General Confederation of Labor, claims that the number of customs agents at Marseilles has dropped from 940 in 1950, to 670 in 1971, as reported in the New York Times on September 7, 1971. Marseilles, the largest port on the Mediterranean, is the center for much of the heroin processing in France. Its shipping traffic has been growing annually, in contrast to the number of customs officials assigned there.

III

Although one section of the pamphlet deals with the United Nations and narcotics control, there is good reason to question France's sincerity in seeking strengthened international efforts to fight drugs. On July 1, the Division of Narcotics of the United Nations reported that France had not yet paid its promised contribution to the U.N. Fund for Drug Abuse Control. In mid-September, the United Nations confirmed to my staff that the French contribution still had not been paid. It was not until international publicity revealed French failure to fulfill its financial commitment that, earlier this month, France announced that it would contribute \$100,000 in 1972 to the fund.

III

The pamphlet contends:

Special attention is being paid by French narcotics agents to uncovering the so-called laboratories (in fact makeshift installations) where drugs may be processed.

The American people should not be pacified by this statement. Should we humble ourselves in gratitude to French ardor in seeking out these laboratories which process death for our young people and servicemen? Not until these laboratories are closed.

John Cusack, European desk chief of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, has estimated that between eight and 12 clandestine laboratories are currently operating with impunity in the Marseilles region alone. Others are located around Paris and Le Havre. Only 13 labs have been raided since the early 1950's. None have been raided and shut down since the fall of 1969—2 years ago.

IV

Included in the pamphlet is a list of a dozen recent seizures of narcotics by French police and accompanying arrests. What these statistics gloss over is the fact that the vast majority of heroin processed in France is successfully smuggled out of the country and into the international drug market. What about the April 5 seizure of 96 pounds of pure heroin, worth \$12 million, discovered by a U.S. customs agent in New Jersey? The heroin was hidden in an automobile shipped from Le Havre.

What about the seizure in May of this year of 201 pounds of pure heroin, worth an estimated \$30 million at street prices, in San Juan? The drugs were hidden in a Citroen and two French citizens, one an employee of the city of Manosque, were arrested.

What about the arrest of two Frenchmen in Puerto Rico on July 23? They were captured with 100 kilos of heroin in their car which had been shipped from Marseilles.

The list of French police-customs failures continues, as does the spreading addiction of thousands of Americans. Who do the French think they are kidding?

V

Finally, France denies the complicity of government officials in the manufacturing of heroin from morphine base and in the trafficking of heroin to the United States. On September 1, 1971, regional leaders of the French national union of customs officials charged:

There is a very influential underworld in Marseilles which had and still has political protection.

The New York Sunday News of November 14 and the New York Daily News of November 15 reported the disclosure of top-level corruption in the area of narcotics. The News reported:

A top-secret federal investigation of the multimillion-dollar flow of narcotics—particularly pure heroin—from France to the United States has unmasked a French government official as a key member of the flourishing dope smuggling ring. Among his illicit activities was the recruitment of dope carriers from the ranks of government service, the source said.

These and subsequent articles follow:

[From the New York Sunday News, Nov. 14, 1971]

PARIS OFFICIAL CALLED KINGPIN IN BIG HEROIN SMUGGLING RING

(By Alex Michelini)

A top-secret federal investigation of the multimillion-dollar flow of narcotics—particularly pure heroin—from France to the United States has unmasked a French government official as a key member of the flourishing dope smuggling ring, it was learned yesterday.

The official was said to hold a sensitive position in the French government that gives him access to confidential security information. Among his illicit activities was the recruitment of dope carriers from the ranks of government service, the source said.

Federal authorities here reportedly are close to breaking the case, which is expected to send shock waves through Franco-American diplomatic channels, and which could lead to a heavy crackdown on the importation of narcotics from France much of which finds its way into the New York area.

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## CACHE IN VOLKSWAGEN

A federal grand jury in Newark is scheduled to hear evidence in the case, possibly on Tuesday, with an eye toward taking official action.

The super sensitive investigation, which has involved high-level meetings in Washington among the Justice and State departments and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, grew out of the inquisitiveness of a young woman customs agent who discovered 96 pounds of heroin under the floorboards of a Volkswagen bus aboard the French freighter Atlantic Cognac in Port Elizabeth, N.J., April 5.

The find, by red-haired Lynn Pelletier, 22, was valued at \$12 million, one of the largest smuggled hauls in the northeast.

## PROBE CONTINUED

Two days later, Roger Xavier Leon Delouette, a 48-year old French agricultural engineer who once worked for the French government, was arrested on charges of importing and concealing the heroin. He was indicted by a Newark federal grand jury on May 11.

At the time, U.S. Attorney Herbert J. Stern, who handled the case with one of his top assistants, Donald Merklebach, did not rule out the possibility that de Louette was part of an international smuggling ring. "All I can tell you is that the investigation in this matter is continuing," Stern had said.

Delouette a tall executive type is being held in \$500,000 bail at the Somerset County Jail in Somerville, N.J., where he reportedly is assigned duties as a chef. He was placed in the jail, which is not a federal institution, for security reasons, sources said.

For the last seven months, Delouette has cooperated with the government in the continuing investigation, his court-appointed Newark lawyer, Donald Robinson told The News.

"Mr. Delouette expressed his gratitude for the courtesies accorded him here and said he wanted to help the U.S. government," said Robinson. "He has cooperated completely and furnished useful information."

It is uncertain what effect an action by a grand jury here would have on a member of a foreign government. An indictment would necessitate extradition to the United States for trial, an action which it is doubted the French government would take. But the case could provide the impetus for the French to take action against government members accused of involvement in dope trafficking.

## WATSON'S DENIAL

Arthur K. Watson, the U.S. ambassador to France, said in a statement on Sept. 28, 1970, that published reports in Paris that "we (the U.S.) have evidence linking French political figures with the narcotics traffic" were "without foundation."

Last Feb. 26, U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell and French Interior Minister Raymond Marcellin signed an agreement designed to smash the drug traffic. But Justice Department officials are known to feel that the French have failed to enforce the agreement aggressively and that more effective French participation is necessary.

Less than two months after Mitchell and Marcellin signed the agreement, the girl customs agent in Port Elizabeth came across her find. Since then others have been uncovered.

## VEILED IN SECRECY

The operation of the smuggling ring in France was said to be highly organized and mysterious. Couriers rarely came into direct contact with higher-ups.

Sources said that the case of one particular courier revealed how he was directed by unnamed telephone callers to look in the telephone book of a French cafe for cryptic instructions on where the drugs would be stashed. Other messages secretly deposited in

bistros and stores supplied him with the code names of contacts in the United States.

[From the New York Daily News, Nov. 15, 1971]

**FRANCE DOUBTS STORY ON AIDE TIED TO DRUGS**

(By Bernard Valery)

PARIS, Nov. 14.—The Interior Ministry expressed "serious reservations" today that a report about a French government official was involved in international drug trafficking.

The statement said the official named belongs to the Documentation and Counterespionage Service, French equivalent of the Central Intelligence Agency, and that the finger man in the case "could have motives of resentment against him." Other French sources said the finger man himself was a former spy who had been fired by the official he later sought to implicate.

The official statement pointed out that the report, published in The Sunday News, was based "solely on the statements of a drug trafficker arrested redhanded who—because of the nature of American procedures—has the greatest interest in throwing suspicion on an official to reduce his guilt."

**COOPERATION PLEDGED**

The ministry statement pledged that French official agencies would continue to "do everything necessary so that the already effective collaboration between the United States and France in the fight against drug traffickers may play a full role in this affair."

Sources close to the American embassy said that even if charges against the official proved correct, it would prove "nothing else than that there might be a rotten apple in any barrel."

"Franco-American war on narcotics will continue, in close cooperation," these sources said.

Earlier this month, France pledged to contribute \$100,000 to the United Nations Fund against Drug Abuse in 1972. The French said the donation "supplements measures taken by France to dismantle the network of illicit traffic, and shows that the French authorities are resolutely determined to use all means in fighting drug addiction."

The Interior Ministry statement referred to a Frenchman arrested in the U.S. last April 7 on federal charges of importing and concealing heroin. He is Roger Xavier Leon Delouette, 48, who is held in \$500,000 bail at Somerset County Jail, Somerville, N.J.

He was arrested two days after a customs agent, Lynn Pelletier, 22, discovered a 96-pound cache of heroin under the floorboards of a Volkswagen bus on the French freighter Atlantic Cognac in Port Elizabeth, N.J.

**GOING TO GRAND JURY**

Delouette, who is understood to be working as a chef at the New Jersey jail, "has cooperated completely" with U.S. authorities since his arrest, according to his attorney, Donald Robinson of Newark, N.J. A federal grand jury in Newark was expected to hear testimony in the case shortly, possibly this week.

French sources said Delouette worked for nine weeks for the French espionage agency and was dismissed for incompetence and irresponsibility. The charges were said to represent the "inventions of a liar and of a disgruntled former employee who decided to even an old score."

The official statement noted that French authorities sought to interrogate Delouette, but were refused permission by authorities in New Jersey, who wanted prior assurance that Delouette would not be prosecuted in France.

The French juge d'instruction, the judge presiding over investigations, "could only reply that it was legally impossible for him

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

to give such a commitment," the statement said.

It said that this judgment was confirmed to "the New Jersey prosecutor" who visited Paris Nov. 6. The name of the prosecutor was not given. It was understood that the visit was an unannounced one, but that the American visitor was given "full cooperation" by French authorities.

The stress on "full cooperation" in describing the reception of the American indicated to observers here that the visitor met personally with the accused official, whose alleged role in the drug trafficking was recruitment of drug couriers.

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 16, 1971]

**FRENCH AIDE ACCUSED IN SMUGGLING OF HEROIN WORTH \$12 MILLION INTO UNITED STATES**

(By Morton Mintz)

NEWARK, N.J., November 15.—An official of the French counterpart of the CIA conspired to smuggle \$12 million worth of heroin into the United States, a federal grand jury charged today in a three-count indictment.

The indictment named Col. Paul Fournier, a supervisory agent in the SDECE (Service de Documentation Exterieure et de Contre-Espionage). The agency has no responsibility for controlling illicit narcotics traffic.

U.S. Attorney Herbert J. Stern told newsmen that French authorities have known for seven months of Fournier's alleged role—ever since a former subordinate, Roger X. L. Delouette, initially accused him under questioning by a French police officer, Commissaire Daniel Hartwig, and an American customs agent.

In Paris, there was no indication of any French government proceeding against Fournier—or an acknowledgment of his existence.

In a statement Sunday night, the Ministers of Interior and Justice suggested that unspecified feelings of revenge may have motivated Delouette—a charge indignantly denied by his court-appointed lawyer here, Donald A. Robinson.

The indictment names Delouette as a co-defendant. He is to be arraigned Tuesday. Stern said it is for French authorities to decide whether to proceed against Fournier or to make him available for trial here.

The French Ministers of Justice and Interior and the American Embassy in Paris joined in praising the cooperation of the two countries against narcotics trafficking and in saying that the same cooperation will apply in the heroin case.

The indictment charged that Fournier—who is not listed in the official French military directory—"contacted and solicited" Delouette last Dec. 15 to agree to the smuggling mission. He was to receive \$50,000.

**FOUND BY INSPECTOR**

The alleged mission was frustrated by an alert customs inspector, Lynn Pelletier. In a spot inspection at Port Elizabeth, N.J., she discovered 96 pounds of pure heroin—with a "street corner value," as prosecutor Stern put it, of about \$125,000 per pound—secreted in the wall panels and under the floor boards of a Volkswagen camper.

Bureau of Customs agents arrested Delouette on April 5, when, they said, he came to claim the VW. The French police officer and a customs officer interrogated him the same day.

Since that time, Stern said, he has made "all the information" in his possession available to French authorities, including a French examining magistrate, G. Roussel, whom he saw in Paris 10 days ago.

France, according to John E. Ingersoll, chief of the Justice Department's Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, is the source of the vast majority of heroin reaching the United States.

In late August, a Marseilles newspaper carried a three-part interview in which John

Cusack, the bureau's chief for Europe, charged that all but official French connivance figured in the failure of a joint French-American effort to find any of the eight to twelve heroin laboratories around the Mediterranean port city.

**OPIUM CONVERTED**

Such laboratories, which are highly portable and compact, convert opium from the Middle East into heroin. Cusack said the heroin traffic brings \$10 million a month to Marseilles.

French government officials reacted angrily. President Georges Pompidou disclosed that he had asked Common Market officials and Britain to form a united front against drug trafficking.

Cusack's French counterpart, François Le Mouel, apparently offended by an offer by the American to pay informers, said, "Informers should go directly to the French police, not outsiders."

And Interior Minister Raymond Marcellin called for the death penalty for drug traffickers, should existing deterrents fail.

At about the same time, however, regional leaders of the union of French customs agents backed Cusack's charges. "There is a very influential underworld in Marseilles which had and still has political protection," a spokesman said at a press conference.

Stern also said he has offered to seek court permission to give French Authorities testimony Delouette gave the grand jury, provided only that they would not use it to prosecute Delouette in France. The restriction is intended to immunize the defendant against possible self-incrimination, a protection assured by the U.S. Constitution.

The French government statement said magistrate Roussel—under a different legal system—could not immunize Delouette. But his attorney, Robinson, said that French consular officials in New York City had told him that, under a special Franco-American agreement on drugs, immunity could be granted.

**NUMEROUS QUESTIONS**

After receiving numerous written questions from French judicial officials, Robinson told a reporter, he wrote Roussel that Delouette would answer, in writing, if given immunity. He sent the offer on Aug. 2 but has gotten no reply, the lawyer said.

The Justice Department, however, did grant immunity and, in July, administered two lie-detector tests to Delouette, Robinson said. "He passed with flying colors," he added.

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 17, 1971]

**FRENCH DRUG RING "PROTECTION" INTENDED**

(By Morton Mintz)

NEWARK, N.J., November 16—An implication that French government officials protected higher-ups engaged in criminal narcotics trafficking emerged in U.S. District Court here today from two letters written by U.S. Attorney Herbert J. Stern in late September.

The letters which Judge Frederick B. Lacey put into the record of an unusual two-hour arraignment proceeding, reveal that Stern told Paris authorities:

That French police had agreed to "an appropriate prosecution" of Col. Paul Fournier, a supervisory official of the French counterpart of the CIA, for his alleged role in a heroin-smuggling episode, provided certain terms would be met.

That the terms—an agreement by Roger X. L. Delouette, Fournier's accuser, former subordinate and alleged accomplice, to take and "pass" a polygraph (lie detector) examination—in fact were met.

(In Paris, investigating magistrate Gabriel Roussel questioned Fournier—a possible alias—for five hours today, but Fournier told a reporter that it was about "a personal matter," that he was innocent of any wrongdoing, and that he was sure French officials would not indict him.)

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

That Delouette, in the polygraph test, which the Justice Department administered Sept. 21, said that Fournier had directed him to receive \$17,000 in counterfeit American currency, for utterly unexplained reasons.

That Delouette, in the same test, said Fournier had given him a "contact" in the French Consulate in New York City.

DeLouette came before Judge Lacey today to plead guilty to the conspiracy count in a narcotics indictment that named him and Fournier codefendants.

The indictment, returned only Monday, accused them of having conspired to smuggle heroin with a retail value of \$12 million into the United States.

The judge accepted the guilty plea after a lengthy examination to assure that it had a "factual basis" and that Delouette had made it free of any pressure or promises.

In doing so, Lacey put the imprimatur of the court on charges in the indictment—verified almost word for word by Delouette that Col. Fournier:

"Solicited" him for the narcotics smuggling, for which he was to have received \$50,000; directed him to meet with a "John Doe" in Paris who, in turn, told him to buy a Volkswagen Camper in which he would conceal 96 pounds of pure heroin, and instructed him to meet a "Robert Roe" who helped him hide the narcotic in the wall panels and under the floor boards.

"Directed" Delouette to fly to New York, pick up the VW at Port Elizabeth, N.J., drive to the Park-Sheraton Hotel in Manhattan and await a contact who would take the heroin in exchange for the \$50,000.

Customs Inspector Lynn Pelletier found the heroin in a spot check of the VW. Delouette was arrested when he came to pick it up. Prosecutor Stern has left it to French authorities to decide whether to prosecute Fournier in France, or to turn him over to the Justice Department.

The French Ministers of Justice and Interior, on the eve of the indictment, urged the "most extreme reservations" about Delouette's implication of Fournier.

Judge Lacey, making the Stern letters public in the interests of a full public record, rejected an objection by the prosecutor's top aide, Jonathan L. Goldstein, that Justice Department approval should be sought first.

The letters, sent to Magistrate Roussel and Max Fernet of the French Criminal Police, centered on the willingness of the prosecution and defense counsel Donald A. Robinson to turn over Delouette's grand jury testimony on a single condition: that the French not use it to incriminate him.

The letters told of a meeting Stern had in Washington Sept. 14 with officials of the Bureau of Narcotics and Paris police officials, including Honoré Gévaudan and Michel Nocquet.

The French officials—on the basis of a four-day inquiry in April—indicated a belief that DeLouette was lying. Stern told Fernet. Stern promised to seek a 20-year sentence if Delouette refused to take or failed a polygraph test. The French, he said, agreed to prosecute Fournier if Delouette took the test and passed. The results were "positive," meaning that Delouette told "the truth," Stern said.

The magistrate never granted Delouette immunity, the purpose of which, Stern said, was primarily to enable the French "to proceed against the 'higher-ups' in a criminal organization."

Today, affirming, through an interpreter, the accuracy every detail of the conspiracy charge, Delouette said he was aware he faced a mandatory minimum prison sentence of five years. No action was taken on two other indictment counts.

I am hopeful that these revelations will lead to a French sweep against its own corrupt officials.

## VI

Mr. Speaker, this public relations attempt to defraud the American people must not go unchallenged. This is not meant to belittle the steps which France has taken. It is imperative, however, that both the American people and our government know that, propaganda blitz to the contrary, France has a very long way to go before it deserves to pat itself on the back for its fight against illicit trafficking in narcotics.

## THE POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT CONCERNING SCHOOLEBUSING

## HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, with respect to the continuing school desegregation issue President Nixon has consistently supported retention of the neighborhood school system and opposed unnecessary busing of pupils merely for the purpose of trying to achieve a racial "balance" in schools beyond the requirements of law. In this the position of the President may be said to support the principle and purpose underlying House Joint Resolution 651, of which I am one of the sponsors.

The President has drawn attention to the fact that integration is a nationwide problem, pointing out, for illustration, that in 1970 the percentage of Negro children who were attending schools that were 95 percent black was 85 percent in Chicago, the same as in Mobile, Ala. Mr. Nixon has also pointed out that whatever affects the schools stirs deep feelings among parents, and among our people in general.

Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD at this point brief excerpts from several of the President's statements, in chronological order, relating to integration and busing of schoolchildren. I submit that these statements by the President on a matter of nationwide concern merit a thoughtful review by every Member of Congress.

The statements follow:

## SCHOOL DESSEGREGATION PLANS

"School Desegregation Plans." Statement by the President upon Designating a Cabinet-Level Working Group to Explore Executive Branch Assistance to Local Communities. February 16, 1970. *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, February 23, 1970, p. 191. (Excerpt—emphasis added.)

As a matter of general policy this administration will respond affirmatively to requests for assistance in the formulation and presentation to the Courts of desegregation plans designed to comply with the law.

I have directed that these principles should be followed in providing such assistance.

1. Desegregation plans should involve minimum possible disruption—whether by busing or otherwise—of the educational routines of children.

2. To the extent possible, the neighborhood school concept should be the rule.

3. Within the framework of law, school desegregation problems should be dealt with uniformly throughout the land.

I realize that in the school districts af-

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fected by the Courts' mandates, putting even the most carefully-considered desegregation plans into effect is going to cause controversy. Required changes will inevitably be accompanied by apprehension and concern at the time of their implementation.

On one point there should be no argument: the hundreds of thousands of children in the affected districts deserve what every other child in America deserves: a sound education in an atmosphere conducive to learning. This is my paramount interest, and in this regard I am sure I speak for the Nation.

## DESEGREGATION OF AMERICA'S ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

("Desegregation of America's Elementary and Secondary Schools." Statement by the President Setting Forth Administrative Policies. March 24, 1970. *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, July 30, 1970, pp. 424, 427, 429-432, 433-435. (Excerpts—emphasis added.))

*In the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Congress stated, ". . . nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or one school district to another in order to achieve such racial balance, or otherwise enlarge the existing power of the court to insure compliance with constitutional standards."*

In the 1966 amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Congress further stated, ". . . nothing contained in this Act shall . . . require the assignment or transportation of students or teachers in order to overcome racial imbalance."

I am advised that these provisions cannot constitutionally be applied to *de jure* segregation. However, not all segregation as it exists today is *de jure*.

I have consistently expressed my opposition to any compulsory busing of pupils beyond normal geographic school zones for the purpose of achieving racial balance.

## WHAT THE LOWER COURTS HAVE SAID

To summarize: There is a constitutional mandate that dual school systems and other forms of *de jure* segregation be eliminated totally. But within the framework of that requirement an area of flexibility—a "rule of reason"—exists, in which school boards, acting in good faith, can formulate plans of desegregation which best suit the needs of their own localities.

*De facto* segregation, which exists in many areas both North and South, is undesirable but is not generally held to violate the Constitution. Thus, residential housing patterns may result in the continued existence of some all-Negro schools even in a system which fully meets constitutional standards.

But in any event, local school officials may, if they so choose, take steps beyond the constitutional minimums to diminish racial separation.

## THE PROBLEMS

In some communities, racially mixed schools have brought the community greater interracial harmony; in others they have heightened racial tension and exacerbated racial frictions. Integration is no longer seen automatically and necessarily as an unmixed blessing for the Negro, Puerto Rican, or Mexican-American child. "Racial balance" has been discovered to be neither a static nor a finite condition; in many cases it has turned out to be only a way station on the road to resegregation. Whites have deserted the public schools, often for grossly inadequate private schools. They have left the now resegregated public schools foundering for lack of support. And when whites flee the central city in pursuit of all- or predominantly-white schools in the suburbs, it is not only the cen-

tral city schools that become racially isolated, but the central city itself.

These are not theoretical problems, but actual problems. They exist not just in the realm of law, but in the realm of human attitudes and human behavior. They are part of the real world, and we have to take account of them.

#### THE COMPLEXITIES

Courts are confronted with problems of equity, and administrators with problems of policy. For example: To what extent does desegregation of dual systems require positive steps to achieve integration? How are the rights of individual children and their parents to be guarded in the process of enforcement? What are the educational impacts of the various means of desegregation—and where they appear to conflict, how should the claims of education be balanced against those of integration? To what extent should desegregation plans attempt to anticipate the problem of resegregation?

These questions suggest the complexity of the problems. These problems confront us in the North as well as the South, and in rural communities, suburbs, and central cities.

The troubles in our schools have many sources. They stem in part from deeply rooted racial attitudes; in part from differences in social, economic, and behavioral patterns; in part from weaknesses and inequities in the educational system itself; *in part from the fact that by making schools the primary focus of efforts to remedy longstanding social ills, in some cases greater pressure has been brought to bear on the schools than they could withstand.*

#### THE CONTEXT

Progress toward school desegregation is part of two larger processes, each equally essential:

The improvement of educational opportunities for all of America's children.

The lowering of artificial racial barriers in all aspects of American life.

Only if we keep each of these considerations clearly in mind—and only if we recognize their separate nature—can we approach the question of school desegregation realistically.

It may be helpful to step back for a moment, and to consider the problem of school desegregation in its larger context.

The school stands in a unique relationship to the community, to the family, and to the individual student. *It is a focal point of community life.* It has a powerful impact on the future of all who attend. It is a place not only of learning, but of living—where a child's friendships center, where he learns to measure himself against others, to share, to compete, to cooperate—and *it is the one institution above all others with which the parent shares his child.*

*Thus it is natural that whatever affects the schools stirs deep feelings among parents, and in the community at large.*

Whatever threatens the schools, parents perceive—rightly—as a threat to their children.

*Whatever makes the schools more distant from the family undermines one of the important supports of learning.*

Quite understandably, the prospect of any abrupt change in the schools is seen as a threat.

As we look back over these 16 years, we find that many changes that stirred fears when they first were ordered have turned out well. In many Southern communities, black and white children now learn together—and both the schools and the communities are better where the essential changes have been accomplished in a peaceful way.

But we also have seen situations in which the changes have not worked well. These have tended to command the headlines, thus increasing the anxieties of those still facing change.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

#### OVERBURDENING THE SCHOOLS

One of the mistakes of past policy has been to demand too much of our schools: They have been expected not only to educate, but also to accomplish a social transformation. *Children in many instances have not been served, but used—in what all too often has proved a tragically futile effort to achieve in the schools the kind of a multiracial society which the adult community has failed to achieve for itself.*

If we are to be realists, we must recognize that in a free society there are limits to the amount of government coercion that can reasonably be used; that in achieving desegregation we must proceed with the least possible disruption of the education of the Nation's children; and that our children are highly sensitive to conflict, and highly vulnerable to lasting psychic injury.

Failing to recognize these factors, past policies have placed on the schools and the children too great a share of the burden of eliminating racial disparities throughout our society. A major part of this task falls to the schools. But they cannot do it all or even most of it by themselves. Other institutions can share the burden of breaking down racial barriers, but only the schools can perform the task of education itself. *If our schools fail to educate, then whatever they may achieve in integrating the races will turn out to be only a Pyrrhic victory.*

With housing patterns what they are in many places in the Nation, the sheer numbers of pupils and the distances between schools make full and prompt school integration in every such community impractical—even if there were a sufficient desire on the part of the community to achieve it. In Los Angeles, 78 percent of all Negro pupils attend schools that are 95 percent or more black. In Chicago the figure is 85 percent—the same as in Mobile, Alabama. Many smaller cities have the same patterns. Nationwide, 61 percent of all Negro students attend schools which are 95 percent or more black.

*Demands that an arbitrary "racial balance" be established as a matter of right misinterpret the law and misstate the priorities.*

In this same connection, we should recognize that a smug paternalism has characterized the attitudes of many white Americans toward school questions. There has been an implicit assumption that blacks or others of minority races would be improved by association with whites. The notion that an all-black or predominantly-black school is automatically inferior to one which is all- or predominantly-white—even though not a product of a dual system—inescapably carries racist overtones. And, of course, we know of hypocrisy: *not a few of those in the North most stridently demanding racial integration of public schools in the South at the same time send their children to private schools to avoid the assumed inferiority of mixed public schools.*

#### INNOVATIVE APPROACHES

Most public discussion of overcoming racial isolation centers on such concepts as compulsory "busing"—taking children out of the schools they would normally attend, and forcing them instead to attend others more distant, often in strange or even hostile neighborhoods. Massive "busing" is seen by some as the only alternative to massive racial isolation.

However, a number of new educational ideas are being developed, designed to provide the educational benefits of integration without depriving the student of his own neighborhood school.

For example, rather than attempting dislocation of whole schools, a portion of a child's educational activities may be shared with children from other schools. Some of his education is in a "home-base" school, but some outside it. This "outside learning" is

in settings that are defined neither as black nor white, and sometimes in settings that are not even in traditional school buildings. It may range all the way from intensive work in reading to training in technical skills, and to joint efforts such as drama and athletics.

By bringing the children together on "neutral" territory friction may be dispelled; by limiting it to part-time activities no one would be deprived of his own neighborhood school; and the activities themselves provide the children with better education.

This sort of innovative approach demonstrates that the alternatives are not limited to perpetuating racial isolation on the one hand, and massively disrupting existing school patterns on the other. Without uprooting students, devices of this kind can provide an additional educational experience within an integrated setting. The child gains both ways.

#### POLICIES OF THIS ADMINISTRATION

It will be the purpose of this administration to carry out the law fully and fairly. And where problems exist that are beyond the mandate of legal requirements, it will be our purpose to seek solutions that are both realistic and appropriate.

I have instructed the Attorney General, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and other appropriate officials of the Government to be guided by these basic principles and policies:

In devising local compliance plans, primary weight should be given to the considered judgment of local school boards—provided they act in good faith, and within constitutional limits.

The neighborhood school will be deemed the most appropriate base for such a system.

Transportation of pupils beyond normal geographic school zones for the purpose of achieving racial balance will not be required.

#### BUSING OF SCHOOLCHILDREN

*"Busing of Schoolchildren." Statement by the President, August 3, 1971. Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, August 9, 1971, p. 1118.)*

The Justice Department is today announcing the Government's decision to take an appeal on limited constitutional grounds in the case of the *United States v. Austin Independent School District*, involving school desegregation.

The Attorney General advises me that he must appeal the District Court's decision that the school board's plan to bus children periodically for interracial experiences eliminates the dual school system, because that decision is inconsistent with recent rulings of the United States Court. The Justice Department is not appealing to impose the HEW plan. In the process of the appeal, the Justice Department will disavow that plan on behalf of the Government.

I would also like to restate my position as it relates to busing. *I am against busing as that term is commonly used in school desegregation cases. I have consistently opposed the busing of our Nation's schoolchildren to achieve a racial balance, and I am opposed to the busing of children simply for the sake of busing.* Further, while the executive branch will continue to enforce the orders of the court, including court-ordered busing, I have instructed the Attorney General and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare that they are to work with individual school districts to hold busing to the minimum required by law.

Finally, I have today instructed the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to draft and submit today to the Congress an amendment to the proposed Emergency School Assistance Act that will expressly prohibit the expenditure of any of those funds for busing.

## SEEKS ADEQUATE LEGAL STAFF IN SOUTHEAST ALASKA

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a resolution from the Southeastern Alaska Community Action program that raises to a very alarming issue. This resolution concerns itself with assistance to the poor people of southeast Alaska. Alaska's poor people are becoming more and more aware of the relief and assistance that is now available to them. But there is a problem in obtaining needed assistance. We have established numerous programs to provide for aid to the poor, but we have fallen substantially short in supplying the legal representation needed to obtain the desired end.

The Alaska Legal Services Corp. was given the responsibility of providing legal representation for the poor, but because the Alaska Legal Services are understaffed, the demand for their services far exceed their abilities. The resolution which I am including in today's RECORD seeks three additional attorneys to assist in representing poor people in Alaska. The three additional attorneys will be employed in the Ketchikan, Sitka, and Juneau areas.

It is our responsibility to provide viable programs for the relief of the poor. Equally important is our responsibility to assure the needy the opportunity of using these programs.

The resolution follows:

## ADEQUATE STAFFING OF LEGAL SERVICES IN SOUTHEAST ALASKA

Whereas: Alaska Legal Services Corporation, a delegate agency of Rural CAP is charged with the responsibility of providing legal representation to the poor and economically disadvantaged of Southeast Alaska; and

Whereas: Those persons of Southeast Alaska who would qualify for free legal assistance have obtained a greater degree of awareness of the utilization of legal remedies to resolve their immediate needs and long term goals; and

Whereas: The demand for legal services exceeds their availability in Southeast Alaska communities; and

Whereas: The present level of staffing of the existing Alaska Legal Services Corporation offices is inadequate to meet these increasing demands; and

Whereas: The Juneau Alaska Legal Services Corporation office has recently received an increase in its attorney staff which only partially alleviates this problem. Now therefore be it

*Resolved:* By the Board of Directors of Southeastern Alaska Community Action Program that Alaska Legal Services Corporation gives the highest priority to staffing the Southeast Alaska offices in the following manner:

(1) An additional attorney in Ketchikan to serve the Ketchikan area as well as other communities in the Southeast portion of Southeast Alaska.

(2) An Attorney in Sitka to serve the Sitka area as well as other communities in middle Southeast Alaska.

(3) An additional attorney in Juneau to serve the communities in the portion of Southeast Alaska.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT

HON. JOHN W. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the concept of technology assessment has spread rapidly since the Committee on Science and Astronautics, and particularly the Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development, began work on it over 5 years ago.

As many Members are aware, the bill to create an Office of Technology Assessment within the legislative branch as an information aid to the Congress has been approved unanimously by our committee. We hope to have the bill on the floor early in the next session.

Meanwhile, I would like to call attention to some of the very extensive and concentrated studies in this area which have been undertaken in government, in the academic community, and in industry.

For example, the program of policy studies in science and technology, which has been carried on by the George Washington University for a number of years now, largely through grants from the Federal Government, has produced over 200 discussion papers as well as a variety of reports and studies on the many facets which make up technology assessment.

We are also aware of a number of assessments which are now underway on an experimental basis or which have recently been completed.

One of these is a program under the direction of Prof. Don E. Kash at the University of Oklahoma whose task group is now working on technologies for offshore oil development, and is planning a second assessment project in the biomedical area.

Another prototype effort of high quality has been completed in its preliminary aspects by Prof. Raymond Bowers and Jeffrey Frey at Cornell University. Their effort is directed toward the assessment of solid state microwave devices. I think the concluding remarks of this preliminary assessment are particularly appropriate in projecting the flavor of what one specific assessment is designed to do and not to do:

We have discussed some of the prospects, benefits and problems that may be associated with the development of cheap solid state microwave sources. Our discussion has been limited to problems associated with use of the spectrum, potential hazards to health and the issue of privacy. We have not attempted to assess the impact on social processes; they are likely to be substantial in those areas where wired communication systems do not exist (e.g. the Indian and Alaskan projects). Our purpose was not to present firm conclusions but rather to initiate debate on these issues and to indicate areas where more detailed analysis is necessary. We especially hope that the technical community will devote some of its resources at meetings and in its publications to the continued discussion of these problems, inviting contributions from social scientists as well as from physical scientists and technologists. This is part of the public responsibility of the research and development community.

Finally, I might mention the pilot programs in technology assessment which

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were done by Mitre Corp. under contract to the Office of Science and Technology of the Executive Office of the President. This experimental work covered five particular problem areas involving advanced technological application. These are automotive emissions, computer communications, industrial enzymes, sea farming, and domestic waste.

I do not suggest that all or any of the foregoing efforts represent sophisticated, truly effective assessments. We are just beginning to learn how to do this job.

But we believe they are steps in the right direction, and that Congress must provide its own capability in this field as well.

## AMENDMENT TO AMENDMENT TO H.R. 11060

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 17, 1971

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow I plan on offering the following amendment to Mr. MACDONALD's amendment to H.R. 11060. The text follows:

## AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. FREY TO AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. MACDONALD OF MASSACHUSETTS TO H.R. 11060

Page 1, strike out lines 7 and 8 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

(1) The term "communications media" means broadcasting stations, newspapers, magazines and outdoor advertising facilities.

Page 4, strike out lines 8 through 21, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

SEC. 105. (a) (1) No legally qualified candidate in an election (other than a primary or primary runoff election) for a Federal elective office may—

(A) spend for the use of communications media on behalf of his candidacy in such election a total amount in excess of the greater of—

(i) 10 cents (or such greater amount as may be certified under paragraph (4)(A)(i) multiplied by the voting age population (as certified under paragraph (4)(B) of the geographical area in which the election for such office is held, or

(ii) \$50,000 (or such greater amount as may be certified under paragraph (4)(B)(ii), or

(B) spend for the use of broadcast stations on behalf of his candidacy in such election a total amount in excess of 60 per centum of the amount determined under subparagraph (A) with respect to such election.

Page 6, beginning on line 15, strike out "a broadcasting station, newspaper or magazine," and insert in lieu thereof "communications media."

Page 6, beginning on line 19, strike out "receive such broadcast, newspaper or magazine" and insert in lieu thereof "be reached by such communications media."

Page 6, beginning on line 24, strike out "in the Federal Register" and all that follows down through "1972" in line 3 on page 7, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

in the Federal Register—

(1) an amount which bears the same ratio to 10 cents, and

(ii) an amount which bears the same ratio to \$50,000, as the value of the communications price index for the last calendar year ending before the date of certification bears to the value of such index for 1972.

Page 8, beginning on line 7, strike out "any newspaper or magazine" and insert in lieu thereof "any newspaper, magazine, or outdoor advertising facility."