

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE SCHOOL PRAYER AMENDMENT

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, on November 8 the House of Representatives at long last had an opportunity to vote on a constitutional amendment to legalize prayer in public schools—an issue which had been kept from them for 7 long years primarily by the opposition of the chairman of the Judiciary Committee. Brought to the House floor by the very unusual method of a "discharge petition" removing it from the Judiciary Committee, the amendment received a majority of votes, but fell 28 short of obtaining the required two-thirds.

The executioners of school prayer were men who claim to speak for the churches of America—a fact that may seem incredible to most Americans, but which is indisputably true. They put on what was, in the words of one of my colleagues, "one of the best orchestrated lobby jobs I've ever seen"—against prayer in schools.

I am describing what happened at some length in an article to be published in a nationally circulated publication; within the confines of this newsletter, there is space only briefly to summarize the points needed to cut through the swirling fog of specious arguments put up by opponents of this measure: First, voluntary prayer in schools is outlawed under present court decisions—for example, *State Board of Education v. the Board of Education of Netcong*, 270 A 2d 412, by the Supreme Court of the State of New Jersey, which the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear on appeal, thereby in effect affirming it—also a parallel case in Massachusetts. Second, the word "nondenominational" in the amendment, describing the kind of prayer that it would allow, to which many had objected as undefinable, was eliminated on the House floor and "voluntary" substituted—yet two fewer Congressmen voted for the amendment after the change than before; obviously this was not their real objection to the measure. Third, if to say a prayer in school violates the separation of church and state, as many have charged, then did we have a union of church and state with all its heralded abuses, through all those years up to 1962 when schoolchildren said a prayer every morning—usually the Lord's Prayer—with almost no one objecting, until the Supreme Court stopped them?

The case against the prayer amendment collapses so completely under any reasonable scrutiny that it is hard to escape the conclusion that many of those in national church offices who claim to speak in the name of the faithful have simply decided that they do not want to take up the cause of allowing children in public schools to pray together. Their recent record, statements, and actions

indicate that by and large they have become so concerned with secular and political goals as to forget, or even to be embarrassed by, the purpose for which they are supposed to exist: to acknowledge and serve God.

Even an agnostic or atheist, who is also an honest man, might well be disturbed by this spectacle of churches lining up against prayer.

But the fact is that few if any churches have a system whereby the members are polled or consulted in any way before church bureaucrats speaking in their name take stands on public issues such as this amendment. More surprising to many, the usual practice is not to consult the whole body of priests or ministers either, or all the bishops in those churches which have them. There are almost 300 bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States, for example, but the statement issued against the prayer amendment in their name, prepared and circulated by their Washington office, was approved in advance by only five of them, the members of their national executive committee.

Many people lull their consciences on this issue by saying that a class prayer in school means little one way or the other. They are wrong. There is a fundamental difference between a school system which acknowledges God and one which forbids all mention of Him. Schools where prayer is prohibited have, in effect, established secular humanism or agnosticism, if not atheism, as their religion.

DR. LARRY McGEHEE AN EXCELLENT CHOICE FOR CHANCELLOR OF UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE AT MARTIN CAMPUS

HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on November 13, Dr. Larry Thomas McGehee was named chancellor of the University of Tennessee at Martin. Dr. McGehee is a truly outstanding educator, and I feel that the university is fortunate in finding such a worthy successor to Dr. Archie R. Dykes, who recently assumed the chancellorship at the Knoxville campus of the University of Tennessee.

On November 15, the Paris Post-Intelligencer published an editorial commenting on Dr. McGehee's appointment, and I include it at this point in the Record:

DR. LARRY McGEHEE AN EXCELLENT CHOICE FOR CHANCELLOR OF UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE MARTIN CAMPUS

The board of trustees of the University of Tennessee met on the UT Martin campus Saturday and unanimously elected Dr. Larry Thomas McGehee as chancellor at Martin to succeed Dr. Archie Dykes.

The choice was an excellent one. Dr. McGehee is a native West Tennessean, born and reared in Paris, and one who has already made great achievements in the field of higher education. At the age of 35 he leaves a responsible post as academic vice president of the University of Alabama to take over the top position on the U-T Martin campus. At Alabama he was responsible for all academic programs, involving 3,000 courses taught by more than 600 faculty members.

Dr. McGehee comes to the Martin campus well equipped with an educational background and professional teaching and administrative experience. And he joins the ranks of other distinguished Henry County educators who hold high positions in universities across the land. To mention just a few: Dr. C. C. Humphreys, president of Memphis State University; Dr. Joe Morgan, president of Austin Peay in Clarksville; and Dr. T. D. Jarrett, president of Atlanta University in Atlanta, Ga. Until a few years ago when he retired, Dr. Mordacai Johnson, a Paris native, served many years as president of Howard University in Washington.

Dr. McGehee is not only a highly qualified person through training and professional experience, but is a dedicated Christian and a man of high integrity. He will bring to the Martin campus the dignity and prestige to which the school has become accustomed under previous administrators.

The Paris and Henry County community is pleased that Larry McGehee is coming "back home" to West Tennessee. We congratulate him on the high honor that has been accorded him and wish him every success in his new assignment.

NATIONAL BIBLE WEEK

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, National Bible Week was celebrated November 21-28.

America's only universally observed nonsectarian religious holiday, National Bible Week was founded in 1940 to encourage the reading and study of Holy Scripture. The Laymen's National Bible Committee, which sponsors the event, is an organization of Eastern Orthodox, Jewish, Protestant, and Roman Catholic members of the laity.

Hundreds of churches, synagogues, youth clubs, civic and patriotic organizations, libraries, bookstores, colleges and universities, and business and government leaders participate each year.

As our Nation struggled for existence, George Washington stated:

It is impossible to govern . . . without God and the Bible.

Today, as we face crises undreamed of by our Founding Fathers, I believe it is more important than ever that we seek the guidance of Holy Scripture.

Mr. Speaker, to commemorate National Bible Week I include at this time a statement, "I am the Bible," by Norman E. Richardson:

I AM THE BIBLE
(By Norman E. Richardson)

I am the Bible.
I am a library of sixty-six books.
I am the world's best seller.
I am more than a mere book: I am a force that overpowers opposing systems of thought.
I am the rock upon which civil liberties and social freedom rest.

I answer the question: Who and where is God?

I was written by minds saturated with consciousness of God.

I am published in more languages and dialects than any other book that has ever been written.

I am cherished by millions of people as being the only concretely available and infallible rule of faith and practice.

I am the Word of God as set forth by inspired prophet, law-giver, genealogist, priest, historian, poet, essayist, story-writer, moralist, seer, and theologian.

I set forth the way of life that leads to abundance and satisfaction of experience.

I tell the story of the great drama of redemption.

I am the meeting point of man's effort to discover God and God's revelation of Himself to man.

I inspire devotion to truth and purity of life purpose.

ADDRESS OF GEN. W. C. WESTMORELAND, CHIEF OF STAFF,
U.S. ARMY, TO THE ASSOCIATION
OF THE U.S. ARMY

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as all of us in this House know, the Department of the Army is undergoing some drastic changes in the field following the commitment which the Chief of Staff, Gen. William Westmoreland made to a modern volunteer army; which if effective, will bring about a "zero draft," the hope of the present administration.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the address of the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, Gen. William Westmoreland to the luncheon meeting of the Association of the U.S. Army held here in Washington on October 12, 1971.

The address follows:

ARMY PROFESSIONALISM—AN ADDRESS BY
GEN. W. C. WESTMORELAND, CHIEF OF STAFF,
U.S. ARMY

At the Annual Luncheon of the Association of the United States Army, Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D.C., October 12, 1971

I welcome this opportunity to address again those who support the Association of the United States Army and congratulate the Association for what appears to be another successful annual meeting. Let me say at the outset that the Army needs the Association and appreciates that its efforts and support have never been more important to the Army and the national interest.

Our Army today is a dynamic organization undergoing change in order to stay abreast of rapid changes in technology, warfare and our society. Two years ago in this forum, I announced the Army's Project MASSTER—projecting the battlefield of the future. Last year, I told you about my commitment to a

Modern Volunteer Army. Today I want to talk about the quality of the United States Army, or as I call it, professionalism, which is the bedrock—the foundation—upon which the security of our Nation has been based throughout our history.

First, let me say that the Army's mission in Vietnam, although a complex one, has been virtually accomplished. We were directed to prevent the communist military domination of South Vietnam. We have clearly achieved this objective. We were also directed to train the armed forces of the South Vietnamese to enable them to defend themselves. We have substantially achieved this second objective. While our efforts in Vietnam have not ended and the costs and sacrifices are still high, the overall performance of our Army has been splendid. We can be justly proud of our record.

But the Vietnam War has placed great stress upon the Army and, in many respects, has had an adverse effect on its professionalism. A basic problem has been that of personnel turbulence during six years of war.

We fought the war without a significant call-up of Reserves.

Excessive personnel turnover rates within units caused severe instability.

Requirements for rapid expansion compelled us to place more responsibility on inexperienced leaders.

The quality of our enlisted ranks also suffered. We were forced to accept personnel who did not meet our usual standards.

Further, during the last six long years, we have devoted the bulk of our efforts and resources to Vietnam while important projects were delayed due to a lack of resources to support all requirements. We were literally forced into a "Vietnam straitjacket" which restricted our actions in other areas. We must break out of this "Vietnam straitjacket" if we are to meet the challenges of the future. We must appreciate, however, that there is difficulty in breaking out of patterns that have prevailed for several years. There is inertia in overcoming certain practices . . . and certain malpractices that have crept into our system. For example, in training—the heart of the Army's business—we have been overly influenced by the Vietnam experience. We have, in fact, become a huge individual training organization oriented toward Vietnam. Understandably, we have developed some practices not conducive to training an Army for worldwide commitments. These practices are being rapidly corrected.

Our doctrine has also been influenced by these prolonged Vietnam experiences. In some respects, we have developed a defensive stereotype, tactical psychology. I call this "frebase psychosis." Our company and junior field grade officers and many of our noncommissioned officers . . . whose sum total of combat experience has been restricted to Vietnam . . . will require reorientation to overcome such doctrinal narrowness.

On the other hand, we have learned much from Vietnam, and we should take full advantage of this knowledge. As the Vietnam era draws to a close, we have to look to the future, to our role in a changing society, and to the anticipated world-wide missions of the Seventies and how to best prepare for them. Further, we must emphasize that there are exciting challenges and great satisfaction in serving and accomplishing our missions in a peacetime environment. Let us not forget—we did well what we were asked to do in Vietnam . . . and at the same time performed well elsewhere around the world in recent years, despite adversity. We are proud of our accomplishments.

Now, as after every expansion period, the Army must adjust to new realities . . . engage in introspection . . . and undergo a revitalizing and rebuilding process. Problems must be identified . . . causes isolated . . . and solutions aggressively sought. This in-

volves an across-the-board effort in every area in which the Army functions. This effort is well underway. I doubt if many institutions have engaged in more intensive, searching introspection. We have anticipated certain problems as an inevitable outgrowth of Vietnam, and have seized upon the opportunity to revitalize and rebuild the Army.

We are moving aggressively to solve our problems. And, in fact, we are solving them. All indicators point to the fact that we are moving upward. Many positive programs are in being . . . others are planned. We are generating the imaginative, innovative ideas and dynamic approaches that are needed at this critical time.

The basic thrust of our efforts is to build the finest Army in the history of this country, one based on improved professional competence, willing self-discipline, individual pride and dedication. This effort involves three objectives:

Enhanced professionalism,
Improved Service life and attractiveness,
And increased public understanding and support.

All of these objectives are interrelated. One is dependent on the others for success. However, achievement of the highest standards of professionalism is our overriding concern. All else is secondary.

We must, and will, retain the highest standards of discipline. Our Army cannot, and will not, be a permissive organization.

Nevertheless, we are a flexible organization—unafraid of a new idea, and with the courage to experiment with new methods. Those methods that serve our purpose will be adopted, those that do not will be abandoned. Our standards will be high; let there be no doubt about that.

The first objective of enhancing professionalism is directed toward improving professional competence and building among Army men and women of all ranks a strong sense of accomplishment and achievement in performing well an important job.

The second objective of improving Service life and attractiveness is directed toward removal from Army life of sources of aggravation which detract from the environment in which the military man and his family live . . . yet contribute nothing to the accomplishment of the Army's mission. Actions designed to improve Service life and attractiveness have received sufficient publicity . . . so it is unnecessary for me to discuss these today.

In our movement toward enhanced professionalism, we are making excellent progress. I will mention some of the more significant steps we have taken.

One of the first actions was taken in November of 1969. At that time, I dispatched a letter to all officers in the Army concerning personal integrity and professional ethics. I said, in part:

"Each one of us stands in the light of his brother officer, and each shares in the honor and burden of leadership. Dedicated and selfless service to our country is our primary motivation. This makes our profession a way of life rather than just a job."

This letter set the tone for subsequent actions.

Several studies identified a need to improve the overall professionalism within the Army. Our programs in this respect include efforts to—

Return soldiers to soldiering by releasing them from nonmilitary type duties,

Uphold the dignity of the individual soldier by being more sensitive to his needs,

Improve leadership through the establishment of a leadership board, improving leadership training in our school systems, and use of leadership training teams to travel to various Army installations,

And establish courses in service schools on professional ethics and on individual and group communications and counseling.

Our program also includes measures to—
 Stabilize command tours,
 And improve the understanding and administration of the military justice system in recognition that many young officers have lost confidence in the system as a timely means to punish offenders and deter misconduct.

Also, we are improving—
 The Inspector General system,
 And the Command Maintenance Management Inspection and other type inspections, by using them as a means of assisting units and not testing them with unrealistic statistical standards.

And finally, we are improving training through a dynamic training effort involving decentralized training and other activities where possible to reduce oversupervision and to improve the interest, meaningfulness, and adventure of training.

Our decentralized training program enforces the emphasis I am giving toward placing greater responsibility and authority . . . greater trust and confidence . . . in the leaders of the Army, particularly our young leaders . . . and most of all . . . our officers.

I am relying on the officer corps to lead the way in the revitalization of the Army. Although the noncommissioned officer corps is the backbone of the Army, the officer corps is the very heart of the Army.

Because of my feelings on this subject, I signed today . . . a letter to each officer in the United States Army on the subject of "Special Trust and Confidence." I would like to read that letter to you now:

"An officer's commission reposes 'special trust and confidence in the patriotism, valor, fidelity, and abilities' of each of us. Several months ago, I gave new emphasis to policies that reflect greater trust and confidence in the officer corps. My most recent decision to decentralize Army training is a prime example.

"We must further rejuvenate the meaning of 'special trust and confidence' as we develop a professional force of the highest quality. Accordingly, I want the policies and practices of the Army to reflect:

"More careful selection of commanders who can provide honest, forthright, and productive leadership and who will establish and maintain high standards.

"More reliance on the integrity and judgment of commanders.

"More responsibility and authority for our qualified leaders.

"More emphasis on mission-type orders.

"More personal effort on the part of seniors to guide, develop, and support subordinates.

"More emphasis on demonstrated performance and less reliance on sterile statistics in evaluating efficiency.

"More personal involvement of officers in the dialogue of command information and less reliance on written communications in passing instructions and policies through the chain of command.

"The policies above must be implemented by officers at all levels. We all share a responsibility to achieve and maintain the highest standards of military professionalism throughout our ranks. The accomplishment of this goal requires that each officer renew his determination to prove worthy of 'special trust and confidence.'"

This, then, is my charge to each and every officer—the charge that he must epitomize in words and deeds, the ideals of the true professional soldier. He must be the hallmark of professionalism. But, let there be no misunderstanding . . . the noncommissioned officer remains a vital part of the Army. His direct relationship with the men in the ranks makes his leadership role a highly influential one.

Honest, alert, sensitive leaders—officers and noncommissioned officers—who demand high standards must characterize the chain of

command. These leaders—professionals—must raise the self-discipline, skill level, and pride of the individual soldier . . . and the effectiveness and esprit of our units . . . to an all-time high. This is a demanding objective under current circumstances, but it is an exciting challenge.

We also have programs underway to specifically improve the quality of both the officers and noncommissioned officers, such as—

Development of a new officer personnel management system which provides for increased specialization (to include command), and corrects problems associated with the "jack-of-all-trades" approach.

Centralized assignments and elimination of the "ticket punching" requirement for certain types of assignments.

A proposed new officer efficiency report system.

An improved in-service educational system.

And of significant importance . . . the avoidance of extension for officers and reenlistment for noncommissioned officers who are marginal performers.

Finally, we are establishing higher standards for promotion and schooling.

There are other studies and actions underway which time does not permit me to mention.

The programs and actions to revitalize the Army should not be limited to the Active Army. As Secretary of Defense Laird pointed out yesterday at this meeting, "Our military planning takes the Reserve forces into account as an integral part of our defenses. In this regard, substantial reduction in the size of our Active Army means a greater reliance on the National Guard and Army Reserve. Therefore, achievement of a high state of Reserve Forces readiness is one of our top priorities. We know that many in our Reserve Components are motivated to enlist as an alternative to being inducted. In view of this, a significant part of our Modern Volunteer Army Program must be directed toward supporting our Reserve Forces. The combat readiness of the Army Reserve and National Guard is being increased through the issue of more modern arms and equipment, improved facilities and training areas, new approaches to recruiting and retaining, and closer association of Reserve and Active Army units in training and operational readiness.

Our task in strengthening the Reserves is an important one . . . and one to which the Active Army is giving a great deal of attention.

Gentlemen, much has been accomplished in terms of enhancing professionalism and improving Service life and attractiveness. In future months, we will do more.

In the vanguard of our efforts to attract more volunteers and to reduce reliance on the draft is the United States Army Recruiting Command (USAREC). We are more than doubling the number of recruiters in this important command. We have increased our recruiting stations by 37 percent. We are providing emoluments to our recruiters in terms of cost-of-living allowances and government-rented houses.

We are improving the quality of the officers and men assigned to this command. In my opinion, our three-month TV and radio advertising program was a success. The number of volunteers in the nonprior service category and in the prior service category during the past several months is an encouraging 72.2 thousand. In June, we had 18.7 thousand; in July, we had 17.0 thousand; in August, we had 17.6 thousand; and in September, we had 18.9 thousand.

Everywhere I travel, I make it a point to see the local recruiters. They are an enthusiastic lot. Major General Henion and his officers and men are in high gear, and I expect all elements of the Army to give them maximum support. They also deserve and

need the support of all members of the AUSA.

Now, in closing, gentlemen . . . members of the AUSA . . . let me address you directly on a matter of great concern to all of us. I mentioned before the importance of increased public understanding and support for the Army. Building this understanding and support is a role for which AUSA is nobly suited, and one which your leadership has accepted.

Despite our best efforts to enhance the professionalism of the Army, we cannot "go it alone." We exist as an institution to serve the legitimate and continuing defense needs of this great Nation. That story of what we are and why we exist can be told to the public by you gentlemen of the Association of the United States Army. I welcome your efforts.

In looking to the future, the Army must preserve the values and traditions which have made our Army great, while accepting the challenge to build an even better Army. The truth of the matter is that the Army is more skilled and capable of dealing with social change . . . while still preserving worthwhile traditional values . . . than most institutions. We can do much for our country by leading the way for the rest of society in this respect by setting a good example.

Most certainly, President Nixon appreciates the Army's important role in this regard. Last May, he said in an address to the cadets at West Point:

I believe . . . that the military ethic remains strong in the hearts of America's fighting men . . . Your special task will be to reaffirm it, to give it new life and meaning for the difficult times ahead. . . . As you succeed in this task, your success can set an example of a moral rebirth for all the people and institutions in this land, civilian as well as military.

Those are strong words. They evince a great faith in the Army as an institution. We in the Army intend to merit that faith; faith in an institution that has fought 13 wars and 157 campaigns without defeat.

I am certain that we are moving in the right direction at the institutional level to improve the quality of professionalism in the Army.

We are preserving the values and traditions that have made our Army great.

We are recognizing the imperatives of social change and moving wisely to help our Nation.

We are building an Army finer and more professional than ever before in history.

But how well we progress in these efforts depends on the support of the American people.

Our charge, gentlemen . . . is to rally that support.

This requires the personal effort of all of us. I know I can count on you.

TO SEEK PAYMENT LIMIT

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, if, as expected, the House Rules Committee takes up H.R. 1163 Tuesday morning, I will ask it to make in order an amendment limiting annual farm program payments to \$20,000 per commodity. This would apply to cotton, feed grains, and wheat.

The limitation I have drafted should result in savings of about \$200 million a year, and will therefore go a long way toward meeting the extra cost of the

bill. Government estimates show the strategic reserve will cost about \$210 million a year for storage alone, not to mention acquisition costs which could go as high as \$1.4 billion.

Farm program costs are steadily rising, and this additional cost will simply add to urban disenchantment with farm programs generally. Frankly, I oppose the basic strategic reserve concept as impracticable, unworkable, and harmful to agriculture. But if it is to become law, a payment limit would make it more digestible for city and rural people alike.

The present law has a \$55,000 annual payment limit, but a provision in the cotton section makes evasion easy. My amendment will close the loophole besides reducing the ceiling.

DDT, THE FIRST DOMINO

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, the following article entitled "DDT, the First Domino," should be of interest in the ecology debate. The author is a Nobel Peace Prize winner and so far as I know is neither engaged in the selling of pesticides nor memberships in environmental clubs.

The article follows:

DDT, THE FIRST DOMINO

(By Norman E. Borlaug)

ROME.—The current vicious, hysterical propaganda campaign against the use of agricultural chemicals, being promoted today by fear-provoking, irresponsible environmentalists, had its genesis in the best-selling, half-science-half-fiction novel "Silent Spring," published in 1962. This poignant, powerful book—written by the talented scientist Rachel Carson—sowed the seeds for the propaganda whirlwind and the press, radio and television circuses that are being sponsored in the name of conservation today (which are to the detriment of world society) by the various organizations making up the environmentalist movement.

The moving forces behind the environmental movement today include The Sierra Club, National Audubon Society, Izaak Walton League, The Boone and Crockett Club, and the new legal arm of the movement: The Environmental Defense Fund, with its scores of lawyers baptized into the movement with the motto, "Sue the Bastards." The principal individual supporters of the movement are wilderness explorers, bird-watchers, wildlife lovers, ill-informed press and television personalities and confused youth and older members of society who have been frightened so badly by the doom sayers that they have joined.

Although the collective membership in these organizations is perhaps less than 150,000, their superb organization and tactics make them an extremely effective force in lobbying for legislation to ban pesticides, and for brainwashing the general public.

Previously both the Environmental Defense Fund and the National Audubon Society had stated that DDT causes cancer, even though the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service has stated: "We have no information on which to indict DDT as a tumorigen or carcinogen for man and, on the basis of the information now available, I cannot therefore conclude that DDT represents an imminent health hazard."

The environmentalists would now like to have a legislative ban placed on DDT so as to prohibit it for any use in the U.S.A. Almost certainly as soon as this is achieved, these organizations will begin a worldwide propaganda barrage to have it banned everywhere. This must not be permitted to happen, until an even more effective and safer insecticide is available, for no chemical has ever done as much as DDT to improve the health, economic and social benefits of the people of the developing nations.

The World Health Organization in 1955 launched a worldwide campaign against malaria. In summarizing the progress of the campaign on Feb. 2, 1971, organization officials made the following statement:

"More than 1,000 million people have been freed from the risk of malaria in the past 25 years, mostly thanks to DDT. This is an achievement unparalleled in the annals of public health. But even today 329 million people are being protected from malaria through DDT spraying operations for malaria control or total eradication."

"The improvement in health resulting from malaria campaigns has broken the vicious circle of poverty and disease resulting in ample economic benefits: increased production of rice (and wheat) because the labor force is able to work; opening of vast areas for agricultural production: India, Nepal, Taiwan, and augmented land value where only subsistence agriculture was possible before."

"The safety record of DDT to man is truly remarkable. At the height of its production 400,000 tons a year were used for agriculture, forestry, public health, etc. Yet in spite of prolonged exposure by hundreds of millions of people, and the heavy occupational exposure of considerable numbers, the only confirmed cases of injury have been the result of massive accidental or suicidal swallowing of DDT. There is no evidence in man that DDT is causing cancer or genetic change."

Although more than 1,400 chemicals have been tested by W.H.O. for use in malarial campaigns, only two have shown promise and both of these are far inferior to DDT.

It is now obvious that the current aim of the Environmental Defense Fund and its affiliated environmentalist lobby groups is to ban DDT first in the U.S.A. and then in the world if possible. DDT is only the first of the dominoes. But it is the toughest of all to knock out because of its excellent known contributions and safety record. As soon as DDT is successfully banned, there will be a push for the banning of all chlorinated hydrocarbons, then in order, the organic phosphates and carbamate insecticides. Once the task is finished on insecticides, they will attack the wood killers, and eventually the fungicides.

If the use of pesticides in the U.S.A. were to be completely banned, crop losses would probably soar 50 per cent, and food prices would increase fourfold to fivefold. Who then would provide for the food needs of the low-income groups? Certainly not the privileged environmentalists.

THE GREAT WHITE HUNTERS

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, there is probably nothing more exhilarating to a true sportsman than that moment when his hours of work and tracking result in the taking of a fine trophy animal. I am not talking about those alleged sportsmen who take to the woods with their artillery pieces and telescopic sights to bring down an animal at 300 yards. I

am thinking about the true sportsmen in this world who realizes the chase is sometimes more important than the catch.

Recently, this body was shaken by the accounts of a helicopter pilot from Wyoming who worked for a big ranch by flying "hunters" aloft to bring down this Nation's official symbol, the golden eagle. Now, with increasing frequency, reports are coming to our attention concerning "hunters" like this using planes in the wilds of Alaska to hunt the majestic polar bear.

Mr. Speaker, there are not sufficient words to express my indignation and contempt over such practices. We hunted the buffalo to extinction, the mountain sheep is almost gone from our wilderness areas and now the polar bear is faced with only a few years left on this earth.

We speak in this Congress of peace, and the search for lasting friendship with other countries in this world. Yet, at the same time, we are slowly destroying the last vestiges of the natural world around us. How long will it take, Mr. Speaker, before the animal "man" learns that the final destruction will come not with guns or bombs, but with the death of this earth?

Mr. Speaker, an excellent article on the possible extinction of the polar bear appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle on October 31, 1971. I submit that article for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

IS THE POLAR BEAR NOW HEADED FOR EXTINCTION?

(By Lewis Regenstein)

WASHINGTON.—The world's largest carnivorous animal, the polar bear, seems to be headed for extinction, an unfortunate victim of U.S. "sportshunters," the State of Alaska, and the U.S. Departments of State and Interior.

The polar bear (*Ursus Maritimus*) inhabits the lands and floating ice of the Arctic region of five nations: The U.S. (Alaska), Canada, Norway, Denmark (Greenland), and the U.S.S.R. It is a truly remarkable animal and has been pictured by Soviet scientists, who are attempting to protect it, as an invaluable "living model" for biological study and research.

The polar bear has adapted itself to both a land and water environment; to the extreme cold and blizzards; to the long polar night, and to prolonged periods without food. Very little is known about its migratory habits, but scientists look with amazement on the polar bear's ability to orient itself on water by boarding ice floes which are "going its way."

10,000 OR LESS

Yet, the polar bear is disappearing at an alarming rate. Current estimates place the present polar bear population worldwide at about 10,000, although higher and lower figures are frequently cited. One estimate in the authoritative Red Data Book of rare and endangered species, published by the International Union For the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), placed the figure as low as 5000. Despite its low numbers, the annual polar bear kill is about 1300.

A 1970 meeting in Morges, Switzerland, of the world's leading polar bear experts issued an urgent appeal to the five nations under whose jurisdiction the polar bear falls to "drastically curtail harvests" beginning immediately.

Studies by the State of Alaska bear out these fears for the polar bear's future survival. A recent study by the state's Fish and

Game Department clearly indicated that the ages of the bears shot and examined in Alaska were getting younger and younger, which is a reliable danger signal that a species is in serious trouble.

The report also stated that quota limitations on hunters have "not been adhered to by some guides and appears to be unenforceable."

A main reason for the polar bear's decline is hunting and harassment by U.S. citizens, including government employees. About 300 bears are killed legally in Alaska each year (about 25 per cent of which are females), with the illegal "take" estimated to approach this number.

The large majority of these kills, sometimes as much as 90 per cent, are made by outside trophy hunters; the kill by native Eskimos for fur and food is relatively small. Furthermore, the method used in trophy hunting—utilizing two airplanes—is particularly unsportsmanlike.

According to Jack Lentfer of Alaska's Fish and Game Department, "airplane hunting amounts to one plane driving the bear to another plane and the hunter. Even many hunters are dissatisfied after the kill."

When the terrified bear has been driven by the first plane until it collapses from exhaustion, the "hunter" alights from the other craft and shoots it. A recent television documentary, "Say Good-Bye," showed a film of an airplane hunt in which a mother bear was shot, with its two cubs looking on in terror and distress.

Although the International Association of Fish and Game Commissioners—which endorses polar bear hunting—has claimed that this sequence was "staged," no one will deny that the type of incident portrayed—the killing of female bears—goes on frequently in Alaska.

Even when mother bears with cubs are shot with tranquilizing darts for research purposes (as is alleged to have occurred in this case), the bear sometimes dies from shock or from the dart striking a vital organ. Other bears have heavy radio-tracking devices, weighing as much as 26 pounds, permanently attached around their necks by agents of the U.S. Department of Interior. The mortality rate in these "scientific experiments" is believed to be significantly high.

EXTINCT IN THE UNITED STATES?

This indiscriminate killing of polar bears may have already rendered the animal virtually "extinct" in the United States. There is much evidence that the polar bear no longer breeds or dens in Alaska; that the United States has in effect, killed off all of its bears; and that the bears shot in Alaska are migrating through the state from Canada or the Soviet Union.

The United States thus leaves itself open to the charge that it is killing off Russia's polar bear population—where it has been protected since 1957—along with bears from Canada, Denmark, and Norway.

According to congressional testimony given on Sept. 13 by the State Department's Donald McKernan, the Russians have complained for some time about the United States killing of polar bears but the State Department has yet to take any action. McKernan's remarks were made while voicing opposition to Senator Fred Harris (D-Okla.) and Representative David Pryor's (D-Ark.) Ocean Mammal Protection Act, which would ban the killing of polar bears.

The State Department instead endorsed a "rival" bill which would allow the continued killing of polar bears under a system of permits issued by the Secretary of Interior.

CHANCES NOT GOOD

The polar bear's chances for surviving the 20th Century are not good. As oil exploration expands in Alaska, the destruction of the bear's habitat will accelerate; construction

workers will be able to find some entertaining diversion in the Arctic wastes by hunting polar bears.

After its numbers reach a certain point of depletion, it will be impossible for the few polar bears that remain to find mates in the vast expanse of the Arctic in sufficient numbers to perpetuate the species.

The easiest and most immediate solution to the problem would be for the Department of Interior to place the polar bear on its endangered species list, which would ban the import of a bear or any product thereof into the United States from foreign countries and international waters.

This would effectively limit the killing by trophy hunters from Alaska, since most of the bears are shot beyond the territorial limit and transported back into the state.

Such an action should have been taken long ago, since the Endangered Species Conservation Act of 1969 requires the Secretary of Interior to "take measures to prevent any wildlife from becoming threatened with extinction." As of September however, the department was still resisting efforts to have the polar bear listed as endangered, even though the sperm whale, which numbers some 250,000 and is about 20 to 30 times as numerous as the polar bear, is so listed.

THE OPPOSITION

Legislation, on the other hand, seems to be the long term answer. Prompt passage of the Harris-Pryor Ocean Mammal Protection Act would provide the polar bear with adequate protection. The bill is now before the Senate Commerce Committee, which has so far refused to schedule hearings, and the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, which has held hearings and is now drawing up a final draft of the legislation.

A CASE AGAINST DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA HOME RULE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, if we base our conclusions upon the interest shown by citizens of the District of Columbia rather than the attitude which the opinionmaking machinery would like to have us believe exists, local interest in home rule is contestable.

In the so-called hotly contested November 2 election for District School Board, only 18 percent of the registered voters even took time to go to the polls and vote. In the November 24 runoff elections, the voter participation was even less—slightly more than 9 percent of the 162,736 registered voters cast their ballots.

These are hard facts which denigrate any case for home rule for the District.

I include the following article from the Washington Evening Star of November 24, 1971:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA SCHOOL WON BY BARRY'S TEAM

(By Harvey Kabaker and Lynn Dunson)

Marion Barry scored his second District school board election triumph in three weeks last night as the four candidates he had supported won ward runoff races.

Winners were Hilda Mason in Ward 4; incumbent Mattie G. Taylor in Ward 5; incumbent Martha Swalm in Ward 6; and Delores Pryde in Ward 7, according to final, but unofficial results in the light voting.

Elected in the fifth runoff in Ward 1, where Barry remained neutral, was the Rev. Raymond B. Kemp.

The only incumbent to lose was Edward L. Hancock in Ward 7. All of yesterday's winners, except Mrs. Mason, had led in the Nov. 2 counts in their wards. Yesterday's runoff was required after none of the candidates acquired a 50 percent majority in the Nov. 2 voting which saw Barry win election as an at-large member.

Altogether 14,998 valid ballots were counted yesterday, while 170 absentee ballots were expected to be received and another few hundred challenged or special ballots remained to be examined by election officials. The turnout rate was slightly more than 9 percent of the 162,736 registered voters in the five wards, according to official records.

In the Nov. 2 election, there were 28,571 ballots cast in the five wards, for a turnout rate of nearly 18 percent.

Each of the winners yesterday registered sweep victories, losing only nine of the 89 precincts in the five wards and garnering up to 91 percent of the votes in a given precinct.

Barry last night called the sweep a "mandate for new direction, new change and new leadership."

He made the round of victory parties for the four winners he had supported and telephoned to congratulate Kemp.

He praised the Roman Catholic priest as a man "who relates to young people" and said he was "looking forward to working with him."

There is little doubt about from where Barry feels "new leadership" should come. He wants to be president of the board.

COMMUNITY HEALTH CENTERS FOR AMERICAN INDIANS AND ALASKA NATIVES

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a copy of a letter and a resolution that were sent to President Nixon from the Norton Sound Health Corp. concerning Mr. Nixon's new Indian self-determination policy which could institute an Indian Health Service for Nome, Alaska.

In his message to Congress on American Indians, President Nixon stated that the new policy concerning Indian problems was to be one of self-determination, and acknowledged that American Indians must be placed in a position where they can help themselves.

At that time, President Nixon went on to describe the generally poor health conditions of the American Indians. He pointed out some startling facts that bear repeating: Infant mortality is approximately 50 percent higher for Indian and Alaska Natives than for the general population. The rate at which Indians contract tuberculosis is eight times greater than the general population rate and the suicide rate is twice that of the national average.

The President has chosen six major areas to deal with immediately to solve some of these problems. He has chosen middle ear disease, mental health, alcohol control, maternal and child health,

development of community health projects and manpower development.

The board of directors of the Norton Sound Health Corp. has passed a resolution that would develop needed community health centers. The resolution is based on the principles and goals expressed by the President. It is their hope that the President will follow through on this new concept and adhere to the request presented in the following resolution.

NORTON SOUND HEALTH CORP.,
DELEGATE OF ALASKA FEDERATION OF
NATIVES,

Nome, Alaska, October 29, 1971.

President RICHARD M. NIXON,
President of the United States,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT NIXON: We, in Alaska, were sincerely delighted when you announced in your speech the concept of Indian self-determination. We congratulate you on your bold decisive move. We are now asking you to assist us in implementing this concept.

We hope that you will help us communicate this idea to the U.S. Public Health Service.

We are enclosing a resolution passed by the Board of Directors of the Norton Sound Health Corporation on October 28, 1971.

Most Sincerely,

CHARLES O. DEGNAN,
President.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS' RESOLUTION NO. 3

Passed: October 28, 1971, Board of Directors' Meeting

Referred: Norton Sound Service Unit

By the Board of Directors of the Norton Sound Health Corporation

(Relating to the creation of a separate Service Unit in the Norton Sound region)

Be it resolved by the Board of Directors, Norton Sound Health Corporation:

Whereas, the Norton Sound area constitutes a separate and distinct health service area by virtue of transportation routes, communications network and consumer preference; and,

Whereas, outpatient and inpatient facilities are present at the Maynard-McDougall Memorial Hospital in Nome, Alaska, to provide for this health service area; and,

Whereas, administration of health services in the Norton Sound area is fragmented by virtue of numerous providers and also geographic isolation of administration from health services delivery; and,

Whereas, a major objective of the Norton Sound Health Corporation is the establishment of planning and administration of regional health delivery by residents of that region; and,

Whereas, President Nixon has called for implementation of Indian and Alaskan Native self-determination in public programs to meet their needs; and,

Whereas, the Norton Sound Health Corporation, a consumer-controlled regional

... The time has come to break decisively with the past and create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions.

Self-determination among the Indian people can and must be encouraged. . . . programs which are managed and operated by Indians are likely to be more effective in meeting Indian needs. . . . Indians will get better programs and that public monies will be more effectively expended if the people who are most affected by these programs are responsible for them. . . .

(From President Nixon's message to the 91st Congress, July 8, 1970.)

Corporation, has demonstrated the ability to plan and administer health services delivery efforts: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Alaska Area Native Health Service create a separate Nome Service Unit; and be it

Resolved, That the Norton Sound Health Corporation be established as the Service Unit Advisory Board for the Nome Service Unit; and be it

Resolved further, That the Alaska Area Native Health Service contract with the Norton Sound Health Corporation to plan for and administer the Nome Service Unit.

THE EXCLUSIVE REPRESENTATION PRIVILEGE

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

MR. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, much of the excessive power wielded today by union officials can be traced to the original National Labor Relations Act. Adopted during the depression year of 1935 and commonly identified as the Wagner Act, it granted the unprecedented privilege of exclusive representation to labor organizations.

Under the exclusive representation provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, which remains in effect today, a union is the sole bargaining agent for all employees in a bargaining unit—whether members of the union or not. In other words, the workers who vote against union representation are forced by our national labor relations law to accept this unwanted representation.

To see how this came about, we must look at the legislative history of the 1935 act. The year before it was enacted, the Roosevelt administration had issued an Executive order dealing with the subject of union representation. In an accompanying press release, the then administration made it clear that it believed the right of the minority and of individuals to bargain for themselves was protected. The press release said in part—

This section on majority representation—in an election conducted by the National Labor Board—does not restrict or qualify in any way the right of minority groups of employees or of individuals to deal with their employers.

In the congressional hearings which preceded enactment of the Wagner Act, President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, challenged the administration's interpretation. He adamantly opposed the granting of individual or minority freedom and insisted on reserving to the union majority all bargaining prerogatives. The AFL threw its full power behind exclusive representation and Congress yielded to the unions' demands.

Having conferred on the unions the "exclusive representation" which a three-judge district court termed an "extraordinary privilege" (*National Maritime Union of America v. Herzog*, 334 U.S. 854, 1948), Congress went even further. It added another unprecedented and ex-

traordinary privilege sought by union professionals—permission to make contracts with employers compelling all employees to join and pay dues to unions. Taken together, the privileges of "exclusive representation" and compulsory union membership, have given labor union officials such excessive power over the economy and even over the Congress itself that corrective action is imperative. And the terrible thing about all this is that it has been done at the expense of basic individual liberties of American workers.

Union professionals argue that since they are required by law to represent all the workers in a bargaining unit, it follows that the workers should be required to join the union and pay their share of the bargaining costs. Thus the "exclusive representation" they sought so avidly they would now have us believe is a burdensome duty. The nonunion workers they term "free riders" are, of course, captive passengers of the union.

The prestigious Committee for Economic Development summed it up as follows in a 1964 report on "Union Powers and Union Functions":

Unions have actively sought exclusive bargaining rights, including the responsibility for representing nonmembers. The rights of some workers to effective representation by a union are not abridged by the failure of other workers to join. The rights of the employee who does not want to belong to a union already have been substantially abridged in the interests of labor relations stability; to go farther and compel him to belong to the labor organization is an unwarranted denial of his freedom.

Among the fallacies of the exclusive bargaining and "free rider" arguments is the assumption that all workers benefit from union representation. Who is to determine if the worker benefits? Is it the union, or rather is it not the worker who has the right to say whether he is better off from having a union represent him? There are many workers who feel they could advance faster and increase their earnings more if not compelled to follow union-dictated work rules and if permitted to bargain directly with their employers.

Another fallacy is that the only reason workers do not join unions is to avoid paying dues. The worker may object to frequent and what he considers unnecessary strikes. He may not like the way the union handles grievances. Or he may consider officials of a particular union tyrannical or corrupt.

And still another fallacy is that all the union dues the worker pays go to cover the costs of collective bargaining. Unions use their dues income for a number of purposes unrelated to collective bargaining. A substantial part of union dues income goes for legislative and political activities in support of causes and candidates with which many workers are not in sympathy.

Today we hear a great deal about the rights of minorities, the right of the individual to do as he wishes, the right to dissent. There is no individual right, no minority right, more important than the right to work at one's chosen occupation without being compelled to join and pay tribute to a private organization—a

labor union. I hope the Congress will speedily pass the bill to stop the violation of basic rights represented by compulsory unionism.

WIRETAPS BY UNITED STATES TRIPLE TO 382,061 SINCE 1968

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, in view of the forthcoming decision in the U.S. Supreme Court with regard to the claimed inherent power of the Attorney General of the United States to wiretap in national security cases, I reproduce here an article published by me in the recent past on this subject in the Boston Globe.

This article shows that Mr. John Mitchell, the present Attorney General of the United States, is the first Attorney General in the whole history of this country who has claimed that the President is above the fourth amendment to the Bill of Rights.

The article follows:

WIRETAPS BY UNITED STATES TRIPLE TO 382,061 SINCE 1968

(By Representative ROBERT F. DRINAN)

In the calendar year 1970 a total of 382,061 telephone conversations were intercepted by Federal officials and authorities in 11 states.

This total is double the number of those obtained in 1969 and almost three times the number secured in 1968.

The 382,000 conversations overheard by law enforcement officials were made pursuant to authorization by Federal and state officials of 583 taps and bugs during the year 1970. There is absolutely no indication that any state or Federal judge in 1970 refused any request by any law enforcement official for permission to eavesdrop.

The new phenomenon of court-approved electronic eavesdropping has come about as a result of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Street Act of 1968. The extent of the practice was recently revealed in a report of the administrative office of the United States Courts, an annual report required by the 1968 Act.

In 1970 there were 147,687 telephonic intercepts carried out by the Department of Justice. Federal officials report that 102,819 of all conversations intercepted were "incriminating." There resulted, according to Federal officials, 613 arrests and 47 convictions from the intercepted conversations.

During 1970 there were a total of seven court-authorized eavesdroppings in Massachusetts. These taps resulted in 1487 intercepts of which 1337 were stated by Massachusetts officials to be "incriminating." There resulted 41 arrests and three convictions.

Six of the eavesdrop installations were carried out in Suffolk County, resulting in 1446 intercepts. One installation, approved in Norfolk County, resulted in 41 tapped conversations but with no resulting arrests or convictions.

Of the 18 states whose laws permit the authorization of court-approved wiretapping only 10, besides Massachusetts, utilized this privilege in 1970; they were Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York and Wisconsin.

The statistics cited above do not include the undisclosed number of warrantless intercepts carried out by the Justice Department on the basis of its claimed privilege to eavesdrop in the interest of national security on Americans it suspects of engaging in subversive activities.

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 specifically exempted from prior court approval Federal taps installed in cases involving national security. It can be assumed that the Department of Justice has sharply increased these undisclosed wiretappings in view of the fact that the number of court approved Federal installations went from 30 in 1969 to 180 in 1970! In 1968, the year before the Nixon Administration, the Department of Justice did not conduct a single wiretap.

Of the 180 wiretap installations carried out by the Nixon Administration in 1970, 121 were for gambling or bookmaking, 41 for drugs or narcotics and 16 for extortionate credit transactions. The total cost of the wiretap installations to the Federal government in 1970 was \$2,163,781. This means that the average cost of Federal convictions based on eavesdropping was \$45,078.

Although the escalation of wiretaps under the Nixon Administration is alarming in itself the more dangerous recent development is the claim by Atty. Gen. John Mitchell that, as he put it in an address on June 11, 1971 to the Virginia Bar Association, "It is our position that compelling considerations exist when the President, acting through the Attorney General, has determined that a particular surveillance is necessary to protect the national security and that under these circumstances the warrant requirement (of the Fourth Amendment) does not apply."

Speaking of this claim, Cong. Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, said that the nation was headed toward a "police state" under such a policy. Ramsey Clark, former Attorney General, called the claim of inherent power to wiretap "an utterly lawless philosophy." Sen. John L. McClellan has promised public hearings in the fall of 1971 to review the practice.

Atty. Gen. Mitchell's major premise is that "The threat to our society from so-called 'domestic' subversion is as serious as any threat from abroad." The Attorney General went on to state, once again in the address before the Virginia Bar Association, that "Never in our history has this country been confronted with so many revolutionary elements determined to destroy by force the government and the society it stands for."

Acting on this premise the Attorney General asserts that "In the litigation currently evolving in the courts, the government has taken the position that the reasonableness standard of the Fourth Amendment is a flexible one and does not require in all cases that a warrant be obtained."

Mitchell argues that "there are sound reasons for conferring the authority to order electronic surveillance in national security cases to the President rather than to a multitude of lower court judges."

No Attorney General in the whole history of the country has claimed that the President is above the Fourth Amendment to the Bill of Rights which states categorically that all of us are protected from "unreasonable searches and seizures" by the government. The Constitution requires the President to "Preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." The President is not carrying out this duty unless he states that the Fourth Amendment applies to the President of the United States just as it does to the rest of us.

U.S. Rep. Robert F. Drinan of the 3d Massachusetts District is a member of the House Judiciary and Internal Security Committees.

EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION FLOURISHES AT NEW YORK CITY'S HAAREN HIGH SCHOOL

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, until recently, when someone talked about educational innovation and restructuring our schools, the words were abstract. Now, however, the minischool experiment is in full swing in Haaren High School.

The rigidity of the curriculum has been loosened, and students at Haaren study urban affairs, photography, creative arts, and other subjects in addition to English, math, and social studies. The minischool concept allows the teachers and students to know each other better, to eliminate the alienation that arises in many of the monolithic, impersonal schools that abound in this country. For the first time young men and women who were previously viewed as the educational system's discards are being given the opportunity to discover that learning involves much more than repetitious homework assignments and drills.

Speaking as a former high school dropout, I know that the need for programs such as this one is great. I hope that school committees will follow the lead of the New York City Board of Education and that community groups will follow the lead of the New York Urban Coalition in working to establish experiments of this type. I know how hard Urban League President Eugene Callender has been working to acquire Federal funding for the Haaren High School minischools, and I believe that this dedication will be matched elsewhere as the Haaren program attracts national attention.

The New York Times recently carried an article describing the progressive changes made at Haaren and the obstacles still to be faced. I commend it to my colleagues:

[From the New York Times, Nov. 17, 1971]

TROUBLED HAAREN HIGH TRIES THE "MINISCHOOL"

(By William K. Stevens)

Five years ago, Hollywood moviemakers used Haaren High School as the setting for "Up the Down Staircase," a tragicomic work that created a grim image of the typical big-city high school: huge, chaotic, a bureaucratic maze, an educational wasteland inhabited by bored, demoralized students and defeated teachers.

That movie image has seemed in many ways to fit the school at 59th Street and 10th Avenue. In the view of Mrs. Marguerite Grotzer, chairman of the school's United Federation of Teachers chapter, Haaren has been, "quintessentially," the troubled urban high school.

But now, in one of the nation's boldest and most sweeping ventures in educational reform, Haaren is trying to become a different kind of model.

In an attempt to build closer relationships among teachers and students, and to remove the worst aspects of bureaucracy, the school has been taken apart and put back together this term in the form of 14 semiautonomous "minischools." Each has 150 students, per-

haps half a dozen teachers, a course adviser and a "street worker."

"CORE" CURRICULUM PURSUED

Each is organized around a common theme, such as "urban affairs," "creative arts" or "aviation," although students in each minischool pursue, in addition to their specialty, a "core" curriculum of English, social studies and mathematics.

Each minischool comprises a cluster of classrooms with an informal student-teacher lounge at its center, occupying its own corner of the six-story, 68-year-old building overlooking the Hudson River. For the most part, students and teachers spend the entire school day in their own corner of the building.

"You might liken the minischool to a block, a community," explains Charles Dobkin, a 28-year-old social studies teacher at Haaren. "It eliminates all kinds of frustrations that eventually add up to an obstacle course, not a school."

"The teachers I have now, they know me by name," says 19-year-old Louie Lopez, one of Mr. Dobkin's students. "Before, they'd have to look at the roll, and then they'd say: 'Oh, you're Lopez.'"

LIKE ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS

The primary aim of Haaren's internal decentralization is to convert each minischool into something like the 16 small, informal "alternative" high schools that have been established as offshoots of 18 "regular" high schools around the city.

Hostility and distrust between students and teachers reportedly are disappearing in the atmosphere of casual face-to-face contact that has developed in some of the "alternative" schools—such as Manhattan's Harambee Prep, a satellite of Haaren and Hughes High Schools, and Brooklyn's Wingate Prep.

But the small alternative schools, though they are providing models, involve only a tiny proportion of the students from their parent schools. The Haaren venture, on the other hand, represents the Board of Education's only attempt at wholesale, top-to-bottom reorganization of an entire high school.

It is not a hothouse experiment with volunteer teachers and students, and it is being carried out for the most part within Haaren's existing budget. For these reasons, the project is widely regarded as being of front-rank importance.

If it succeeds in such a troubled institution, its backers contend, it will show that any high school can be changed drastically for the better.

NOT PROUD OF IT YET

So far, the reorganization is still in its shakedown stage. "We're not proud of it yet," says Bernard V. Deutchman, the school's principal, "but we're very optimistic."

The venture was born in Mr. Deutchman's mind last spring, when, as happens every year, he and his department heads took stock of Haaren's staggering problems.

On an average day, 40 per cent of Haaren's students were absent. Class-cutting, in Mr. Deutchman's words, was "so overwhelming that we couldn't keep up with it." Academic failure was widespread.

Many of the school's 2,500 students—all of them boys and most of them black or Puerto Rican—are castoffs from other high schools, and Haaren consequently has been viewed by many of them as what one teacher calls "a school of last resort."

Vandalism has been an everyday fact of life, and so has overt hostility between teachers and students. "We had riots before they became chic," says Mrs. Glotzer.

DRASTIC MEASURES NEEDED

Gradually, Mr. Deutchman says, it became clear to him that only drastic measures would have a chance of breaking the

pattern. Having been associated with Harambee Prep and its predecessor, the privately sponsored McGraw-Hill Street Academy, he looked to them as a model for Haaren.

"Size was their strongest feature," Mr. Deutchman believes. "That allowed a relationship to develop between students and teachers that doesn't develop in a school, normally."

"Large schools have very large problems," adds Louis McCagg, director of the New York Urban Coalition's High School Project, which is assisting the Haaren venture. "Small schools have smaller ones, and these can generally be solved. You can get your hands on them. With 150 kids, you can get to know everybody by the week's end."

So Mr. Deutchman drafted the minischool proposal. More than 60 per cent of the Haaren faculty voted to accept it. So did about 60 per cent of the school's students. The U.F.T. chapter supported the plan. So did the Board of Education's High School office, and, ultimately, School Chancellor Harvey B. Schibner. Such widespread support in itself makes the Haaren project somewhat unusual.

CRITICS SCORE HASTE

Some critics have said that Haaren rushed into the project too quickly, without adequate planning. But Mr. Deutchman believed that it was more important to move while the Haaren faculty was enthusiastic.

The student-teacher lounge is seen as the center of minischool life. It is not only a place to relax, it is also the place where teacher and student meet to talk over problems, where a student can go for help, without delay, where street workers and course advisers can talk to students without having to schedule appointments.

"To get anything done in a regular school was like writing to Albany or Washington," said Mr. Dobkin, the social studies teacher. "Now you just go to the lounge."

Young Mr. Lopez said it was almost impossible, under the old system, to see his guidance counselor, among other officials and teachers. "Before, if a student has a problem and doesn't correct it himself, nobody else will," he said. "Now, they come looking for you. Also, everyone you need is in the same place. I really like that."

Other teachers and students confirm the views of Mr. Dobkin and Mr. Lopez. But although the minischool venture appears to be having some positive effects, there appears to be a long way to go.

For example, the familiar of the big, monolithic high school has not entirely disappeared. The entire building is still chained to a precise schedule of "bells." The autonomy of mini-schools, says Mr. Deutchman, has been compromised by the practical need of many students to take courses elsewhere in the school.

Some students have been alienated by the difficulties encountered in getting the organization under way. For instance, students in a special program designed to prepare them to take high-school equivalency examinations are outraged by a succession of substitute teachers they have had to endure until recently.

But Mr. Dobkin points to an even more fundamental difficulty: "A lot of teachers feel uptight about communicating with kinds on an informal level, and that's what it takes. You can change structure all you want. But the approach of teacher to student is crucial. Without changing that, it's like the same old peas in a new pod."

"You got an 80-year-old teacher, say," explained one student, only half joking. "You think she's gonna teach a bunch of teen-age savages like us?"

An official close to the program concedes that there "are still some cynical mean people" on the faculty, but maintains that there are "more who care, who have constructive attitudes."

The Haaren venture is so new that there is as yet no hard, objective evidence of success or failure.

"The concept is on paper and in the minds of the administrators and teachers, but it's not in the minds of most students," says Charles Dickinson, formerly the director of Harambee Prep, who now works for the Urban Coalition at Haaren. "To the truant kids who have been hanging around on the streets, it's the same old Haaren."

"It took this school 50 or 60 years to get in this shape," said a member of the Haaren administration. "You can't expect it to change overnight."

EVA VERA YOUNG

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, Eva Vera Young—an all but legendary figure in Washington's restaurant circles—is dead at the age of 90.

Mrs. Young, known to her countless friends as "Mama," ran the Roumanian Inn at 815 13th Street here with an evocative Old World flair that made it one of the city's most celebrated restaurants. Mrs. Young's special dishes—made with the same painstaking and loving care with which she did everything—vied with her own personality in earning fame for the Roumanian Inn.

She closed the restaurant in 1960, 25 years after its founding, to join her son in opening Paul Young's Restaurant on Connecticut Avenue. A corner of the kitchen was set aside for her—her inviolable domain—and there she prepared her famed special dishes for old friends who stopped by.

Almost every night she would walk among the tables at Paul Young's, greetings such friends and chatting with them.

I had the honor of knowing this remarkable lady, Mr. Speaker, and I extend my deepest sympathy to her sons, Paul and David, and to her grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

I insert in the RECORD a Washington Post story outlining her career:

[From the Washington Post, Nov. 22, 1971]

EVA VERA YOUNG, RESTAURANT FIGURE

(By Bill Bancroft)

Eva Vera Young, known as "Mama" to thousands who ate at her Roumanian Inn and later at her son's Paul Young's Restaurant, died yesterday at Doctors Hospital of pneumonia. She was 90.

A friend of many prominent Washingtonians—members of Congress, Cabinet officers, judges, sports figures and others—she was appreciated for the loving touch that went into everything she cooked, according to friends.

She was the key to the success of the Roumanian Inn, at 815 13th St. NW, which opened in 1935, working in the kitchen on dishes that made the restaurant famous beyond its size.

When her son, Paul, opened his new restaurant at 1120 Connecticut Ave. NW, in 1960, she closed hers and came along to help, only to find that the electric stoves did not respond to her touch the way gas ones had.

But she mastered the changes and one corner of the new kitchen was set aside for her use.

She was no longer the head cook, however, being well in her 80s, but she had hundreds of friends, and whenever she spotted one of them in the restaurant, she prepared and sent out some special dish she knew them to be fond of.

Born in a small Russian town near the city of Kiev, she left there and came to the United States in 1904. Her first job in this country was as a seamstress.

She married Hyman Young in 1910 and in 1921 the two opened their first food establishment, a coffee shop at 37th Street and 8th Avenue in New York.

Mrs. Young came to Washington in 1935, shortly after her husband died.

She is survived by two sons, Paul and David, of Washington, nine grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

THE NEED TO REMEMBER THE UKRAINE

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, Ivan Dzyuba stands as a symbol for the new Ukrainian intellectual. In early September 1965, he was detained in Kiev under the pretext that he had sent to the West a diary of the deceased young poet, Vasyl Symonenka, where it had been published together with several poems banned in the Soviet Union. Over 100 individuals were said to have been arrested in Kiev and L'vov at this time; secret trials, not reported in the Soviet press, were stated to have taken place. Many of those tried with Dzyuba were sentenced to 7 years hard labor and sent to Siberia as punishment for their "struggle against the Soviet state system." They were proven to be "morally unstable persons" who had fallen under the influence of hostile nationalities' propaganda and who had read books not passed by Soviet censorship. Suffering from acute tuberculosis, Dzyuba was later released. The words of Dzyuba call for a thorough revision of the principles of socialist realism—"We should judge each society by the position and meaning it gives to man, by the value it puts on human dignity and human conscience." For these ideas and for these feelings he was brought to trial.

According to Soviet law, all trials must be held in public. The basic denial of justice experienced in these secret trials was criticized by a young Ukrainian journalist and critic, V. M. Chornovil. When summoned during procedures to appear as a witness for the prosecution, he refused to testify on the grounds that the trial was not open and was therefore, illegal. Chornovil himself was soon brought to trial for his subversive actions:

My innocence seemed much too obvious to me. But as the trial proceeded, my rosy optimism gradually began to change into black pessimism. I saw clear prejudice and understood that I would not succeed in stopping the operation. My request that witnesses be called and documents be included was rejected without any reasoned explanation; the evidence I gave at the beginning of the trial was not discussed.

Thus, Ukrainian individuals are strongly speaking out against Soviet attempts to break up the Ukrainian nation, the largest, most concentrated national minority in the Soviet Union, both physically and morally. Traditional resentment of rule from Moscow has been strengthened by the repressive actions of present and past times. In his campaign against "bourgeois nationalism," Stalin virtually wiped out the Ukrainian intelligentsia during the 1930's. Millions of Ukrainian peasants starved to death and were deported to Siberia during collectivization. In the postwar years, the country was hard hit by famine and mass reprisals against whole villages accused of aiding anti-Soviet guerrillas. It will take generations before these things are forgotten.

What exactly are the Chornovils and the Dzyubas demanding for their people? They ask that the Ukrainians have the opportunity to know their history, culture, and language and to feel proud of their heritage. They ask for a return to the principles of self-determination of nations and the fostering of every nation's free and unimpeded development. They note the existence in Eastern Europe of Communist countries independent in varying degrees, but incomparably more independent than a Soviet Union Republic in the position of the Ukraine. They desire to see the Soviet Ukraine as truly existing and genuinely equal among the Socialist family of nations, to see it as a national reality and not simply as an administrative geographic term. The Ukrainian demands aim at the practical implementation of rights guaranteed in article 17 of the Soviet Constitution, converting a Union Republic's right to secede without impediment from empty fiction into reality.

It is noteworthy that most of the spokesmen of this movement are young people who have been educated and nurtured in the teachings of Soviet patriotism. This new generation lacks the direct experience of the paralyzing fear which blanketed their country during Stalin's great terror. It is better equipped as a whole, to think for itself and less prepared to take things for granted. This form of opposition is striking both for its moderation and for its high intellectual level. Yet, the situation and its people are typical of the present ferment as a whole which seems to be enveloping a great many of the captive nations; it is for this reason that this form of opposition commands such evident respect.

The test of the validity of any social structure is the extent to which it is able to come to terms with internal opposition. Moscow has continued to respond to this challenge by extending police repression and by strengthening its utilization of prison camps. According to Michael Browne in his "Ferment in the Ukraine:"

The extent of the ferment and discontent in the Ukraine and the degree to which the central regime in Moscow regards ferment as a danger to the integrity of its empire, is seen from the scale of repressive acts against the dissidents. It is estimated that Ukrainians comprise 60-70 percent of all political prisoners in Mordovia.

The 25th Anniversary Convention of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for the Ukraine, Inc., was held at the Commodore Hotel in New York City this past weekend, November 27 and 28, 1971. The four freedoms they seek, freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, freedom from fear and freedom from want, are vital to the preservation of peace, justice and security throughout the world. According to John Wynnyk, president of the ODEFFU, his movement and similar Ukrainian organizations of this nature constitute a powerful Ukrainian Liberation Front dedicated to the restoration of freedom and national statehood to the Ukraine and to all captive nations. Perhaps, the attainment of this dream seems nearly impossible in our eyes. How will it be possible for the captive Ukrainian people to regain their rightful freedom and their national independence? Can our words of support and encouragement have any real effect on this situation? On September 29, 1966, Ivan Dzyuba publicly addressed his people with the following words:

There are events, tragedies, the enormity of which make all words futile and of which silence tells incomparably more—the awesome silence of thousands of people. Perhaps we, too, should keep silent and only meditate. But silence says a lot when everything that could have been said has already been said. If there is still much to say, or if nothing has yet been said, then silence becomes a partner to falsehood and enslavement. We must, therefore, speak and continue to speak whenever we can, taking advantage of all opportunities, for they come so infrequently.

ROBERT D. LACKEY RECEIVES RED CROSS CERTIFICATE OF MERIT

HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, as we return from the Thanksgiving holiday recess, it is my pleasure to report to my colleagues an act of mercy by one of my constituents that has generated the praise of the President of the United States and the American Red Cross.

Mr. Robert D. Lackey, of Winston-Salem, N.C., will soon receive the Red Cross Certificate of Merit for the compassion and competence he displayed last summer in saving the life of a little girl who had been struck by a motorcycle.

The details of Mr. Lackey's lifesaving act were outlined in a letter sent to me by Mr. George M. Elsey, president of the American National Red Cross, and I would like to include the full text of that letter in the RECORD at this time.

As we have recently paused to give thanks for all the good things of life, and as we prepare to celebrate a holiday of so much religious and moral significance, it is good for us to reflect on the deeds of kindness and selflessness that make up so much greater a part of our

lives than the villainy and brutality that is so often heralded in our news media.

I urge my colleagues to join me in saluting Mr. Lackey, and I am sure that his example is one that all Americans should seek to follow.

The letter follows:

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS,
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS,
Washington, D.C., November 8, 1971.

HON. WILMER D. MIZELL,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MIZELL: I wish to bring to your attention a noteworthy act of mercy undertaken by one of your constituents, Mr. Robert D. Lackey, 1414 Brewer Road, Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27107, who has been named to receive the Red Cross Certificate of Merit. This is the highest award given by the American Red Cross to a person who saves a life by using skills learned in a Red Cross first aid, small craft, or water safety course. The Certificate bears the signatures of the President of the United States, Honorary Chairman, and E. Roland Harriman, Chairman of the American National Red Cross. Presentation will be made by the Forsyth County Chapter, Winston-Salem.

On June 6, 1971, Mr. Lackey who has been trained in Red Cross first aid, was a volunteer on a rescue vehicle which was called after a small girl had been struck by a motorcycle. She suffered many fractures and lacerations. Mr. Lackey applied direct pressure to stop severe bleeding, helped to splint fractures, and revived the child twice when she stopped breathing, while the ambulance was en route to the hospital. His first aid knowledge and skill undoubtedly kept the child alive until medical attention was reached.

This action by Mr. Lackey exemplifies the highest ideal of the concern of one human being for another who is in distress.

Sincerely,

GEORGE M. ELSEY.

NEW YORK CITY: A MESSAGE OF HOPE

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, so often the country is saturated with news relating to adverse conditions in New York City. I recently read the speech of Alan V. Tishman, executive vice president of Tishman Realty & Construction Co., which gives his prognosis for New York City and it is a message of hope. It does so excellently state the case for New York City that I am setting it forth in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the interest of our colleagues.

The speech follows:

REMARKS BY ALAN V. TISHMAN, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT OF TISHMAN REALTY & CONSTRUCTION CO., INC.

Mr. Stiefel, members, guests and visitors from far away lands of the Rotary Club of New York:

I come to you today with a message of hope as a member of ABNY. It is a prognosis for New York City.

I believe that, during the next decade, New York will emerge to be the first city that turned the tide of urban sickness, and it will be regarded as a pathfinder for its sister metropolises throughout the nation.

I am not a Pollyanna, nor am I an over-enthusiastic optimist. My forecast is based

on observable facts that have too often been overlooked.

The conventional wisdom today is that the cities are dying and that there is no cure for them. This reminds me of other times and other convictions:

The world is flat.

You'll never get it off the ground.

No one will ever run a 4-minute mile.

The United States will never recover from the Stock Market crash.

We will always have negativists. Gloom is an easy attitude to cultivate. I refuse to get caught up in today's downbeat mood about our cities, particularly New York, which has so much going for it.

I believe in New York, because it has been established as the nation's marketplace. An institution of that magnitude has inertia behind it. This status is a strong foundation to build on.

I believe in New York, too, because there are strong-willed men and women who are building on that foundation.

And, I believe in New York, because many of her problems are imaginary and emotional and those that are real are solvable.

One of her very real problems today is the loss of some business. I say some business, because there is no "exodus" to the suburbs.

A few prodigal sons have left the city to decimate the green pastures of the suburbs. "Exodus" was a word obviously chosen by a headline writer who thought the word "trickle" wasn't dramatic enough.

Last year, there was a net loss of only six large corporations in New York. Of the nation's top 500 companies, 125 still maintain their headquarters in the city. Chicago is second nationally with 37 corporate headquarters.

Contrary to the forecasts of the mass media, we're still in business in this town.

Advocates of suburban office buildings have been telling the business world that moving to the suburbs will bring all kinds of benefits: lower taxes, fresh labor supply, lower building and maintenance costs, escape from traffic jams, dirt, noise, crime, etc. But, let's look at the facts: These are "handles," in many instances, available to corporate heads who have decided to move for "other reasons." But the fact that these "handles" are there is reason enough for ABNY to be formed.

TAXES

In almost every low-density area, the need for public services far surpasses the ability of local authorities to pay. An analysis of suburban communities indicates that where communities shoulder their full responsibilities, local taxes equal or exceed those of the big city.

Admittedly, taxes may now be lower in some suburban areas, but the day will come when expenditures must be made to cover the deferred work that needs to be done now. In some communities, industries and offices are viewed as the golden calf whose arrival promises long-term reduction in taxes. Politicians know industry is the fattest calf that can afford to pay more taxes in the future.

For example, a developer in New Castle, N.Y. (adjoining Greenwich, Conn.), requested a change of zoning of 311 acres to six, fifty-acre office sites. The local town board, after a detailed study, showed that the added expense of building new roads to service such a complex would more than offset the added tax revenues that such a development would bring to the town.

Town fathers in the suburbs are learning that corporations away from mass transit, are gluttons for land. As a result, Greenwich, Conn., has already declared a six-month moratorium on high-rise construction pending a complete study of its problems.

In Manhattan, one million square feet of office space could be built on a little more

than an acre and be supported by a single rail link. The same space in the suburbs would take 70 acres and require eight lane-miles of highway to support it.

TRANSPORTATION

In New Jersey, the Highway Commissioner reports that the north arterial network designed to handle 2,000,000 cars per day now carries 12,000,000 cars per day. A study has indicated that the capacity of highway development is 1/20th of that of a public transit system, but the tax structures in the suburbs cannot support mass transit systems. As a result, busing in the suburbs has become a corporate-financed necessity to attract people to the office satellites.

New York's mass transit system, however, is experiencing a major rejuvenation. Here are just a few improvements and projected improvements:

More than 900 new air-conditioned subway cars are now in service.

More than \$3 billion has been appropriated for additional equipment, subway extensions and new subway lines. In the MTA's 52-mile subway construction program, there is a new 2nd Avenue Subway and a 63rd Street Tunnel, which will carry subway and LIR trains.

1,380 subway cars have been completely repainted inside and out, and 420 stations have been repainted.

New high-speed Metropolitan cars are now the backbone of the LIR fleet, with some 600 already in service.

(Let me interrupt this discourse with a thought. Did you know that despite the criticism of the LIR, a recent poll showed that 70 percent of its passengers have seen a noticeable improvement in service during the past year? I'm not surprised.)

The New Haven should see improvement, too. It was taken over by the CTA and MTA just 10 months ago. It will receive the benefits of the injection of \$125,000,000 for modernization, electrification, signals, etc. There will be 200 new cars in service within the year to come.

And, lastly, but of extreme importance, it looks as if there is going to be a direct rail connection from Manhattan out to Kennedy Airport, and a new Midtown Transportation Center.

To contrast these developments, we need only look to the overcrowded highway conditions in the suburbs. We in New York already have the capital plant—it is being modernized, added to and upgraded. No other city can touch what we already have in place—no suburb can afford it.

LABOR

A location in Manhattan represents a commitment to share in a vast pool of labor where a fire has access to a population of more than 17,000,000 people with diverse talents and skills—within reasonable wage limits and individual willingness to travel.

A location in the suburbs, in many cases, represents a commitment to the past. By this, I mean it involves the development of a captive labor market in the immediate vicinity of the market. This happened in the early phase of the suburban office development, which met with considerable success. But now, as individual offices grow and new ones arrive, a company finds it necessary to increase wages to draw persons from greater distances or to steal away adequate help from its neighbor corporations.

Manifestly, the individual labor markets begin to inter-penetrate, and wage competition develops. Clusters of competing companies are attempting to share in a regional sub-market where population is lower, public transportation is absent and high proportions of young people going away to college have sapped the local clerical work force.

Many of the suburban problems for corporations would be solved if more housing

was built for employees, but there are no indications that this will occur.

The suburbs invite businesses to move in, but they don't tell them they have a restriction against employees. Office buildings bring in painless ratables for a suburban community, but employees generate a need for schools and other expensive services.

In the Tri-State New York Metropolitan Region, for example, 48 percent of the vacant land zoned for residential use—excluding the city itself—requires single-family homes on one acre or more. In Westchester, only 14 of 44 cities, villages and towns have built or planned for middle-income housing. New homes there generally start at \$45,000.

Half of the 70 municipalities in New Jersey's Bergen County ban any apartment construction.

Because employees are forced to commute to the suburbs, corporations there are experiencing increased rates of absenteeism and turnover.

But, there are many more personnel problems that businesses are suffering in suburbia. One of the severest disadvantages of a corporate move-out from the city is the serious loss of talented personnel.

New York has always been a magnet for the skilled, the creative, the innovative, who have sought the diverse career opportunities in the city. Many of these people simply refuse to isolate themselves in the country. This leaves the company in the suburbs with major recruitment problems.

When a corporation abandons New York, it also dulls its employees by denying them cultural opportunities unmatched in the Western Hemisphere. A corporation in the suburbs may have a campus-like setting, but it doesn't have the intellectual stimulation of the campus. Employees who have been forced to leave New York's excitement are too often bored by the sterility of the suburbs. Without the city's stimulation, they often become robots who contribute little at work.

CRIME

A company's decision to move to the suburbs because of crime is based on emotion, not reason. Crime is a national problem and it won't be solved by hiding your head in suburban peat moss.

The drug epidemic is growing so rapidly that it has a greater effect on the small community, because the suburb neither has the experience, nor the facilities to deal with it.

According to complete FBI statistics for the first half of 1970, our New York Police Department shows a reduction in crime of 1/10th of 1% as compared to Stamford, Conn., which shows an increase of 36%, Bridgeport, 28%, and Darien, 29%.

HIDDEN COSTS

There are many additional expenses a company must cope with in the suburbs: additional land for parking lots; possible construction and maintenance of a garage; landscaping; cafeterias; special buses for employees; limousines for executives, and telephone tie-lines to the city. Add to these the cost of maintaining space in the downtown city area for advertising, public relations, marketing, board meetings, etc.

Some companies in fact find that they are subsidizing high cost mortgages for housing for their management employees and that they are financing the purchase of "second cars."

But, there's even more that escapes the eye at first glance. There is lost executive time traveling to New York to attend meetings, delays in transmittal of information, losses due to missed opportunities, and losses due to omitted visits. There is no substitute for the eye-ball to eye-ball discussion or negotiation—and New York is where it is and what it's all about.

Some of these costs I've mentioned before can be itemized approximately as follows:

	Per square ft.
Cafeteria and meal subsidy	\$0.30
Privately financed bus service	.40
Limousine and chauffeurs for executives to visit New York	.30
Telephone tie-lines	.10
Landscaping and snow removal	.20
Parking lot maintenance	.10

These items alone total (for "extras")

Building costs in the suburbs are no cheaper than the cost of construction in the city. The only difference might be in the cost of land. But, this cheaper cost in the suburbs is oftentimes offset by the need for substantial additional land for future expansion of the office and for parking. It's rumored that if a rental figure were to be attached to the Taj Mahal that American Can built in Greenwich, it would rent at \$15 to \$18 per square foot. Quite an expense to be near one's golf club! I wonder if the stockholders of some of these corporate "cop-outs" really know the true cost of moving to and living in a suburb!

Incidentally, a tenant's future expansion can be easily handled in the city by a knowledgeable and cooperative landlord. In the suburbs, there are no smaller tenants available to occupy the expansion space until needed by the prime tenant.

It would seem apparent that the peripheral areas offer little promise to a company with an eye on the future. A suburb, in fact, is an area that has not grown into a city—it is a sub-city with all of the growing pains before it. Most of our large cities, and particularly New York, have in the past few years recognized these pains and are doing something about them.

New York City has structured its capital investments in anticipation of growth. Revenue sharing, open enrollment, mass transit, technologies to counter environmental pollution, housing and development of downtown sub-centers are major items on New York's budgetary agenda. All of these allocations focus on the future. In many areas of improvement the future is at hand. No suburb is capable of making these provisions.

Everywhere I look in New York I see change, which is a sign of vitality. Here are just a few of the changes:

The Flatlands Industrial Park, a 96-acre development with seven new manufacturing plants in Brooklyn. This is 75% completed.

The Northeast Container Terminal in Brooklyn, a 70-acre container port, which will maintain the city's competitive status in the import-export industry.

The Hunt's Point Food Market in the Bronx, the world's largest wholesale food distribution terminal. In the fiscal year 1969-70, \$35 million of new construction was completed at Hunt's.

An announcement is forthcoming soon of the development of Welfare Island into a huge in-city complex of apartments, shopping and office space.

A \$100 million Convention-Exhibition Center will be constructed on the Hudson River waterfront between 44th and 47th Streets. It will be the largest facility of its kind in the nation.

Beside the Convention Center will be the Consolidated Passenger Ship Terminal that will restore the cruise ship business in the city. This is a \$30 million project.

The City of New York is developing an industrial park on the site of the New York Naval Shipyard (Brooklyn Navy Yard), five minutes from Downtown Manhattan. More than 165 acres of prime industrial space is available, providing waterfront location in the nation's busiest port for maritime-oriented companies.

And of course, one of the most evident signs of change in the city is the World Trade

Center, which is nearing completion on the Lower West Side.

New York is still the financial, communication and commercial capital of the world and this is where the action is. New York is a magnet which will continue to pull creative people to its core.

I spoke earlier of the strong-willed men and women of New York who are working to better New York.

Typical of these get-up-and-do-something people are the members of the Association For a Better New York, which was formed last February by 100 businessmen. It is operating on a \$2.5-million, three-year budget.

Better New York is involved in nothing short of a crusade. It has mounted a massive national campaign for federal revenue sharing for our cities. It's pushing for voter approval of the \$2.5 billion Transportation Bond Issue in November, which is a must to pump another \$1½ billion of funds into the New York City transportation system. It's helping the sanitationmen clean up midtown streets . . . and much more.

Better New York is putting statuary in office building plazas, supporting the revitalization of Yankee Stadium, assisting Consolidated Edison in conserving power, conducting a federal drive to permit communities to enact year-round daylight savings time, and attempting to attract another football franchise to the city.

It is also working with the City Council in seeking changes designed to eliminate smut peddlers in Times Square and restore the area's attractiveness to visitors.

It is meeting with corporate heads on a regular basis to enlist their support in Better New York's campaign to improve the city.

And Better New York has established a liaison with New York's Congressional delegation to generate more power for the city at the federal level.

The primary goal of all of these programs is to attract new business and keep the business the city has.

But the significance of Better New York is beyond its individual programs.

Better New York is the spirit of hope. It is made up of people who refuse to wring their hands.

And hope is infectious . . . just as is despair. We're full of enthusiasm for the future of New York—because it's not all "future"—many of the improvements and changes are now at hand.

Hopefully, some of our enthusiasm has spread around this room.

Thank you.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS CONFERENCE

HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, the 19 Republican Governors who attended the Republican Governors Conference in Indiana last week unanimously endorsed a statement regarding their common problems. Unfortunately this statement received little attention in the press. It is an excellent statement and I want to bring it to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY MEMBERS OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION NOVEMBER 19, 1971.

FRENCH LICK, IND. — We, the members of the Republican Governors Association, charge the Democrat leaders of the United States Congress with

abdicating their clear and urgent responsibilities to the people of America.

Washington skims off 65 percent of all the public revenues, while villages, towns, cities, counties and states teeter on the verge of bankruptcy. As a result, State and local governments must increase sales and property taxes, levy new tax after new tax and cut back on their services to the people.

For years, the Governors of both major parties have directed their bi-partisan pleas to the Democrat-controlled Congress for a fair return of federal tax revenues to State and local governments—but their cries have fallen on deaf ears.

They have supported President Nixon's concept of Federal revenue sharing—and 77 per cent of the nation upholds their petitions—but the Democrat leadership of the Congress refuses to act.

The overwhelming majority of public officials across the land, reflecting the public will, has supported the President's call for welfare reform in the name of suffering taxpayers and the suffering poor alike.

Likewise, public officials have pleaded with Congress in behalf of school children whose education is threatened by insufficient funds. But again, there is only talk and no action in the halls of the Democrat-controlled Congress.

The people have a right to ask how men who have failed to lead in exercising their responsibilities in Congress can hope to lead the Nation.

The reactionary, stubborn refusal of the Democrat Congressional hierarchy to respond to the people's demands for help in State and local government delivery of services to the people is all the more glaring in contrast with the record of President Nixon.

The President has offered bold and revolutionary proposals to revitalize and preserve the Federal system. He should have the help and support of Congress in this critical undertaking instead of foot-dragging and obstructionism.

The President also should have the help and support of the Congress and of every American for his New Economic Policy to end nearly a decade of fiscal neglect and inflationary policies.

The Republican Governors reaffirm their belief in the traditional responsibility of State and local government to provide such services as education, welfare, health and sanitation and we are eager to fulfill that responsibility.

Our growing inability to do so is caused by the Federal government's preemption of revenue sources. We therefore ask Congress to implement the revenue sharing program effective in fiscal 1972 and other domestic programs the President has called for—and thereby put us to the test.

TECHNOLOGY ASSESSMENT SPREADING RAPIDLY

HON. JOHN W. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, it is highly interesting and significant that the technology assessment concept is spreading rapidly into parts of the world other than the United States. Although many of the basic background studies and developments leading to the concept were done here—and particularly, so far as the Congress is concerned, by the Subcommittee on Science,

Research and Development and its parent Committee on Science and Astronautics—recognition of the need for developing adequate methods of technology assessment seems to have spread worldwide.

As I have mentioned earlier on a number of occasions, a bill to create an Office of Technology Assessment, which emanated from the Science, Research and Development Subcommittee, which I chair, has been unanimously approved by the full committee and is now awaiting a rule.

Meanwhile, I think it worth while to call attention to just two of the many examples of foreign activity in this field.

One of these was notably evident in the October meeting of the Science Ministers of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development—OECD—held in Paris. The distinguished chairman of our committee, Mr. MILLER of California, served as congressional adviser to that meeting and will be making a complete report on it to the Congress in the near future.

The OECD proceedings are laced throughout with obvious references to technology assessment and its potential development within and between the 25 industrialized member nations. For example, in their final communique issued at the close of the meeting, the OECD conference made the following comment:

Ministers recognised that a major task for science policy will be to assess the adverse and beneficial consequences of technological development, and to foresee scientific and technological trends. They agreed to share the effort of making such studies and to exchange the results through the Organisation, in order to develop more effective methods and evaluate national case-studies.

I might point out further that the substance of the conference, which to a great extent was based on a special ad hoc report to the OECD, contained even stronger references along the foregoing lines. A cogent comment from that report is this one:

The key requirement is a wider range of options in the early stage of the innovation process combined with a more sensitive, comprehensive, and rigorous process of choice as the various options progress towards application. This involves deeper consideration and exploration of alternatives at the beginning, with a larger number of checkpoints in the process of selecting options so that vested interests, sunk costs, and professional commitments do not build up a momentum that becomes difficult to reverse. There must be earlier identification of possible difficulties and side effects and a willingness to assign highest priority to research aimed at understanding and quantifying these effects at the expense of the more traditional type of development effort. There must also be a more careful technological exploration of other but possibly more costly or more distant alternatives that promise to have significantly less costly side effects.

I would also like to call the attention of the Members of the House to a special Advanced Study Institute—ASI—being sponsored by the NATO countries next October, probably in Milan, Italy.

This entire conference, which will last for approximately 2 weeks and be attended by those in government, industry, and academia from all over Europe, will

be devoted exclusively to technology assessment.

International decisions, such as these, to study any given area are seldom made lightly, nor do they deal with superficial topics. This, I think, is a useful point for us to keep in mind.

PROTECTING OUR HARBORS

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial comment by television station KPIX in San Francisco came to my attention and I think it worthy of the attention of every Member of this body.

The efforts to protect the environment around the proposed Alaska oil pipeline must meet with success if we are to preserve the natural wonders that abound in our 49th State.

Yet, as we see these measures taking effect, why should they be confined only to a wilderness area that every Member of Congress is vitally concerned about preserving? Why, Mr. Speaker, should not these measures be used in the same fashion that developments achieved through our space flights are put to good practice?

I believe this editorial, by KPIX General Manager William E. Osterhaus, hits the proverbial nail right on the head. San Francisco Bay, and every harbor in this Nation should use the technology being developed in Alaska to protect our harbors.

I submit this excellent editorial for inclusion in the RECORD.

WHY NOT?

People talk and talk about the need for protection of our environment—after an ecological disaster. Likely as not, that's the end of it. For example, after the disastrous tanker collision oil spill here last January, there was public outcry—for a few weeks—and an official investigation. But talk and investigations alone are no protection. There are, however, occasions when we should profit by the advice of those with expertise who have acted to prevent similar disasters elsewhere.

A case in point was the report made here recently by E. W. Wellbaum, a spokesman for developers of the proposed Trans-Alaska Pipeline. He said far stiffer anti-pollution controls will be enforced in a remote Alaska port than are in effect in San Francisco Bay. He contended that Valdez Harbor, the southern terminal of the pipeline, will have almost fool-proof protection against oil spillage and tanker collision.

He explained: tankers loading with crude oil will have booms floating around them to keep any spilled oil from polluting the harbor. No tankers will be permitted to pass within one mile of another while under way. And the standard hoses that are used to connect tankers with refineries will be replaced at Valdez Harbor with metal-to-metal connections.

He suggested it would be extremely worthwhile for San Francisco Bay ports to consider similar methods for dealing with tankers.

There were 1,160 tanker arrivals in San Francisco Bay last year. Why won't the ship-owners in the Bay initiate similar safeguards? Why won't the federal government create

one port authority with control over all traffic of ships on San Francisco Bay?

Necessary environmental protection measures for an Alaskan wilderness port certainly should not be too good or expensive for San Francisco Bay and its heavy marine traffic. What do you think?

ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH WINS TOP HONORS FOR SHELL OIL

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker:

With more and bigger tankers plying the seas and drilling rigs moving into deeper water, the oil industry has intensified efforts to prevent pollution from oil spills. A prime example of this response is Shell Oil Company's extensive spills program.

This opening statement of Shell Oil's award for environmental control development, presented by Petroleum Engineer, recognizes Shell's innovations in environmental research.

Answers to the environmental problems in America are being found through the efforts of Shell Oil and the rest of the petroleum industry. We in Texas are especially proud that Shell's award was for research primarily conducted at Shell Pipe Line's Houston laboratory. The statement of award to Shell Oil continues as follows:

Shell's program was strengthened in 1967 with a newly organized Oil Spills Committee made up of representatives from all Shell operating units. Members review emergency plans, coordinate all oil spills activities, and sponsor oil spill research for all Shell operations.

Most research is conducted at Shell Pipe Line Corp.'s laboratory in Houston. Since 1969, the lab has invested more than 22 man-years of research in this oil spills program. To effectively evaluate containment and clean-up systems, the lab has developed special testing equipment, including a large wave tank and a current tank, designed to simulate various environment conditions.

Through use of the simulation models and special equipment, surprising data has been turned up that dispel some earlier ideas about the action of oil on water.

One innovation tested is a containment device called the Air Barrier, which releases air from an underwater manifold to create a curtain of rising bubbles that block oil movement on the water surface. Effective in calm or quiescent water, the Air Barrier is installed at Shell's Argo, Ill., terminal.

One of the most effective containment techniques it has developed to date, Shell says, is a surface active chemical that's non-toxic and biodegradable called Oil Herder. Sprayed around the perimeter of a spill it sometimes shrinks the size of the slick.

Oil recovery devices such as skimmers and suction devices also are evaluated, and the Environmental Protection Agency recently awarded the lab a \$133,000 contract to study the use of sorbent materials.

One of the most promising control techniques developed thus far is a quickly deployable system using Oil Herder and polyurethane foam sorbents. A major advantage of this dual system is portability. Shell has a new formula for making polyurethane foam so that liquid ingredients can be easily transported to the spill site where they can be

combined to generate a low-density, highly absorbent foam. Curing in 2-5 minutes, it's shredded and blown onto the spill. Up to 10 times more oil can be picked up by the shredded foam than by straw, Shell says. Picked up by nets and squeezed, the foam is ready for reuse.

Shell, along with other oil companies, also is actively working on the oil fingerprinting technique for detecting the source of spilled oil.

JUDGE DONOVAN

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I knew Judge Richard J. Donovan as a close, personal friend—as a brilliant and able State legislator, as a competent and compassionate judge. I knew only a little of the suffering Dick lived with since his brain surgery of some years ago—but even that "little" showed me the strength and courage Dick possessed and with which he met the challenges of his life. His life was all too short. His presence will be missed. I extend my sympathies to his lovely wife, Peggy, who has been such a stalwart in her support and dedication to Dick.

I include an editorial from the Chula Vista, Calif., Star News, which expresses eloquently the nature of the void Dick's passing has caused.

The editorial follows:

JUDGE DONOVAN

It is pointless for those of us who do not know personally what it's like to be living on borrowed time . . . to have a brilliant career suddenly terminated by an illness that forces us into a less demanding and perhaps unsatisfying life . . . to realize that every day we get up in the morning may be our last . . . to speculate on the psychological process that impelled Judge Richard J. Donovan, 45, to end his life.

We can merely state what everybody who knew Richard Donovan already knows—that his demise is a tragedy, not only for his family, but for all the people of our community. There are too few Dick Donovans in public life, and we can ill afford to lose them.

We have known Dick Donovan many years. We remember him most vividly as an assemblyman, the first South Bay resident ever elected to the Legislature, a man of compassion, of understanding, of keen intelligence, of unflagging determination to right wrongs, a man with a fantastic zest for life and a genuine love for people, a determined man in a terrific hurry to get things done.

He was a Golden Boy of politics then, handsome, charming, witty, dedicated, concerned.

He was voted the most effective freshman assemblyman in Sacramento by newsmen. As a Republican in an overwhelming Democratic district, he won reelection by the largest margin of any legislator in California.

They said he was really going places then. Some said the place he was going was to the governor's office. But he suffered a brain ailment, and the place he went was to the relative obscurity of the municipal bench.

Privately, he was appalled by the injustices of the court system. He did what he could—and many a youth, caught up in the toils of the law through foolishness—or immaturity,

can owe a fresh start in life to Judge Donovan.

Judge Donovan in recent years was happiest when he talked about sweeping reforms—about sweeping reforms he proposed in his Elks Club (he was blasted in a national Elks publication for calling for an end to the Elks' racist membership rules) . . . about sweeping reforms he tried to foster in the courts to unclog the wheels of justice and to ease the burdens of unfortunates involved in lesser infractions . . . about sweeping reforms in the entire System to take away special privilege and to assure all Americans an even break.

In his short and handicapped life, he didn't succeed as well as he would have liked. But he gave it all he could, and then some. Thanks to Dick Donovan, our community and our state are a little better than they might otherwise have been. And a finer tribute than that cannot be paid to any man.

KUNSTLER HELPED LIGHT THE TORCH

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial from the Detroit News. This editorial, entitled "Kunstler Helped Light the Torch," transcends partisan politics for it puts in proper perspective the tragedy at Attica State Prison. Equally important, the editorial points out the willingness of a member of the radical left to intensify a crisis situation in order to merely appear concerned. Kunstler's actions at Attica jeopardized the honest efforts of the truly concerned officials. The editorial concludes—

Notice who remained alive to wear the black armband.

The entire editorial follows:

KUNSTLER HELPED LIGHT THE TORCH

William M. Kunstler, the radical New Left attorney, has called New York's Gov. Rockefeller a "murderer" because of the deaths at Attica State Prison and recently wore a black armband as a symbol of mourning for the deceased.

In actuality, Gov. Rockefeller did everything he reasonably could to prevent bloodshed and at the same time defend the law of New York while Kunstler was doing his best, as usual, to intensify the bitterness between the antagonists.

Other members of the negotiating team of which Kunstler was a member testify that he sought to undermine efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement.

David Anderson, a black leader from Rochester, N.Y., charges that Kunstler "heightened the expectations" of inmates about obtaining amnesty and as a result made it difficult to talk with riot leaders on a realistic level.

Other members say they believe Kunstler was a disruptive rather than a helpful influence. They are especially critical of his statement to the rebels that representatives of "Third World" governments were waiting across the street from the prison, ready to grant the rioters asylum abroad.

Both during and following the episode at Attica State Prison, the role of Kunstler has been that of firebrand—the sort of firebrand who urges others forward to the fray while

he sulks in the background watching the results.

Notice who remained alive to wear the black armband.

AMERICA AND RUSSIA IN INDIA

HON. ROBERT H. STEELE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, few Americans have the depth of knowledge and understanding of India that our former ambassador to that nation, the Honorable Chester Bowles, possesses.

In a recent article in *Foreign Affairs*, Ambassador Bowles pointed out that India can play a major role in the stabilization of post-Vietnam Asia and urged important changes in U.S. foreign policy designed to foster such a role.

Ambassador Bowles is a former Member of the House and one of my most distinguished constituents, and I wish to recommend his recent article to my colleagues. The article, "America and Russia in India," follows:

AMERICA AND RUSSIA IN INDIA

(By Chester Bowles)

As in many other parts of the world, the interests of the Soviet Union and the United States in India are widely assumed to be in "conflict." To what extent is this conflict genuine, and what are the implications for Asia in general and South Asia in particular?

America and Russia have each made major contributions to India's economic development. The United States has helped rebuild and modernize India's railroads, contributed 60 percent of the capital for India's power development, helped build and staff eight agricultural universities, provided nearly 40 million tons of foodgrains, printed millions of books for Indian schools, published four excellent magazines to help Indians better understand America, provided thousands of American technicians and made it possible for thousands of Indians to go to America for training and advance education. The size of the U.S. Peace Corps in India has been double that in any other nation.

Although the Soviet economic investment in India is considerably less, it has been substantial. The U.S.S.R. has helped expand the production of steel and heavy electrical equipment and has provided close to one billion dollars to modernize India's army, navy and air force. Both the United States and the U.S.S.R. have, in addition, sent to India a steady stream of singers, musicians, and cultural exhibits, the number of Soviet programs being at least double our own. Both have large embassies in New Delhi.

Although Soviet and American activities and programs in India are somewhat similar, the political objectives and tactics have differed sharply. Let us first consider the U.S.S.R.

When Nazi Germany invaded the U.S.S.R. in June 1941, the promotion of Lenin's doctrine of worldwide revolution was muted and communist parties abroad were directed to focus all their energies on winning the war. This forced the Communist Party of India to cooperate with the British colonial government and largely to dissociate itself at a crucial moment from the struggle for independence. The reaction of the non-communist Indian leaders and the tens of millions who supported them was bitter. When official Soviet organs attacked Gandhi as a "reactionary Hindu" and depicted Nehru as the

"Chiang Kai-shek of India," the gap seemed unbridgeable.

After Stalin's death in March 1953, however, the Soviets began to ease their harsh line. In August of that year Malenkov spoke warmly of India's contribution to ending the Korean War and expressed the view that Indo-Soviet relations would "continue to develop and grow in strength." Contrary to the general impression, Nehru himself during this period had few illusions about the objectives of the Soviet Union and its leadership in India. A few days after Stalin's death, the Prime Minister described Stalin to me as "the coldest human being" he had ever met.

This shift in the Soviet mood coincided with John Foster Dulles' decision in 1954 to provide military equipment to Pakistan and convinced a reluctant Nehru that India should accept some assistance from Russia to "keep its options open." In 1955 the first Soviet loan agreement for Indian economic development was signed. On February 21, 1956, the Soviet Union agreed to finance and build India one of the most modern steel mills in Asia at a cost of \$140,000,000.

Although the outside world had no clear indication of the growing differences between China and Russia until a few years later, the possibility of a split must have been apparent to Soviet leaders by the mid-1950s.

When the break actually occurred in the late 1950s, Soviet assistance to India was sharply increased. Yet even when the Chinese-Indian conflict occurred in October-November 1962, Soviet leaders, still clinging no doubt to the hope that a tolerable relationship with China might be reestablished, at first held back. Only when Khrushchev and his colleagues became persuaded that a rapprochement was no longer possible did India begin to receive its present high priority from Soviet policymakers.

While the U.S.S.R. certainly hoped for some additional dividends—India's support for Soviet foreign policy generally, the expansion of the "Socialist camp," etc.—the motivation of the U.S.S.R. in assisting India has since the mid-1950s been primarily based on the Soviet estimation of India's geopolitical importance as a partial balance to the political influence and potential military weight of China.

II

The United States Government, however, has never considered India to be of major political significance to the future of Asia. Our policies in India, like our policies elsewhere in Asia, have been the product of strangely diverse considerations, a fact which has not only confused most Americans but also many Asians. On the one hand, those who have been setting our policies have consistently failed to understand the political forces which are shaping Asia and to appreciate the limits of traditional military power in dealing with these forces. On the other hand, many of our actions have taken place within a framework of genuine idealism. Thus India has been seen as an impoverished nation struggling bravely but probably futilely to govern itself through democratic institutions, which for humanitarian reasons we have felt obligated to assist.

Our generally warm feelings for the Indian people and our concern for their welfare became evident in the 1930s and 1940s as the American people watched India's nonviolent struggle for independence under the leadership of Gandhi. During World War II, Roose-

velt repeatedly pressed Churchill to agree to India's independence as soon as the war was over; indeed, two of Roosevelt's personal representatives in India supported Indian independence so openly that the British asked that they be removed.

When India became independent in 1947, the energies of the United States were largely focused on the economic and security problems of Western Europe. But in mid-1951, we provided India with two million tons of wheat, and in December of that year, during my first tour as Ambassador to India, I signed with Nehru the first developmental assistance agreement—an outright grant of \$54,000,000 to assist Indian development. Since that time the United States has contributed \$8 billion in loans and grants to bolster India's economy and to help feed its people.

Paradoxically, we have provided this massive assistance to a nation which most of our harassed top policy-makers in the State Department, White House, Pentagon and Congress have visited only briefly or in many cases have never seen, and of which consequently they have had only a limited knowledge and a hazy understanding. The Bureau of Near East-South Asia Affairs, which has jurisdiction over our relations with India, stretches all the way from the India-Burma border to Libya. Understandably, the time of its key officials has largely been absorbed by the explosive Middle East. The average number of Representatives and Senators visiting India each year during my eight years there as Ambassador was nine—most of them for relatively short visits in and around the large cities.

Lacking firsthand knowledge of the complexities of Indian society and the hopes and fears of its people, it is not surprising that the Kiplingesque impression of India as an ancient land of cobras, maharajahs, monkeys, famines, polo players, overcrowded with cows and babies, still persists in the minds of many top officials in our government.

A relatively small number of able South Asia specialists in our universities have worked diligently to fill this information gap. But most of our "Asia specialists" are in fact Chinese, Japanese or Southeast Asia specialists; very few of them have had an opportunity really to know and understand India and to consider its relations to the rest of Asia.

The assumption that by giving India economic assistance we are at least assured of its friendship and hopefully of its support has generated reactions in New Delhi that have further confused our relations. The nationalistic leaders of India, as in most developing nations, are determined to demonstrate that they are now masters in their own house. When they assert their independence by refusing to see the world as our government sees it, leaders within the Administration and Congress have become by stages puzzled, frustrated, hurt, and angered.

As a consequence, many overburdened officials in the State Department and White House have gradually lapsed into the comfortable rationalization that no matter how much assistance is given to India, its poverty is probably too deep and its population too vast to enable it to become a stable, viable nation. Only the fact that India is by far the largest underdeveloped nation, with the exception of China, and has somehow maintained in the world a democratic government for a quarter of a century, has enabled it to retain even its present precarious position on the back burners in the State Department and White House.

III

In 1963 the decisive factor in my decision to return to India as Ambassador was the conviction that in this role I might be able to contribute to the long overdue reorienta-

In February 1957, shortly before the Soviet-Chinese break became evident, I had a lengthy discussion with Nikita Khrushchev in Moscow, most of which centered on India and China. When I remarked that both the Soviet Union and the United States might ultimately face a common problem in regard to China, he did not disagree.

tion of our policies not only in India but in Asia. While skillfully marshalled arguments may establish doubts about the wisdom of an existing policy, it has been my experience that a policy itself is unlikely to be changed unless a major event shatters old relationships and forces a reexamination of existing assumptions. The coincidence of four major events involving the Soviet Union, China, India and Japan, was, I thought, creating precisely such an opportunity.

These were the continuing split between the Soviet Union and China; the China-India conflict in 1962 which brought Nehru's efforts to create a live-and-let-live relationship with China to an abrupt end; the rise of Japan to become the world's third industrial power; and the beginnings of our blundering military involvement in Southeast Asia. The combination of these four "happenings," I felt, might force our government to reconsider its Asia policies as a whole and to give a higher priority to the one-seventh of mankind who live in India.

The promptness with which we responded to India's appeal for help following the Chinese attack in October 1962 seemed to reflect the new sense of priorities for which I had hoped. The emergency shipments of \$70,000,000 worth of military equipment which we airlifted to India within a few days after Nehru's appeal reached Washington, was at the time assumed to be only the first step in the modernization of India's military forces. The Indian request for \$500,000,000 of military assistance to be spent over a period of five years was less than half of what we had already given Pakistan. However, the old Dullesian arguments soon began to be raised again in the State Department and Pentagon, i.e. if we helped India even moderately to build up its defense capacity, we would upset our "loyal ally," Pakistan.*

At first I was hesitant about India's request but for quite a different reason. Since World War II, most of our military assistance outside Europe, I felt, had been given not for legitimate purposes of defense but in effect as a bribe to persuade the recipient governments to support U.S. foreign policy. Once started, such assistance was hard to stop; sometimes we became political captives of the nations we were striving to defend.

I was convinced, however, that the situation in regard to India was radically different. Nehru clearly was not for sale and India's defense needs were very real. Its 2,500-mile long border with China had recently been breached by Chinese troops, and in addition there were 600 miles of border with Burma, which was in a state of general unrest. Although Pakistan's army, air force and navy had largely been equipped and trained by the United States, Pakistan had verbally supported the Chinese attack on India in 1962 and could not be depended upon to remain neutral if the Chinese should attack again. Under these circumstances our refusal to assist India while we continued heavily to support Pakistan seemed indefensible.

Moreover, in view of its recent clash with China, India was determined to modernize its defenses by one means or another. If we were not prepared to meet its legitimate security needs, I believed that India would turn, however reluctantly, to the Soviet Union. With Soviet concern over China growing, the response to Soviet advances would almost certainly be affirmative.

The possibility of this chain of events was rejected by almost everyone in the State Department, Pentagon and White House. India, it was assumed, had no place to go but to the United States. President Kennedy, how-

ever, seemed to agree with my view and asked me to explore the situation with Prime Minister Nehru and his associates immediately after my arrival in India in July. I should then return to Washington for further discussions with him.

In the summer and fall I had a series of long talks with Nehru, Defense Minister Yeshwantrao Chavan and other Indian officials not only about their own military security problems vis-a-vis China, but also about their willingness to take a greater measure of responsibility for the stability of Asia as a whole. In mid-November I left for the United States with a tentative understanding with the Indian Government in my briefcase. Quite unexpectedly, Nehru, who had been emotionally shattered by the recent Chinese attack, had volunteered to support a genuine effort by our government to negotiate a political settlement that could end the fighting in Southeast Asia. (This was before U.S. ground forces became directly involved in Vietnam.) He was also prepared to negotiate a ceiling on military expenditures with Pakistan. With this evidence of a new cooperative mood in New Delhi and with the President's backing, the way appeared to be open not only for a constructive relationship with India but even, with a bit of luck, a negotiated settlement in Southeast Asia.

However, these hopes were soon dashed. Kennedy's assassination six days after my arrival in Washington and Nehru's death six months later, in May 1964, when our government and an Indian negotiating team were on the verge of an agreement, resulted first in delay and finally in a decision by the Johnson Administration to postpone further consideration until the "situation had been clarified."

Three months later, the same Indian negotiating team visited Moscow and returned to New Delhi with all they had asked for, and more. Today India's 28 divisions, its 700-plane air force and its small but competent navy are largely supplied with Soviet equipment. It would be a mistake to exaggerate the political implications of the Soviet role as principal military supplier to the Indian defense force. But I believe that a major opportunity to use our own military assistance to promote greater political stability in Asia was missed.

IV

Because of the Soviet Union's greater awareness of India's potential role in Asia, Soviet operations in India are much more closely directed by the Foreign Office in Moscow than U.S. operations are directed by the State Department in Washington. As a result there has been a profound difference in tactics and in style between the Soviet and U.S. operations in India, which in spite of the continued indifference of Washington officialdom has helped keep our relationship with India on a reasonably even keel.

Most American embassies throughout the world are tied tightly to Washington by a combination of fixed policies, highly developed communications systems and frequent two-way visits. The embassy in New Delhi has been in a quite different category. There have been no clear national policies to guide its day-to-day operations. It is 10,000 miles from Washington and thus far, blessedly free of a modern telephone communication link. Most important of all, for the better part of 20 years it has been run by a series of independent-minded, politically expendable, non-career Ambassadors who generally have had the support of the lower-level India specialists in the State Department.³

Each of these Ambassadors travelled widely throughout India, and came to know on a

personal basis most Indian leaders, and each spoke regularly to groups of college students, businessmen, educators and economists. Moreover, while not always in agreement with the policies of the Indian Government, each of them genuinely liked the Indian people. Their effectiveness was increased by the fact that they were supported by able staffs, most of whom shared their views.

Lacking clear policy direction from Washington, our remote and comparatively isolated embassy in New Delhi has within certain limits been able, independently and unofficially, to establish a less rigid set of goals. For instance, there has been a continuing effort to increase India's confidence in itself, to encourage India to broaden its perspectives on Asia and to understand U.S. difficulties in dealing with unfamiliar world problems. The New Delhi embassy has also consistently and with considerable success resisted pressures from Washington to use U.S. economic assistance as a lever to force India to see the world as we see it. In my eight years as Ambassador to India, I can remember no occasion when the State Department told me what to say or questioned any public statement I made.

The understanding and often close relations established with many Indian citizens and leaders by members of the American mission have been strengthened by nonofficial groups such as the American women's clubs in major cities which have taken an active role in social welfare projects and developed a genuine appreciation of Indian culture, religion and language. The several thousand impressive young Peace Corps Volunteers, who have served in India for an average stay of two years, and the 8,000 Indian students who attend American universities every year further strengthen these ties.

As a result, a great deal of common ground has been created in the last 20 years among influential Indians and Americans. Most Indians both in and outside the government remain critical of U.S. Government policies on such questions as Vietnam or East Pakistan, but with a few notable exceptions they have liked and respected Americans as individuals.

Since the Soviets devote a major share of their budget and manpower in India to an attempt to create distrust of America and Americans, the rapport to which I refer has been an important and perhaps decisive factor in keeping Indo-American relations relatively smooth. The Soviet effort to break these bonds and to turn the Indian people and government against the United States involves every device from forged letters to blistering attacks and accusations by Soviet-financed newspapers such as *Blitz*, *Patriot*, *Link*, and *Radio Peace and Progress*, which is specially beamed into India from Moscow. No doubt this effort has made an impression on some Indians. But because it is hard for most Indians to believe that the Americans they see and know are "imperialists" and "war mongers scheming to undermine India's independence," it has fallen far short of its objective.

The reasons for the persistence and intensity of the Soviet effort are unclear. Many believe that it reflects widely differing views of world affairs within the Soviet bureaucracy. In New Delhi, for instance, there are almost certainly deep differences between the younger and more modern-minded Soviet diplomats and those members of the KGB who still believe that Lenin's "revolution of the working classes" is in fact just around the corner. Similarly, some U.S. officials in the Pentagon and State Department still feel more at home with the rhetoric and tactics of the cold war.

Soviet activities in India have been further complicated by the fact that the original Communist Party of India has split into at least three sections. First, there is the Communist Party of India (CPI), which makes a

*For several years Pakistan had been manipulating American policies in Asia with a skill matched only by that of the Nationalist Chinese.

³I refer to Ambassadors John Sherman Cooper, Ellsworth Bunker, John Kenneth Galbraith and myself.

determined effort to appear responsible and to cooperate with other "Socialist" parties. This group is largely financed by and directed from Moscow. It is small and compact, and therefore a less obvious target for criticism. But for that very reason it may have a greater potential influence than most people suspect.

The tactics of the CPI following Mrs. Gandhi's election in March 1971 have been shrewd. The first step was the announcement and later the introduction into Parliament of an appealing program to promote greater economic and social justice which generally reflects the liberal philosophy on which Mrs. Gandhi based her sweeping victory. If the new Congress Party adopts or supports all or part of such a program, the CPI can claim credit; if it fails to adopt the proposals, the CPI can charge that Mrs. Gandhi is still in the grip of the "reactionaries."

In addition, there is the Communist Party-Marxist (CPM) which came close to winning a majority in the recent West Bengal State Assembly elections. The CPM might be considered a Maoist party if it were not for the fact that it is momentarily in the Peking doghouse because of its persistent attempt to work within India's parliamentary process. Finally, there are the Naxalites, an extremist left-wing group which does not fit into any clear ideological pattern but which believes in ruthless violence and destruction as the necessary basis of revolutionary change.

Many observers in India are convinced that the differences among these three communist-marxist parties are more a matter of the timing of the "inevitable" revolutionary uprising than of actual ideology. However, I suspect that at least some of the differences run much deeper. This raises the question of whether Moscow really wants a communist India which, whatever its immediate advantages, would lead to further fragmentation of the communist "camp" and place an added burden on the juggling abilities of Soviet officials and ideologists.

v

What is the reaction of India to the lavish attentions it has been receiving from the world's two most powerful nations? Most Indians have become ever more disenchanted with the price that the Soviets have asked them to pay in terms of national dignity and sovereignty for their continued support and assistance. But because of their greatly increased fear of China, they now find themselves closer to Moscow than they really want to be.

India's decision in 1968 to abstain on the United Nations resolution vote in the Security Council condemning the Soviet Union for its invasion of Czechoslovakia illustrates its dilemma. If India had voted for the resolution, Mrs. Gandhi and her colleagues were convinced that there would be a dangerous slowdown in the flow of ammunition and spare parts from the Soviet Union for the Indian army, navy and air force. Consequently, India felt forced to abstain on an issue which had aroused strong feelings among most Indians.

The position of the U.S.S.R. in India has also been damaged by the high-handed manner in which Soviet representatives often negotiate economic and commercial agreements. Three or four years ago large headlines in Indian newspapers announced that the Soviets had agreed to buy 50,000 Indian-built railroad cars. However, when the bargaining began it became apparent that the euphoria was not justified. The Soviet price was far below the Indian cost price and as a result the deal fell through.

Nor is America wholly free of the charge of taking advantage of India's difficulties. During India's food crisis of 1965-66, President Johnson rather obviously attempted to use our wheat shipments to persuade India to take a more tolerant view of our military activities in Vietnam. Determined to demon-

strate their sovereignty, the Indians predictably stepped up their criticisms of our bombing of North Vietnam. Angered, President Johnson responded by slowing down our wheat shipments at the very moment when they were most needed. This left scars.

Another factor in the relations among the three countries is India's increasing disenchantment with the heavy influx of "experts" from both nations. Not all of them—Russian or American—have been as capable as their Indian counterparts, and in some cases they have been insensitive to their surroundings and to Indian attitudes. Often India has accepted technical assistance from both the United States and the Soviet Union more to satisfy the donors than because of actual need.

vi

The remaining years of the twentieth century will be years of continuing unrest. In Africa, Latin America and Asia, corrupt governments, the pressure of college graduates without jobs, and the demands of the millions who work the land and operate the new industrial machinery to obtain a larger share of the wealth which they produce, will open wide the door for revolutionary change. Under these circumstances it is unrealistic to expect either the Soviet Union or China to forgo their professed revolutionary objectives. Nevertheless, the strength of Soviet and Chinese nationalism, with the two nations facing each other along a 5,000-mile border, coupled with the fact that the Russian Revolution is now more than 50 years old and is gradually losing its original fervor, suggests that they will follow quite different strategies.

The Soviet interest in India is only one facet, though a major one, in the Soviet effort to expand its influence throughout Asia. The increased Soviet naval force in the Mediterranean, the intense desire of the Soviets to reopen the Suez Canal and the presence of Soviet naval units in the Indian Ocean are reflections of this effort.

In June 1969, the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Leonid Brezhnev, noted in a speech at the World Communist Party Conference in Moscow, "We are of the opinion that the course of events is putting on the agenda the task of creating a system of collective security in Asia." This assertion has not officially been amplified, and consequently every government in Asia has been interpreting it in a different way. India's reaction to Brezhnev's statement was cautious: Mrs. Gandhi discreetly let it be known that India would prefer a nonalliance security agreement composed of Asian states, guaranteed by both Russia and America.

However, a key to Brezhnev's meaning appeared in advance of his speech in an article in *Izvestia* in May 1961, in which it was asserted that the same countries which have won their freedom from colonialism "will strengthen the peace by their own joint opposition to expansion and imperialism." The forces of "expansion" to which Brezhnev referred were clearly the Chinese, who were charged with harboring designs against a number of Asia countries. Peking promptly responded by accusing Brezhnev of "fishing in the dung heap of imperialism."

The U.S.S.R. is seeking to "contain" what it believes to be an expansionist-minded China—much as we have been trying to do—by associating whatever Asian nations can be persuaded to cooperate in a loose political organization under its leadership. When asked, "What is the basis of Soviet foreign policy in Asia?" a Soviet official recently replied with an eye to America's pull-back from Asia, "We simply occupy the empty seats." But the U.S.S.R.—like China—is no more likely to succeed in forging such an association than we have been. The increasingly nationalistic Asians have no design to become the tail of the kite of any nation no matter how great its military

power or how generous its offers of economic assistance.

Right now both the Soviet Union and India are concerned about the political thaw between the United States and China and the implications of China's support of the right-wing government in West Pakistan. The apparent easing of the Chinese attitude toward the United States is seen by many observers as the first step in a long-range Chinese program calculated to strengthen China's position in South Asia and eventually in Africa at the expense of the U.S.S.R., India and the United States.

A Soviet official with a touch of geopolitical paranoia might visualize the following sequence of events:

1. The Chinese, convinced that the United States is in fact prepared to withdraw from Southeast Asia and concerned about their own confrontation with the U.S.S.R., may seize upon the opportunity to establish a degree of rapport with the United States which might be useful to both nations in a number of ways.

2. If President Nixon will agree not only to pull all U.S. troops out of Southeast Asia but our air force and naval units as well (a move that would be warmly welcomed by most Americans, including leaders of Congress), China might seek to persuade the Hanoi government to release American prisoners and to take a more flexible position in the peace negotiations with the United States. This would serve the interests of both China and the United States and perhaps enable China to expand its trade with the United States and to ensure entrance into the United Nations, with the possibility that ultimately some degree of cooperation with the United States is regard to Pakistan and even the Soviet-Chinese conflict might become possible.

3. But a possible settlement of the conflict in Southeast Asia is only one aspect of a complex situation. China (ping-pong diplomacy to the contrary) believes that "the four seas are raging, the five continents are rocking," and its government may be expected to maintain its militarily cautious but politically aggressive revolutionary course.

A primary Chinese objective is the establishment of a solid Chinese presence in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. This would enable China to outflank the U.S.S.R. (as well as the United States) and move thousands of miles closer to East Africa, a potentially rich and underpopulated area, in which for several years Peking has been taking an increasing interest. No one believes that the Chinese at the present time are prepared to run a serious risk of war in pursuit of this objective, but it is widely believed to be a major part of Chinese global strategy. According to Indian sources, 13,500 Chinese are now working in East Africa. There is also some fear that China may provide support to small guerrilla groups in Iran as they already have done in Oman. As a measure of its concern, India's leading China expert has recently been assigned to East Africa.

4. The present conflict in East Pakistan affords the Chinese an opportunity to move cautiously toward this goal. The fighting has placed an impossible burden on Pakistan's economy. With or without the Eastern wing, it will soon be in a state of near bankruptcy and in need of massive assistance. By supporting West Pakistan and by working with pro-Chinese Pakistani politicians, China will strive to establish a strong and eventually dominant presence there. With Sheikh Mujibur Rahman removed from the scene, East Pakistan would also offer an opportunity for a new Maoist-oriented leadership. (India looks upon this latter possibility with particular alarm since it would almost certainly bring the Maoists in both East Pakistan and the CPM in West Bengal into a close association. This would create heavy pressures for an independent united Bengal, which

would not only present another tempting target to the Chinese but would threaten the unity of India itself.)

This scenario may turn out to be no more than a bad dream, but there is no question that at the present moment many Soviet as well as Indian leaders are dreaming it—including some who are not normally subject to paranoia. The skeptics who dismiss it as farfetched are likely to be reminded that in the last 20 years several equally "impossible" developments have occurred in Asia: for instance, the sudden collapse of colonial rule, the dramatic emergence of Japan as the world's third-ranking industrial power, the disruption of the Sino-Soviet bloc and America's involvement in a major undeclared war in Southeast Asia in which nearly as many Americans have been killed as in World War I.

Far from being inevitably locked in a relentless confrontation, Russia and America have many problems, worries and objectives in common. By now each should have discovered that its own capacity to influence India and Asia is strictly limited. We have learned this lesson the hard way, and the generally cautious leaders of the U.S.S.R. are unlikely to repeat our folly.

With the passage of time (perhaps with an unexpected assist from some new "happening"), we may hope that the Soviets will abandon their present ineffective cold war in India and put aside their nostalgic Leninist dream of a Soviet-dominated world, and that ultimately even the Chinese ideologists will come to see that their efforts to fish in troubled waters of South Asia and Africa are unproductive and dangerous.

As for the United States it is still not too late for us to bring our policies in Asia and particularly in India into line with the realities. Some steps we might take are as follows:

1. As an essential first step, the policy-making officials in the State Department and in the White House must broaden their perspective on India and its potential role in Asia. The following reorganization within the State Department would do much to accomplish this: (a) A new Mediterranean Bureau would include North Africa, the Middle East areas and Afghanistan and Pakistan; (b) A new South and Southeast Asia Bureau would include, in addition to the Southeast Asian States, India, Ceylon and (if it manages to become an independent nation) Bangla Desh (East Pakistan); (c) A new East Asia and Pacific Bureau would include Japan, the Philippines, Taiwan, China and Korea.

2. The State Department should schedule regular in-depth visits to India and South Asia not only by its own key policymakers but but by other government officials who are called upon directly or indirectly to deal with questions involving India.

3. All U.S. military aid to Pakistan should be stopped immediately. It can only lead to a comparable build-up in the Indian military, a reduced rate of development and the recurring possibility of war. Our lavish arming of Pakistan since 1954 will surely be considered by historians as one of our major follies. Until the political situation clarifies, economic assistance to Pakistan should be concentrated on the rehabilitation and relief of East Pakistan.

4. America, Russia and India should not only attempt to arrive at better understandings of one another, but also of China. Such understanding and the more responsible and constructive policies that may grow out of it are the long-term prerequisites for peace and more rapid economic development throughout Asia. A military conflict between the U.S.S.R. and China could be the ultimate disaster for mankind. We should therefore refrain from any temptation to play China and the Soviet Union against each other.

5. We should assure Mrs. Gandhi and her

new government of whatever assistance, with no political strings, is necessary to support her effort to better the lot of the Indian people and to ensure the economic growth and stability of India. Unquestionably the newly elected government under Mrs. Gandhi's direction means business, but India's resources are strained to the breaking point.

Part of this assistance could be provided by a ten-year moratorium on the payments of principal and interest which India is now making on debts to the Western consortium nations including the United States and the World Bank. Next year these payments will total more than \$600 million in hard currency.

By helping Mrs. Gandhi's new government to deal successfully with India's current internal problems we can help ensure the viability and political effectiveness of this cohesive democratic nation. With a population equal to that of Latin America and Africa combined, with a remarkable degree of political resiliency and depth of culture and with an effective administrative structure run by a generally competent civil service, an independent, confident India can play a major role in the stabilization of post-Vietnam Asia.

BILL COSBY TALKS TO KIDS ABOUT DRUGS

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, all of us are worried about the drug problem, particularly among our young people. And one of our greatest concerns, it seems to me, should be finding a way to communicate to our Nation's youth—honestly and credibly—the very real dangers of drug abuse.

In this context, a lot has been said about song lyrics. While some would have us believe that young people are driven to try drugs simply because words having a "drug connotation" are used, the National Institute of Mental Health says that is not so. Nevertheless, it seems apparent that the communications media do have great impact on our youth, and can therefore play a vital role in putting across antidrug messages, when used properly.

For this reason, I am especially impressed by a new commercial recording, just released by UNI Records, which makes a very credible artistic statement against hard drug use. It is called Bill Cosby Talks to Kids About Drugs.

While the record industry has already taken important steps in this area, by making individual artists available without charge to make antidrug messages and by producing and distributing an excellent record for NIMH, Bill Cosby is the first top-name entertainer to make such an artistic statement against drugs. And he considers it the most important record he has ever made.

The technique is simple and honest: Through the use of comedy and music, he holds the listener's attention; and the way he gets his point across is bound to have a lasting effect on any youngster—or adult—who hears it. Mr. Speaker, I commend this excellent recording to the attention of my colleagues.

A GREAT HONOR BESTOWED BY THE BARONIAL ORDER OF MAGNA CHARTA ON MAURICE H. THATCHER, OLDEST SURVIVING CONGRESSMAN

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the oldest survivor of those who served in the Congress is Maurice H. Thatcher, who reached his 101st milestone on August 15, 1971.

As is well known, through our congressional circles, Gov. Maurice H. Thatcher in recent years, including 1971, has been the recipient of many distinguished honors. I am sure that the Members of both Houses are gratified at these bestowals.

Governor Thatcher has long been a member of the Baronial Order of Magna Charta, possessing lines of ancestry running back to William Marshall and many other sureties, who, in 1215, curbed the power of King John of England by means of this celebrated document which functioned so greatly to the slow ascent from despotism to freedom. Two of his ancestors were the second Earl of Pembroke and his wife, Eva McDonough, a lineal descendant of Brian Bar, one of the outstanding Kings of Ireland.

The Baronial Order of Magna Charta has its headquarters in Philadelphia, and its principal membership is in that city, though several members are in Washington, D.C. The chief event of the order each year, on or about June 12, is the program in Christ Church in Philadelphia, celebrating the anniversary. On this occasion, the order formally awards its chief honor to some person of distinction. Among those so honored have been outstanding military leaders, jurists, and statesmen. For the June 1972 award, under action by the order of the 19th inst., it has unanimously voted to bestow the award on Governor Thatcher.

While yet we live, let us honor those yet living.

Under leave accorded, there are made as a part of these remarks, the letter of notification and Governor Thatcher's response thereto. The Baronial Order of Magna Charta is one of the most patriotic organizations in the Nation and its members are men of effective achievement. I am sure the membership of the Congress joins me in congratulating the recipient of this most recent honor, which will have its formal consummation in Philadelphia next June.

The material follows:

BRIDGETON, N.J.,
November 19, 1971.

HON. MAURICE H. THATCHER, LL.D.,
Washington, D.C.

SIR KNIGHT THATCHER: At a meeting of the Committee on The Magna Charta Day Annual Award held at the Union League in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, it was unanimously agreed that the 1972 Award should be given to our great American living in Washington, D.C.

The Annual Grand Chapter will be held this year at the Merion Tribute House on 10 June 1972.

The Commemorative Church Service will

be held at Christ Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at Second Street above Market Street, at 11:00 A.M. on Sunday, June 11, 1972. You would at this time, make your address and receive the Magna Charta Day Award.

We know some of your Washington, D.C. friends would see that you would be driven to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on 10 June or 11 June for both the Grand Chapter and Church Service. These details can be worked out at a later date with your approval.

We eagerly await your reply.

Sincerely,

LAWRENCE STRATTON,
Chairman, Committee on Program.

NOVEMBER 22, 1971.

Mr. LAWRENCE STRATTON,
Chairman, Committee on Program,
The Baronial Order of Magna Charta,
Bridgeton, N.J.

MY DEAR BROTHER STRATTON: Today, I am in receipt of your very kind and informative letter of the 19th inst.

I am, indeed, most deeply appreciative to the Order for its unanimous bestowal of the 1972 award. I certainly shall expect to attend the commemorative service in Christ Church on Sunday, June 11, 1972 and will attend to make the required address and receive the award. Therefore, expect me to be present on June 11—even tho I may have to come on Mother Goose' broomstick. However, I believe that someone from our Order in Washington will be glad to drive me to Philadelphia.

I am yet quite active in many matters, and am sound in mind and memory, tho I have lost something in the way of flesh and vitality. Enclosed find a story of the annual meeting of the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D.C. on October 16th, which is self explanatory. Also, find herewith a poem of mine written for that occasion, and which was placed in the Congressional Record by one of the ablest of Congressmen, Hon. Daniel J. Flood of Penna.

I am now the oldest surviving member of ex-Congressmen. My last birthday was on August 15, 1971 and I have thus entered my 102nd year. You and the other members of the Order in Philadelphia may be interested in the fact that there has been placed in a special room of the Scottish Rite Temple—just across the street from where I live my official papers, photographs and the like—all constituting the Thatcher Collection. One of the spacious rooms of the Temple has been set apart to house the Collection. I hope that you and other members of the ORDER in Philadelphia may, in due time, see the Collection.

I had never expected the award to be thus made, and I am indeed most grateful therefor and feel a sense of humility at the bestowal.

Looking forward to the very great pleasure of seeing you and other members of the Order next June 11, I remain,

Sincerely and fraternally,

MAURICE H. THATCHER.

IMPORT QUOTAS ON STEEL

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit legislation designed to incorporate import quotas on steel. Given the lower cost of production in Japan—I feel such limitations on imports would enable American steel producers a better opportunity to compete in the world market.

This bill would provide for the orderly trade in iron and steel products. I am hopeful the Ways and Means Committee will give consideration to what I deem is a very vital issue.

THE AMCHITKA TEST

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I want to take this opportunity to commend the able scientists and engineers who planned and successfully executed the Amchitka nuclear test just 3 weeks ago. Those of us on the committee who were intimately familiar with the careful preparations that went into this test had every confidence in the abilities and capabilities of these individuals and were thoroughly convinced that every precaution had been taken to prevent the type of mishaps which some alarmists warned were inevitable. The fact that the test did go off as planned, without a single hitch, is the greatest tribute to those who worked so hard on this.

At this point in the RECORD, I include a column written by Edward W. O'Brien as it appeared in the November 13-14 St. Louis Globe-Democrat. I think Mr. O'Brien speaks for all of us on the committee in his praise for the Amchitka team, and in his assessment of the importance of the test. I commend his column to the reading of my colleagues:

AMCHITKA TEST REVIVES FAITH

(By Edward W. O'Brien)

WASHINGTON.—It's not stylish to do so these times, but this corner would like to lead some cheers for the government people responsible for the spectacularly successful Amchitka nuclear test a week ago. The officials, from President Nixon down, who had the courage to proceed despite the prophecies of disaster should be saluted for their cool courage.

The legions of scientists and others who planned the shot on paper and then made their plans come true proved to be men and women of great competence and dedication.

No one likes to be accused of threatening the world with an earthquake, a tidal wave, or deadly radioactive fallout. Almost to the moment of detonation of the test, the critics were predicting that these catastrophes would probably happen and that the test must somehow be prevented.

The critics turned out to be completely wrong. There was no earthquake, no tidal wave, no fallout. The test went exactly as planned.

Scarcely a sound has been heard since then from those who were so vocal. Senator Alan Cranston, one of them, went on the radio to exclaim, "They were lucky."

It was a narrow, demeaning comment.

The truth was that this nation is blessed with able scientists whose first consideration in preparing the test was for safety.

They predicted from their calculations that the Richter Scale reading of the blast tremor would be 7.00. It turned out to be 6.99—or practically identical with the prediction.

The Pacific tidal wave warning net was

closed 25 minutes after the blast because the ocean waters were normal. No radioactive material escaped from underground, and except for death of one sea otter from a falling stone and a few other inconsequentialities, the environment was not disturbed.

Did the test accomplish any good?

It did indeed, though the intended and achieved benefits have never been mentioned by the critics.

What was achieved was that we proved the theory and construction of the nuclear warhead for the Spartan Missile in our proposed Safeguard Antiballistic Missile System.

The test meant the difference between theorizing that the warhead would work and knowing it for certain.

Possession of an effective ABM warhead is important to much more than our defense capacity. It may well be a key element in reaching an arms-control agreement with the Soviet.

The Russians have a proven ABM warhead. Theirs was tested years ago, in the last blast series conducted before the international ban on testing in the atmosphere.

So they were ahead of us in proven ABM technology. We knew it and they knew it. In the arms-control negotiations, we could hardly expect them to give up or renounce their advantage. They would be trading something for nothing.

Now the two nations are equal in ABM warhead technology, and the prospect of fair arms-control limitation has been enhanced. Some officials believe the Russians are even happy about the Amchitka test for that reason.

Faith in government, we are often told, is no longer justified. Rep. Craig Hosmer, a member of the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee, who took the trouble to fly to Amchitka and watch the test in 90-mile-an-hour wind and rain, called the event "a technical triumph" which reaffirmed this country's values, traditions, and sense of duty.

The test was supported in advance by President Nixon, the Atomic Energy Commission, a majority of the Congress, and a majority of the Supreme Court. Faith in them was not misplaced.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF DR. JAMES ALVIN RUSSELL, JR.

HON. W. C. (DAN) DANIEL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. DANIEL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, while the House of Representatives was in recess last week, it was my good fortune to attend the inauguration of Dr. James Alvin Russell, Jr., as fourth president of Saint Paul's College in Lawrenceville, Va.

In seeking similes for the educational community, public speakers often draw a comparison to passing along a torch of learning to those who follow. In a very fitting sense, this comparison holds true for Dr. Russell. His grandfather, James Solomon Russell, served the school as founder and first president. In turn, he was followed in the presidency by James Alvin Russell, father of Saint Paul's new president. And now, following the distinguished service of Earl H. McClenney, Dr. James Alvin Russell, Jr., has been chosen as the college's fourth president.

Saint Paul's College serves a predominantly black student body, as it was

founded in 1888 to serve this group then excluded from most institutions of higher education. In his inaugural address, Dr. Russell takes note of this fact, but looks beyond the limits of this sole commitment:

Standards of taste, standards of morality, must be kept alive as one becomes educated, and Saint Paul's uniqueness has been in graduating people steeped in these valuable assets. I am aware that change must come, and I believe in change, but I also believe that there are some absolutes that do not change.

In the belief that my colleagues will find Dr. Russell's inaugural address as inspirational and enlightening as I did, I insert it in the RECORD:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY JAMES A. RUSSELL, JR.

I accept the great task of the presidency of Saint Paul's College, and I pledge to you for its fulfillment, my best efforts and total dedication.

I am aware that these are days of crises in education, that these are times when men of great academic stature reject offers to become heads of colleges and universities. I say days of crises in higher education because of the changes taking place in society which infer changes in our colleges to correspond with or complement them. I mention the rejection of the post of president by capable and able men, because the task has been such a formidable one that it is spurned by many, and is often viewed as being more punishing than rewarding. It is said that the nature of the presidency has changed dramatically during the past two decades. For example, during the fifties the college president had to be an educator; during the 1960's he had to be a builder; in the 1970's he must be a crises manager.

Realizing these gruesome aspects, and being fully cognizant of the very dark days which may come into the life of every administrator, I approach serving St. Paul's College with a certain degree of optimism. I feel that here lies an unparalleled challenge, and an opportunity for service to youth, to our church, and to the general cause of education.

Never has education been under closer scrutiny than it is now. Never has so much been demanded of the colleges and universities. And never has there been greater concerted clamor for improvement in education. Yet these are also days of excitement in education, and anyone involved in educational administration is sharing in something which has the potential of taking him through uncharted seas. The journey may be rough in spots, but the frigate must move with the tide of educational change.

In undertaking my duties as Saint Paul's fourth President, I reflect upon the three distinguished men, James Solomon Russell, James Alvin Russell, and Earl H. McClenney, who have preceded me in this high office. I shall continue to benefit from their experiences, and to be influenced by their successes. I shall derive inspiration from them, and especially from the far sighted and lofty minded "adventurer in faith," James Solomon Russell, who was the founder of Saint Paul's College. His faith, foresight, humility, and indomitable spirit shall continually stimulate me to serve St. Paul's with all my heart and mind.

In thinking about the remarks I would make here today, I took the opportunity to examine some of the addresses made on occasions like this. It was fascinating to note the appropriateness of many things said by presidents as many as sixty or more years ago.

As an alumnus of Oberlin College I was particularly impressed by the remarks made by Henry Churchill King about 68 years ago.

He referred to the problems arising from the complexities of civilization, aggravated then by recent scientific discoveries. He discussed the objectives and functions of a college, and said that, "colleges had to teach in the broadest way the art of living, to give the best preparation, that organized education can give, for entering wisely and unselfishly into the complex personal relations of life, and for furthering unselfishly and efficiently social progress."

It occurs to me that we are still concerned with the function of the college in a world of complexities. A redefinition of its function and objectives was certainly never more important than it is today. This is indeed the time of change, and educational institutions find it hard to change, frustrating to veer from the old established ways. Time was when the college was thought of as the place for the exploration of ideas, for the search for truth, and for delving into things related to the world of thought. It is not exactly this way now. Today, there are increasing demands upon the college to react to everything occurring in the world, and to also take a leading role in helping to bring about social change. This is indeed a big order. Colleges, nonetheless, are moving into the community significantly; many of their programs extend into community institutions and services. At Saint Paul's College, students will be encouraged to explore and learn from many communities—from local to county, county to state, state to nation, and nation to the world.

In spite of the fact that there is this involvement, and understandably, more will come, let us not lose sight of the fact that the primary mission of the college and university is to educate people, to lead them in the search for truth, so that they will want to improve the world.

I further believe that education at the college should be viewed as a total experience, including not only subject matter and examinations, but also opportunities for students to develop various life styles; to exchange ideas, to have their beliefs challenged, and above all, to have associations with men and women who show in their lives the values of a liberal education.

From the standpoint of the administrator, I believe that we must understand ourselves, our culture, our society, and the realities of on-going life far better than we do. If administration is to be creative, there must be a greater knowledge of and preparation for working with students. At all levels of operation there must be a deliberate attempt to close the generation gap.

When Saint Paul's College was founded, it immediately sought to provide an education for young people who otherwise would not have the opportunity of a higher educational experience. The acceptance of high risk students is therefore, not a new program to St. Paul's. It has always shown great concern for youth with educational obstacles spawned by poverty and discrimination. I take the position that we should continue to help these students, that we must motivate them, provide them with the opportunity to develop intellectually, to improve upon skills which many of them already possess, and give them a chance to develop self-confidence. Failure to do these things would mean that Saint Paul's would be remiss in her duty.

St. Paul's, like other predominantly black colleges, has the unrelenting and complex task of preparing students for participation in a society which is predominantly white, while at the same time the college also has the responsibility of helping young people achieve self identity and cultural pride. But I am constantly aware of the fact that this necessary approach cannot be carried to the extreme, for Saint Paul's College cannot become an advocate of separatism. If it is to

become an integral part of the mainstream of higher education, it can do so only by joining forces with all other elements of the population, and move with the tide.

The Federal Government has made it unmistakably clear that its support can only be given to those institutions whose doors are open to all races and creeds. A small private institution can hardly exist without some federal support. Large corporations and foundations adhere to the same philosophy.

At this point, I find it necessary to call attention to the means of securing support for the church related colleges. In the past, they were supported predominantly through individual donors, the churches, small gifts from organizations, small bequests, and student fees. Although financial records show that a sizable amount of a college's income comes from student fees, we must never lose sight of the fact that most of this is funded by the Federal Government through financial aid to students such as loans, work study programs, and other governmental projects. Thus, I say that neither our thinking nor our financial structure can support a narrow racial operation. Saint Paul's must move out into the mainstream, and render a service not only to its present clientele, but to the larger community as well.

It is clear that federal involvement in higher education must intensify. Few private colleges and universities can survive in their present form if federal support is not made increasingly available. In fact, it is generally accepted that without state or federal aid for private institutions, the days of many are numbered, and the viability of others is threatened. Granted that federal assistance may be obtained, that some foundations, and individuals will come to the aid of the private college, all sources of aid will still be interested in those who devise new programs that will meet the needs of the students who for so long have been neglected. These programs must be supported by new teaching techniques and approaches, modern facilities, and multi media devices. All of this must be carried on in a framework of creativity and innovation.

The implications here for faculty members are evident. No longer can a campus be a collection of ivory towers. When teachers remain apart from students and leave them to their own devices, they forget that, as Irwin Edmen has said, it requires a very strong character, tenacity of purpose, and rightness of aim to work in isolation, especially when one is young. Liveliness of mind and acuteness of feeling often disintegrate into nothingness without the discipline of a period of orientation in principles, in intellectual handling of facts; the discovery of the manner in which facts themselves are distinguished from fancies, and the way in which facts are discovered. The thirst for experience is slaked, but not satisfied, if one has not the equipment through which experience becomes enriched with meaning. And the teacher can not provide real meaningful activities from an ivory tower.

I am aware of what it may mean when faculty members pursue the kind of involvement with the students which is implied here. Once they leave their ivory towers they face not only new faculty-student relationships, but require new faculty-administrator relationships for which the president must be prepared. Faculties now want a stronger voice in the governance of the college, and the chief administrator must work in equitable terms with his faculty, rather than attempt to be the sole decision maker, if he is to achieve any kind of success.

The history of the predominantly black college indicates a one man beginning, and one-man control for many years. That day has now passed, and it is absolutely impossible for one person to produce the answers to all problems and situations. He

needs, and must be prepared to accept the thinking and help of all of his colleagues. I seek such assistance and support, as we work to produce a more effective Saint Paul's College.

The future of Saint Paul's College is dependent to a large extent on the support of its alumni. It needs their financial support and moral support, wrapped in staunch loyalty. When graduates become concerned about new programs, improved faculty, new buildings, greater and more modern facilities, and increased enrollment—financial drives and recruitment in all areas become simpler processes. In education, as in business, there is no real substitute for the words of a satisfied customer.

I think that alumni sometimes are inclined to forget that they will always be a part of Saint Paul's College, and that whatever the college is or becomes, will flavor their credentials forever.

I have touched on student, faculty, and alumni problems in such a way, I hope, as to indicate an awareness of the depths of our needs. I have not meant to ignore the Board of Trustees and its important role in the operation of the college. A president, without the support of trustees, cannot remain a president very long. Of course, some of the major responsibilities of a Board of Trustees are to help the college establish a proper identity, to help in creating a proper image, to assist in making proper contacts, and to contribute generously of their time and financial resources to the institution. The efforts of the Board and the president must complement each other in a cooperative educational venture.

Much more could be said about the responsibilities of the various segments of the college to the college. Much needs to be said about the responsibilities of the college to the community that surrounds it. In fact, a whole address could be delivered on this important aspect of the institution.

Saint Paul's College was founded to help provide for the community many of the things it needed for growth. It educated the illiterate, it trained the farmers, it offered religious services, it provided social activities, it lifted the sights of the community in every direction. There was no separation then of town and gown. There should be none now, and it will be the aim of this administration to serve wherever needed, and to be available to render assistance whenever possible.

For its eighty-three years of existence, Saint Paul's College has been a church-related institution, and I would like to see this relationship continued. The tendency of the educational institutions today is a drifting further and further away from their historical attachment to the church. It is my opinion, however, that a religious atmosphere can provide a framework in which education can be produced. I believe that it is possible for religious and moral growth to be nourished concurrently with intellectual and physical growth. This is what our very sick world needs now. Many aspects of an education are obsolete before a student completes his four year term in college, and he must learn something new in order to make a living. The significant feature of Saint Paul's over the years has been that the student learned not only to make a living, but to make a life. The college developed standards and established values for which the institution and its members were willing to take a stand. No one was afraid to call anything wrong, or vulgar, or in poor taste, if such was the case. There was developed the kind of courage that seems to be lacking in our current life.

Standards of taste, standards of morality, must be kept alive as one becomes educated, and Saint Paul's uniqueness has been in graduating people steeped in these valuable assets. I am aware that change must come,

and I believe in change, but I also believe that there are some absolutes that do not change. I think that one of the requirements of leadership is that the leader gives positive direction to the one he leads. I believe that youth at heart really want this kind of leadership, and I believe that I have courage enough to pursue it.

If the educated man is not willing to express standards, if he cannot show that he applies them, what then is education for? Its purpose, I take it, is to form the civilized man whom I will define as the person capable of the informed exercises of judgment, taste, and values. If at maturity, he is not willing to exercise judgment on matters of policy, or taste, or morals, he is merely saying that his education has been a failure. I hope to make education at Saint Paul's a meaningful experience.

It is a humbling, yet very challenging opportunity to take the reins once held by my forebears, and my immediate predecessor. They captured the spirit of their times and developed a viable institution of their day. In reference to my forebears, I desire to see tasks once begun by them completed, and believe this to be a major aspect of my heritage.

Even in these dark and difficult days, I can see emerging a new Saint Paul's, committed to meeting the needs of the day, and enlarging the scope of its services through the acceptance and development of new ideas and new approaches. As I accept this challenge, I need your good wishes, your assistance, and your prayers.

BIG BUS BILL—"SEEING OVER THE BLIND SPOTS"

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I have repeatedly called to the attention of my colleagues the problem of the blind spots which exist behind our motor vehicles, especially trucks and buses. I am happy to report that it now appears as if some progress has been made, at least with respect to automobiles. A story written by Charles Yarbrough in the Evening Star of November 26th describes the advances which have been made. His article, "Up Periscope" follows my remarks.

With even larger blind spots behind trucks and buses we certainly should delay action on legislation such as the big bus bill until the automobile advances in this area can be applied to buses and trucks.

UP PERISCOPE

(By Charles Yarbrough)

History isn't very precise about how long it took ancient man to decide that something like the wheel might be a handy gadget or how long it took him to fashion a prototype.

But the achievement might parallel modern efforts to come up with an efficient and feasible periscope-type rear view mirror system to "see over" the blind spots in today's automobiles.

Researchers are gaining on it since the government paid X-thousands of dollars for a 1969 study which concluded what every motorist has known for 50 years: Current rear view mirrors are inadequate.

RESEARCH FOR STANDARD

What is admittedly a crude system (when compared with the ultimate) has been in-

stalled on 50 government-owned, 1970 Ford Falcons for a year's testing by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.

Five are in Washington, ultra-conscious with the mirror housing protruding from the car roof like an oversize taxi sign.

The national testing is research for a proposed safety standard that would require indirect visibility systems to broaden the driver's rear vision.

There are two proposed effective dates, one for 1974 cars, the other, hopefully for a more sophisticated product, due in 1976. It likely will be expensive. Even more likely it will be mandatory.

Cars in the current test period, which runs until next November, are candidates for the 1974 standard and the three-mirror system gives about 60 degrees more rear horizontal vision than conventional mirrors.

The 1976 goal is at least 82 degrees. First reaction in driving with the periscope is a bit startling. It is a view the driver might get if he could look into the overhead and side mirrors at the same time. Long-accepted blind spots are still there, but getting smaller.

SCOPE WITH FAIRING

In some phases, the thinking is way ahead. The exterior mirror on the roof is equipped with defroster and de-icer. The interior has a day-night filter; the fittings are break-away type in event of an accident and the glass is tempered to minimize shatter.

The test system in use here and in seven other areas of the country was developed for the Safety Administration by Donnelly Mirrors, Inc., of Holland, Mich., under a \$25,000 contract.

Elsewhere, research is reaching reality in experimental safety cars from AMF and Fairchild-Hiller, both of which have a more sophisticated rear view concept, including a design which fairs the exterior scope into the roof line.

Next step in the overall project will be contract award for the 1976 requirements and at least 82 degrees of rear vision. Field testing of both the '74 and '76 concepts, plus those on the experimental safety vehicles will, hopefully, give the government the fore-and-aft vision needed.

FOR THREE-EYED DRIVER

Over the years, from the early days of the Indianapolis Speedway where the rear view mirror was first used, there have been many attempts to solve the "blind spot" problem.

Curved mirrors had built-in distortion. Side mirrors supplementing the one over the windshield, required a three-eyed driver.

There have been some logical versions of the periscope-type from private citizens who, apparently couldn't get enough important ears to listen.

Recent news dispatches told of a Wichita, Kan., mother who fashioned a convex mirror arrangement on the rear of the car to supplement the standard rear-view reflector to avoid striking her children when she backs out of the garage.

She's applying for a patent.

There are few motorists among us who haven't on more than several occasions, been tempted to leave nasty little notes under the windshield wiper of the car which uses more than its share of precious parking space—or perhaps deserved one ourselves?

Anonymous now, comes an authentic-like "ticket"—a "Citizen Parking Violation."

It says in part: "This is not a ticket, but if it were within my power, you would receive two."

"Because of your bull-headed, inconsiderate, feeble attempt at parking, you have taken enough room for a 20-mule team, two elephants, one goat and a safari of pygmies from Africa."

"I sign off wishing you an early transmission failure (on the expressway at about 4:30 p.m.)."

THE PROBLEM OF NOISE POLLUTION

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, although air, water, and land pollution seem to get almost all of the attention and publicity in the fight for pollution control, it was gratifying to read an excellent article by Marilyn Ballas, staff writer of the Home News, of New Brunswick, N.J., in an outstanding and thought-provoking article called, "Noise Pollution—It May Be Too Late Already If You Can't Hear It."

It is one of the best articles I have read on this important and complex problem and I am pleased to include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD with the hope that we increase our knowledge and understanding of noise pollution. Because I am one of the cosponsors of a noise pollution control bill, I have an unusual interest in Miss Ballas' newspaper article, but I would also like my colleagues to read it.

The article follows:

NOISE POLLUTION—IT MAY BE TOO LATE ALREADY IF YOU CAN'T HEAR IT
(By Marilyn Ballas)

The world is growing louder at the rate of one decibel a year. If you can't hear it, you already may have suffered some hearing loss.

And because it's the nerve cells in the inner ear that are affected, the damage is permanent—no hearing aid will help, no surgery will set things right.

But the worst part of noise-induced hearing loss is that it can go for so long undetected. The sounds you can't hear are at a high pitch of 4,000 cycles. Conversational speech ranges from 250 to 2,000 cycles—so you can hear your friends well enough, at least at first. There is some trouble in distinguishing the sounds, but it is easy to blame that on faulty diction. Your ears are all right, or so you think.

Noise pollution is a modern phenomenon, created by the products of our technological age which surround us in our home, in our office, on our streets, throughout our community and our world. Grinding, whirling or rattling away are power lawn mowers, riveting machines, electric music devices, combustible engines, jet engines, vacuum cleaners, dishwashers.

Look around you. Or rather, listen around you. The pollutants are there.

Some noises are so constant, you never hear them anymore. Others are simply annoying. But many are downright dangerous to our physical and emotional health.

Dr. Raymond M. Manganelli, professor of environmental sciences at Rutgers University, considers noise "another insult" upon man from today's environment.

"We are constantly disturbed by noise, the constant intruder, Manganelli says, and he stresses that hearing loss is not our only concern.

The assault noise makes upon man's nervous system may affect blood pressure and psychological well-being, Manganelli says. Studies are now being made in these areas.

Dr. Antoine Attalla, Board of Health director for Woodbridge, where a noise control code is being proposed for adoption, concurs.

"Noise pollution is something relatively new to man," Attalla says. "With the introduction of a modern technological advancement—the machine—noise has become a real threat to man's health and safety."

Noise, generally defined as "unwanted sound," causes the blood vessels to constrict

according to Attalla; it may increase the secretion of gastric juices, which in turn may cause or aggravate an existing ulcer; and may cause, as well as aggravate, existing neuroses.

Dr. Alvin I. Glasgold, a New Brunswick physician specializing in the ears, nose and throat, reports he sees an average of two new patients a week suffering from noise-induced hearing loss. This number includes students, many of whom are members of marching bands, and persons from industry.

"That the most susceptible hearing loss is at 4,000 cycles is good in that you do not miss much at such a high pitch," Glasgold says. "But it is bad because you are not aware your hearing is being damaged through noise."

An early sign of hearing loss caused by noise, the physician continues, is "tinnitus," or ringing in the ears.

The inability to distinguish between sounds, and a temporary "deafness," or shift in threshold, immediately after exposure to loud noise, are other early symptoms.

While the percentage of his patients suffering from noise-induced hearing loss is low, Glasgold still considers the problem a "catastrophic occurrence," largely because the biggest sufferers are among the teen-age population.

"Psychiatrists are aware that lots of noise pollution is disturbing," reports Dr. Sydney B. Penik, director of research and associate medical director at Carrier Clinic in Belle Mead, and associate professor of psychiatry at Rutgers University.

"We are going to have to regard noise as just as much an invasion of privacy as trespassing," he continues, but adds no one has yet shown the exact relationship, "the one-to-one factor," of noise and emotional disorders.

"One of the early complaints of psychiatric patients is that noises sound louder, are more bothersome, Penik explains. But the available data according to the internist-psychiatrist, shows only that noise may aggravate existing conditions rather than create emotional problems.

This is an area, he says, in which a great deal of study remains to be done.

According to Joseph J. Soporowski Jr., associate extension specialist in environmental sciences at Rutgers University, noise pollution is primarily a problem for industry and government agencies.

Soporowski, who breaks noise down into two categories, industrial noise and community noise, says considerable advances have been made in the area of industrial noise control, but community noise has been seriously neglected.

"A lot of people don't realize what noise pollution is all about," Soporowski continues, warning:

"We'll find ourselves in the same situation—in about eight years—as the community now finds itself in the areas of air and water pollution, if something isn't done.

"If we take action on noise now, we can minimize undesirable effects in the community," he says.

"Young people with their music . . . This is what got me started," Soporowski explains.

Soporowski, who with Manganelli has been working in the area of noise pollution at Rutgers for about four years, feels the most important step now "is to get something on the books. The idea is to start with something that is reasonable and then improve it."

Manganelli agrees that the key to turning off noise in the community is legislation—at local, state and federal levels.

And the only legislation these men feel will have the teeth to be effective is that which cites specific decibel readings, rather than the vague "nuisance" specifications which characterize so many existing noise codes.

Manganelli, says noise can be controlled at three points: At the source, along the path, and at the point of reception.

The last, which includes ear plugs and ear muffs, is the least desirable, Manganelli says, because such methods may block out very necessary sound of warning and interfere with communication.

Many new products, Manganelli explains, can be made quiet. A dishwashing machine was developed, he illustrated, that did not make any noise at all. But it was rejected. The housewife wants some noise, if just a quiet purr. It indicates to her that the machine is working.

But for the most part, he says, products make a great deal of unnecessary noise which manufacturers must be forced to eliminate, and he argues that this will be done through legislation.

DEMON DECIBEL OBJECT OF PROPOSED LAWS

What is a decibel?

It is a unit for measuring the relative loudness of sounds. Ordinary speech is 40 to 60 decibels, based on a zero decibel reading, at which audibility begins.

There are several scales for measuring sound, but the most commonly used is the A scale, which gives greater weight to high tones more likely to be annoying or harmful to the human ear.

A rock group might produce music which could run as high as 120 decibels A (120 dBA), which is described as "painfully loud."

This compares with the 90 dBA maximum sound level for an 8-hour duration allowable under the Walsh-Healey Act of 1969, which first set the national safety standards. The act itself, originally applied only to workers on government contracts, since has been extended to every worker in interstate commerce.

But the community at large, as well as many industries, do not fall under its jurisdiction.

Permissible noise exposures under that standard, based on the maximum noise levels man can tolerate before suffering physical damage, range from 90 dBA for an 8-hour duration to 115 dBA for no more than 15 minutes. The act also provides that no sound, no matter how fleeting the duration, should exceed 140 dBA.

What other legislation exists to control noise?

In New Jersey there is the Occupational Noise Exposure regulation adopted in May as part of the N.J. Worker Health Safety Act.

Identical in its standards to the Walsh-Healey Act, it applies to all manufacturing industries in the state, as well as to some wholesale businesses, warehouses and large retail stores.

It does not affect offices, schools, retail stores with less than 10 employees, nor the agriculture industry.

Two bills are pending before the state legislature. An Assembly bill, passed by that house and on its way to the Senate, would give the state commissioner of environmental protection the power to adopt and enforce new standards for noise control.

Assemblyman Kenneth Wilson, R-Essex, is sponsor of this bill, which directs the state environmental agency to hold public hearings from which it would set its standards. A Noise Control Council of experts would be created to advise the commissioner. Violators would be fined up to \$3,000.

Sen. Raymond H. Bateman, R-Somerset, and Sen. Harry L. Sears, R-Morris, are sponsors of an administration bill which would give the commissioner the sole regulatory power.

The latter bill is broader in its provisions, but both are aimed at "community noise"—that heard outdoors on public or private property—and deal with such things as noise

from industrial plants, construction equipment, and trains, aircraft and other vehicles.

Local communities also are beginning to write tougher, more specific and more enforceable noise control codes.

Woodbridge is the first community in the Middlesex-Somerset county area to upgrade its noise regulations. Joseph Wukovets, the township's chief sanitary engineer, said he went about working on a code in response to specific complaints from residents. He realized, he said, there was not already something on the books to eliminate bothersome sounds effectively.

The proposed code would set maximum decibel readings on various noise sources, with lower levels in effect at night.

Dr. Antoine Attalla, township Board of Health director who worked with Wukovets in preparing the proposed code, said it would set the limits, empower investigations and set penalties.

The proposal has yet to go before the Township Council.

In Chicago, new noise regulations went into effect July 1, setting maximum limits allowable under law immediately, and in most instances lowering permissible sounds for the future.

Motorcycles, for instance, now have a noise limit of 92 dBA, but must be down to 75 dBA by Jan. 1, 1980.

Primarily, the regulations are aimed at vehicles and agricultural and construction equipment. There are also limitations on noises from buildings, with measurements to be taken at the boundaries of the lot.

Chicago's code further makes a violation "any vibration that can be felt beyond the property line in any zoning district, whether manufacturing, business, commercial or residential."

Similar legislation is pending in New York City, where the proposed code is now in the process of public hearings.

Proposed by Mayor John V. Lindsay, the 49-page code would set specific noise level standards and empower the administrator to place various noise-making devices on an operating certificate list, which could be revoked or suspended.

Under the proposal, refuse trucks built after Dec. 31, 1972, could operate no louder than a vacuum cleaner, and sirens could make no more noise than midtown traffic.

Sound level readings

[In decibels]

10 feet away from rock drill.....	130
Discotheque	120
2,000 feet from jet taking off.....	105
Subway station with train coming in.....	95
50 feet from a moving heavy truck.....	90
Noisy kitchen in city.....	85
50 feet from a highway.....	70
Quiet conversation.....	60
Quiet rural night.....	30
Threshold of hearing.....	0

Prolonged exposure to sound between 85 and 115 decibels will begin to cause hearing loss; limited exposure to sound over 115 decibels will cause hearing loss.

VOTING PATTERN IN THE UNITED NATIONS

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, there is a great deal of discussion as to the voting pattern which occurred in the United Nations on the question of Chinese representation. Since a number of

votes were taken, interpretations vary depending on the vote used in any given analysis. As a delegate to the United Nations for the 26th General Assembly session, I am convinced that the key vote was on the important question. Therefore, in preparing the following analysis, I have used that vote.

Mr. Speaker, when the United Nations organization voted on the resolution to make the expulsion of Free China and the seating of Communist China in its place an important question, almost half of the members eligible to vote were nations that secured their independence since World War II.

The vote on the crucial issue was 59 to 55 against making the substitution of Red China for Free China an important question, with 15 abstentions and two absences. Of the new nations, 25 supported the position of the United States and 27 opposed it; nine abstained and one was absent.

Mr. Speaker, in order that my colleagues will be fully informed regarding the tremendous power that these new countries have in the international body, power that can be used for good or for evil, I am submitting three tables for inclusion in the RECORD. The first lists the nations that lined up with the United States on the key vote, the second those who opposed us, and the third those that did not participate in the vote.

The table follows:

THE FOLLOWING NATIONS SUPPORTED THE UNITED STATES ON THE VOTE

Nation	Date of independence	Area in square miles	Population in thousands
Bahrain.....	1971	250	207
Barbados.....	1966	166	260
Cambodia.....	1953	69,898	6,701
Central African Republic.....	1960	236,293	1,518
Chad.....	1960	495,753	4,000
Congo (ex-Belgian).....	1960	905,563	17,100
Dahomey.....	1960	43,483	2,640
Fiji.....	1970	7,055	519
Gabon.....	1960	102,089	485
Gambia.....	1965	4,005	357
Ghana.....	1957	91,843	8,600
Indonesia.....	1949	735,865	116,000
Israel.....	1948	7,993	2,822
Ivory Coast.....	1960	127,520	4,195
Jamaica.....	1962	4,411	1,959
Jordan.....	1946	37,500	2,160
Lesotho.....	1966	11,716	930
Madagascar.....	1960	228,000	6,643
Malawi.....	1964	36,100	4,398
Mauritius.....	1968	720	800
Niger.....	1960	489,129	3,750
Philippines.....	1946	115,707	37,158
Rwanda.....	1962	10,166	3,500
Swaziland.....	1968	6,704	410
Upper Volta.....	1960	105,869	5,278
Total.....		3,873,858	232,390

THE FOLLOWING NATIONS OPPOSED THE UNITED STATES ON THE VOTE

Nation	Date of independence	Area in square miles	Population in thousands
Algeria.....	1962	919,591	13,349
Burma.....	1948	261,789	26,980
Burundi.....	1962	10,747	3,475
Cameroon.....	1960	183,581	5,680
Ceylon.....	1948	25,332	12,240
Congo (ex-French).....	1960	132,046	880
Equatorial Guinea.....	1968	10,852	286
Guinea.....	1958	94,925	3,890
Guyana.....	1966	83,000	742
Kenya.....	1963	224,960	10,506
Kuwait.....	1961	6,178	570
Libya.....	1951	679,358	1,869
Malaysia.....	1963	128,430	19,583
Mali.....	1960	464,000	4,881
Mauritania.....	1960	419,231	1,140

Nation	Date of independence	Area in square miles	Population in thousands
Mongolia.....	1945	592,664	1,240
Nigeria.....	1960	356,669	63,870
Pakistan.....	1947	365,529	132,000
Sierra Leone.....	1961	27,699	2,512
Singapore.....	1965	225	2,034
Somalia.....	1960	246,201	2,730
Southern Yemen.....	1967	112,000	1,220
Sudan.....	1956	967,500	15,186
Tanzania.....	1961	363,708	12,926
Trinidad and Tobago.....	1962	1,979	1,040
Uganda.....	1962	93,981	9,500
Zambia.....	1964	290,586	4,208
Total.....		7,062,761	354,537

THE FOLLOWING NATIONS (EXCEPT MALDIVES, WHICH WAS ABSENT) ABSTAINED ON THE VOTE

Nation	Date of independence	Area in square miles	Population in thousands
Botswana.....	1966	275,000	629
Cyprus.....	1960	3,572	630
Laos.....	1949	91,429	2,893
Malta.....	1964	122	318
Morocco.....	1956	172,834	15,050
Qatar.....	1971	8,000	100
Senegal.....	1960	75,750	3,780
Togo.....	1960	21,850	1,815
Tunisia.....	1956	63,378	5,027
Maldives.....	1965	112	108
Total.....		712,047	30,350

WEEKLY REPORT TO NINTH DISTRICT CONSTITUENTS, NOVEMBER 15

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of my Weekly Report of November 15, in which an account is given of the State dinner for India's Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, at the White House. Mrs. Hamilton and I were among seven Senators and Congressmen and their wives to be invited to the November 4 formal affair.

The report follows:

WASHINGTON REPORT

EDITOR'S NOTE: This week's Washington Report is Mrs. Nancy Hamilton's account of the State Dinner for India's Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, at the White House. The Hamiltons were among seven Senators and Congressmen and their wives to be invited to the formal affair.

Attending a White House formal dinner is quite literally like stepping out of one world into another—I from the bustle and exuberance of a young household and Lee from the debate and deliberation of the House of Representatives into the pomp and pageantry of a State Dinner.

Since the House was in session, I drove from our home to Capitol Hill with Lee's tuxedo for a quick change and a dash to the White House. We were admitted to the White House grounds after being identified as guests by White House guards and were greeted by music from the Navy band, playing on the balcony of the South Portico. Passing two Marines at attention at the ground entrance, we again showed our admittance cards before going into the Oval Room to check our wraps.

Moving upstairs to the main level of the White House, we were first given a diagram

of the seating arrangements at a large, E-shaped banquet table, each with the guest's place indicated. The red-coated Marine band was playing in the Grand Foyer, where we waited to be announced to the growing number of dinner guests assembled in the East Room.

While the President and Mrs. Nixon met privately with Mrs. Gandhi in the First Family's upstairs living room, we talked with several members of Mrs. Gandhi's party. A receiving line was formed, with husband preceding wife, and trumpets then announced the entrance of the Presidential Party. The President, in formal attire and looking straight ahead, entered with Mrs. Nixon, in a camellia pink evening gown and Mrs. Gandhi in a pomegranate red sari. They followed a color guard into the room as the band played "Hail to the Chief."

Each guest was introduced, first to the President, who in turn introduced Mrs. Gandhi. Mrs. Nixon greeted each warmly, recalling that we were from Indiana, the native State of the President's mother.

Guests included the President's daughter, Mrs. David (Julie) Eisenhower, Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State William Rogers, Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart, Senator John Cooper of Kentucky and Mrs. Cooper, Arthur Burns, Chairman of the Board of the Federal Reserve System, U.S. Ambassador to India Kenneth Keating and several high ranking military officials and their wives.

The State Dining Room was a dazzling display of white tablecloth, gold candelabra, golden bowls filled with flowers of white, salmon and yellow. The table was set with the Johnson china of the wildflower design. I was seated with Secretary Elliot Richardson of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and Congressman John W. Davis of Georgia. Lee was seated with Mrs. Frank Church, wife of the Senator from Idaho, and Mrs. Gerard C. Smith, wife of the director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

The menu included a first course of Que-nelles de Brochet en Vol-en-Vent (fish and white sauce in a pastry shell), Supreme of Pheasant Veronique (pheasant with white grapes), wild rice, asparagus au Beurre, bibb lettuce and Port de Salut cheese, and for dessert Mousse Glace au Praline (ice cream with a pecan sauce) and petits fours.

After dinner, the President rose to toast Mrs. Gandhi, speaking warmly of her father, the late Prime Minister Nehru and praised her for continuing his leadership. Mrs. Gandhi responded with an urgent plea for support for her country's struggle for stability.

The guests then moved to the Green and Blue Rooms for coffee and we spoke with Mrs. Gandhi, relaying a message from our son, who earlier in the day had taken part, with his sixth grade classmates in White House greeting ceremonies for the Prime Minister.

The guests were then seated in the East Room for an impressive program of ballet and folk singing. At the conclusion of the program, the guests waited while the President and Mrs. Nixon bid goodbye to Mrs. Gandhi. I returned Lee to Capitol Hill, where he returned to his legislative duties until the House adjourned at 3 a.m.

attention of my colleagues the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times on the 12th of this month. The editorial wisely points out that the recent amendment to the military procurement bill that requires the United States to unilaterally breach the United Nations sanctions invoked against Rhodesian chrome ore may have grave international effects.

The editorial follows:

[From the New York Times, Nov. 12, 1971]

UNITED STATES AGAINST THE CHARTER

In cavalier fashion the House of Representatives has now joined the Senate in approving an amendment to the military procurement bill that would deal a savage blow at the United Nations and place the United States in flagrant violation of its pledges. The provision would require Washington to breach unilaterally the sanctions twice invoked by the United Nations Security Council against the white racist regime in Rhodesia.

Specifically, the amendment would eliminate as of Jan. 1 the President's authority under the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 to ban importation of Rhodesian chrome so long as imports of that metal from the Soviet Union were allowed. It would have the effect of invalidating the executive orders issued by President Johnson to enforce the Security Council decisions.

Despite the valiant effort by Representative Donald M. Fraser of Minnesota to alert the House to the consequences of its action, there is no evidence that the majority had the faintest idea it was voting in effect to send the U.N. down the ruinous road traveled by the League of Nations when member states unilaterally breached the sanctions it tried to impose on Fascist Italy in 1935.

This result owes much to a well-financed Rhodesian lobby which has exploited shrewdly the racism of Southern Senators and Congressmen, the anti-Communist sentiment on Capitol Hill, the current hostility to the U.N. arising from the expulsion of Taiwan, and the wrath of importers forced to pay inflated prices for Soviet chrome. It was no accident that the Senate champion of white minority rule in Rhodesia was Harry F. Byrd Jr., a relic of the diehard fight for preservation of white domination in Virginia.

Much of the blame rests with the White House, which talked privately with conflicting voices on the issue but made not a single public gesture to sidetrack the amendment. Both Mr. Fraser and Senator Fulbright insisted that the Administration opposed the amendment; but the only evidence was a letter signed by an Assistant Secretary of State. The Republican leaders in the House voted for the amendment.

It is not yet clear whether the bill in final form will leave the President any loophole—if he wants one—for avoiding outright defiance of Security Council resolutions which this country supported. But if Mr. Nixon's inaction on this issue is an example of his Southern strategy it is clear that the price—further erosion of the U.N. and the stigma for the United States of violating the U.N. Charter—is much too high.

Sealift, a publication of the Military Sealift Command relating to the Texas Maritime Academy. The maritime academy was established as an integral part of Texas A. & M. University in February of 1962, and since that time has contributed greatly to the furtherance of the State of Texas in maritime activities.

The article follows:

TEXAS SERVES THE GULF COAST

(By Alfred R. Philbrick)

Texas Maritime Academy was established in February 1962 as an integral part of Texas A. & M. University. Establishment of Texas Maritime Academy was by authority of Texas Legislature acts in 1931, 1959, and 1961, and also, by the Federal Maritime Academy Act of 1958. Under the above authorities, an agreement was executed between the governor of the State of Texas and the Maritime Administration, Department of Commerce, wherein the Federal Government provides a suitable training ship, \$75,000 each year toward the academy operation, funds for the yearly seaworthy repairs of the training ship, and a subsistence grant of \$50 per month to each student in the program.

The state provides adequate facilities, faculty, and staff necessary to conduct a course of training for future officers of the U.S. merchant marine.

Maritime academies have been in existence for over 75 years and are well known in other parts of the country. The Texas Maritime Academy is one of six in the United States. Maine, Massachusetts, New York, and the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy are all located on the Atlantic seaboard. The California Maritime Academy serves the maritime industry on the Pacific coast. The Texas Maritime Academy is the only maritime school dedicated to serve industry on the Gulf coast.

Texas, with its large number of salt water ports, is second only to the ports of New York State in total tonnage handled by water. The maritime activities of Texas are growing. When we consider not only the deep water shipping, but the towboat and barge activities on the network of existing waterways with additional waterways planned, the movement by water to and from the offshore petroleum activity, the upward trend of the petrochemical maritime activities, and the fishing activity, it is apparent that Texas is a major maritime state with more of its future related to the steady growth of maritime activities.

Wheat, cotton, other agricultural products, forestry products, and other related commodities of the inland areas of Texas find their way to the ports for further transportation.

In 1963, the Texas Maritime Academy shifted to Galveston, where a portion of Building 311 of old Fort Crockett, now belonging to the marine laboratory of Texas A. & M., have been temporarily converted for its use. In 1965 and 1966 with increased enrollment the freshman classes returned to Texas A. & M. In 1967 and 1968, the sophomore class also returned to Texas A. & M., while the junior and senior classes were quartered on the training ship Texas Clipper.

Mission of the Texas Maritime Academy is to provide a course of training that will qualify the graduates as officers in the U.S. Merchant Marine with an educational background to meet the increasingly technological demands of such service. A supplementary objective is to qualify its students for a commission in the U.S. Naval Reserve.

Two courses of study are offered—marine engineering and marine transportation. Each course consists of four years of college and professional education. Upon successful completion of the prescribed course of study and three sea training cruises, the graduates will receive a bachelor of science degree from Texas A. & M. University in marine engineering or marine transportation.

TEXAS MARITIME ACADEMY

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include an article which appeared in the January 1971 magazine

RHODESIAN CHROME ORE

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend to the

Upon graduation the student is qualified to take the Coast Guard examination for third mate or third assistant engineer in the merchant service. The courses referred to above are supplemented with a course of study in naval science. This course serves as a supplement to qualify the graduate for a commission in the U.S. Naval Reserve.

Of the types of colleges and universities of this country, a State maritime academy is distinctly unique in that its graduates are qualified to be third mates or third assistant engineers on vessels in our U.S. Merchant Marine and have proved this qualification by not only the studies and practical training pursued, but by passing a Federal licensing examination.

Present enrollment of the Texas Maritime Academy is about 135. With a waterfront campus on Pelican Island, where the academic buildings are adjacent to the ship, it will be relatively easy to make extensive use of the ship as a laboratory and to also use it as a dormitory and dining hall. The ship can house approximately 200 students. By 1980, after facilities are expanded, the academy will be able to handle a total of 600 students on the Mitchell Campus.

TEXANS MOURN THE DEATH OF PORTER RANDALL

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the late Porter Randall was one of the most remarkable men I have ever known. He recently expired at the age of 56. By radio and personal appearances, he was known in practically every Texas home. He was blessed with a magnetic voice, and his delivery commanded attention and respect. Few if any men in his time have equalled his achievements as a radio personality, and he was universally admired for his unique news coverage and comments.

Porter Randall will be missed by millions. His deep concern for people and their enlightenment made of him a legendary figure in his lifetime. He loved life and with his remarkable talents made the most of it. There is simply no way to fill the void he has left.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an Associated Press report of the passing of Porter Randall. The article follows:

"THIS IS PORTER RANDALL" WILL BE HEARD NO MORE

FORT WORTH, TEX. (AP)—Porter Randall, a newsmen widely known to Texas radio listeners, died early today of a recurring illness. He was 56.

He had been heard since 1941 on Fort Worth's KFJZ and the other 130 stations of the Texas State Network.

Many Texans could recall hearing his voice at the end of World War II as he read the names of Texas soldiers returning home. Randall had spent hours learning where and when the troopships would land so he could give relatives of servicemen from Texas some idea when their boys would be back.

He was an accredited war correspondent for the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard.

In 1949 at the invitation of the secretary of the Air Force, he toured Europe and visited every air base in the British Isles, elsewhere

in Europe and in Africa interviewing Texas servicemen and broadcasting messages home to their families.

Randall was known for a slow and deliberate style of news delivery, and his low, booming voice was heard on radios in restaurants and other business places, in homes and in cars. For many, he was the day's alarm clock.

He was a graduate of the University of Missouri school of journalism.

Before coming to Fort Worth, he worked for the Kansas City Star and for radio stations in Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma. He was heard for a time on the Fort Worth station formerly known as KGKO.

On several occasions the globetrotting Randall circled the world, and he made annual trips to Tahiti, the Orient or Africa. The resulting travelogue shows were seen by thousands.

It was not unusual for Randall to fill more than 300 speaking engagements within a single year.

He also found time to be a bandsman, Little Theater actor, professional magician, public speaker, tour director, world traveler and newsmen for millions. Porter Randall is dead at the age of 56.

President and general manager Stan Wilson of the Texas State Network said, "Porter Randall will be sorely missed by the Texas State Network organization and the millions of Texans who heard his daily broadcasts."

Funeral services will be held at 2 p.m. Monday at Fort Worth's First Presbyterian Church.

Survivors are his widow; his mother, Mrs. Charles Randall of Kansas City; a son, Michael, Fort Worth; and a sister, Mrs. Preston Russell of Kansas City.

ALCOHOLISM COMMITTEE

HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I recently testified before the Appropriations Committee for funds to assist the 9 million of our citizens whose destiny is directly related to the tragic problems of alcoholism, and the additional 36 million of their family members who are also affected. The problems stemming from alcoholism exact massive and inexcusable human loss, create a \$15 billion annual loss to our economy, and are related to at least 87,000 deaths annually. Our present inadequate treatment facilities are overwhelmed by almost 1,000 new cases of the disease daily.

On November 16, 1971, a labor-management seminar on employee alcoholism programs was held in Pittsburgh by United Mental Health, Inc.'s Alcoholism Committee. Pittsburgh ranks as third highest home base for corporate headquarters in the United States. Representatives of both labor and management, including United States Steel, Alcoa, Gulf, Westinghouse, Jones & Laughlin, as well as the Steelworkers, Electrical, and Teamsters Unions were in the audience.

At the request of the National Council on Alcoholism, I extended an invitation to Assistant Secretary of Labor Richard J. Grunewald to be the keynote speaker at the luncheon that day. His

analysis of the problem and the steps that must be taken to solve it by labor and management was outstanding, and I invite my colleagues' attention to his far-reaching remarks:

ASSISTANT SECRETARY R. J. GRUNEWALD'S REMARKS

It is obvious indeed that all the many efforts of many ecology minded people here in Pittsburgh—to clean up the air, for example, have really paid off. I have been so impressed that my opening, slightly off color story, will go untold. I want no one to be able to accuse me of dirtying up Pittsburgh's air.

We are all aware of certain problems in the economy but I had no idea how serious they are. On the way in from the airport, I observed an unusual sight. I saw someone throw a bone out of an upstairs window to a pack of dogs below. That may not be so unusual. What was unusual, however, was that the dog nearest the descending bone signaled for a fair catch. And what's more unusual, the other dogs observed it.

I was then convinced that although we may have problems, others are concerned about them and are doing something about them.

To our subject—Alcoholism. I must first congratulate both the labor and management people here in Pittsburgh for the leadership they are showing in attacking this very human health problem. The erection of a care center to help the alcoholic is a major step in leadership that I am sure others will follow.

I've come here today as a member of a management team at the U.S. Department of Labor which, among its tasks, has the job of trying to deal in its programs with unemployment and underemployment problems of some one million people every year.

That is a lot of people. Yet even among the already employed, there are several times that number who are ill with alcoholism. The estimate by the National Council on Alcoholism, that five percent of the labor force are alcoholics, means that there are some four million people in this category. If just 10 percent of those are recovered—a generous estimate—that leaves 3.6 million who are unrecovered. Assuming a conservative 25 percent of average annual pay as the loss or cost to the employer, we get a total cost of \$6.7 billion to the Nation's employers. So employers have a real stake in solving this problem.

And these are conservative estimates: A recent government report establishes a prevalence range for Federal employees for four to eight percent: The higher end of that range, if applied to all private as well as public sectors, would almost double the figures I've just cited.

The real loss to me, however, must be expressed in human terms. We have a national loss in personal health, productivity and in the suffering of alcoholics, their families and co-workers.

Yes, this is a national health problem and a national productivity problem. Labor and management have a unique mutual interest in increasing productivity by means of improving workers' health. The desire of an employee to hold his job has been found to be a key to convincing him to begin rehabilitation. Rehabilitation leads to increased productivity. It's as simple—and profoundly important—as that—and yet very complex.

An all-out attack on alcoholism by labor and management could make a major contribution towards improving the personal health, well being and economic productivity of this Nation. However, positive action has been slow in coming over many years. Perhaps it is because the problem has unique facets—here are just a few of them:

It is like the iceberg. We see only the surface, yet its depth and breadth are im-

mense—perhaps we think it is the other fellow's problem—or that it belongs beneath the surface—hidden away.

The alcoholic is probably working, his productivity is down, his buddies cover for him—yet he is sort of on the job—yet ill—unlike other disadvantaged people.

The alcoholic may know he has some kind of a problem, is an expert at maneuvering to his advantage, and usually does not call for help.

Whether we appreciate it or not, we are in the middle of the problem—working with many partially productive, ill and untreated people—who need our help and don't ask for it. A unique and perplexing situation.

Some of you may have read Yale Professor Charles Reich's (pronounced Rike) book, *Greening of America*, in which he sees our young people leading the rest of the Nation into a new, more direct and open lifestyle which he labels *Consciousness Three*, in contrast to the rather repressed *Consciousness Two* of their fathers, and the Puritanical and self-righteous *Consciousness One* of their grandfathers.

If you'll permit me to apply Professor Reich's labels to attitudes toward alcoholism, I would say that a few people are still stuck in the stage of *Consciousness One*—Puritans who see the devil whispering tempting descriptions of the depraved life into the Alcoholic's ear. Most of labor and management, I suspect, are still in the rather uptight stage of *Consciousness Two*—not pointing self-righteous fingers, but rather pushing the whole business aside and hoping it will go away. *Consciousness Three* is where you are, I hope—confidence enough of your ability to deal with alcoholism as an illness, that you can afford to open your eyes to the problem; and—though you may not be wearing bell-bottom trousers—making every effort to bring the rest of industry and labor along with you.

There have been management attempts in the past to break through these barriers but even when employers decided to do something about alcoholism, they were sometimes naive. Many "firm, frank talks" took place, often ending with the employee either denying he drank, or else with the supervisor feeling, "my God, if I had your problems I think I'd drink too." Since there were no policies using the threat of job loss to force employees to begin rehabilitation, the matter often ended there.

The missionary approach of some employers in the past was often resisted by unions who didn't particularly want to be saved. Alcoholism programs were sometimes seen, mistakenly or not, as an all-out-war against social drinking, not just against alcoholism. And this suspicion was sometimes confirmed by some punitive, puritanical employers who used the program as a way of getting rid of employees.

These attitudes have shifted sharply in a number of corporations and unions in the past few years. These changing attitudes mirror, first of all, the progress of American medical and other institutions in seeing alcoholism as an illness. Moreover, through education, the mass media, and through the experiences of family and friends, many laymen have come to acquire, if not a sophisticated understanding of alcoholism, at least a recognition of who needs help. Increasing numbers of our industrial corporations are managed by such people, and they are critical to success in this area.

The second major reason behind these changing attitudes is the development of effective human resources policies. Many employers already have in place an effective mechanism for training supervisors to supervise. These firms can successfully add on a training program in alcoholism.

Dramatic change in the attitudes of many unions has also taken place in the last few

years. The AFL-CIO Community Services department is committed to helping alcoholic employees recover, as are the Steelworkers and other unions. In programs such as that sponsored by Allis Chalmers, and the UAW, absentee rates went down, from 8 to 3 percent, with substantial savings to the company.

Pittsburgh itself clearly is on its way to becoming a leader for the Nation, in its joint-labor-management efforts. As mentioned at the outset, I have been informed of the Gateway Farm extended-care facility which is opening in January based on joint support by corporations, foundations, and labor. This is a remarkable example of leadership and cooperation—hopefully to be emulated in other parts of the country.

An NICB study provides clear evidence that joint labor-management programs are more effective than the unilateral company programs which were found to predominate among the firms surveyed. For such a bilateral approach to work, the study noted three key factors: (1) the union should be involved at the earliest possible state; (2) there should be constant communication with the union as the program develops; (3) the cases of members brought to the unions' attention should be well documented.

Of course, even if these steps are taken, there may be problems. The union may be just as convinced as management that threatening the employee's job is the only way to break through his resistance to rehabilitation. Yet a union leader may stop right there and say, "Yes, but. That's fine on paper, but we can't stand by and watch you fire Johnny even though he has refused to enroll in, or dropped out of, the alcoholic treatment center." The management could throw up its hands and say "The heck with it." All this presents a difficult dilemma and I do not believe there is any magic solution to the dilemma. Yet many of you in this room are witness to the fact that the problem can be solved. Such successful resolution, however difficult, I would suggest, often flows from five basic factors:

The first is a must commitment to solve the problem and a flexible attitude on the part of management. This management commitment will be taken with the firm belief that only with a healthy, working employee will his productivity and costs be at their best. Initial resistance by employees and the union at cooperation should not be met by a "Let's leave-it-alone" attitude on the part of management, but rather with a recognition that with a positive management program, the union will soon realize that successful employee rehabilitation can be hampered by the union's not being involved. The realization will surely come as more and more problem employees are identified, and more and more documented evidence is filed. And some successes are achieved.

The second factor is a recognition by management that the union will on occasion revert to its traditional role of job protector when it feels it must resort to that role. I refer here to a case where, in the unions judgment, a valid grievance may be mixed in with any given case on alcoholism.

The third factor involves both a recognition and a commitment on the part of the union. The union must first recognize the seriousness of the problem to the worker, his family, his co-workers and his job security. With such recognition, the union will, I am sure, make the serious commitment to play an active role in the employer's program which addresses itself to the very same set of concerns. Here for sure, joint management and labor unity will bring not only strength, but great success and rewards to everyone.

The fourth factor is the recognition by both union and management that the cri-

teria for the employee's dismissal should be poor job performance, and nothing else. There is, I believe, justification for resisting a policy which bases dismissal on an employee's refusal to accept treatment. Only if he both continues to reject treatment and continues to perform poorly should sanctions be taken. What I am saying is that there are employees who, upon finding out that their job is at stake, will seek help and recover—on their own.

The fifth factor, a contract clause on alcoholism policy, may not result until the first four are dealt with. Such a clause can be the seed which bears fruit in the form of specific joint actions taken afterwards.

The following clause, which I think is a good one, appears in a growing number of contracts between the United Steelworkers of America and various companies:

And I quote: "Without detracting from the existing rights and obligations of the parties recognized in other provisions of this agreement, the company and the union agree to cooperate at the plant level in encouraging employees afflicted with alcoholism to undergo a coordinated program directed to the objective of their rehabilitation."

NOW FOR SOME RECOMMENDATIONS FOR JOINT ACTION

I have dwelled at such length on resolving underlying differences in the attitudes of labor and management, because changing such attitudes is so critical to getting any meaningful program off the ground. Now, however, I would like to mention some specific actions that might be taken once labor and management decide to launch a joint effort.

First on the list is written company and union policies

I would suggest that each party establish policy, hopefully a joint policy, which recognizes the following: that alcoholism is an illness which is treatable; that the purpose of the policy is to assure employees with alcoholism the same medical resources that any ill employee gets; that concern with alcoholism is strictly limited to its effects on job performance; that administrative procedure will give the employee a reasonable chance for recovery; that continued poor job performance will lead to dismissal, as with any other poorly performing employee.

Second, education and training of supervisors and shop stewards

Both parties can gain much here. One point I would stress here is that supervisors and stewards should not be so "finely trained and tuned" that they feel they can diagnose the illness. It should make no difference to them, for example, whether poor job performance is due to drugs or alcoholism—what is called for is training which will help the supervisor make a medical referral of employees whose unsatisfactory work seems to result from a medical or behavioral problem. Similar training will help the steward understand the problem when such a referral must have his consideration.

Third, assuring that employees with alcoholism are covered by company insurance policies

Joint efforts have already resulted in many plans which consider alcoholism as a disease and pay the same benefits as for other major illness.

There is also growing acceptance of alcoholism as a disease by such nonprofit hospital and medical services as Blue Cross and Blue Shield, as there is by commercial carriers and by states having disability insurance programs.

These facts are important for both sides to know. If alcoholism is not treated as an illness under existing insurance plans, there would seem to be little difficulty in fixing this

or finding carriers with more progressive policies. More important, all parties, including not at least of all the alcoholic, will certainly be able to think more clearly about needed rehabilitation once aware of such eligibility.

Fourth, joint attention to working conditions

Disagreeable working conditions, monotonous jobs and oppressive heat, noise and air pollution, can be associated with industrial alcoholism. Under the recently enacted Occupational Health and Safety Act, the U.S. Department of Labor has the responsibility for minimizing unsafe and unhealthy conditions. A new, united thrust in this area by labor and management would not only improve overall productivity but could have beneficial side-effects on the alcoholism problem.

Fifth, joint efforts to influence public policy in developing new community resources

As many others have observed, management, and labor too, have the most effective motivational tool known to date in dealing with alcoholism—the desire of the employee to hold his job. The recovery rates of 65 to 70 percent which offices and factories are citing puts labor and management in a critical position not only in terms of dealing with this disease, but also in terms of influencing public policy toward its treatment.

A first priority, I would suggest, is to review the availability of community resources with an eye to increasing them. Alcoholics Anonymous clearly stands out among the very positive resources used in the past, and AA has done and is doing a valiant and effective job. But we clearly need an added dimension of community commitment and treatment if we are serious regarding a major push in this area.

How can new facilities and resources be developed, especially those geared to the working employee, rather than to the image of the unemployed skid-row bum who needs the drying-out tank?

Two steps seem critical. One involves the creation of a major new thrust by labor and management to influence positively public and private policies. Such a thrust will result in the expanded treatment of problem drinkers—in medical facilities, psychiatric agencies, social work and rehabilitation agencies, and physicians offices, and in the creation of other needed facilities and services.

Clearly this is the kind of task which cannot be restricted to organizations in the alcoholism field. Labor and management jointly can bring a lot of muscle to bear on this issue and bring about the necessary change.

Another step involves the recently enacted Federal legislation establishing a National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. The Institute is extremely interested in proposals from industry and labor for alcoholism prevention and control programs.

One approach the Institute is considering is matching grants to labor and management. This would include the establishment of multi-employer programs—especially useful for smaller employers, which pool training and other resources. An opportunity is there to pursue.

Congress's decision to sharply increase the Institute's budget to more than \$80 million this year matches the increased momentum of labor and management in attacking the problem.

In conclusion, there is certainly every reason to believe that we are on the threshold of a serious attack on a very human, medical, economic, and social problem, by combined public and private forces, which is unique in the history of our country. And I thank you for the opportunity to give my thoughts today, to you who are leading that attack.

FOREIGN IMPORTS

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, it was with shock and dismay that I read a UPI release recently quoting a U.S. Senator, a former Republican nominee for the Presidency, that foreign cars are selling so well in this country because they are "far superior" to American-made cars.

The Senator reportedly said:

American cars are made shoddily. The doors don't work. The tires don't go beyond 10,000 miles. The brakes don't work. Cars made overseas are far superior.

At a time when unemployment is widespread, and our balance-of-payments deficit is dangerously high due in large part to foreign imports, it smacks of gross irresponsibility for a public official to make such a blatantly unfair and inaccurate statement.

The Senator went on to blame high wages and poor craftsmanship for the situation, and predicted a "national calamity unless labor's power were balanced."

As a Representative from a State which is the recognized automobile center of the world, I must take public issue with the Senator's statements, which are unfair to the working men and women who produce American automobiles.

If American-made cars are losing ground to foreign imports, who is to blame?

Let us examine, in order, the Senator's charges of high wages, poor craftsmanship, and excessive labor power.

The wage picture must be examined in comparison with productivity and with the sales price of the finished automobile. Edward N. Cole, president of General Motors Corp., in a speech before the Society of Manufacturing Engineers on April 25, 1971, commented that—

Increased productivity of manufacturing operations matched or exceeded increases in the cost of labor from 1945 through 1965.

During this 20-year period, hourly labor costs rose from an average of \$1.13 to \$4.31—an average annual increase of 6.1 percent. Productivity increased at an equal or higher rate during this time, according to Cole.

Since productivity increase matched or exceeded the wage increase, there was no justification for any increase in automobile prices as the result of higher wages. Automobile prices, however, more than doubled from 1945 to 1965. The blame obviously does not lay with wage costs.

So far as poor craftsmanship is concerned, the Senator must realize that automobile assembly lines have long since passed the point of requiring craftsmanship. We are not living in an era of handmade goods; that period has given way to technology and automation. Does the Senator really expect assembly

line workers to develop a high degree of craftsmanship in tightening a bolt, welding a fender or fastening a headlight lens?

The idea of blaming "excessive union power" for shoddy cars is even more ludicrous.

United Auto Workers' contracts with the auto manufacturers give the company exclusive rights and responsibilities in design, engineering, equipment, processes of manufacturing and assembling, control of raw materials and finished parts, and complete jurisdiction over product and quality standards.

If there is any shoddiness in American automobiles, the Senator must look to management, not labor, for the blame. I am not prepared to concede, however, that American cars are shoddily built, or that foreign-made cars are superior.

Foreign-made autos are selling well in this country because they are smaller and less costly. American car manufacturers have not really considered the desires of the American car buyer. A General Motors spokesman, E. M. Estes, stated recently that 94 percent of all cars produced outside the United States are smaller than the GM Vega, one of the "compact" autos offered by U.S. manufacturers as an alternative to foreign imports.

The American manufacturers have good reason to fight the trend toward smaller cars. There is more profit in larger cars. For this reason, the automobile companies have continued to make bigger and more powerful cars, and American streets, highways, and garages have been adopted for the bigger models.

As a result, however, the American-made cars have been priced out of their one-time foreign markets, and are meeting strong competition at home from the smaller import models.

There is one further point that should be made. Complaints about American cars are not primarily about poor workmanship; they center on poor service after the car is sold.

James Roche, General Motors board chairman, told a meeting of New York State dealers recently that automobile makers are going to have to improve service to car owners if the industry is to survive on a private, competitive basis.

Mrs. Virginia Knauer, the President's special assistant on consumer affairs, has reported that most of the complaints received by her office are based on dealer service failure rather than on manufacturers' failures, Roche said.

He suggested that dealers should compel their service departments to pay as much attention to communicating with customers as their sales departments do.

It should not be necessary to add the final point that American car manufacturers are competing with foreign companies which pay far lower wage scales than those enjoyed by Americans. This wage differential is a major factor in the lower prices, and hence higher sales volume, of foreign cars in the United States.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that the points I have raised may help set the record

straight as to why foreign cars are selling so well in the United States. It is not because of poor craftsmanship, excessive wage increases, or the power of labor unions.

And I might add that this problem will not be solved by public officials who capitalize on the situation by using it to vent their pet peeves against labor unions and the American working man and woman.

NATURAL GAS SUPPLY CRISIS

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the New York Public Service Commission has issued an order placing a number of restrictions on sales by gas utilities within the State.

The order was not unexpected. It is the result of an investigation launched in mid-1970 to determine whether such restrictions would become necessary because of the natural gas supply shortage.

They have become necessary.

The Commission's order, which is already in effect, prohibits gas service to any new customers—other than one-family and two-family homes, and separately metered apartments—unless such customers have alternate facilities which can be used when necessary, or intend to use the gas for commercial or industrial purposes for which there is no economically practical alternative, or are served by a distributor with sufficient firm supply commitments to meet the needs of all of its customers for at least 2 years into the future.

In determining the adequacy of a gas utility's supplies for the future, the Public Service Commission warned that it will not rely merely on contractual commitments by pipeline suppliers. Instead, it will examine these contracts and require evidence that the pipelines have sufficient gas to meet their commitments.

The order also limits incremental service to existing customers. If delivery cutbacks become necessary, the following order of curtailment has been established: First, customers served on an interruptible basis; second, customers with dual fuel capacity attached after October 26, 1971; third, other customers with dual fuel capacity; fourth, other industrial customers; fifth, commercial customers; and sixth, residential customers.

Utilities in the State have been instructed by the Public Service Commission to stop all promotional activities designed to acquire new gas customers or increase sales to present customers. This ban extends to advertising which employs mass media, all bill inserts or other direct mailings, and all calls by salesmen.

Mr. Speaker, the necessity of the step taken by the New York Public Service Commission cannot be questioned. Not one of the three major gas pipelines which supply the New York metropolitan area has been able to obtain any ad-

ditional new supply for this year, and none expects to have any new supply available next year. Two of these suppliers, including one which provides more than 75 percent of the total supply, already have informed the Federal Power Commission that they will have to impose 3 or 4 percent curtailments on deliveries during the coming winter.

The situation existing in my city and State is duplicated in many other areas. The Nation is up against a severe natural gas supply shortage.

This shortage has come about not because of any lack of potential gas reserves in the United States, but because the incentive of investors and producers to search for and develop these reserves has been gravely weakened by the uncertainties attending such undertakings. Some uncertainties are, of course, inherent in the nature of the business of gas production, but others are the result of regulatory policies followed by the Federal Government.

These policies make it impossible for a gas producer selling to an interstate pipeline to know for sure what price he will receive for his gas. That is the case even though the price has been approved by the Federal Power Commission. He does not know how long he will receive an agreed-upon price. Nor does he know how much gas he will be required to deliver under his contract or how long he must continue to make deliveries.

H.R. 2513, which I introduced last January and which has been the subject of hearings before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee on Communications and Power, gives Congress an opportunity to clear up some of these uncertainties. It would do so by making producer-interstate pipeline contracts valid and binding once they are approved by the Federal Power Commission.

H.R. 2513 has been called a sanctity of contract measure, and that is an accurate description. It does not propose decontrol of the gas producing industry. All major new contracts for interstate sales of gas will still have to be approved by the Federal Power Commission before they become valid. And, of course, the Commission will continue to have the authority to disapprove any contract submitted if it sees fit to do so, or can make its approval subject to stated conditions.

The bill does not—and cannot—of itself increase gas prices. It simply makes firm those prices once set or approved by the Commission. By doing so, the legislation will encourage producers to step up their efforts to find and develop new sources of gas supply.

Experts estimate that 60 percent of the gas reserves of the United States, onshore and offshore, remain to be discovered. It is of vital importance to the consumers of our Nation that an intensive search be made for the abundant potential reserves. Enactment by Congress of H.R. 2513 would encourage such a search and lead to the development of new gas supplies large enough to meet our national needs for many years to come.

For the sake of my district and State and of other areas depending upon this essential fuel, I urge that H.R. 2513 be passed by the Congress as expeditiously as possible.

NATURAL GAS SHORTAGE HITS WASHINGTON

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the natural gas supply shortage has hit the Nation's Capital.

The Washington Gas Light Co. announced that no new gas customers except single-family residential consumers, can be accepted now and for an indefinite time into the future. However, the District of Columbia government has challenged the gas company's decision to restrict apartment buildings and other commercial and industrial users to their present gas usage. Regardless of how the gas company is allowed to distribute its gas the point is still there that there is not enough natural gas available in the District of Columbia to meet the demand.

It is somehow appropriate that the gas supply shortage should be felt in the city in which the policies responsible for the shortage originated.

For the last 15 years, the regulatory policies and procedures of the Federal Power Commission have been steadily wearing away the incentive for gas producers to find and develop the potential reserves which geologists declare exist in abundance.

Gas producers not only have suffered the economic injury caused by unrealistically low prices at the wellhead as set by the FPC but also have had to operate in a sea of uncertainty regarding the validity of their sales contracts with interstate pipelines.

Even after the Commission approves such a contract, the producer does not know how long he will receive the price for his gas stated in the contract. It can be reduced by subsequent order of the Commission. The FPC also has the authority to alter contract delivery terms. The producer simply does not know where he stands even after approval by the Commission of a contractual agreement between him and an interstate pipeline company.

In such an atmosphere, it is not surprising that producers and the financial community have come to feel it is hardly worthwhile to engage in the costly business of searching for new supplies of gas. That is why exploratory activity has declined so drastically in recent years. And that is why the natural gas supply shortage has developed.

Washington, D.C. joins a long list of cities and States in which the shortage is now being felt. Similar gas limitations have been imposed by utilities in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan, and Illinois. Some firms have waiting lists for all would-be new customers. The New York Public Service Commission

has ordered utilities to give residential customers first claim on gas service.

The situation cannot be expected to improve unless and until the producer is given sound economic reason for looking for and developing new gas fields.

That reason can be provided through changes in Federal regulatory policies. This city, which is now included among those in which restrictions on the use of gas have been placed in effect, is the place where such changes can be made.

One essential change can be made through enactment of H.R. 7144 by Congress, a proposal not to decontrol the gas producer, but to give validity to his contracts with interstate pipelines. Committee hearings have been held on H.R. 7144 with testimony showing beyond any doubt that the gas supply shortage exists now and is extremely serious. The bill should be passed into law during the present session of Congress.

I include as part of my remarks a story from the Washington Star of November 9, 1971, which gives details about restrictions placed on gas sales in this area:

GAS COMPANY PLANS TO LIMIT NEW SALES (By Harriett Griffiths)

The Washington Gas Light Co. announced today it plans to limit new gas sales to single-family residential consumers because of the shortage of natural gas.

For an indefinite period, the company said, apartment buildings and other commercial and industrial users will be confined to present gas usage. No new customers in these categories will be accepted.

Paul E. Reichardt, company president, said the shortage is not simply a local situation. He said most pipeline suppliers are having trouble meeting growth requirements and contractual commitments to gas companies.

Reichardt said the supply situation "can change at any time, for better or worse, depending on many factors."

The action announced today is to assure an adequate supply for present customers, a company spokesman said.

Washington Gas Light's major supplier, Columbia Gas Transmission Corp., announced last month it will be able to supply only enough gas for present customers and a portion of normal growth, the announcement said.

In addition, Transcontinental Gas Pipe Line Corp., the other supplier for Washington Gas Light, recently has been unable to deliver as much gas as contracted by the company, Reichardt said.

These circumstances forced the limitation policy here, Reichardt said. Formal approval is being requested from area regulatory commissions.

NOT ENOUGH GAS

Reichardt explained that there is "plenty of natural gas in the ground," but not enough at this time for all who want it. He said there probably would not be sufficient availability for the next few years.

"Faced with this situation, we're doing what we consider the fairest thing—making it available to present customers and to people who want it for use in their home," he explained.

"Commercial and industrial buildings can more readily use substitute fuels, and large users can better arrange for the pollution-control devices which other fuels often require."

Reichardt went on to say that from the ecology standpoint, natural gas is "by far the least polluting of all fossil fuels and much sought after."

USE UP, SUPPLY DOWN

"Ironically," he said, "The big jump in demand for natural gas has come at just the time when new supplies are trending downward."

He attributed the reduced supply largely to the contention that "prices of natural gas in the producing fields in the past have been kept unreasonably low by regulation."

The gas company here has limited new business since April, 1970, to a maximum of 300,000 cubic feet per customer per day, which has eliminated the largest potential new users of gas.

In addition, since August, the company has taken on no additional business on its "interruptible" rate schedule—a special rate designed for commercial and industrial customers who agree to stop using gas when demand from other customers is at a peak.

Donald Crotley, executive secretary of the District Public Service Commission, said WGL's petition for curtailing its new sales had not been received yet. He said normal procedure would be for the commission to hold hearings on the company's request to decide if the move is justified.

Washington Gas Light said that limitations are also operating in parts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan and Illinois. It said many utilities now have waiting lists for new customers, and the New York State Public Service Commission recently established its own priorities, with residential customers given first claim.

BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, I regret the show of hostility to President Nixon by President Meany of the AFL-CIO in Miami. I deplore a national union policy that deliberately seeks to take its union membership along a partisan political road—for one political party and against another, be it Democratic or Republican.

This Nation must check inflation. President Nixon is fighting to do this, trying to help protect the purchasing power of workers' dollars by holding the line against runaway prices and wages. These are only self-defeating in the long run.

For this effort an American President should be commended by the workingmen and workingwomen of America, not stubbornly opposed by a few classically hostile union bosses, jealous of restraints upon their autocratic powers.

The membership of the AFL-CIO would be well advised to insist that its leadership abandon any union policy that aligns it with the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. Instead it ought to look for merit in the policies and programs of both major political parties and work to improve those aspects on which there may be disagreement. It should avoid single-party alignment as it would the plague.

Why?

Because for the sake of America we should be partners before it is too late. There is plenty of room for all, plenty of land, plenty of open space, plenty of opportunity for management and labor alike in this land. But if we do not get

with it in terms of productivity and lower unit costs, we are going to find our products outpriced all around the world.

In this connection I commend a careful reading of the excellent message from the Warner & Swasey Co. appearing in the current issue of U.S. News & World Report, pointing out that in a prosperous Japan, the government, the unions, and business are partners, not antagonists.

IN PROSPEROUS JAPAN, GOVERNMENT, UNIONS AND BUSINESS ARE PARTNERS—NOT ANTAGONISTS

And that's why they are all three so prosperous.

The Unions hold rallies to spur their members on to better work, greater productivity. Workers jog from entrance to machine, job to job. They do calisthenics on their lunch period, to keep fit for better work. They literally consider themselves a team, with team spirit.

Government sets taxes to encourage company profit and growth.

Business is alert to the needs of the market and quick to invest in modern equipment to improve products, increase productivity, cut costs and prices.

All this results in a spirit of what we used to have here and called teamwork. And we had better get it back if we ever hope to get our jobs back.

Japanese wouldn't understand our antagonism between government, unions, business which some people call our Adversary Democracy. But whatever you call it, the antagonism between the groups here who should be partners is so increasing American costs and prices that it is shifting hundreds of thousands of American jobs to hard-working, low-cost Japan.

REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN THE NATION'S LARGEST BUSINESS

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I come from a predominantly agricultural district so it is natural that my people are vitally concerned over the debate in the Senate in regard to the confirmation of Earl Butz as Secretary of Agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, we have grave troubles in countryside America. The people are leaving the farms because they cannot make a living on them and as a result we see our rural communities dying because it takes farm business to keep them alive.

This is a vicious circle because these people leave the farms for the already overcrowded cities where they are pyramiding the problems of our urban centers.

Nick Kotz, writing in the Washington Post on Monday, November 29, dealt at length and with considerable knowledge on this whole problem and especially as it relates to the nomination of Earl Butz as Secretary of Agriculture.

As Mr. Kotz says, this is not just a Republican problem, it has been a continuing problem through the past three Presidencies.

For the benefit of those who might have missed this article, I would like to

insert it in the RECORD and recommend its reading to all of my colleagues:

THE BUTZ NOMINATION FOCUSES ATTENTION ON REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN THE NATION'S LARGEST BUSINESS

(By Nick Kotz)

The sudden controversy over Dr. Earl Butz's nomination as Secretary of Agriculture has its obvious political aspects. It also focuses rare national attention on revolutionary changes in the nation's largest business, its food supply system. These changes are having profound effects on the fate of rural America, as well as on congestion in our cities.

The obvious opposition to Butz is explainable in terms of partisan Democratic politics, of farmers' unhappiness with low corn prices, and of the nominee's role in the 1950's as an assistant to Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson, whose name still raises farmers' blood pressure. Butz is such a convenient political target that some Democratic strategists are actually worried that his nomination will be defeated by the Senate. They'd rather have him around for the 1972 election.

But another explanation is needed for the spontaneous and intense grass roots farmer hostility against Butz, a man most farmers never even heard of until this nomination two weeks ago. The issue goes far deeper than the genial, 62-year-old appointee and the exigencies of partisan politics. Butz simply symbolizes a force in the changing food supply system that many farmers have come to regard as their oppressive economic enemy.

A thumbnail sketch of Butz's career marks him to the farmer as a representative of "agribusiness"—a descriptive word that wasn't around a few years ago. For the farmer, agribusiness means all the other elements in the food supply chain that are highly organized and represent big business: the national retail food chains, the giant national food processors, and the conglomerate companies that perform an interrelated series of functions in the food system.

The farmer has seen these other segments of the food supply system consolidate their economic power while he—even as his numbers have dwindled by millions—remains unorganized and relatively powerless in the marketplace. The agricultural marketplace has changed radically and farmers wonder whether traditional laws of supply and demand function anymore. In bygone years, many buyers competed for the farmer's produce. But the middle-man and the open competitive market now have virtually disappeared. For example, Safeway and A&P buy lettuce directly from the fields of California, and farmers say such companies' huge purchases set the market price.

Most disturbing to the farmer, the giant firms in agribusiness now are vertically integrating their business, combining and performing many steps in the land-to-market production of food. Ralston Purina Co. and other feed manufacturers now own, feed and process poultry for sale to supermarkets. The once independent farmer has been left with only a sharecropper's role of caring for and feeding Ralston Purina's feed to Ralston Purina's chickens. Similar integration is now planned for hogs and cattle.

In short, American agriculture has become more and more like other big business—increasingly dominated by conglomerate companies and administered prices. Even, efficient, large-size family farmers find themselves isolated at the bottom of the food chain—forced to supply cheap raw materials to the economic giants above them.

Against this background, Earl Butz steps in and Clifford Hardin steps out as Agriculture Secretary in a do-si-do that totally confirms the farmer's perceptions about how things really are.

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Hardin started out as an agricultural economist, became an "ag school" dean, served as a land grant university president, became Agriculture Secretary and now departs to become vice chairman of Ralston Purina, taking a seat on its board of directors being vacated by Butz after 13 years.

Butz also started out as an agricultural economist, served as a Purdue University department head, became an assistant agriculture secretary under Benson, then returned to Purdue where he ran the agriculture school, while serving on the board of four agribusiness corporations—Ralston Purina, Stokely-Van Camp, International Minerals and Chemicals, and J. I. Case. The energetic Butz also found time to make 100 speeches a year, mostly in the employ of the General Motors Speakers Bureau, to serve on various agribusiness-financed foundation boards, and to take an unsuccessful 1968 fling at winning the GOP candidacy for governor of Indiana.

Knowledgeable farm observers in Washington are convinced that an actual Hardin-for-Butz swap was engineered by a few executives and lobbyists from agribusiness.

In political terms, the Butz-for-Hardin trade indicates that the White House has little understanding of the rising populist resentments of farmers and small town businessmen. The merchants watch their towns dying, as more and more farm houses are boarded shut, and as the new conglomerate farmers buy their supplies wholesale from the factory rather than from local stores.

President Nixon and the Republicans are not unique in their failure to respond to these growing rural concerns. The Democrats have not performed all that differently. With either political party, the economic power of agribusiness has far more political clout than farmers have, except where they have joined in giant, corporate-like co-ops. When Butz was questioned by the Senate Agriculture Committee, Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) made much ado about farm prices and the farm programs of Ezra Taft Benson. But he did not touch on the agribusiness ties of Dr. Butz. Agribusiness companies and their executives have been among Humphrey's major political supporters.

When Dr. Butz said there would be a million fewer farms in 1980 than there are today, he was merely agreeing with estimates of USDA's economists. The nation lost a million farmers under Benson and another million under Orville Freeman and neither official was to blame, or could do anything about it, said Butz. It is not politic to say such things and silence about hard truths has obscured what is really happening.

Much of the decline in the nation's farm numbers has probably been unavoidable. Industrialization, scientific developments, and new economic arrangements made it inevitable that millions would fall by the wayside.

The central issue for national policy today, however, should be whether this trend will be permitted to continue to the point where rural America becomes a wasteland, devoid of people, except for those farmers who serve agribusiness factory farms as feudal serfs. The continuing depopulation of rural America adds greatly to urban problems.

Dr. Butz, along with most persons making farm policy today, regards present farm trends as inevitable and representing "progress."

If the nation decides, however, that it cannot afford too much more of this kind of agricultural progress, then it will have to pursue far more radical policies than those which both Democrats and Republicans have addressed to the "farm problem."

The price support and acreage retirement programs historically have served the interests of the wealthiest farmers, rather than millions of small family farms.

If the efficient family farmer-businessman is to survive, he will need far more help

than just another farm program. Farmers need legal authorization for collective bargaining power similar to that now held by labor unions. Small farmers and farm workers need financial and technical assistance to organize co-ops. Farm workers need unionization to win a living wage. Antitrust laws will have to be applied vigorously against agribusiness firms that try to monopolize a farm commodity or food system. The government will have to direct its vast food purchasing power toward the family farmer, rather than as a subsidy to agribusiness.

Government and university officials will have to break up the cozy triangular arrangement in which government and land grant colleges serve agribusiness and neglect other rural interests. The career of Dr. Butz at Purdue typifies this arrangement, but it is not unusual, except perhaps for the number of his corporate directorships. Agribusiness firms put money into the land grants for research that will directly benefit themselves, and the universities and federal government eagerly cooperate. Too often forgotten are the needs of family farmers, farm workers, and rural communities.

The nation also will have to bring more than political rhetoric to the concept of "rural development," which is now being served up as a magical alternative for those displaced from agriculture.

The President's proposal to replace present rural aid programs with several billion dollars in revenue sharing would represent scarcely a drop in the bucket to meet needs of the vast rural expanses that lack services and jobs. As an alternative, the Senate Agriculture Committee is pushing a rural development bill, but the question is seldom asked: development for whom? A Johnson administration idea for rural development in Mississippi included creation of a vegetable industry in which wealthy cotton planters would be the growers and processors. Farm workers and small farmers who share in this plan would have \$1.30 an hour picking jobs vegetables and \$1.60 an hour jobs in the processing plant. But even such rural development schemes as these have been few.

The last three Presidents have talked in generalities about the need for rural development and population balance. It will take a lot more to bring prosperity back to rural America than merely to defeat the nomination of Earl Butz.

MORE ON THE CONFIRMATION OF HOWARD P. MACE AS AMBASSADOR TO SIERRA LEONE

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, for several months I have followed the case of the nomination of Howard P. Mace, the former Director of Personnel at the State Department, as Ambassador to Sierra Leone and have inserted in the RECORD on various occasions pertinent material relating to this issue. In hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently several witnesses questioned the selection of Mr. Mace or recommended further inquiry into his stewardship as Director of Personnel. To date, Senator FULBRIGHT's committee has not voted on the Mace nomination, a situation which has caused some State Department employees or retirees to pe-

tition Congress in Mr. Mace's behalf. One such letter states:

I speak, sir, not only in my own behalf as a career officer having served our government for 28 years, but also in behalf of literally hundreds of my colleagues in the State Department with whom I have spoken about this sad tale of injustice placed upon Howard Mace—an honorable man, a kind man, an able man and one beloved by superiors and subordinates all through this Department of ours.

In contrast to the above, a letter also addressed to Senator FULBRIGHT from a former Foreign Service officer reads in part:

This man is widely and infamously known throughout the Foreign Service as "The Executioner." He is being rewarded for having faithfully carried out within the Department of State a personnel policy of duplicity and cynical expediency almost without parallel in our era.

The above two statements emphasize the element of controversy which has delayed the Mace confirmation. The charge is made that those opposing his confirmation are dissidents who are endeavoring to make Mr. Mace the scapegoat of their displeasure with "the system." On the other hand, two recent items in the press added fuel to the controversy with Time magazine in its November 15 article, "The State Department—Undiplomatic Reforms," stating in part:

As director of personnel for four years, Mace was the source of much of the department's interior turbulence. He was known behind his back as the "executioner," the man primarily responsible for the selecting-out process. Officers also noted that under his aegis men with high diplomatic potential were often bypassed for plush jobs in favor of men little experienced in diplomacy from his department.

The second item appeared in the Des Moines Register of November 8 and gives in capsule form some of the cases of employees whose experiences accentuate the necessity for an overhaul of the State Department machinery on a comprehensive basis. The Register article will be inserted at the end of my remarks.

One of the cases mentioned in the Register article is that of John Hemenway, a former FSO who was given the axe by State officials and who appeared before the Foreign Relations Committee on the Mace nomination. Mr. Hemenway's own grievance hearing is now in progress before a hearing panel at State wherein he seeks to prove that his retirement from the Department was unjust and arbitrary. Mr. Hemenway tried for over 2 years to appeal his case to State officials. Mr. Mace included. In his November 28 letter to Senator FULBRIGHT, with a copy to my office, Mr. Hemenway reiterates his objections to the Mace confirmation and outlines in brief the latest activities of State in petitioning Congress.

I insert at this point the Hemenway letter followed by the Register article of November 8:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
November 28, 1971.

DEAR SENATOR FULBRIGHT: On 22 November, Mr. Howard Mace stated over a Washington TV station (Channel 9, interview with Caroline Lewis, 6:40 pm) that, if people would

take the trouble to examine the facts, he would look a lot better than "some of his detractors" depict him as looking. In that interview he said:

MACE: "I think that it is very unfair that the controversy over me is largely based on statements, allegations, innuendos of people who have not succeeded in the system, who place the blame for that lack of success on me." (Taken from official tape provided by Channel 9.)

Accusations I made against Mr. Mace in public before your Committee are easily capable of proof. The accusations I have made and others have made are quite specific. Independent witnesses have given parallel testimony. That testimony has not been refuted in public. The charges are supported by documents on public record. Details were made available in the Congressional Record of October 1, 14, 15, 20, 21, and 28, inserted by Congressman Ashbrook of Ohio. Surely members of your Committee will not want to vote Mr. Mace's confirmation matter out of Committee until they can assure individual Senators that the charges made have been fully investigated and a judgement is made public on the evidence. I personally testified that Mr. Mace was not fit for any ambassadorial post in the diplomatic service, because I knew, in addition to his general lack of qualifications for such high office, that:

Mace has not told the truth under oath at official hearings; my own grievance hearing, which he tried to suppress, is a case in point;

Mace deliberately withheld documents for two years from the Hearing Committee in my case—the first in the history of the US Diplomatic Service—and conspired with others to obstruct due process (see my letter to Senator Fulbright of 21 November, copies to Committee members with unclassified internal State Department documents enclosed implicating Mr. Mace);

Mace has faked official explanations and back-dated records;

Mace has broken regulations at will which he promulgated;

Mace has dispensed false and unearned honors;

Mace has arbitrarily and unevenly administered the Foreign Service and practiced nepotism and special payoffs for friends and has administered the Service with rigid personal handling;

Mace illegally attempted to manipulate (he fired the chairman) the only procedures offering "in house" relief of injustice; failing that, he acquiesced in abolishing the regulations providing that relief.

Mr. Mace said to Caroline Lewis over Channel 9 that he wanted the facts examined. Let the Committee have the record speak, because Mr. Mace did not take up a single fact during that interview. He did not even mention how he obtained that interview. It is a fact that Mace contacted Caroline Lewis' brother, who is junior to Mace at the Department of State, to ask for it—a most unusual way for a senior official to seek out an interview unless that official intended to influence the media. The Department of State, after all, has a large staff for public relations. Such an approach, under the circumstances, is calculated to put the junior employee in an embarrassing position, were his sister not to oblige.

Further, Mr. Chairman, you and your Committee have known that plans were under foot to stimulate a letter-writing and petition campaign ever since publication of an unclassified internal State Department memorandum to Mr. Macomber revealing details of a staff meeting in which the Mace confirmation was discussed (Congressional Record of 21 October, p. 37400). You will not be surprised, therefore to learn that considerable untoward pressure has been applied to some employees in the "O" area in an effort to put the "spontaneous" message before you that Mr. Mace "... is a man of

integrity, decent, honorable, and kind..." to use the words of the petition.

However, even you and your Committee may not know the extent to which these petitions have been rigged. The common origin of the petitions you have received is revealed by identical phrasing. I cite from the letter addressed to you signed by Mr. H. E. Howland on 22 November, which contains a phrase identical to one in a "spontaneous" petition. Both documents object to:

"Dissidents who are endeavoring (petition says 'seeking') to make Mr. Mace the scapegoat of their displeasure over 'the system'." [The words 'the system' were in quotes in all versions.]

Since Ambassador Outerbridge Horsey was listed among a distinguished roster of retired officers said to support Mr. Howland's efforts in behalf of Mr. Mace, I contacted Amb. Horsey today. He had not been informed that his name was to be used in this way and was concerned over the context in which it was used. I intend to give Amb. Horsey a copy of the Howland letter on 29 November; I expect you may hear from him—as you would from the others, if they were fully informed of the facts in this matter.

I am taking the liberty of appraising you of the above facts because if I do not, you might not learn of these things which, I believe, are germane to the confirmation of Howard Mace. You and your Committee know that I am neither a "dissident" nor a "detractor" of Mr. Mace or anyone else. I am an American raised with a sense of duty and a foreign service officer proud of his record and determined to do his duty. I reject totally the plea contained in some of the petitions that Mace should be excused from the inexcusable because he was only following orders. He was not a technician or clerk—he was at the policy level.

Most of all, I am appalled by the actions of certain officials in the Department of State to use every possible intellectually dishonest technique to defeat constitutional processes and ram this man's confirmation through the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in pursuit of its duty.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN D. HEMENWAY.

[From the Des Moines Register, Nov. 8, 1971]

DELAYS ACTION ON ENVOY POST

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week passed over President Nixon's nomination of Howard Mace as ambassador to Sierra Leone pending completion of an investigation of charges that he gave false and inaccurate testimony before the Senate Committee.

Indications are that Chairman J. William Fulbright (Dem., Ark.) considers the charges to be of considerable importance.

Mace, former director of personnel for the State Department, was nominated by President Nixon as ambassador to Sierra Leone in July on the recommendation of deputy undersecretary of state William P. Macomber. They had worked together at the State Department for more than 12 years.

The State Department and White House have been told that the Mace nomination probably will die in the Foreign Relations Committee unless it is withdrawn by President Nixon.

There are charges that under Mace's direction the State Department personnel division has engaged in manipulation of rating boards, engaged in forgery and other falsification of personnel records, and permitted perjury in State Department and Civil Service Commission grievance hearings to go unchallenged.

In the Mace hearings, Macomber, who is in charge of State Department administration, has been forced to admit that a large number of cases resulted in injustices, but he has argued that Mace should not be held accountable for the faults in the system.

But critics say a review of four of the most publicized cases indicate some allegations of direct responsibility for Mace as well as Macomber:

Allison Palmer, a 30-year-old foreign service officer reportedly was discriminated against because of her sex. Now, Mace admits sex discrimination exists on assignments, but denies that he had any role in the illegal discrimination found by an Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) board. The recommendations of that EEO board was held out of the file by Mace despite a specific recommendation that it be made a part of the file.

Miss Palmer says the story Mace told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is untrue on a number of points. She said Mace had an active role in discrimination against her, and that she had personal conversations with him in connection with his decision to refuse to sign the findings of the EEO recommendations, and the refusal to make those recommendations part of her file.

John Hemenway, a 46-year-old honor graduate of Annapolis and a Rhodes scholar, currently is involved in the only State Department grievance hearing permitted by Mace to challenge the decision to fire Hemenway. Hemenway contends that Mace gave untruthful and inaccurate testimony in connection with the handling of his case.

He charges Mace acted illegally to remove two members of the three-man panel that had indicated a willingness to permit Hemenway to call State Department witnesses over the objection of Mace's office.

Stephen Koczak, a 54-year-old former foreign service officer now employed by the American Federation of Government Employees, was denied a grievance hearing, but was subject to a special panel made secret to former Secretary of State Dean Rusk. Koczak was barred from having an open hearing, cross examining witnesses, or even communicating with other State Department employees during the hearing.

A letter he wrote to the panel pointing out some of the discrepancies in his file was not entered into the official record. Mace reportedly has continued to refuse Koczak access to his hearing record and reportedly has permitted forged and postdated documents to be made a part of his record.

Charles W. Thomas, 47-year-old foreign service officer, killed himself last April as a result of his frustration in seeking a hearing. He had no promotion in eight years and was refused a hearing by Mace despite admissions that a highly laudatory report by an inspector general was misfiled under another Charles Thomas.

This report recommended immediate promotion for Thomas and assignment to the National War College, in line with the opinions of two ambassadors under whom Thomas had served.

The Thomas case has raised the greatest number of problems for Mace and raises some of the most serious questions about the inconsistency of the rulings that have been revealed in the personnel division while Mace and Macomber have been in charge.

Action on Mace's nomination to the ambassadorial post will await an investigation by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

and an insidious prejudice against Italo-Americans. This toy is the newly issued "Godfather Game" put out by the Family Games, Inc., of Cambridge, Mass. The toy should be taken off the market.

According to Time magazine:

The game comes in a box shaped like a small violin case. On the playing board, the island of Manhattan is divided into neighborhoods—Harlem, Little Italy, the Lower East Side. "The object of the game," the instructions explain, "is to take control of a racket—bookmaking, extortion, loan sharking or hijacking—in as many of the neighborhoods on the board as possible." Players draw bad-break cards ("St. Valentine's Day card addressed to you, lose one strongarm and \$250") or good-break cards ("Friendly persuasion. You get two strongarms and \$150"). The player with the highest score of rapine and venality becomes the Godfather. Unlike Monopoly, with its blind acquisitive luck still tied to stern if inexplicable morality ("Go directly to jail"), the players of the Godfather never get locked up.

How ironic that a company purporting to produce family games would market this particular piece of prejudicial propaganda. It is harmful on two counts.

First it continues that stereotyped impression that the rackets are the sole province of Americans of Italian decent.

Yet this game will instill in young children the idea that the local gangster is Italian. The continued use of the terms "Mafia" and "Cosa Nostra" and of games such as "The Godfather" is crime not only against Americans of Italian origin, but against all Americans.

It is an insult to the Declaration of Independence which states that all men are created equal. It is a violation of the Constitution which guarantees equal rights to all citizens of this country.

But the "Godfather Game" is also objectionable in that it permits a child to fantasize about illegal operations without any moral or legal check. This should be of great concern to all parents. In this game, a child can make book, engage in extortion, be a loan shark or hijack goods without any fear of punishment for these illegal acts. While it is only a game, the fantasies of a child have a way of moving across the fine line of life into reality. Unless we provide checks against criminal acts in these encouraged fantasies, we will have difficulty impressing upon the adult that there are checks on his illegal behavior.

I hope that more of my colleagues will see this game for what it is—a spiteful attack on the Americans of Italian descent and a corruption of our youth. More should speak out against this type of toy before a manufacturer gets the bright idea to introduce a game called "Anarchy" where points will be scored for assassinating the President or killing a Congressman.

professional football players appear in brief clips telling why they know there are much better ways to get "turned on" than through drugs. As a member of the Republican Task Force on Drug Abuse, I am constantly on the lookout for new ways to help our young people overcome temptation and/or addiction.

Therefore I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues, the activities of Pro Speakout, a nonprofit organization devoted to combating drug abuse and fostering drug education.

Pro Speakout's program is designed to expose the problems related to drug addiction, through a series of assemblies, television programs, radio shows, and discussion groups featuring professional athletes as speakers, supported by ex-addicts, in order to aid communities in establishing local drug education and self-help programs.

Athletes from Boston's Bruins, Red Sox, Celtics, and the New England Patriots, as well as other professional athletes who make their home in the Boston area, donate their time to speak to youngsters and their parents in Greater Boston's communities. They are accompanied by at least one ex-addict who is paid a nominal fee which is turned over to the drug self-help organization he or she represents.

Mrs. Janice Barrett, a 26-year-old teacher at Wellesley Senior High School founded Pro Speakout and is now president of the organization. She hopes to make the Boston project a model for the Nation and has submitted a proposal to HEW for a grant under the Drug Abuse Education Act of 1970 which envisions 25 other offices around the country.

Mr. Speaker, an article on Pro Speakout appeared in the New England Patriots' edition of Pro magazine on November 7 and tells the story very well. At this point, I include the article:

PRO SPEAKOUT—TURN TALK ABOUT DRUGS INTO ACTION

"Pro Speakout" is not a news sport quiz show, nor is it an athletic group. It is a year-old anti-drug organization composed of professional athletes, students, guidance counselors, businessmen, lawyers, doctors, and teachers. "Pro Speakout" began last November when a 26 year old teacher at Wellesley Senior High School, Mrs. Janice Barrett, planned an assembly on the drug problem.

"I wasn't sure what would be the best approach to get kids and parents together to discuss drugs, so I asked my students. They suggested that professional athletes might have some appeal, because young people admire and respect them."

Three pros from Boston teams and Billy McCue, an ex-addict who is director of Project Turnabout, spoke to a capacity audience of 800 parents and students. The assembly was so favorably received that 14 students, drug users in varying degrees, asked for help the following day. So Billy McCue came back to the high school to help these young people. Two of them, heroin users, kicked their habits at Project Turnabout.

After learning what had happened at Wellesley, several athletes contacted Mrs. Barrett with one question, "How can I help?"

The answer to this question came when 48 professional athletes from Greater Boston met a few weeks later at Gino Cappelletti's "Point After" to form a non-profit organization entitled Pro Speakout. Two major goals were outlined:

(1) educate young people to the dangers of drug abuse.

"THE GODFATHER" TOY SHOULD BE TAKEN OFF THE MARKET

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 29, 1971

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, there is a toy on sale this Christmas season that teaches children the life of a gangster

PRO SPEAKOUT

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, most of us watching television these days have seen

(2) establish a community follow-up program to support and encourage existing drug programs to help found new ones.

Houston Antwine, a member of Pro Speakout's Board of Directors, summed up the athletes' concern, "We don't want to be window dressing for any program. We want total community action in connection with our programs."

Jim Nance, another member of Pro Speakout's Board of Directors, took time to explain how the program is organized.

"If a town requests a Pro Speakout program, we meet with their drug coordinator (or his equivalent) and examine the needs of that particular community such as, detoxification unit in the local hospitals, a drug education curriculum in the schools, drop-in centers, hot-line, rehabilitation centers, etc. The admission charges to the program, coupled with other funds raised by the town are matched by money Pro Speakout has raised. Then we work with the town committees to inaugurate or support the drug program that best suits that community."

Jon Morris, who has been an active participant in Pro Speakout appeared at Weymouth High School to aid the Weymouth Home and Youth Association. Jim Hunt drove out to Concord with Jim Nance one night last winter in a blinding snow storm to help the Concord Hot-Line. Another active participant, Gino Cappelletti, is also a member of the Board of Directors. At a program in Newton-Wellesley-Weston Multi-Service Drug Center, Gino was asked a direct question, "Why are you here anyway?" "I'm here because I'm a father and a human being who cares what happens to young people like you and my own children," Gino replied. "Most of us are married with families, so we are concerned about drug usage."

"To tell you the truth," continued Gino, "I wish there weren't any problem so I wouldn't have to be here."

The questioner interrupted to ask, "How do you think you can help us?"

Unhesitatingly, Gino answered, "as athletes, we can't try to tell you what's good or bad. What we can say is that we get our highs in other areas—on the field. By accomplishing something there, we feel we are doing something meaningful. Every young person should discover for himself an activity, a purpose or a career that gives him a sense of direction in life. Then, he won't need to pursue artificial highs."

Rather than discuss specifics of drug abuse, the athletes speak to the youngsters about meaningful life experiences—the opportunity to excel in any given field. They relate how they've learned to deal with life as a challenge.

When asked by a group of parents in Brockton about his opinion of Pro Speakout, Ron Berger replied, "I sincerely want to help the younger generation. Life is a series of problems to be solved and crises to be overcome. We must encourage and try to instill a positive attitude in young people. I believe they want assistance and guidance in coping with life's challenges. I feel a deep sense of accomplishment through working with youngsters, especially teenagers. We all have a responsibility to fulfill in giving young people a sense of direction in life."

Shortly after Pro Speakout was formed and the athletes had become active, Sandy Cappelletti invited all the wives of the players to her home one evening to discuss how they could work with the program.

"Initially," Sandy said, "I think the wives came because we all recognized the enormity of the drug problem. We wanted to hear Bill McCue, an ex-addict, speak about it. What happened to us that night in my living room was a revelation. When Bill told us about how drug usage had filtered down into elementary schools, we became aware that our children were in no way insulated from the problem. Most of us have very young

children—and we realized that the time to teach them and guide them is now, when they are six and seven. To avoid their becoming involved with drugs a few years from now, we must concentrate on developing in our children the ability to cope with life's problems. Children at seven very often have difficult experiences. They need to learn how to deal with these problems as realities of life—not to ignore them. In Bill McCue's words, 'they need to develop their coping muscles at an early age.' Then later, when our children are offered an easy cop-out through drugs, they won't need to escape from their problems by depending on the unreal, dreamland of drugs."

The discussion among the wives in Sandy Cappelletti's living room centered on how the wives could bring this message to other parents in their own communities. As a result, two successful programs were undertaken by the wives.

Sandy arranged for Bill McCue to speak to all the parents and teachers who belonged to the PTA at the school her daughters, Gina and Cara, attend. As a result, the teachers took the time in their classes to discuss drug abuse with all the youngsters, grades 1 through 6. This stimulated a need in the youngsters to help Project Turnabout. Each child brought something from his home, such as a can of beans or a box of cereal, to be donated to aid Project Turnabout. The children understood how dangerous drugs are, but they also felt the need to help those people who are hooked on drugs. Gino Cappelletti then spoke to the children praising their efforts in helping Project Turnabout.

Rosa Hunt, past president of the Patriots Wives Club, decided she wanted to help by arranging for a Pro Speakout program with the Patriots' official charity, the Boys' Club of Boston.

She contacted Roscoe Baker, the director, and arranged for a day when the athletes could talk to the boys at the Roxbury branch. Jim Hunt, Daryl Johnson, and Reggie Smith spent a day with nearly 100 boys rapping about drugs and encouraged them to become actively involved in sports, rather than drugs.

After Pro Speakout conducted assemblies in Natick, Weymouth, Brockton, Weston, Newton, Milford, Concord, Arlington, The Roxbury Boy's Club, and received requests from as far away as Connecticut, New Hampshire, and New York, it became apparent that Pro Speakout needed to raise funds to support the programs that had been promised financial assistance. Bill Flynn, General Manager, of Channel 38 WSBK-TV, became the first businessman in Greater Boston to donate a substantial sum for operating expenses. Meeting at Bobby Orr's "Branding Iron" one evening last spring, the athletes discussed various methods and approaches to fund raising. Jon Morris, Bill Flynn, Len St. Jean, and Eddie Whalley (golf pro at the Colonial Country Club in Lynnfield) became highly enthusiastic about the idea of organizing and sponsoring a Pro Speakout Celebrity Golf Tournament.

"We all enjoy playing golf," Len St. Jean said, "therefore, we would feel comfortable about participating in an activity such as a golf tournament."

Jon Morris commented, "Businessmen we will invite to join us and contribute to the drug program have youngsters who are of the age when they are most readily exposed to drugs. I'm convinced that they will join us in our fight to combat drug abuse."

Time became a key problem in organizing the tourney. On only one date, June 21, 1971, would all four teams—Red Sox, Bruins, Celtics, and Patriots, be in Boston. This was only six weeks away! Everyone worked frantically to meet the deadline. The first major problem was finding a country club that would open its facilities for the day.

Within 24 hours, Dr. Jim Riley chairman

of the golf committee at Woodland Golf Club had a firm "yes" from Woodland Golf Club.

George Wemyss, director of the New England Professional Golfers' Association offered his services as tournament director. Ed Philpott hopped a plane to Atlanta, Georgia one morning to speak to all the professional golfers on the tour.

"Doug Sanders called a meeting of all the golfers that night to speak with me," Ed explained. "They were highly enthusiastic about the Pro Speakout program. Being so close to the date, a number of them were committed for other engagements. John Schroeder, Larry Zeigler and DeWitt Weaver would fly into Boston to join us. Those who can't make it this year would come next year."

Mrs. Jon Morris called a meeting of all the wives at her home. "We want to help," she said. Pat Berger, Sandy Cappelletti, Linda Johnson, Rosa Hunt, Judy Bond, Diane Kuberski, Terry McKenzie, Linda Esposito, Rosemary Lonberg, Pat Green, Judy Lyle, Sharon Nelson, Diane Johnston, Joan Ann Westfall, Elaine Philpott, and Mary Rae Whalley all pitched in to help. They addressed invitations, comprised banquet lists, registered guests at the tournament, solicited prizes and donations from the four Boston teams, stamped the golf tag bags, made phone calls, and attended to all the details of the tournament.

Champagne Press in Wellesley donated all printing costs; Westwood Studios in Needham offered to take all photos for the tournament; Ara's in Wellesley donated a suit as a prize; Turf Hugger donated a golf bag and club covers; Anderson's Jewelers in Wellesley gave a sterling silver mug to the tournament winner; Bate's Photo Shop in Wellesley donated cameras; WRKO Radio gave pen and pencil sets; Chin's Villa, the Point After, and Igo's Restaurant all gave complimentary dinners; Eastern Airlines offered a trip for the raffle; Fred Mosedale gave curtains to be auctioned off; John MacKenzie offered four Bruin's tickets in the raffle.

Perhaps the most extensive contributor was Billy Sullivan, Patriots President. For the raffle, he offered solid gold NFL cufflinks, a trip to the Super Bowl (with all accommodations paid for) and a trip out to Minnesota with the Patriots team.

Bob Hope promised to come, but when he was stricken with an unfortunate recurrence of his eye infection, he had to cancel at the last minute. But, he placed a call to Mrs. Barrett at Woodland that day, during which he said "I am very much interested in your project. I am with you all the way and will do everything in my power to lend my voice in this cause."

Wally Gaviluk, Ed Whalley, and Billy Max flew down from the Vermont Open in a private plane to play. Babe Parrilli and Larry Eisenhauer, ex-Patriots, participated. Frankie Laine came over from the Monticello to lend his support. Burton Paige at the Colonial in Lynnfield provided room accommodations for the golfers who came in off the tour. Joe Laszaro, the National Blind Champion Golfer, shot a 77.

Don Weiss, Public Relations Director for the NFL, and Buddy Young, director of Player Personnel for the NFL, flew up from New York to join everyone at the banquet that evening.

Upton Bell, General Manager for the Patriots, reflected on the drug problem in a discussion with several members of Pro Speakout before the banquet began.

"Drugs are only a symptom of much deeper problems which are often rooted in the home environment. We must reach the parents. A main concern of each parent should be—my child might be a drug addict someday. I have a four-year-old boy and I know something could happen to him. Kids see their parents gobbling down pills constantly. There

seems to be a pill for everything today—but drug abuse is the most bitter pill of all to swallow."

"You know," he mused, "it's very important for young people to know the lessons adults have learned about drugs, especially the anguish of ex-addicts. In the football fraternity, it's better to turn on through mental and physical stimulation rather than the needle and pill. The sports player or fan can get high on the competition between teams and players, rather than escaping through drugs."

Herman Bruce, General Manager for the Patriots, echoed Upton's point, then commented on another aspect of the Pro Speakout program. "I am impressed by the calibre of the people in our organization who have offered their extensive help. They're quick to give generously of their time for this program and not to ask for remuneration for their services. Such a fact ought to impress young people. These players are not in football solely to make money. They love the game. If there's anything they can do to help youngsters caught up in a drug problem or help those who might be caught up, they will."

Ex-Patriot Jim Colclough agreed with Upton Bell's point. "The education of adults is really important. Kids know more about drugs and where they come from than their parents. Not only that, but the law enforcement agencies must begin a crackdown on the source of supply—the pushers. But, that won't solve the whole problem, because we have to offer kids alternatives to drug usage. The outlets for kids have to be greater and more varied—educational, social, recreational, and cultural. Potentially, America has its greatest strength in its youth. We must encourage them to be a great force in counteracting the negative attitudes some adults have about youngsters. Any organization like Pro Speakout, that encourages this change for the better is a good thing."

At this point, Jon Morris interrupted Jim to say, "Everybody assumes this problem with drugs won't happen to them. But it might. More persons must become involved in the program Pro Speakout has to offer. We need the support of more businessmen—more politicians—more community leaders, like members of school committees, principals, and mayors. Rather than talking about it, they should do something about it. They should lend active support to the program."

The amateur golfers who played in the tournament responded enthusiastically, each one donating \$150 to Pro Speakout. The \$10,000 raised proved the huge success of the first Annual Pro Speakout Celebrity Invitational Tournament. The funds were distributed over the summer to all the local community drug programs Pro Speakout sponsored.

What does the future hold for Pro Speakout? At this time, plans are underway for the establishment of a national headquarters in Boston, with chapter offices in every major league city in the United States. Of course, Pro Speakout will have a second annual tournament next summer.

The athletes will concentrate their efforts more in the area of elementary school education programs, in order to reach youngsters at the impressionable age—before they get turned on to drugs. At the same time, they will still aid those youngsters who are caught up in the problem, for reasons given by Ed Philpott, "I think it's time we face the fact that many young people are trapped by the drug epidemic. Many more will become addicts if we don't act now. They're asking for our help. We can't turn our backs on them."

Linda and Daryl Johnson have discovered a poem by Devine Lord which reflects their feelings and the efforts of the Pro Speakout organization.

"Are the Kids Really to Blame?"

We read in the paper
We hear on the air
Of killing and stealing
And crime everywhere
We sigh and we say
As we notice the trend
This young generation
Where will it end?
But can we be sure
It's their fault alone . . .

Too much money to spend
Too much idle time
Too many movies
Of passion and crime
Too many books
Not fit to be read
Too much evil
In what they hear said
Too many times
Encouraged to roam
Too many parents
Who don't stay at home.

Youth doesn't make the movies
They don't write the books
That paint the gay pictures
Of gangsters and crooks
They don't make the liquor
They don't run the bars
They don't make the laws
They don't make the cars
They don't make the drugs
That idle the brain
It's all done by the older folks
Greedy for gain.
How many cases we find
That it's true
The label delinquency
Fits older folks too.

Want to help?

Write: Janice Barrett, President, Pro Speakout, 5 Weld Street, Framingham, Mass. 01701*.

THE BIG MOVE TO NONCAMPUS COLLEGES

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, higher education in this country is in the midst of a crisis which, in the words of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, "has no parallel in the history of the Nation." The unsettling changes the wider society has experienced since World War II have also affected our campuses and have compelled a thorough reexamination of how we are to educate our youth. Two of the central considerations in this reexamination are how to provide access to all who desire higher education, and in what ways that education can best be pursued. In a thought-provoking article in the July 17, 1971, "Saturday Review," Ernest L. Boyer, chancellor of the State University of New York, and his assistant, George C. Keller, have examined many of the significant responses to these questions here and abroad. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

* After Nov. 1st, Pro Speakout will move to a new address: 23 Pine Plain Road, Wellesley, Mass. 02181.

THE BIG MOVE TO NONCAMPUS COLLEGES

(By Ernest L. Boyer and George C. Keller)

In this financially alarming but comparatively strife-free year for American colleges and universities, perhaps the single most dramatic development has been the announcement of several plans to enable students to earn academic credits and even college degrees without having to live on a campus, or even attend classes there.

The new plans have propellants within them that could trigger one of the most significant shifts in the structure of American higher education since the introduction of large-scale, federally financed research during World War II. Phrased in the muffled jargon of educational prose the new proposals may not appear radical, but they do share certain broad assumptions about what higher education really is all about.

For years, the word "college" has to most Americans meant four uninterrupted years in one institution, in a place removed from the diversions of ordinary life. It conjures up nostalgic memories of classroom lectures, fraternity and sorority parties, glee clubs, football weekends, hectic final exams, term papers, trips home for the holidays, beery bull sessions, and romance beside the Virginia creeper. More recently it has also meant protest marches, extracurricular volunteer work, and rock concerts with Joe Cocker or Sly and the Family Stone. In short, it has been the physical and social aspects of campus life that have traditionally defined "going to college."

Central to most of the new non-campus programs, however, is the assumption that the fundamental process of acquiring a college education need not be dependent upon the familiar campus setting. Not where or for how long a student goes to college, but what actually happens to him intellectually during his collegiate years is what counts. Many innovators believe that the preoccupation with the physical and social context of higher education has obscured the more crucial questions, which concern what is happening inside the student's head.

A second, and closely related, assumption is that the parietal element in higher education has been far too heavily emphasized. Too many colleges still implicitly operate on the premise that they are dealing with reluctant, lazy children who must be continually prodded and threatened if they are to learn anything. The process of higher education too often has borne disturbing similarities to the force feeding of geese destined to contribute to the world's supply of *pâté de foie gras*. While explicit parietal rules and social regulations have been liberalized or abolished, the fundamental structure of college education has remained implicitly coercive.

The new assumption is that the individual's own motivation, his desire to learn and to grow, should play a more central role in the formulation of educational policy. Ideally, the acquisition of a college education should represent a positive act of individual volition rather than passive acquiescence in an institution's routines and requirements. A closer approximation of this ideal is what the innovators are striving for.

In the conversation and writings of those responsible for the new proposals, one finds the conviction that genuine intellectual competence, and not some magic number of "years in residence" or "credit hours," should be the single most important criterion for the baccalaureate degree. What a person knows, not how many courses he has taken, should be the fundamental concern toward which all academic planning is directed.

The various off-campus and non-campus schemes that spring from these shared assumptions and concerns generally fall into four broad categories.

The first, and least radical, represents the continued development and extension of efforts that have long been made by many American colleges and universities to increase the opportunity for off-campus learning experiences within the broad framework of the traditional pattern of campus residency. For decades, undergraduates have enjoyed a "junior year abroad" or participated in various types of work-study interludes. The newer programs add such possibilities as a hitch in VISTA or a semester in a ghetto, a museum, or a specialized school, such as a dance studio. The programs may be quite highly structured, such as Chapman College's "World Campus Afloat," which offers undergraduates courses on a ship that travels around the globe with field trips ashore; or fairly loose, as at those institutions where gifted students are allowed as much as a year off to write a novel, study French literature, or pursue other special interests—all for academic credit.

These off-campus extensions of the curriculum are not without problems. For example, how many academic credits should a student receive for forty hours of tutoring migrant workers? And how does one maintain "quality control" and prevent a genuine, if unconventional, learning experience from degenerating into a merely frivolous and self-indulgent frittering away of time?

But far outweighing such practical difficulties is the fact that all such efforts represent a movement toward a concept of higher learning that is far more in tune with the conditions and opportunities of contemporary life—a concept which recognizes that we have erected too high a barrier between the campus and the real world "out there." For the proponents of such off-campus programs, the individual college campus remains an essential intellectual base, but it is also seen as only one element in a far broader educational environment—an environment that includes the ghetto, the threatened wilderness, the polluted lake, the industrial laboratory, the social service agency, the city halfway around the world.

A second category of off-campus plan, the largest and most familiar, is to permit conventional academic work to be done off-campus, often over a time period longer than the usual four years and often through programs designed chiefly for adults.

The prototype is the famous external-degree program of London University, which has for decades enabled students from Nigeria, Australia, the Bahamas, or India to work toward their degree in any manner they wish, and in any part of the world, so long as they passed the required examination set by the university.

Since 1961 working adults from all over America, unable to take the time to live or attend classes on a campus, have been studying in the University of Oklahoma's pioneering B.A. program in liberal studies, which combines independent home study, correspondence work, and annual three-week residential seminars at the university. Recently Syracuse University, the University of South Florida, and the State University of New York at Brockport have established similar programs, sometimes supplemented by television and on-campus laboratory work in the sciences.

Two interesting new versions of these adult programs are Britain's "Open University" and the U.S. Navy's smaller program for "Afloat College Education." The Open University is Britain's attempt to democratize its traditionally elitist university programs quickly, with limited resources. The hope is to allow vast numbers of housewives and other adults with jobs to earn academic degrees in three to six years at a total cost to the student of less than \$1,000. Last January, coal miners and clerks, salesmen and schoolteachers began enrolling in the Open University. There are six degree programs: humanities, science,

social studies, technology, education, and mathematics. Thousands are listening to radio lectures, going through correspondence course packets, watching television courses, and reading in local libraries in preparation for examinations they will take at one of the 250 local study centers, where they also meet with some of the 2,500 tutors and counselors who are acting as study assistants and advisers. They will also attend a week of summer school at one of the twelve regional centers or at one of England's established colleges.

In the U.S. Navy's program, ship crewmen can earn up to two years of college credit at one of five colleges (Harvard is among them) by passing examinations based on heavy on-board reading, mastery of filmed courses, and attendance at lectures and seminars conducted by professors who visit their ship while it is in port. Under this program, the Navy has even flown professors to remote bases in the antarctic.

The most unusual program in this category is the recently initiated "University Without Walls," whose founding father is Samuel Baskin, an imaginative professor of psychology at Antioch College in Ohio. Professor Baskin had been seeking support for his plan for several years before recently obtaining a U.S. Office of Education planning grant of \$415,000 and a Ford Foundation grant of \$400,000. What he envisions is an innovative educational program confined mainly to the campuses of nineteen cooperating institutions, including such diverse schools as the large University of Minnesota, the small Staten Island Community College, the University of South Carolina, the predominantly black Howard University, the Quaker Friends World College, and the Catholic Loretto Heights College.

Within each of these institutions, forty to one hundred interested students will pursue a distinct academic program with guidelines established by the University Without Walls, a kind of academic holding company with little in the way of formal staff or administrative bureaucracy. Part of the time these students may take conventional courses at their own colleges, but they may also move about to one or more of the cooperating colleges or universities; serve supervised internships in businesses, hospitals, or museums; or study independently with the aid of reading lists, televised lectures, records, and tapes. Professor Baskin's program clearly rejects the traditional concept of college education with its exclusive stress on single-campus residency, classroom lectures, and narrow departmental majors. It also widens our conventional notion of "the faculty" to include experts and talented individuals from the "outside world"—artists, businessmen, musicians, or government officials.

The third off-campus "category" is in reality a single program: the New York State Education Department's unique new external-degree program, through which the associate in arts and bachelor of business administration degrees will be awarded to anyone who passes a set of comprehensive examinations. (Unlike the "Open University" program, this will involve no actual instruction, simply the administering of examinations and the awarding of degrees.) This program, with the aid of a joint planning grant from the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation, will permit persons who have studied on their own, in whatever fashion, to receive a sheepskin without ever enrolling at a college, setting foot on a campus, or paying a penny in tuition.

This category may expand, though. At a recent meeting of the American Association for Higher Education in Chicago, Jack N. Arbolino, executive director of the Council on College-Level Examinations of the College Entrance Examination Board, proposed a "national university" that would, like the New York State Education Department, grant

degrees to anyone in the nation who passed its degree examinations. The programs that Mr. Arbolino heads already has made a small start in this direction by administering tests in two dozen different subjects, from American government to data processing, for which the student, upon passing one or more of them, may request academic credit from his college.

The fourth and last of these varied approaches to off-campus education is the State University of New York's new Empire State College, which is in the active planning stage. This experimental "college without a campus" (supported by a \$1-million joint grant from the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation) will be similar in some respects to other programs we have described. It certainly owes much of its inspiration to innovations at other colleges, in other countries, and within the State University itself. But it also will have certain distinctive characteristics of its own. Unlike most external degree programs, for example, it will retain the opportunity for occasional on-campus study. It will encourage a close student-teacher relationship and will offer a wide variety of educational options to the student.

Because New York has placed all its public institutions of higher education under a central leadership, the State University is particularly well suited to undertake such an experimental venture. SUNY is actually a single entity made up of seventy separate institutions, including liberal arts colleges, specialized schools (in agriculture, forestry, engineering, etc.), community colleges, and four major universities. This means that New York already has in its State University a kind of multifaceted consortium of institutions with widely varied characteristics and resources.

The central idea of Empire State College is to create an academic program that will free the student of the restraints of residence on a single campus and make available to him the resources of the entire university system. A combination of home study, off-campus work-study experiences, educational films, cassettes, correspondence courses, and periods of study elsewhere in America or abroad will enlarge enormously the options open to each student. While some may elect to do half or two-thirds of their work in residence at one or more of the State University's institutions, others will spend most of their time studying off-campus. Time limits, too, will be freer. A college degree may be attained in two, three, four, or eight years, depending on the individual student's specific circumstances and individual capacity for academic work.

But Empire State College is not conceived as a "do-your-own-thing" institution. A small core faculty at a central headquarters, with resident tutors at twenty regional study centers to be set up around the state, will design and direct the programs, prepare the correspondence courses, approve each student's plan of study, and counsel with students by telephone, mail, and in periodic personal meetings. In short, the educational experience of the student will be guided and evaluated at every stage by trained and committed scholars. While the student will complete assigned papers, reports, and examinations, he will be largely freed of grade pressures (grading probably will be on a pass/fail basis) and of specific credit-hour requirements. He will be able to concentrate more on his own education and less on the requirements of a specific institution.

Implicit in the design of Empire State College are several notions—rooted in the more general educational assumptions mentioned earlier—that seem alarmingly simple to some and simply alarming to others:

- 1) Formal classroom instruction, while still important, is no longer the sole or even the principal means of acquiring information and ideas at the college level.

2) Given the present wide variety of students, the continuing explosion of knowledge, and the emergence of new fields of academic concern, the curriculum no longer should be the exclusive concern of the faculty. Responsibility for its design and content should be shared by faculty members and students.

3) Residency on a single college campus is no longer a requisite for quality education. (One-fifth of America's college students already study at more than one institution during their undergraduate careers.)

4) Four years, and certainly four consecutive years, are not an inviolate block of time essential to an undergraduate degree. Longer or shorter periods of study, possibly interrupted by other activities, do not damage—and may actually improve—the net effectiveness of collegiate study.

5) While frequent and intimate contact with mature scholars is vital to a good college education, no faculty member can any longer be regarded as simply a purveyor of factual knowledge, even in his field of specialization. Increasingly, professors must act not only as sources of information but as sensitive intellectual guides, as concerned questioners of personal and social actions and values, and as provocative stimulants urging students to discover their own capacity for critical and creative thought.

None of these assumptions, taken singly, is entirely new. But taken together, and taken seriously, they add up to a new vision of what the college experience can, and should, entail.

To some skeptics, all these new schemes for off-campus learning are chiefly the brainchildren of presidents, faculty committees, and foundation officials who, desperate about the present financial crisis in higher education, are blindly stabbing at ways to process more students for less money.

Undeniably, a search for economy is a factor in the development of the new programs. A resident college education next fall will cost parents about \$4,500 a year at most of the nation's leading private colleges and universities, and close to \$3,000 at many public colleges and universities. By 1980, the charges could be \$8,000 and \$5,000 respectively. To anyone seriously concerned about providing some form of higher education to every American who desires it and can benefit by it, the economic situation is patently serious. It is neither shameful nor contemptible to be searching for new modes of providing high-quality education at a lower cost.

But there are, we think, more fundamental and long-range reasons for the current interest in the radical restructuring of American higher education. These derive from quantitative and qualitative changes in American youth, in the character of American society, and in the present trends within higher education itself.

Disgruntled souls who shake their heads and mutter that young people aren't what they used to be are, as a matter of fact absolutely correct. Young people have changed appreciably, and not just in the more publicized and superficial ways.

Physically, young people are larger and healthier than they were fifty years ago. Girls and boys are about three inches taller and ten pounds heavier than they were in 1920, principally because of advances in nutrition and medicine. Childhood diseases that used to stunt and maim, and even fill the cemeteries, have almost been wiped out. (The chief cause of death for persons under 21 is now accidents, primarily automobile accidents.) These same advances in nutrition and medicine have also caused adolescents to mature physiologically much earlier than in the past. In the United States the onset of puberty for girls has dropped from an average age of 14 in 1920 to 12.4 today, and, for boys, from 15 to 13.5.

Today's young people differ intellectually as well as physically. Kenneth Keniston of Yale, among others, has noted that the average American sixteen-year-old today has had five years more schooling than his counterpart in 1920. A recent U.S. Census Bureau study revealed that the number of young adults with high school diplomas has doubled since 1940, while the number with college degrees has tripled.

The average student today scores approximately one standard deviation above the student of a generation ago on standardized tests of intellectual achievement. A level of performance that places a student in the middle of his graduating class today would probably have placed him in the top 15 per cent thirty years ago. Or, to put it another way, in achievement, a teenager today is approximately one grade ahead of his parents when they were his age.

In the more amorphous psychological realm, numerous observers have noted the new mood among contemporary youth, the sense of generational uniqueness, the imagination and audacity, the impatience, the social concern, the disdain for history and authority. One can only speculate as to causes. Television, which began commercially in 1948, entered most homes fifteen to twenty years ago. Thus, as has been widely noted, this is the first college generation raised on television practically from infancy. According to surveys, many young people in college today watched television about twenty hours a week when they were children, for an annual total greater than the number of hours they spent in school.

In addition to the ubiquitous tube, such factors as greater mobility, affluence, and longevity have also contributed to a different psychological state. For instance, because of the low life expectancy of former times—47.3 years in 1900—it was not unusual for a young person to lose one or both of his parents before reaching college age. Today, with the average life expectancy almost seventy years, orphanage has virtually been wiped out. Now, ironically, it is the continuing lively presence and pressure of both parents that many young persons perceive as a serious problem.

Yet, while young persons now are significantly different from those of fifty or even twenty years ago, American higher education is structurally much the same. Our colleges and universities (not to mention our grade and high schools) urgently need to recognize these important facts, and to redesign their programs accordingly. To keep nearly one-third of our young people occupied in an institutional setting that effectively segregates them from the world of "grown-ups" for seven to ten years beyond the onset of puberty appears a more untenable arrangement with each passing year.

Another major force affecting the colleges has been the knowledge explosion itself. New technologies and sciences have burgeoned—from cybernetics to marine botany; new social problems—the urban crisis, the population explosion, pollution—have generated new study areas. Campus faculties have multiplied, splintered, and regrouped under the impact. Advances in photography, sound engineering, optics, communications, and transportation have revolutionized the movement of information, ideas, and people themselves. They make possible such things as a telephone seminar in astro-physics among scientists from several countries, a short intercession of anthropological study in West Africa or Peru, or the study of Eskimo culture through films.

In the face of all these changes, the old yardsticks of higher education—faculty-student ratios, years in residence, credit-hours for courses, and grading—become increasingly difficult to apply. The notions that there is a fixed "body of knowledge" to be delivered to the young, that college faculties necessarily know what is best for students,

and that the departmental major is the only desirable method of organizing intellectual inquiry, are seriously challenged.

Moreover, we are at the beginning of a second admissions boom—that of older persons re-entering college. Until the end of World War II, colleges catered chiefly to the privileged and the gifted. College admissions was the art of keeping people out. Since 1945, however, admissions policies have expanded until currently half of all high school graduates—two out of five of all young Americans—go on to college. Now, with technological change, increased leisure, new conceptions of womanhood, and greater affluence encouraging and requiring changes in career and life-style, continuing education is emerging as a new frontier of higher education. Most colleges and universities, especially public ones, are trying to help people *in* rather than screen them *out*. And as colleges admit greater numbers of students from more varied socio-economic backgrounds, their curriculums have altered in order to serve effectively the expanded new clientele with its broader range of preparation and aspirations.

To shift one variable, such as the kind of students served, while attempting to hold constant all the rest of the components of the university structure is to court disaster, as too many institutions have learned. Likewise, to try to accommodate the knowledge explosion on the campus, with the increased research, field work, and specialization that it demands, without re-examining the traditional "liberal education" requirements is irresponsible.

As the recent Carnegie Commission report *Less Time, More Options* suggested, today's college and university clearly must offer many tracks, many options, and many different programs to serve the new variety of students and to assist in the exploration of new areas of intellectual inquiry. Large universities may have to break up into several colleges. Smaller colleges may have to establish links with other colleges and other kinds of learning institutions in society. And all will have to allow increased opportunities for independent and off-campus study.

It is these profound transformations—in our young people, in our society, and in higher education, as well as the grave financial condition of the colleges—that compel radical changes in the venerable but outmoded patterns of American collegiate study. The many proposals for off-campus or non-campus study contain many details to be worked out and objections to be overcome. But they represent serious efforts to experiment with fresh patterns of undergraduate education. The alternative is a continuing and ever louder dirge about the poverty, disruption, and "irrelevance" of our campuses.

It would be tragic if the social institution that has contributed so much to our civilization should fail to respond vigorously to the challenges that confront it at this crucial moment. The present crisis is assuredly one of dollars. But even more, it is one of will, of creative energy, of new ideas. Higher education is in a period of painful transition. The greatest need is to act boldly, with fresh vision, in the face of new conditions. The training of the mind and sharpening of the sensibilities are still the best hope of mankind.

BRAINWASHING BY THE NETWORKS

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the

RECORD, I include the following: Many of my colleagues in the Congress have discussed with me the book titled "The News Twisters" by Edith Efron who is a staff writer for TV Guide. I am inserting herewith an article by S. I. Hayakawa, president, San Francisco State College from the Washington Daily News, Thursday, November 18. This is the briefest condensation that I have seen from Edith Efron's work. I believe it would be well for every Member of the House to read "The News Twisters."

It is difficult to know whether or not news is being twisted or given in bias. Miss Efron's attempt through tape recordings has been to denote the number of words spoken on the 1968 campaign by the various networks. These words were spoken either for or against HUBERT HUMPHREY, the Democratic candidate, and Richard Nixon, the Republican candidate. Word measurement is not the only criteria but an important one on all prominent news covered by the networks. Whether or not you agree with Miss Efron is not as important as the factual information which her study has produced.

The article follows:

BRAINWASHING BY THE NETWORKS
(By S. I. Hayakawa)

Here is a book that should be read by every voter of whatever political conviction, by every high school and college student, by every viewer of TV network news. It should be distributed by book clubs and condensed in Reader's Digest. Most of all it should be read carefully by the Federal Communications Commission.

The book I refer to is "The News Twisters," by Edith Efron (Nash Publishing, 9225 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90069; \$7.95). The author is a staff writer for "TV Guide."

Do television networks present the news fairly? Are they free of bias? Do the accusations of slanting, distortion and calculated omission of important stories coming from almost all segments of the public from student radicals to Vice President Spiro Agnew have any foundation in fact?

For her study Miss Efron tape-recorded network news shows on American and National Broadcasting companies and the Columbia Broadcasting System every evening from 7 to 7:30 p.m. from Sept. 16 to Nov. 4, 1968—that is the last seven weeks of the presidential campaign of that year. From transcriptions of the broadcasts, she analyzed the coverage given to the three presidential candidacies of 1968 and to a set of 10 related issues such as U.S. policy on the Vietnam war, black militants, radical violence and the white middle class.

"From the resultant body of about 100,000 words per network," Miss Efron writes, "I isolated all stories dealing with the chosen issues—and excerpted all 'for' and 'against' opinion on these issues. The task is simpler than it may sound. Network news is an extremely nonintellectual commodity, and the opinion which it relays tends to be simple, short, highly partisan, and crudely 'for' and 'against.' It is readily isolated. . . . The opinion appears in four clearly identifiable forms: direct quotes . . . paraphrase . . . narrative reports . . . and editorial opinion, which appears either in separate commentaries and analyses, or within the body of a news story. When all such opinion was isolated and filed, I then counted the number of words of opinion 'for' and 'against' on each issue."

The statistics are indeed startling. Here is Miss Efron's summary of the number of words spoken about Richard Nixon during the campaign: on ABC, for, 869, against,

1,793; on CBS, for, 320, against 5,300; on NBC, for, 431, against, 4,234. Total for Nixon, 1,620, total against, 17,027. Humphrey got more even treatment: on ABC, for, 4,218, against, 3,569; on CBS, for, 2,368, against, 2,083; on NBC, for, 1,852, against, 2,655.

Words spoken about Black Militants: on ABC, for, 2,052, against, 1,146; on CBS, for, 1,578, against, 742; on NBC, for, 3,666, against, 1,383. As for the white middle class: on ABC, for, 142, against, 731; on CBS, for, 287, against, 651; on NBC, for, 0, against, 1,017.

The totals leave no doubt that the networks—all three of them—were doing their best to elect Hubert Humphrey. For Mr. Humphrey there were 8,458 words, for Mr. Nixon, 1,620. Against Mr. Humphrey there were 8,307 words, against Mr. Nixon, 17,027.

When accused of partisanship or bias, the networks defend themselves by declaring that objectivity is impossible. David Brinkley: "Objectivity is impossible to a normal human being." Bill Moyers, "Of all the myths of journalism, objectivity is the greatest."

Miss Efron makes mincemeat of this argument. Objectivity, she says, is not the issue. The problem is that networks unanimously give "preferential status to certain political positions and opinions"—to the Democrats as opposed to Republicans, to the opinions of anti-war people as opposed to those who see some justification for the war, to black militants as opposed to the white middle class ("Not one reporter on CBS or NBC is critical of black power violence during the coverage period").

The networks themselves, in their acceptance of the Federal Communication Commission's "fairness doctrine" and in their concept of "equal time," give assent to the view that it is against broadcasting ethics to give such preferential status to one side of a controversy or political campaign. Nevertheless they clearly do not even bother to try to give a balanced presentation of the wide range of opinions.

"Richard Nixon is President of the United States today in spite of ABC-TV, CBS-TV and NBC-TV," writes Miss Efron.

I find this sentence comforting. It is horrifying to read a statistical analysis of the extent to which the great national television networks try to mold and manipulate public opinion. Nevertheless, despite the fact that I voted for Mr. Humphrey, I find it reassuring to know how much sales resistance the public has.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION CENTER FOR SHORT-LIVED PHENOMENA—THE ANNUAL REPORT REVIEWED

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the Smithsonian Institution has over the years gained wide admiration for the role it plays in American science and learning.

More than any other institution it shows what a museum can be: a center of research, an information system for scientists and citizens in general, and an active institution of education for both specialists and laymen alike.

An interesting and little-known facet of the Smithsonian's work is the center for short-lived phenomena, a clearing-house which informs observers around the world of events which need to be examined while they are still happening:

earthquakes, meteors, and many aspects of ecological study.

Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to insert in the RECORD a review and commentary upon the center's latest annual report, written by Philip Morrison in the current issue of the magazine Scientific American.

The article follows:

A COMPENDIUM OF CURIOUS EVENTS REPORTED BY THE CENTER FOR SHORT-LIVED PHENOMENA

(By Philip Morrison)

Annual Report 1970, by the Center for Short-Lived Phenomena. Smithsonian Institution, Cambridge, Mass. (\$5). On April 8 an early-rising resident of West Hartford, Conn., saw "a bright streak like a bomb bursting." Later, at 6:00 a.m., Paul J. Cassarino of suburban Wethersfield awoke to find plaster on the floor of his living room. A meteorite weighing three-quarters of a pound had fallen through the plywood roof to lodge halfway through the ceiling!

Something of Cassarino's sense of celestial intimacy was transferred by postcard within a day or two to the many thousands of friends and subscribers of the service of the Center for Short-Lived Phenomena. The card told the facts, as telephoned to Cambridge by the very men who identified the rock as a *bona fide* meteorite. (It was a common kind of chondrite, and it was in the hands of expert analysts before the week was out.)

The Center for Short-Lived Phenomena has been at work since January, 1968. It grew out of efforts to "catch a falling star"—more prosaically to bring a freshly fallen meteorite into the laboratory quickly enough so that information about the cosmic ray intensity in space near the earth, perispherically locked in short-lived radioactivity, would not have fully decayed. It was clear from the start, however, that many kinds of "fast and accurate information on the occurrence of short-lived natural phenomena" would be of interest to scientists in several disciplines. Today the center has 3,000 registered correspondents in some 150 countries; these scientists or organizations report nearby short-lived events and follow up on their first alerts, and in turn they receive the reports of similar events around the world. The chief resource of the center is the global communications network of the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory, which uses commercial, NASA and other Government circuits. The center stays in touch with event areas as the events are in progress; it immediately alerts those persons and agencies that might quickly respond, and within 24 hours dispatches postcards that broadcast the alert; then it forwards authentic data and conclusions as study of the event proceeds.

This 300-page book, with maps and photographs, its text in unjustified typescript, indexes the work of the center from its very start. The bulk of the book is a summary of the 113 events in 51 countries that the center reported during 1970. These events fall into four classes. Earth-science events are just under 50 in number; they include 19 major earthquakes, 22 volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, landslides, floods, storm surges and more. Biological events are even more varied; they include oil spills and other major pollution events as imminent threats to the web of life, and they extend to events remote from the hand of man, such as the migrations of animals, blights, and epizootics. The astrophysical events are mostly fireballs and meteorite falls (plus recurrent moonquakes!). Archaeology and anthropology claim such occurrences as the discovery of a ruin soon to be flooded or the first contact with a new group of people. The unifying theme is the need for on-the-spot scientific study of the event before its course is run;

naturally this interest overlaps with, but is not the same as, the interests of the government agencies all over the world that are generally responsible for resource control, rescue and relief.

Tragedy is present, since everywhere the lives of men remain at the mercy of the largest force of nature. The terrible November storm surges of the Bay of Bengal were Event No. 100 of 1970; the event was of course intensively reported in the regular news media, but the summary here (by Dr. M. Q. Khuda of Dacca) is eloquent in its simplicity. Although many hundreds of thousands died, "no permanent change in the land mark is visible." Mankind is perhaps most vulnerable along the many mouths of the Ganges. The avalanche that entirely buried Yungay in Peru under some 10 feet of mud in the earthquake of May, 1970, is described with equal care.

Late this summer the inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley from its Canadian head to the Gulf can expect a cyclical peak in the number of migrating monarch butterflies; 1970 was the first of the two peak years that recur on a six- or eight-year cycle. Thousands of the bright-yellow-and-black creatures can be seen on a single tree. The cycle is the result of an interaction of the insect and a virus.

Why do whales beach themselves? Here is the account of the stranding of about 150 false killer whales, animals weighing less than a ton each, on a shelving Florida beach. Towed to sea by boats, they immediately swam back to beach themselves all over again. After a second towing effort perhaps a third of the animals found their way out to sea. On autopsy there was no sign of bacterial disease, but it was noted that the water was abnormally cold.

The crown-of-thorns starfish, that hungry predator on the living polyp of the hard madrepore coral, continues to spread alarmingly over the Pacific, again for uncertain reasons. The notorious Malaysian frog war of last November is reinterpreted; afterward there were tadpoles aplenty. Those 10,000 frogs were making love, not war. Deception Island, a drowned volcanic crater 500 miles south of Cape Horn, blew up in the wintry August of 1970. Its dust and ashes were "probably the most important [for] the last three years or so. It seems that the Dust Veil Index will be somewhere in the range between 150 and 500 (Krakatau 1833 eruption equals 1,000 . . .)." No one was there; the first news came from Antarctic bases some 50 miles away, where a rain of black ash covered the entire area to a depth of millimeters.

By December, 1970, people had visited Deception; a photograph was published recently. The center's main purpose was thus fulfilled. Indeed, more than 84 of the events it reported in 1970 were investigated. But he who stays at home—amateur, student, teacher—can share a little of the investigator's excitement and awe at the changing fabric of our world by reading the center's alerts. These are services matched to all budgets and all levels of specialization. You can arrange for notice by wire, by air-mail card or by weekly or even monthly batches, in each class of events. Schools and museums should be particularly interested. The cards supply just those details of place and time, with cogent appraisals, that the news services often omit.

The performance of this pioneer office is not faultless; the *Annual Report*—with much too bland a title—could be improved by greater editorial resources. It is nonetheless splendid reading as it stands; the "real time" services are even better and the future holds more. Surely the center is the first form of what someday will be a knowing and prescient worldwide public monitoring service both for action and for thought.

Long live the Center for Short-Lived Phenomena!

INSTITUTIONALIZATION IS NOT THE ANSWER

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, an article appearing in the *Boston Globe* on November 22 clearly indicates the need for sheltered homes for the mentally and physically handicapped.

We are presently greatly concerned about health costs and yet we condemn handicapped persons to institutions because we are not creative or farsighted enough to know that there are more humane and less costly alternatives. It has been estimated that two-thirds of the residents of one institution for the mentally retarded could be released if they had group homes and sheltered workshops to which to go for long-term employment.

The article quotes Dr. Doris Fraser, director of the Massachusetts Bureau of Developmental Disabilities, who states:

I have never known anyone with a disability who did not want to be independent.

Those are words that we should remember when we think about health care for everyone. Let us open our eyes to the innovations around us and release people from institutions.

WORKSHOPS URGED FOR HANDICAPPED

(By Jean Caldwell)

EAST LONGMEADOW.—There is a nationwide need to develop more sheltered workshops for extended employment and non-institutional small residences so handicapped people can become productive members of society.

This was the message given to those attending the annual meeting of Goodwill Industries in Springfield this week by Dr. Doris Fraser, director of the Massachusetts Bureau of Developmental Disabilities. Dr. Fraser has just been named to the 20-member National Developmental Disability Council by Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Elliot Richardson.

Dr. Fraser said the new term "developmental disability" represents a growing awareness that disabilities such as mental retardation, epilepsy and cerebral palsy are "vitally connected."

Dr. Fraser said there is a growing effort by persons interested in specific disabilities to form coalitions with those interested in other disabilities. She said this gives them a base of strength in seeking to fill needs shared by all handicapped persons such as public housing, better transportation and sheltered workshops.

In Massachusetts, Dr. Fraser said, "a major pioneering effort" has been made by the governor's office and by the legislative commission which investigated Belchertown State School for the Mentally Retarded. One result of the commission's study and the governor's interest, she said, is the recently passed legislation (now on the governor's desk) which concerns group homes. Dr. Fraser described this as "one of the major pieces of legislation in the state in many years."

The new law sets public safety standards for "community group residences." This allows up to 12 handicapped persons who are "capable of self-preservation" to live together in a home-like dwelling. Such residences had no legal identity before and had to meet the stringent safety standards required of nursing homes where residents are assumed to

be unable to leave the building on their own in case of fire.

Dr. Fraser said the new law opens the way for philanthropic groups to rent or buy large houses and provide a supervised but home-like setting for persons who would otherwise be placed in a large institution such as Belchertown State School.

Dr. Fraser said there is growing discontent with large institutions which make residents overly dependent. She said college students working as volunteers at state institutions for the retarded are discovering what a lot of professionals have also discovered: that many persons confined to these institutions would not have to be there if someone had intervened earlier and had offered an alternative to institutionalization.

She said the focus of current efforts is to "unload the legal methodology of 150 years which has locked us in a system of bricks and mortar and job classification." She said change will come by offering alternatives, such as group homes and sheltered workshops for long-term employment, which could reduce the population of institutions such as Belchertown by two-thirds. The remaining third are multiple-handicapped persons in need of 24-hour-a-day skilled nursing care, she said.

Dr. Fraser said that as a nation "we cannot afford to spend so much money in the undignifying process of institutionalization which gives us no return." It would be better to subsidize sheltered workshops where handicapped persons can work, get paid and "put back into the economy."

"I have never known anyone with a disability who did not want to be independent," she said.

DEATH BY THE PINT: TRADING BLOOD FOR DOLLARS

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD* for November 22, 1971, I inserted the first half of an outstanding series of articles from the *Chicago Tribune* on the dangers of unsupervised blood banks. The first of these articles described the high incidence of hepatitis in cities like Chicago, and the type of donors who fill the gap between what is needed and what is donated voluntarily.

The second half of the series describes in graphic detail the shoddy and dangerous procedures used in some blood banks. It also discusses some of the steps that might be taken to end these practices.

After months of research, I recently introduced a bill, H.R. 11828, to provide a legislative solution to the dangers of blood banking. I expect to reintroduce the bill with cosponsors in the near future, and will be pleased to provide any further information my colleagues may require.

I include the following articles:

[From the *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 14, 1971]

BLOOD BANKS: PAY STATIONS OF WINOS, ADDICTS

The young man was unshaven and dirty, his breath reeked of cheap liquor and there was a needle mark on his left arm.

In the opinion of many medical authorities and blood experts, he was a classic example of a walking health hazard. Living from drink

to drink, he pays for his binges by peddling his blood as often as he can.

On the surface it appears to be a harmless transaction. But if his blood is crawling with hepatitis—and there is no sure way of telling for certain—another bottle of poison will be on its way to a hospital operating room where it may ruin or destroy another life.

SECOND DAY OF GIVING BLOOD

On this morning the scruffy blood peddler is preparing to do business in the Interstate Blood Center, 2543 W. North Av. Less than 24 hours earlier he had sold a pint of blood at a North Side commercial blood bank and under the rules of giving blood should have waited at least another eight weeks before selling another pint.

He is the kind of donor that is giving the nation's medical community nightmares. The blood of these donors is 11 times more likely to be infected with hepatitis, a disease that attacks the liver, than the blood of the unpaid donor. The transaction at Interstate was not unusual. What was unusual is that the donor was Philip Caputo, a Task Force reporter and his report of the incident underscores the laxity in some of Chicago's commercial blood banks:

STOPS ASKING QUESTIONS

"The technician took down my phony name and address, then he started going down the list of illnesses. After I had replied 'no' to the first half dozen diseases, he stopped asking questions and just marked 'no' down the rest of the list. That done, he sent me into the back of the building, where a female technician tested my blood pressure, pulse, blood type, etc."

This exchange followed:

"Is that a needle mark?" the employee asked.

"Yeah, I had a blood test yesterday when I was looking for a job," Caputo replied.

CAUTIONS THE RESPONSE

"You know you're not supposed to give blood more than every eight weeks," she cautioned, apparently suspicious of the response. "A lot of people try to do that."

Caputo protested that he had not given blood recently, and the employee then told him to lie down on a couch so the blood could be drawn. As they prepared to take the blood, he was forced to make an excuse to leave in order to avoid giving blood twice in 48 hours.

A blood bank technician who worked closely with Task Force reporters said he learned on his first day at work how easily some unqualified derelicts can sell their blood.

CLIENTELE OF WINOS, ADDICTS

The Scientific Blood Donor station is located at 1573 W. Ogden Av., and almost all of its clientele are the drifters, winos, and drug addicts who live in the flophouses along West Madison Street.

"The very first day I worked there some guy came in whose iron count tested at 38. My supervisor told me to write in phony numbers. He told me to go ahead and pass him and put down a 41 [acceptable iron count for donors] on the card," the technician recalled.

He said he quickly learned falsifying records and passing unfit donors was a regular practice at Scientific. He said the practice extended from prospective blood sellers with low iron counts to those with high blood pressure.

"One guy came in. Everything else was all right with him, but his blood pressure was 196 over 152 [normal is 120 over 80], but my supervisor passed him," he said.

The technician said he suspected that the pressures of filling a daily quota forced employees to ease up on screening donors.

"But I wouldn't accept any of them," he said. "I would reject everybody, with all their

drinking and wrecking themselves with malnutrition."

But even basic standards of cleanliness are sometimes laid aside, according to the technician. He said he became aware of this one day when he accidentally dropped a needle on the floor as he was attempting to correct its position in the arm of a paid donor.

TAKES NEEDLE FROM FLOOR

As blood spurted from the arm of the donor, his supervisor picked the needle up and prepared to reinsert it because the blood bag was only three-quarters full.

"That's a dirty needle," the technician said he warned the supervisor. But he said the supervisor reinserted the needle.

"What he should have done was paid the donor and scratched the blood sample since it wasn't a full pint," the technician said.

Brig. Roland W. Quinn, officer in charge of the Salvation Army's Harbor Light Center, 654 W. Madison St., accused commercial blood banks of "exploiting" men in search of liquor.

LIE TO GET MONEY

"The drive for the next drink is just so great that they will lie to get the money," said Quinn.

The Scientific Blood Bank makes it easy for donors to spend their fee on alcohol. Instead of cash or a check, donors are paid with a voucher that can be redeemed only at a nearby liquor store. The liquor store requires them to make a purchase. And if the donor makes a small purchase, he is charged a dime as a voucher cashing fee.

Robert Gallagher, president and owner of Scientific, explains the voucher system this way:

"There is a currency exchange three blocks away, but some of these guys (paid donors) would have a hard time finding it."

Scientific is one of 11 commercial blood drawing stations in Chicago. Five are located in Skid Row or low income neighborhoods. The 11 stations dominate the blood market in Chicago, supplying the city with 60 per cent of its blood needs every year.

HAVE NETWORK OF STATIONS

And two of the commercial operations—Scientific and Interstate—have a network of donor stations in slum and Skid Row neighborhoods in Washington, Cincinnati, Detroit and Milwaukee. Blood from these cities is frequently used in Chicago.

An officer of the Beverly Blood Center, Inc., 9944 S. Western Ave., admitted that his company operates a donor station in Uptown because it puts them closer to their customers.

"At present? there simply aren't enough people volunteering blood, so you have to pick an area where low income people live," said Roger Sullivan, who manages Beverly's four drawing stations. "They use the money to buy a dress or augment their salaries. We hope it's not used to buy alcohol, but you can't control that."

Dr. J. Garrett Allen, an expert in blood research and professor of surgery at Stanford University, Palo Alto, Cal., takes a different view of the commercial donor. He contends that the fees paid for blood guarantee that more bad blood will enter the medical community.

"The pay scale (generally between \$5 and \$15 a pint) is all that is necessary to attract addicts and Skid Row people," said Allen. "It will not attract others."

The owners of some commercial blood banks dispute the statistics of people like Dr. Allen.

Dr. Coye C. Mason, owner of the Chicago Blood Donor Service, 2050 N. Clark St. labeled Allen's figures as "a lot of hogwash."

"Anyone who lies down to give his blood is a volunteer," said Dr. Mason. "We pay the donor for the time he takes to come and give his blood."

RESULT OF BAD BLOOD

Richard Frame, a 68-year-old civil engineer, doesn't care who wins the verbal battle. He received two units of blood during neck surgery in Wesley Memorial Hospital in April, 1969, and four months later he was back in the hospital with hepatitis.

Frame said his doctor told him the disease was a result of bad blood received during surgery. Frame has suffered 15 per cent permanent liver damage.

Frame, is suing the hospital for \$100,000 and the hospital in turn has sued Chicago Blood Donor Service, alleging that it was the source of the blood.

Frame describes his experience this way: "It's agony. Agony and a lot of turmoil. It was like the bottom had dropped out of everything."

Below is voucher used at a blood bank: Scientific Blood Bank, Inc., 1873 West Ogden Ave., Chicago, Ill.

This is not a check. Non negotiable, No. 1311.

Pay to the order of John Doe five dollars (\$5.00).

Redeem at locations stamped on the reverse side.

Cash only at Ogden Liquors, Inc., 1535 W. Madison. No charge for Cashing Checks.

Voucher issued to donors by Scientific Blood Bank, which can only be redeemed at nearby liquor store.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Sept. 15, 1971]

VOLUNTEERS CAN END OUR BLOOD DILEMMA

It was to be a routine medical operation, and Dr. Richard Sassetti was determined to keep the patient out of danger.

Sassetti is director of the blood bank at Rush Presbyterian St. Luke's Medical Center Hospital, 1753 W. Congress St. While he had nothing to do with the surgery scheduled for that morning, his decision could mean life or death for the patient.

Only hours before the operation was scheduled, Sassetti was confronted by an enraged surgeon who wanted to get started early and needed blood. But Sassetti was reluctant because his volunteer donor blood supply was low and an early operation meant he would have to rely on the blood from paid donors.

BLOOD IS "HIGH RISK"

Sassetti and his colleagues in the hospital blood bank business describe the blood from paid donors as "high risk" and for years they have been desperately trying to avoid using it. All too often, they claim, the paid donor is a wino or drug addict whose way of life means that his blood may well be teeming with hepatitis virus, a debilitating disease that attacks the liver and can become a killer in the operating room.

"Where's the blood," demanded the surgeon. "What's the problem. Why can't you find a donor?"

Sassetti responded to the dilemma in the only way he knew. First, he made the rounds of the hospital searching for suitable donors. When that failed, he and an intern each gave a pint. But they still needed two more pints. Sassetti still was reluctant to call a commercial blood outlet and run the risk of getting "high risk" blood.

"How about you doctor?" Sassetti finally said to the surgeon. "You're carrying it in your veins."

SURGEON WALKS AWAY

Sassetti recalls that the surgeon reacted with a shocked look, then turned on his heel and walked away. Several hours later Sassetti succeeded in getting two more volunteer pints, but he points to the incident as a classic case of what is happening more and more as the medical community shrinks from using the blood of paid donors.

"I guess he [the surgeon] didn't realize what kind of a problem we've got," Sassetti said. "Too many doctors think that blood

can be obtained as easily as aspirin. They just scribble out 'transfusion' on the patient's card and think all you have to do is go to the corner drugstore and pick it off the shelf."

But concern has been growing among physicians in the last 18 months since the discovery of the first test to detect some hepatitis tainted blood. The test known as the Australian Antigen Test, is effective in showing the virus in only one out of four cases. It can show positive in one test and negative in the next when the same person is being tested.

TESTS PROVE DANGER

Many medical experts say the test proves that there is a very real danger from the quality of blood being used in transfusions. It is of such proportions that some experts consider it a matter of life and death for one out of every four patients over the age of 40 who receive transfusions.

"As the [hepatitis] situation now stands it is reminiscent of Upton Sinclair's 'The Jungle,' a book in which he exposed the lack of sanitary conditions in the meat industry in 1906," said Dr. J. Garrott Allen, professor of surgery at the Stanford University School of Medicine and an authority on blood. "The question is will the federal government act and when? Or must this be action brought about by a consumer revolt?"

Allen, Sasseti and a growing number of others in the medical community are convinced that the only answer is a sweeping, well organized volunteer blood donor program that would eliminate the use of paid donors. Even some of the commercial blood bank operators concede this is the only solution and quickly point out that they could play a part in the program. Somebody has to draw the blood, they say, and they are set up to do the job.

Allen explains the problem and a possible solution this way in an unpublished paper entitled "Hucksters in Blood":

"Most agree that we could reduce our incidence of transfusion hepatitis by nearly 90 per cent if we used only a volunteer system. This should eliminate the use of prisoner, Skid Row and addict populations as donors, because money is the urgent need of these people for more drugs, more alcohol and sometimes food. It [the United States] is the only country in the western hemisphere and in Western Europe in which a national volunteer blood program does not exist."

"It follows that, if 7 million units of blood will meet the nation's annual needs of our population of 200 million, only 3.5 per cent of the people need to contribute blood," Allen said. "However, there are 65 million people ineligible to donate blood because they are either too old or too young. Possibly another 35 million, for major or minor reasons, may not be eligible. With these crude and rather generous estimates, the nation's needs could still be met if 7 per cent of the eligible population contributed blood annually. . . . If each of the 100 million eligible blood donors contributed three units [pints] of blood during his lifetime, the problem would be solved."

In Chicago at this time, 60 per cent of the 250,000 pints of blood used each year are supplied by paid donors who received from \$5 to \$15 a pint. Michael Reese and Mt. Sinai have acted in recent months to cut off paid blood, however. They believe they have reduced the hepatitis risk to their patients.

Dr. Richard Aster, executive director of the Milwaukee Blood Center, said Wisconsin embarked on a successful volunteer blood program several years ago. He attributes the success to the use of a centrally located blood center with satellite mobile units. This has eliminated the competition for blood among several agencies.

PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAM

This means that only one public relations program is needed and it can be more effective,

Aster said. A problem faced by any donor recruiting program, is that blood spoils after 21 days, so all programs must be constantly publicized and cannot be successful with only one or two well-publicized campaigns a year, Aster said.

Several other large metropolitan areas, including New York City, have established similar central donor services. New York operates an entirely volunteer program which supplies 300,000 pints of blood a year to 17 counties.

Dr. Morris Schaefer, assistant commissioner of the city's Public Health Department characterizes the center as "the best system we have at the present time, but it is not good enough. We still have a large demand for commercial blood and it must be lessened."

Except for a 20-hospital computer system set up at Michael Reese Hospital with help from the American Red Cross, there is no such central service in Chicago.

SET UP OFFICES

Last month the Metropolitan Chicago Blood Council organized a staff and set up offices on Michigan Avenue to begin a program to help meet the need for volunteer blood.

According to Dan Helsdingen, executive director of the council, the council's objectives are to assist in recruiting donors, provide a computer inventory of all available blood and volunteer donors in the metropolitan area, and to carry on a public education program.

Experts in the blood field, including the most severe critics of paid donors, acknowledge that an immediate prohibition of paid donors would leave most hospitals without blood. But gradual change-over to all-volunteer blood can be accomplished, they say, pointing to successes in individual hospitals and several large communities. Even then, paid donors may be used, if their blood is used for research purposes, not transfusions.

Meanwhile, Dr. Aaron Josephson, director of the Michael Reese Research Foundation Blood Bank, said that a central registry is needed in the Chicago area to catalog the names of all donors who at one time tested positive for the hepatitis associated antigen. Josephson said that the Red Cross operates such a computerized reference nationally which is available to any blood bank but is rarely used in Chicago.

MAKE CITY RESPONSIBLE

Robert Gallagher, president of the Scientific Blood Bank, 1434 W. 79th St., suggested that the state or the city be responsible for registering and testing all donor applicants and that they issue identification cards certifying that they meet all qualifications to sell their blood.

In another development, an attorney for Dr. Coye C. Mason, president of Chicago Blood Donor Service, Inc., 2050 N. Clark St., a commercial blood bank, objected to a reference in yesterday's Task Force article about paid blood donors which described Mason as an owner of the operation. The attorney said Mason was an owner at one time, but the blood bank has since become a not-for-profit corporation and is controlled by a board of directors.

PROTECTING AMERICAN JOBS

HON. JOHN F. SEIBERLING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. SEIBERLING. Mr. Speaker, the year 1971 will go down in history as the year in which America became acutely

aware of its changed position in the world economy. For the first time in many decades, American workers in many industries found themselves face to face with significant competition, or the threat of significant competition, from products imported into the United States from abroad.

Everyone is now aware of the problem, but the solutions are not at all clear. It is my hope that the Ways and Means Committee will hold hearings on this subject at an early date, and I have written its chairman, the Honorable WILBUR MILLS, urging such hearings.

In the meantime, I believe it will contribute to a better understanding of the problem and the implications of some of the proposed remedies if appropriate material can be made available for study by the many Members of Congress who are concerned about it. Because the tire industry typifies the problems facing many industries, I am taking the liberty of inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD important statements relating to the problems of international trade as they relate to the tire industry.

Today I am offering the remarks of Mr. Raymond C. Firestone, chairman of the board of the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., contained in a speech he delivered to the National Foreign Trade Council meeting in New York City on November 15, 1971. The company which Mr. Firestone heads is not only one of the two largest corporations in the tire industry but is also one of the largest and most successful "multi-national corporations" in the United States. Mr. Firestone points out that the key to the survival of American industry is productivity. His recommendations concerning the renewal of productivity in American industry and its relationship to full employment deserve most serious consideration.

Mr. Firestone's statement follows:

A ROAD TO ECONOMIC SURVIVAL

(Remarks of Raymond C. Firestone)

To be invited to appear before the National Foreign Trade Council is a deep honor. It also is quite a challenge because of the many changes which have taken place since President Nixon stood before the television cameras on August 15.

Today's international marketplace has become so complex that a multitude of theories abound. Ask any five people in this room how to solve the trade imbalance, for example, and you'll likely get three to five different answers. Bring in your counterparts from other nations and you'll end up with even more diverse answers.

It seems as though almost anyone you meet these days is ready to expound on free trade, on protectionism, quotas, retaliation, multi-nationals, export credits, GATT injustices and on and on.

Basically I am an advocate of free trade and would be delighted if the day would come when all kinds of goods could flow freely from nation to nation, with each country exporting the products it can make best. However, I don't hold out too much chance to see that happen in my lifetime.

While advocating free trade, I found myself applauding the President's action of imposing a 10 per cent surcharge on imports for two reasons:

1. It is to be a temporary move.
2. It became time for us to let the other trading nations know we had reached the point where we had to take action to under-

score our realization that we could no longer economically live with existing inequities.

It's my opinion that we've been too easy with too many for too long. If our easing of restrictions had been matched by others then we would be far better off and I would have opposed even this temporary surcharge.

I believe that over the long haul this action will be viewed with favor even by those it has affected. It will show them that this country, like the others, needs proper two-way trade.

I hope, though, that the results of this action will not cause a groundswell of feeling that we should resort to a position of advocating continuing tariffs or import quotas or other artificial barriers to block imports. That would be like applying band-aids when the patient needs complete medical treatment.

To impose barriers would result in an increase in domestic complacency, and we already have seen what complacency can do. Barriers do not make for better products, nor do they keep prices down. Actually they can result in the opposite. Barriers tend to create a vacuum which takes away the incentive to become more competitive.

This brings us to what, in my opinion, is the root of the problem we have been facing with the flood of imports—the need for greater productivity.

Productivity is the key to any nation's growth and continuing vitality, and it's a factor which, in the United States, has not been keeping pace with the rest of the world.

A Labor Department study shows that the United States had the smallest gain in output per manhour of any large industrialized nation in the decade of the 1960's.

Our growth rate in that span of time amounted to less than 35 per cent, compared with the gain by Japan of more than 188 per cent. It is true that Japan, like some others, had a lower base, but other highly industrialized economies also rose well ahead of our rate. Germany, for example, went up 87 per cent, Sweden 100 per cent and France nearly 75 per cent.

I realize that figures are difficult to remember so I don't intend to inundate you with them, but I would like to cite just a few more to point out the seriousness of the trend. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, using 1961 as the base year, shows that the rates of compensation and of productivity in the United States rose on a parallel track until 1964. Then the two rates began to separate to the point where last year the productivity increase reached 25 on the scale, while the compensation rate reached 50. In other words, in 1970 the compensation rate was double the productivity rate.

This disparity cannot be allowed to continue or we will price ourselves right out of the market—both the international market and the domestic market. In fact, company closings are becoming all too common already. The number of jobs lost has become a boxcar figure.

Also significantly, in 1970 the profit margins of manufacturing corporations declined to 4 per cent of sales, the lowest level in 20 years and a percentage which should be considered alarming to all concerned with the total economic future.

Unless we start, and start right now, to uncover ways to improve our productivity, this nation is faced with a continual increase in the number of business fatalities with a startling rise in job losses.

Should the solutions not be found, I fear that this nation faces a period of economic chaos. I hope and trust we can recognize the problems and move toward solving them before we reach that point.

The Road to Survival will take a lot of soul-searching on the part of labor, management, the government and the consumer. Self-serving splits between these groups must be replaced by an attitude of mutually beneficial cooperation.

The days of having the luxury of people knocking down our doors to buy our goods are at an end and we now must act with that understanding, while at the same time making United States products as attractive in price and quality as those flooding us as imports. If we cannot do this we will not be able to compete in our own country, let alone in other countries.

So we must ask ourselves:

What good would it be to have a contract for the highest wages in the world if there is no job to earn them?

What good would it be to have modern and massive factories if they are forced to cease operations?

To continue to enjoy the standard of living we have come to expect as our natural and national heritage, we must look realistically at where we are and where we might be going and I think that we then will come to the conclusion that we must undergo a period of belt-tightening, or at least of not letting the belt move out another notch.

Productivity is a combination of men, machines and methods. Until the past few years it seems we were able to offset continually rising wage and salary costs through the installation of more productive equipment and methods.

Industry will continue to make breakthroughs, but so will our foreign competitors. We must remember that our overseas counterparts no longer are operating with foot-power lathes and hand-crank blowers. Those who have visited facilities in other countries know that their production equipment in many cases is as good as ours. In other cases it is even better because, in addition to other reasons, entire industries were built from the ground up after World War II and they have kept abreast of the latest machine tool developments.

So it becomes a difficult arithmetical problem to ponder how the same product can be turned out on the same type of machine for the same price when one worker is receiving the equivalent of \$6.00 or more an hour and the other the equivalent of \$1.50 an hour, and also, when the latter worker is producing more per day than the former.

Yet those are the conditions under which we are expected to compete with the products of other nations, not only for the export markets but in our own domestic markets.

Our work force today, even in this period of recession, enjoys the best life of any worker in the history of the world . . . and well he should. Take any criterion—home ownership, savings, car ownerships, vacations, hobbies, education for his children—and it is easy to see why the United States employee is envied by his counterparts around the world.

For these are the same things they want, and are working hard to achieve. They have the desire, the goal, which seems to be waning in this country.

We have set ourselves up as the envy of the world and now we have started to see that those who want to attain what we have can compete on even ground—in fact, on more than equal terms because of our high costs.

I am not necessarily advocating forced pay cuts, though it may be necessary to look at some adjustments.

I am however, strongly advocating that pay increases be linked to productivity and should not be allowed to exceed gains in output, as they have been doing. I also am advocating that all of us—and I mean all of us, not just those in the labor force—earn what we are receiving because if we don't earn it we're going to lose it at an ever-increasing clip.

Somehow we must make this realization carry some real meaning. To do this we must change the type of thinking that says it just can't happen to me; it always will happen to someone else.

At my own company this came up not too long ago. Over a period of several years we kept pointing out at one of our non-tire plants that our costs were going out of line mostly because of labor costs far higher than at comparable plants elsewhere, as well as those of other industrial concerns in the same city. We said time and time again that we would have to face the closing of the plant unless we could achieve greater output per man or lower contract demands. We achieved neither.

Now sadly, the plant is closed, and other jobs in that labor-surplus market are virtually non-existent.

I know that many of you in this room have had similar experiences, and I'm sure that it also took you through quite an emotional trauma.

It is not pleasant to know that people will not face the economic facts of life. Yet if they do not face these facts I shudder to contemplate the consequences.

Ralph Waldo Emerson once wrote, and I quote: "This time, like all other times, is a very good one, if we but know what to do with it." Unquote.

How I hope and pray that we learn what to do with it before it is too late.

It is human nature to want as much as can possibly be obtained, and yet there must come a realization on the part of all of us that there is a point beyond which economic disaster is the only landing point.

We could resort to pointing fingers of blame, but instead we should take a positive approach. There is far too little understanding of how the free enterprise system works, and it's time we did something about it. And this will take the concentrated efforts of all segments of our society—business, labor, government, the news media and our educational institutions—all of whom have a great stake in the future of our country as a world economic power.

All of us must make a concerted effort to inform and convince all employees and all others how jobs are created and how they are maintained.

We must convince them that profits are a must in order to make available new capital needed to retain existing jobs and create additional jobs.

For example, in the tire industry to build and equip a new plant takes an investment of between \$45,000 and \$50,000 per employee.

We must make employees realize that their paychecks bear the imprint of the company and no other source. We must convince them that no company has a never-ending pot of gold, and we must convince them that there is no way to negotiate competitiveness.

As part of this clarification process we should not let the term "multi-national company" become a whipping boy. Multinationals are being subjected to criticism today because some feel that by building plants in other countries we are taking away United States jobs. The critics would make us believe that this is a new movement, but that's hardly the case. Firestone, for example, started its first foreign plant more than 50 years ago, with 20 others being added before 1960, which was long before the criticism of multi-national companies was started.

We also must point out that historically a foreign operation has generally been considered only when there has been a market in that country for the products. And if the market is there some company from some country is going to become involved, and it's my opinion that it's in the best interest of our nation to have that company be one from the United States.

In the case of the tire industry there is no evidence that building plants abroad has taken away United States jobs. Facts show that tire companies actually export far more than they import.

This is especially true at Firestone. In the first seven months of this year we exported

262,000 passenger tires and brought in only 16,000, a ratio of 16 to one!

I believe that the majority of employees, if given these types of facts in straight-forward fashion, will have a better understanding of these things, and I think they'll adjust their thinking.

As a partial basis for this view, I refer to the Gallup Poll taken after President Nixon instituted the wage-price freeze. It showed that 65 per cent of those in union-member families held a favorable opinion of the program, not far behind the proportion of adults in non-union households, where 75 per cent expressed support.

As one assembly-line worker told the pollster: "It sounds like a good thing for the country. I may lose a raise because of the freeze, but if Nixon can keep prices down I won't mind so much."

Similar views were expressed across the land.

Employees can appreciate the facts, if the facts are made available to them, and that's a condition that all members of management should be made to realize.

I still believe that the average man will take pride in his work, if given the chance and the inspiration through information and leadership.

While calling on management to do a better job of leading and communicating with the workers, I also call on the labor leaders to face the facts of economic life and to encourage the rank and file to do a better, more praiseworthy job.

It's no longer a matter of wishes; it's a matter of meeting the challenge of economic survival in this highly competitive world.

We're already beginning to see a sign or two that we are meeting this challenge. For example, after the United Steel Workers settlement was reached the union said it would try to help industry's low productivity rate and said it would not block technological change. One top steel worker official said: quote "We are going to try to convince the workers that their futures depend on steel becoming more competitive." Unquote. An isolated statement, but a very important and revealing one.

In his Labor Day address President Nixon said he believes "the work ethic of this people is alive and well." It is my opinion that at this time he was a bit optimistic in making that statement, but I think we can again reach that point.

A renewal of the competitive attitude can accomplish this, and I believe it's far from being an impossible task.

I believe that given the facts, and the alternatives, that people will respond in the proper way.

If they understand their role in the quest for competitive productivity—that our future depends on it—I believe we will see a reawakening of the enterprising spirit which has served this nation so well in the past.

I believe there's precious little time to waste.

LEGISLATION TO REGULATE THE TRANSPORTATION OR SALE OF SALMONELLA - INFECTED BABY TURTLES AND OTHER DISEASE-CARRYING CREATURES SOLD AS HOUSEHOLD PETS

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the unrestricted sale in interstate commerce of domestically raised live creatures intended as household pets poses a serious

public health problem which existing Federal law does not meet. Salmonella is so widespread among baby turtles that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare informs me it is apparently impossible so far to breed disease-free specimens. An alarming percentage of salmonella infections among children has been traced to these baby turtles.

Other species of animals, birds, amphibians, reptiles, and so on, also carry diseases injurious to human beings, and although there is legal authority to ban the importation of infected wild creatures, those which are produced in the United States can apparently be sold in interstate commerce without hindrance.

As we approach the Christmas season, we can look for stepped up promotion of live creatures as gifts to children, with the likelihood of further spread of serious diseases. At Eastertime, too, this is always a source of public concern.

I have therefore today introduced a bill, H.R. 11953, to provide authority to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to issue regulations restricting or prohibiting the transportation or sale or other distribution in interstate commerce of live creatures intended as household pets if they are infected in significant degree with diseases injurious to human beings.

The legislation would not apply to animals or other creatures sold or transported in interstate commerce for medical, industrial, educational, or research purposes, or for zoos, and so forth. And of course, it would not apply to those intended for food, which are already covered by other laws.

PROMPTED BY RESEARCH BY MRS. DEWEY ANDERSON

The legislation I am introducing today is an outgrowth of facts called to my attention by Mary L. (Mrs. Dewey) Anderson, now of St. Louis, who for 9 years had done humane education work in Roanoke, Va., concerning the care of baby turtles, both independently and through the humane society in Roanoke. She reported to me that the Public Health Service had spent many years in an attempt to breed salmonella-free turtles and apparently was unsuccessful. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare subsequently confirmed this information to me.

Mr. Speaker, as background for this legislation, I include at this point the first letter to me from Mrs. Anderson on this subject early this year, my reply, inquiries I directed to the Secretary of Agriculture, the chief of the Public Health Service, and to the Commissioner of Food and Drugs, the subsequent answers, and then further correspondence with Mrs. Anderson, as follows:

St. Louis, Mo., January 1, 1971.

HON. LEONOR SULLIVAN,
Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: In November an agent of the St. Louis office of the Federal Food and Drug Administration suggested that I see you. I planned to do this during the holidays but was informed by your office here that you would have to return to Washington too quickly to permit appointments. Therefore I shall try to set forth the whole matter in this letter.

I am greatly concerned over the fact that

baby water turtles sold as pets are still carrying salmonella bacteria despite the fact that nearly five years have been spent by breeders and U.S. Public Health scientists in an attempt to breed salmonella-free turtles.

In 1965 medical doctors made it known to the public that pet turtles could carry disease to children and adults. When more than a year passed and pet turtles were still being sold, I went to Washington to find out what was being done about the situation, and to try to get a ban put on their sale. I talked with officials in USDA and HEW and also contacted Communicable Disease Control in Atlanta, Georgia by letter. I found that U.S. Public Health Department scientists were working with the turtle breeders to find a way to clean up their contaminated pools, tanks, etc. and to breed turtles free from the bacteria. That they have been unsuccessful in this attempt, can be seen from the enclosed copy of a recent newspaper clipping from Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Little children are still being made ill by the bacteria carried by turtles.

New Zealand does not allow the importation of turtles into that country since they received a diseased shipment from the United States in 1965. I am enclosing a copy of a letter stating this fact.

For nine years I have done humane education work concerning the care of baby water turtles, working both independently and through the humane society in Roanoke, Virginia where I lived until moving to St. Louis a year ago. Experience has taught me that the infant mortality rate of these hatchling turtles is nearly 100%, due to improper care in stores and homes, and to various diseases (besides this salmonellosis—turtles themselves are not affected by this disease). They often have pseudomonas bacteria infection and fungus infection, also malignant and non-malignant tumors. Children put their hands into the turtle's water which is usually kept filthy, and then put their hands into their own mouths, thereby really "eating" the turtle's excrement together with any germs it might contain.

On November 17, 1970 I turned over to the St. Louis office of the Federal Food and Drug Administration this same information which I am giving you. I asked that they do something to stop the sale of these turtles. I mentioned to them that if they could be classified as something "eaten," they could fall under FDA jurisdiction and be removed from the market; also I suggested that something might be done through the 1969 child protective legislation, the Safe Toy Act, since in many cases they are bought more as toys for little children than as real, living creatures. The gentleman with whom I talked said that he would pass the information to Washington and suggested that I talk with you. Two weeks after this, I wrote to the Consumers Union, giving them the same information I am giving you. They acknowledged receipt of my letter and said it had been forwarded to the appropriate members of the staff.

I believe that all turtle sales, for pets, should be stopped nationally. Except for profit for the breeders and merchants, the turtle trade produces nothing but misery and loss. To the turtles themselves it brings suffering, starvation, disease and death; and to the consumer and his family it brings illness, loss and disappointment—in almost every case he loses the turtle through death before it has grown at all. In fact, so rare it is that one lives and grows to maturity that most persons think that these are miniature turtles, incapable of growth. Humane education just does not work well in the case of cold-blooded creatures unless a person spends an infinite amount of time and patience caring for them as I have for nine years. By means of a nourishing diet and meticulous care, I have successfully raised some from hatchlings to adults. Some turtle care booklets state that turtle care is easy

Nothing could be more misleading. Easy care means death.

It is my hope that you can do something to put an end to this danger to the health of children. Entirely too much time has passed while the turtle breeders have tried to get rid of the bacteria, which despite all their efforts, still shows up in turtles being sold in stores at the present time.

Yours sincerely,

MARY L. ANDERSON.

[From the Milwaukee Journal,
Oct. 13, 1970]

TURTLE SALE BAN URGED

The city health commissioner Tuesday asked the Common Council to ban the sale of baby turtles within the city because of the possibility of spreading disease among children.

The recommendation by Dr. E. R. Krumbiegel was included in a proposal to revise the ordinance governing the sale and keeping of animals. The proposal was presented to the Council's Health-Traffic Committee.

The proposal also specifically prohibits the keeping of goats as pets within the city.

Last spring when the Health Department tried to banish Stoney, a pet goat owned by the John P. Fulton family, 3845 N. 44th St., Ald. Mark W. Ryan and several other aldermen objected.

Krumbiegel told the committee Tuesday that his department has found that many turtle aquariums in stores contained germs that could infect children.

He said the diseases ranged from some as serious as typhoid fever down to milder strains.

"We're constantly getting children who pick up infections from these turtles," he said. "This is a national problem and Milwaukee will not be the first community to prohibit the selling of turtles."

The committee delayed action for three weeks after Ald. Harold Jankowski said that citizens should be given the opportunity to speak before the revised ordinance, which contains many sections affecting them, was passed.

In addition to the ban on the sale of turtles and the keeping of goats, the ordinance proposal provides \$10 to \$200 fines for:

Keeping as pets bees, sheep, swine, chickens, ducks, turkeys, geese or cows.

Selling skunks, raccoons, foxes or bats, because of the possibility of spreading rabies.

Selling dyed baby chicks as pets.

Keeping a kennel of two or more dogs as a business for boarding, breeding, sale or sporting purposes without purchasing a \$10 license.

Operating a pet shop or animal grooming establishment without a \$10 license.

Keeping rabbits or guinea pigs within multiple unit dwellings.

Keeping a vicious animal or one which creates a habitual nuisance.

NEW ZEALAND
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
March 19, 1968.

Mrs. MARY L. ANDERSON,
Roanoke, Va.
U.S.A.

DEAR MRS. ANDERSON: In reply to your letter of 18 March it is quite true that a ban has been placed on the importation of turtles and tortoises into New Zealand.

This prohibition was imposed following the discovery in 1965 of a number of sero types of *Salmonella* Bacteria in tortoises imported from the U.S.A., not previously isolated in New Zealand.

The ban was imposed in the interests of both human and animal health.

Yours faithfully,

Director, Animal Health Division.

CONGRESS OF THE
UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 12, 1971.

Mrs. DEWEY ANDERSON,
St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR MRS. ANDERSON: My hunch is that the Food and Drug Administration would not have jurisdiction over the sale of baby turtles as pets but would only be interested in this item when the turtles are intended to be sold for human or animal food. But I do believe the Department of Agriculture would have jurisdiction and would be interested in this problem. I will contact that agency and also the Public Health Service to see what can be done to protect children from salmonella or other diseases carried by these pets. FDA has responsibilities for administering the hazardous toys provisions of the Child Safety Act, but I suspect pets would not be considered toys. Agriculture, on the other hand, has extensive responsibility in connection with the sale of pets.

I am delighted that you brought this matter to my attention and I will look into it. Throughout my career in Congress, informed suggestions and specific details from constituents have provided me with the leads on most of the consumer issues I have been successful in pursuing—both legislatively and through administrative action. I will keep you informed of any developments.

Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress, 3d District,
Missouri.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 12, 1971.

Hon. CLIFFORD M. HARDIN,
Secretary, Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Some years ago, when she lived in Roanoke, Virginia, Mrs. Dewey Anderson, now a resident of St. Louis took up with your department and also with the communicable disease officials of the U.S. Public Health Service the danger to children from salmonella-carrying baby water turtles sold as pets. She was advised by the U.S. Public Health Service that their scientists were working with the turtle breeders to find a way to clean up their contaminated pools, tanks, etc. and to breed turtles free from the bacteria. Apparently they have not succeeded. The Department of Agriculture of New Zealand informed Mrs. Anderson in 1968 that it has prohibited the importation of turtles and tortoises into New Zealand following the discovery of the bacteria in tortoises imported from the United States. Mrs. Anderson further advises me that the City Health Commissioner of Milwaukee has proposed banning the sale of baby turtles in that city.

I suppose there is a tangle of jurisdictions here between the Department of Agriculture, the Public Health Service, and perhaps Food and Drug. Therefore, I am asking that your department contact any other agencies which may have companion jurisdiction over this problem and report back to me on the scope of the problem and what can be done about it. I am sending copies of this correspondence including Mrs. Anderson's letter to me and my reply, to the Commissioner of Food and Drugs, and also to the Surgeon General. Conceivably the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of Interior might also have responsibilities here.

I am impressed by the amount of research Mrs. Anderson has done on this subject. She makes an extremely persuasive case for Federal action by someone, and I believe the agency most directly concerned would be in

your department, particularly under the new legislation dealing with the sale of pets.

Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress,
Third District, Missouri.

WASHINGTON, D.C., January 12, 1971.
Dr. CHARLES C. EDWARDS,
Commissioner, Food and Drug Administration,
Arlington, Va.

DEAR DR. EDWARDS: I am enclosing copies of a set of material on the problem of disease-carrying baby water turtles sold as pets which I have just sent to the Secretary of Agriculture. It is my belief that his department would have primary jurisdiction, but your agency may also have responsibilities in this field and I have asked the Secretary of Agriculture to contact your agency in any inquiry he makes into this issue. Thus I want you to have the background documentation.

Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress, 3rd District, Missouri.

WASHINGTON, D.C., January 12, 1971.
JESSE L. STEINFELD,
Surgeon General, U.S. Public Health Service,
Department of Health, Education, and
Welfare, Washington, D.C.

DEAR DR. STEINFELD: I am enclosing copies of a set of material on the problem of disease-carrying baby water turtles sold as pets which I have just sent to the Secretary of Agriculture. It is my belief that his department would have primary jurisdiction, but your agency may also have responsibilities in this field and I have asked the Secretary of Agriculture to contact your agency in any inquiry he makes into this issue. Thus I want you to have the background documentation.

Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress, 3d District, Missouri.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., January 25, 1971.

Hon. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: This is in reply to your letter of January 12 in behalf of Mrs. Dewey Anderson, St. Louis, Missouri, concerning the danger to children of Salmonella-carrying baby turtles sold as pets.

This Department has no jurisdiction over pet turtles. The Animal Welfare Act of 1970, PL 91-579, gives this Department, effective December 24, 1970, responsibility for humane handling and care of warmblooded animals. Pet turtles are coldblooded and, as such, do not come within the scope of this Act. Therefore the Department has no control over this species.

As you requested, we are forwarding a copy of this letter and your correspondence to the Center for Disease Control, U.S. Public Health Service; Bureau of Veterinary Medicine, Food and Drug Administration; Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, U.S. Department of the Interior; and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce.

We are requesting these agencies to reply to you direct.

Sincerely,

E. E. SAULMON,
Deputy Administrator.

WASHINGTON, D.C., January 26, 1971.
Mrs. DEWEY ANDERSON,
St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR MRS. ANDERSON: I have just received the enclosed reply from the Department of

Agriculture regarding the sale of disease-carrying baby water turtles. Apparently the Department of Agriculture does not have jurisdiction over this matter as I had previously thought.

At this time we will have to wait until I hear from the other Government agencies. I will keep you informed of any replies that I receive.

Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress, 3d District, Missouri.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
Atlanta Ga., January 28, 1971.

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: We have received your letter of January 12, 1971, regarding the problem of salmonellosis associated with turtles. This matter has been referred to members of my staff who are working on the problem and a more detailed response will be sent to you within the next week.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID J. SENCER, M.D.,
Assistant Surgeon General, Director.

ST. LOUIS, MO., February 2, 1971.

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: I just wish to thank you for all you are doing in the matter concerning the sale of disease-carrying water turtles. The thorough and efficient manner in which you are handling this problem, as evidenced by the copies of your letters to various Government agencies, is indeed gratifying and has given me hope after many discouraging years spent in trying to do something about the entire pet turtle situation. I am confident that if there is any possible way to stop the sale of these turtles, you will find it.

I plan to be in Roanoke, Virginia from February 6 thru February 15. If for any reason you need to contact me during this time, I can be reached at 2236 Denniston Ave., Roanoke, Va., telephone (703) 343-0858. At this address, please ask for me as Mary Anderson to avoid confusion with my son's wife.

Sincerely yours,

MARY L. ANDERSON.

ATLANTA, GA., February 3, 1971.

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: The following information is submitted to clarify questions raised by your letter of January 12, 1971, to Surgeon General Steinfeld, and Mr. E. E. Saulmon's letter of January 25 to you relative to the question of disease-carrying baby turtles.

Pet turtles have been recognized as a cause of salmonellosis since 1963. We have just concluded a survey in the State of Connecticut which indicates the possible seriousness and magnitude of the problem. The survey indicated that about a quarter of all salmonella infections in Connecticut may be due to infection acquired from infected pet turtles.

Data is now being collected from other States which will define the magnitude of the problem nationally. It is expected that these studies will be completed in the very near future. If these studies bear out the seriousness, appropriate measures of control will be sought.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID J. SENCER, M.D.,
Assistant Surgeon General, Director.

WASHINGTON, D.C., February 8, 1971.

Mrs. MARY L. ANDERSON,
Roanoke, Va.

DEAR MRS. ANDERSON: Thank you very much for your gracious comments on my efforts to pursue the water turtle issue you called to my attention. I am enclosing a copy of a letter I just received from the Center for Disease Control of the Public Health Service at Atlanta which confirms the seriousness of this problem.

The ultimate solution may rest in an amendment to the Animal Welfare Act of 1970, which, as the Department of Agriculture pointed out, applies only to warm-blooded pets. From your knowledge of this issue, do you know of any other coldblooded species in which any similar situation might exist and which are sold widely as pets?

Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Member of Congress, 3d District, Missouri.

ROCKVILLE, MD., February 11, 1971.

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: Dr. Edwards appreciated your letter of January 12, 1971, and enclosures, giving background on the problem of pet turtles carrying Salmonella. We have also received a copy of Dr. E. E. Saulmon's letter of January 25 to you concerning the limitations in the Animal Welfare Act of 1970.

The Food and Drug Administration has concern over the public health hazards posed by live turtles and other reptiles, and by baby chicks and ducklings which are intended as pets for children. The numerous outbreaks of salmonellosis caused by pet turtles reported by the Public Health Service, Center for Disease Control, as well as other public health journals, amply document the existing health hazards.

The problem of Salmonella infection in live turtles is further complicated by the likelihood of transovarian passage of salmonellae to the egg, and consequently to the embryo and the hatched turtle. There are no known procedures for decontamination of the infected reptile, hence, it would appear that banning the sale or distribution of turtles, and other pet reptiles, may be the only adequate solution. We understand that some states, particularly Washington, have regulations governing the sale and distribution of pet turtles.

As you have recognized, there are jurisdictional and legal complexities involved in establishing effective control over the interstate traffic in these live pets. This matter has been and is now under active consideration by FDA. The legal problems are under study and review by the General Counsel of the Department.

Thank you for your interest in making this information available to us.

Sincerely yours,

M. J. RYAN,
Director, Office of Legislative Services.

ST. LOUIS, MO., February 16, 1971.

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: I was very pleased with the reply which you received from the Center for Disease Control at Atlanta. I did not know that they were in the process of collecting data pertaining to the carrying of salmonella bacteria by pet turtles. If the survey leads to action, other than quarantine, on the part of the Public Health Service, it may prove to be the best solution to our problem, provided that the action is ade-

quate, permanent and taken without delay. Several years ago, I was told by the Center for Disease Control, that they would consider putting a quarantine in effect if the situation worsened. This would necessitate holding of turtles a month or more, and unless enlightened care was provided during this time, the turtles would be so weakened that they would be more susceptible to other infections, such as pseudomonas and fungus, after quarantine; also quarantine would not serve to save the millions of baby turtles which die each year because of the difficulties of raising them in the average home.

More than two years ago, when I first heard that legislation concerning the welfare of pets for sale was being considered, I tried through the national humane associations, to have cold-blooded animals included. However, their opinion was that it would be impossible to do that at this time; and, they, being thankful for the prospect of having some measure of relief for warm-blooded animals, were afraid to jeopardize it by insisting on the inclusion of the cold-blooded creatures.

I am not familiar with the exact provisions of the Animal Welfare Act of 1970, however, from what I have been told, I understand that it has to do principally with the conditions under which pets for sale are transported and held. Even if the cold-blooded were included, is there anything in the law which could be used to actually prohibit the sale of certain species even for the protection of the public or the welfare of the animals concerned? I should like very much to have a copy of this act as I feel completely in the dark concerning its provisions.

In answer to your question concerning cold-blooded species, other than turtles, I have not had first hand experience with them; however, I have it on good authority that the same high mortality rate and suffering experienced by pet turtles is applicable to all cold-blooded creatures. The care and proper environment is rarely provided in the average home. Sales of reptiles and amphibians are definitely on the increase, but of course, the millions of turtle sales far surpass all the others.

Since receiving your letter, I have consulted a herpetologist concerning the possibility of other cold-blooded species carrying disease to humans as is the case with turtles. He did not know of anything which has been definitely proven at this time. However, he said that there is a suspicion that cold-blooded animals can carry encephalitis. I have been trying to contact a certain veterinarian in whom I have confidence. If, upon contacting him, I find any additional information on the subject of disease carrying, I will let you know.

Our departure from Roanoke has been delayed due to the fact that my husband became ill after arriving in Roanoke. We plan to start back to St. Louis tomorrow.

Sincerely yours,

MARY L. ANDERSON.

WASHINGTON, D.C., February 22, 1971.

Mrs. DEWEY ANDERSON,
St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR MRS. ANDERSON: The enclosed copy of a letter from the Food and Drug Administration isn't too clear on just where that agency's jurisdiction actually lies in dealing with the problem of infected water turtles sold as pets, but it does express the FDA's "concern" over the danger and states that the jurisdictional and legal complexities of solving the problem are now under study within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Some of the information in the FDA letter may be of particular interest to you for it indicates that it is not only a question of infection spreading from

one turtle to another within the tanks but from female to egg. Were you aware of that?

I am also enclosing a copy of Public Law 91-579, the Animal Welfare Act of 1970. As I read that again, I see that the whole thrust of the legislation is to assure humane treatment of the animals involved rather than to protect against public health hazards. So I am inclined now to believe a separate piece of legislation, unrelated to the act, and directed entirely to the prevention of the spread of disease among children and adults in the purchase of pets which carry contagious diseases might be the proper approach. After you have a chance to read Public Law 91-579, will you give me your views on the approach of a public health bill rather than a bill dealing with humane treatment of pets. Whichever approach you prefer, I will be glad to have such a measure prepared and introduced.

In that case, I would like your permission to incorporate, in any material I place in the Congressional Record explaining the need for the legislation, the various letters you have sent me and the clippings you enclosed, as well as my replies and my exchanges of correspondence with the agencies which included references to you. In view of your extensive research and hard work on this issue, I imagine you would have no objection to your identity being revealed as the person who stimulated such a piece of legislation, but I would certainly not use your name without your express permission.

Sincerely yours,

LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,

Member of Congress, 3d District, Missouri.

St. Louis, Mo., February 27, 1971.

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: Thank you for the copy of the Animal Welfare Act of 1970. I agree with you that a separate piece of legislation, unrelated to this act, is necessary in dealing with the problem of salmonellae-carrying pet turtles.

Since receiving your letter asking for my views on the approach of a public health bill, I have tried to consider the matter from every angle and to arrive at the most adequate, fair and least complicated approach in view of the many factors involved. My thoughts concerning the subject run as follows:

Many animals sold as pets (including cats, dogs, parakeets) can, and sometimes do, carry salmonella bacteria and other disease germs to humans. It would be impossible, as well as undesirable, to pass legislation outlawing the sale of all possible carriers of disease, or demanding certification or testing of all such animals sold as pets. Even if such legislation could be passed, there would be no hope of efficient administration in such a tremendous field. Therefore, legislation should be limited to the prohibiting of the sale of only those carriers responsible for a high incidence of disease, as determined by the U.S. Public Health Service. Those to be covered at present would be specified in the bill and would probably cover all reptiles (all cold-blooded if possible), chicks and ducklings (and perhaps rabbits). If need arose in the future to ban the sale of others, a short amendment would suffice.

Arguments supporting the banning of these particular animals:

1. They are responsible for a high percentage of the total cases of salmonellosis.
2. The majority of them are bought as pets for small children who put everything into their mouths. Often the excrement of these creatures soils the hands of children and is carried from hands to mouth. In addition to salmonella bacteria, often there is present pseudomonas bacteria and fungus, and the carrying of other disease is suspected in the case of some of the animals.

3. The infant mortality rate among cold blooded pets is almost 100% due to disease, malnutrition and cruelty suffered at the hands of the children. They rarely survive in the average home.

4. The suffering resulting from the sale of chicks and ducklings as pets is well known. Their sale is illegal in 17 states (as of April 1970) and many major cities.

Stipulations which should be made:

1. Both the sale of and the giving away of should be prohibited. (Sometimes these animals are given away free for sales promotion, advertising, etc.)

2. Sale of the imported as well as the domestic should be banned. (Turtles are being imported from South America and Indonesia, and probably from other countries as well. Other reptiles are also being imported.)

3. Nothing should be construed as preventing the sale of or the giving of these animals to zoos.

4. Bill should go into effect as soon as it is signed. (This would prevent flooding of market with these animals during interim.)

I believe that such a bill could rest upon the research which has been and is being done by the Public Health Department, which seems, from the letters which you have received, to be very thorough and to be bringing to light little known facts, such as infection spreading from female to egg—I did not know this. The survey of various states now being made by the Communicable Disease Control Center will probably provide substantial support also.

I think it necessary that the sale of the designated animals be completely banned rather than controlled by testing, certification, etc. because such testing would not completely solve the problem—it would, in fact, give rise to other problems. For one thing, it would lead to the practice of taking quantities of turtles from their natural habitats in hopes that they could pass the tests better than those commercially bred, although I understand all turtles can carry salmonellae. The taking of these turtles, many species of which are not overly abundant, would lead to the eventual extinction of many kinds. This practice is already being carried on to some extent but would be brought to an end by a complete ban.

A statute calling for certification of absence of salmonellae rather than complete banning would be inadequate should the specified animals be found to carry other disease of which there is suspicion at this time. Also a certification law would be difficult to administer; and, of course, it would not save from suffering and death those animals which passed the test.

I realize that this letter is rather long and rambling, and, no doubt, lacking in clarity on some points, however, it is my hope that it may be of some help in preparing legislation.

You have my permission to incorporate in any material which you may place in the Congressional Record, my letters to you, together with any enclosures, your replies to me and your exchanges of correspondence with various agencies which include reference to me.

Thanks so much for everything you are doing in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

MARY L. ANDERSON.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
FISH AND WILDLIFE SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., March 8, 1971.

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MRS. SULLIVAN: Your letter to the Department of Agriculture regarding the sale of salmonella-carrying baby turtles has been referred to this office for reply.

Although the Fish and Wildlife Service of

this Department does conduct research on diseases, that research concerns almost exclusively the diseases of commercial and sport fishes. We have learned, however, that this problem is now under study by the Food and Drug Administration, since that Agency is concerned about the public health problems associated with this disease. We have also learned that there are jurisdictional and legal problems involved which are now being reviewed by the General Counsel's office of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

We regret that our Bureau cannot offer any advice regarding this disease, since we have had no experience with it; however we hope the above information will be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

SPENCER H. SMITH,
Acting Director.

TEXT OF H.R. 11953

In the absence of any proposed draft of legislation from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which is apparently still struggling with some of the jurisdictional problems possibly inherent in a legislative solution, I have prepared a bill which may or may not be technically adequate in meeting the pet disease problem but which does reduce the issue to legislative form. It is my hope that the appropriate Committee of the House will promptly ask the Government agencies which have expertise in this field to comment on the bill and propose whatever changes are necessary to make it effective.

As Mrs. Anderson pointed out to me in one of her letters, it is not necessary to ban the shipment of any pet which conceivably could carry a disease injurious to humans, but it is important that it apply to those species which, as carriers, are responsible for a high incidence of disease. The legislation is intended to be broad enough to provide the Secretary of HEW with sufficient flexibility in making those determinations.

The text of H.R. 11953, is as follows:

[Ninety-second Congress, first session]

H.R. 11953

(In the House of Representatives, Mrs. Sullivan introduced the following bill:)

A bill to protect the public health by providing authority to regulate or prohibit the transportation, sale, or other distribution in interstate commerce of live creatures intended to be offered as household pets, if determined to be infected with serious disease injurious to human beings

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the Diseased Pet Act.

FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

SEC. 2.(a) The Congress finds that serious diseases injurious to humans can be carried by animals and other live creatures sold or offered for sale or otherwise distributed in interstate commerce and intended as household pets.

(b) The purpose of this Act is to authorize to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") to promulgate regulations necessary to protect the public, and particularly children, from unreasonable exposure to serious diseases carried by infected animals, whether warmblooded or coldblooded, birds, fish, amphibians, reptiles, or other creatures intended to be accepted into households as pets and sold or distributed in interstate commerce.

REGULATIONS

SEC. 3. (a) To the extent necessary to carry out the purposes of Section 2, the Secretary is authorized to issue appropriate regulations to prohibit or restrict the sale or transportation, or other distribution in interstate commerce of live creatures in order to pre-

vent or reduce the transmission of diseases to human beings.

(b) In carrying out this Act, the Secretary shall consult with the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Commerce, and the Secretary of the Treasury in locating and identifying diseased or infected creatures subject to this Act, and in making regulations thereunder.

EXEMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Sec. 4. (a) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to repeal or modify any provision of the Public Health Service Act, the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, the Wholesome Meat Act, the Poultry Products Inspection Act, or any Act dealing with the importation or shipment of injurious mammals, birds, fish (including mollusks and crustacea), amphibia, and reptiles.

(b) This Act shall not apply to animals or other creatures sold or transported or otherwise distributed in interstate commerce for zoological, medical, educational, scientific, industrial, or research purposes, or for human or animal food.

SANCTIONS

Sec. 5. Anyone who violates any regulations promulgated by the Secretary under section 3 of this Act shall be fined not more than \$500 or imprisoned not more than six (6) months, or both. The Secretary is hereby authorized to obtain injunctions against prospective violations of the Act or of regulations issued thereunder prior to a violation actually occurring, if he has reasonable grounds on which to believe a violation is about to occur.

AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATIONS

Sec. 6. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out this Act.

SPANISH CENTER OF CLEVELAND, OHIO

HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, Americans of Spanish-speaking nationality descent have greatly enriched the culture of this Nation through their unique customs and traditions, and their proud achievements. But as this country became urbanized over the past several decades, the Federal Government exhibited a shameful neglect for their special needs. Thus many Spanish-speaking Americans are now crowded into our major cities, subjected to dilapidated housing, substandard education, and severe unemployment.

Such a situation now exists with regard to the 25,000 Spanish-speaking people of Cleveland. However, in an effort to solve these problems through their own initiative, these citizens have formed the Spanish Center of Cleveland. The center recently proposed an ambitious program to meet their needs in such areas as adult education, housing, youth counseling, and drug treatment. This program is very much deserving of the support, both financial and otherwise, of the Federal Government. I have pledged to do all that I can to see that their program becomes a reality, and I would now like to commend the text of their proposal to my colleagues:

SPANISH MULTISERVICE CENTER OF CLEVELAND PROPOSAL

I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

In the city of Cleveland it is estimated that there are approximately 25,000 Spanish-speaking persons. There has been a rapid growth in our population from about 600 in 1950 to the present 25,000 people. These persons have come from 14 countries, an American Zone (Panama), a Communist-leaning island (Cuba), a commonwealth of the U.S.A. (Puerto Rico), and a European nation (Spain). A significant number of our Spanish-speaking people are Mexican-American, who have come to make Cleveland their home. In 1960, Puerto Ricans accounted for 82% of the Spanish-speaking population in Cleveland. About one-half live in census tracts on the West Side, and several more population pockets exist on the East Side (Table I). These 27 tracts account for 75% of all of Cleveland's Spanish-speaking residents. These facts mentioned above are reported by Mr. Jack Aqueros, as a National Urban Fellow, in his report "The Spanish-Speaking Community of Greater Cleveland" in 1970.

In a recent series of articles appearing in the *Plain Dealer* in late April of 1971, Mr. Joseph Eszterhas reported on the Puerto Ricans in Cleveland. He accurately described their present plight, thusly:

"For nearly two decades, debilitated by their condition, by estrangement, prejudice and poverty, they have resisted community organization, concern and involvement.

Now, out of bitterness, frustration, alienation and a feeling that they are trapped on the bottom rung of the American totem pole, they show signs of an increasing awareness of their problems, an increasing resolve to deal with them."

He has captured the mood and tempo of the Spanish-speaking in Cleveland at this time. We are playing an increasingly important role in seeking social change, and this proposal represents an example of this new thrust.

II. THE SPANISH CENTER OF CLEVELAND

The Spanish Center of Cleveland, which sponsors this proposal, is a non-profit organization and based at 1910 West 54th Street on the Near West Side of Cleveland. The organization, which has representatives from 26 social, religious, civic, ethnic and youth Spanish groups (Addendum No. 1), was formed in December 1970. It represents the first successful, conscious effort to unite the Spanish-speaking people in Cleveland. The Board of Commons consists of 57 active members and 52 alternates, and meets monthly at the Spanish Center. Average attendance at meetings vary from 40 to 50 people. The Executive Committee has thirteen members, including six officers, and meets semi-monthly (Addendum No. 2). During their first 10 months of operation the Board of Commons and the Executive Committee of the Spanish Center of Cleveland have developed our basic organization, elected officers, approved our regulations, convened and incorporated the Spanish groups into this organization, obtained full use of Spanish Center facilities, and developed, reviewed, and approved this proposal. Some services (day care, adult English and Spanish classes, drama classes, adult mathematics classes, library, clothing and food distribution for the poor, social services and referrals, and special community events) have begun, and others are being negotiated with the Urban League and the Apprenticeship Program.

To fully appreciate the progress to date of the Spanish Center of Cleveland and emerging leadership in the community, one must first go back and look at some recent history of the Spanish-speaking people and our relationship to the Catholic Diocese of Cleveland. In 1953 the Diocese established its Spanish Mission as an organized effort

through an assigned priest to meet the spiritual needs of the Spanish-speaking people. In addition, the Spanish Mission has served as a liaison to welcome newcomers and assisted them to obtain housing, employment, food, clothing, and etc. The first office of the Spanish Mission was located at St. Paul's Shrine on the East Side of Cleveland, where the Spanish-speaking people first settled. By 1960, the population of our group had grown steadily, so that the largest portion of our population was on the Near West Side of Cleveland, which is still the case today. In order to maintain its relationship with the people, the Spanish Mission office moved too and existed at five separate locations at different points in time during the past ten years. Although there has been only one priest-director of the Spanish Mission at any given time, he has frequently received some assistance from other priests serving a Spanish Apostolate or from the Jesuit Retreat House.

Over the past several years community leaders of the Spanish-speaking people have sought to obtain our own parish church and hall as a focal point for social, civic, and religious activities of our people. On December 20, 1968, a formal request for this was sent to Bishop Clarence G. Isenmann as head of the Diocese of Cleveland. In September of 1970 at a meeting of the Commission on Catholic Community Action of the Diocese of Cleveland, the Spanish-speaking Task Force of the Commission strongly repeated its earlier request as well as some additional demands: (1) that nothing should be decided or planned without community involvement in the decision-making process, (2) that Catholic schools should not exclude Puerto Rican children for financial reason, and (3) that Catholic schools should gear their programs and curriculum to the needs of the Spanish-speaking children. The Priests Senate of the Cleveland Diocese voted support for the request for a Spanish parish in 1970. In December of 1970 the Diocese of Cleveland responded by announcing that the parishioners of St. Stephen Church share facilities with the Spanish-speaking community. The former St. Stephen High School building, which consists of three floors, made its first floor available for community activities for the Spanish-speaking people. It has served as the headquarters for the Spanish Center of Cleveland. Recently a group of our Executive Board met with Bishop Isenmann and he has given us assurance that the total building is available to our community, and it will serve as the principal location for our proposed Spanish Multi-Service Center. It is with this facility resource and the needs of our people in mind, that we present this proposal seeking funds for our multi-service center. In addition, the Diocese of Cleveland contributes \$26,400 per year towards our center (Table IV), our facility and its estimated value (Table V), and some of our present equipment (Table III).

III. PROBLEMS AND NEEDS

As one would imagine the problems of the Spanish-speaking people in Cleveland are immense and complex, since many of them are interrelated and interdependent. Also one seeking to identify the problems of Spanish-speaking people in our city encounters some difficulty in obtaining reliable statistics and isolating these figures from our non-Spanish-speaking neighbors, as many figures are supplied by census tracts and make no effort to separate various subgroups within the community. Nevertheless, the figures supplied below are as accurate as are currently available to us and reflect the great needs of our people.

Poverty.—In the area of greatest concentration of our people (West 25th Street to West 65th Street from Detroit Avenue to Lorain Avenue) there are at least 10,000 Spanish-speaking people in a neighborhood

of 30,000. It is near the heart of the West Side's high poverty neighborhood. Fifty percent of the population is under 21 years of age. About 20% of those under 18 years of age do not live with both parents. Approximately one-third of the families have less than \$4,000 in family income annually. About 4,000 persons of the 25,000 Spanish-speaking people in Cleveland are welfare recipients.

Education.—More than two-thirds of Puerto Rican teenagers attended West and Lincoln High Schools, which have now merged into Lincoln-West High School, during the academic year of 1968 to 1969. These two schools had the highest dropout rates, including the East Side (predominantly Negro) poverty area schools. The rates that year were 24.4% at Lincoln High School and 24.3% at West High School. During 1970-71, the new Lincoln-West High School's rate dropped to 17+ % and ranked fourth city wide. Spanish-speaking youth had a high casualty rate. In 1969-1970 it was estimated that there were only 24 Spanish-speaking college students attending our Cleveland colleges. One estimate is that between 80% and 90% of our youth fail to graduate from high school. Many causes contribute to this problem: language barrier, financial pressures, irrelevant school curriculum, and inadequate counseling services. A report of one of our West Side high schools noted that the holding power for youth of Spanish surnames is 37%, whereas the city-wide holding power for the same classes is 60%.

Unemployment and Underemployment.—The Director of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico labor office, recently supplied the estimate of about 16% as the current rate of unemployment among our people. He further estimates that about one-third of his clients are unable to fill out a job application form in English. An employment interviewer at the West Side Opportunity Center, noted that he receives on the average of about 20 applications per week. At least 60% of these lack proficiency in English and about 40% are looking for new and better jobs. He estimated that about 15% of our population are in manufacturing or low-skilled jobs. The Ohio State Employment Service has indicated that about 70% of the labor force in Cuyahoga County's greenhouses is made up of Puerto Ricans.

Drugs.—Unfortunately the Cleveland Police Department statistics for drug arrests do not specify individual drug use or national heritage of the user. However, Lt. Burt Miller, head of the Narcotics Unit says, "We have a real problem out there and we're trying to work on it." An ex-Director of the Puerto Rican Youth Center, claims that a substantial percentage of the area's youngsters are on drugs. He noted that drug use was higher among the 19-25 age group, and that many are using heroin, marijuana, and glue. Police sources report unofficially that the area ranks second in drug use, especially heroin, to some of the East Side heavy drug areas.

Community Participation.—As stated earlier in this proposal, the Spanish-speaking have been frequently criticized for apathy, indifference, and reluctance to become involved in civic affairs. Fortunately there seems to be indications that these patterns are changing, but still more work is needed in this area. There are only about 3,000 registered Spanish surnamed voters in Cleveland. There are no Spanish-speaking City Councilmen of the 33 wards, and in 1970 for the first time two Spanish surname precinct committeemen were elected. Also many of our people realize that our plight is tied to that of other minority groups—Blacks, Appalachians, Indians, etc.—and that coalitions must be formed to achieve common goals.

Housing.—Much of the housing in which

our people reside is old, rundown, and even ugly in appearance. Almost 90% of the housing on the Near West Side is over 50 years old, and some homes were built as early as 1840. Many homes are overcrowded, as occupancy limits are not observed or enforced. Sometimes homes built to accommodate two families are split up to handle four or five families. A recent survey by the city's Department of Community Development found that more than 50% of housing in our area of greatest concentration to be substandard. These conditions are not conducive to good family and community life which all of us seek.

Inadequate Youth Services.—Many of our youth are not receiving or participating regularly in constructive recreation programs. This is a matter of grave concern especially when considered in relation to our previously described problems of school dropouts and drugs. Many of our youth float the streets, skip school, and get into trouble. There seems to be little available to interest, stimulate, and challenge them. The very limited existing programs do not attract them in significant numbers. New programs and approaches are needed to reach our youth and to guide them successfully.

Cultural Pride and Heritage.—Since the Spanish language is our native tongue and our language of most comfortable expression, it sometimes separates us from our non-Spanish-speaking neighbors. Also there is a tendency in the schools and community to make us become Americans, and thus to deny our cultural ties and beliefs. We feel that there is a need to preserve, perpetuate, and share our culture with others. We do not believe that our history, background, and cultural heritage should be ignored or dropped. We want it to remind us of our origin and to use it to enrich our American society.

IV. SPANISH MULTISERVICE CENTER

In order to meet and effectively deal with this wide range of problems faced daily by our people, it is quite obvious that a comprehensive set of coordinated services is most essential. That is why this proposal seeks to establish a Spanish Multi-Service Center to serve our people. In the past and present we have frequently been uninformed about available services or programs; sometimes they have been inaccessible or inconveniently available, or our people have felt uncomfortable due to communications or cultural barriers. Our proposed Spanish Multi-Service Center will seek to actively serve our Spanish-speaking people as its target group, but all of our services will be available to all interested people in need in our community.

The following items comprise a list of the unique features of our proposed Spanish Multi-Service Center:

(A) An integrated and coordinated delivery of services with emphasis on accessibility and availability to the needs of our people. We see the vital importance for follow-up on all services rendered directly or indirectly to people.

(B) A personalized approach to our people that will maximize the interpersonal, human relationships between the individual or family assisted and the service provider.

(C) A Spanish-speaking Director and significant proportion of Spanish-speaking staff who will be able to relate easily and comfortably to our people and the community. This will make services more acceptable to the average Spanish-speaking resident. Our own operations will be developing employment and leadership as well as direct services to people. See the attached job descriptions (Addendum #3) for more details. Also note the organizational chart (Table II) attached.

(D) A corps of neighborhood and suburban volunteers to augment our core staff

and extend services and concerns of the Spanish-speaking throughout Greater Cleveland. We are confident that others will gladly join our efforts in this important project.

(E) Our Board of Commons and Executive Committee, which is composed of area residents, will be the policy-making body for this project. They will approve of programs and services offered by the center and will develop policies to improve the delivery of services. All programs and services rendered will be accountable to the Director and the Community Board.

(F) Our facilities for the Spanish Multi-Service Center, as mentioned earlier, are owned by the Diocese of Cleveland and are an "in kind" contribution to our multi-service center. We deeply appreciate this contribution and welcome their role in our partnership for this endeavor.

(G) A branch operations of our multi-service center would be established on the East Side to increase accessibility to services for our population located on our city's East Side. Several parishes (Our Lady of Fatima and St. Francis) have expressed an interest and willingness to free up space for our program if we are funded.

V. PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

So that an effective and meaningful attack can be mounted on the massive problems described above, it becomes apparent that a responsibly operating multi-service center is desperately needed. The band-aid approach will not work if surgery is indicated, and we seriously believe the latter is necessary to bring about major social and community change for our people. In developing a multi-service center, we see the need for developing some new programs and services geared to meet our special problems. In addition, some current programs available in Greater Cleveland need to become decentralized and more accessible to our people and our needs. In this latter instance, we would aggressively seek to encourage such desirable programs to be based at our center and require that they become accountable to our organization and community. Thus, we would not only receive the benefit of their services, but would be helping them to more effectively relate them to our community and people's needs.

In developing our own programs, we would attempt to work through five major departments: Education, Youth, Citizens in Action, Employment, and Emergency Assistance, and have several programs and services for each of our departments. It is our firm belief that education represents our greatest problem and need, as well as our most important hope for improvement in the future. Thus, we would propose that it be our largest department and greatest thrust.

In the Education Department, we would plan to initiate and operate the following programs:

Adult English and Spanish Classes.—These would range in scope from adult basic education classes aimed at combating illiteracy to creative writing and poetry classes. We plan to help adults get GED diplomas. We would seek to offer a class for all interest and ability levels. We would seek to help our people become fluent in both languages.

Bilingual Pre-School Programs.—These would be geared to helping our youngsters develop language skills and self-expression, as well as providing a meaningful and pleasant introduction to the world of education. They would learn early in life to be proud of their language and heritage. Field trips would play a large part in this program.

Adult Drivers Course.—Although the State of Ohio recently approved legislation to permit our people to take tests for acquiring their driver's license in Spanish, no effective tool has been developed to assist people at the community level. We would develop such a program to fill this unmet need in Cleveland.

Scholarships.—As stated earlier, many of our youngsters are dropping out of schools—especially the junior and senior high school levels—and few are pursuing a college education. We see the development of a vast scholarship program, to assist junior and senior high school and college students, as being most vital at this time. We would also put heavy emphasis through publicity and awards on educational attainment achieved by our people. We believe this would stimulate and encourage others to strive for higher goals and greater proficiency.

Spanish Center Library.—To further promote our educational programs and goals, we would develop within our center and its branch a library with books and materials in Spanish and English. It would be a spot for reading, study, and gaining more knowledge.

Tutoring.—To assist our school age youngsters with their studies and language development, an active tutorial program will be developed. It will be almost entirely a voluntary effort and utilize neighborhood and suburban people who are Spanish-speaking. This service is greatly needed by our children.

Educational Counseling.—One of our most critical needs, and this affects the school dropout problem and frustration among our youth, is to have good and sound educational counseling. Many of our youth graduating from high school find themselves inadequately prepared academically for college, even if they desire and are able to attend. The ratio of school counselors to students, which then becomes even more disproportionate when coupled with language and cultural barriers that often exist, makes it imperative that we have our own educational counselor. He would assist students in assessing skills and interests and counsel them regarding career choices. Also he would help them with problems encountered and seek to aid them to cope with them.

Cultural Heritage and History.—To develop greater pride and appreciation for our heritage, we would seek to promote this through the Adult English and Spanish Classes, Bilingual Pre-School Programs, and Community Library which were described above. In addition, numerous special events, holidays, and meetings would be sponsored to promote greater understanding of our background. These special events would be open to the public at large and be a way of our assisting them to better understand us.

Senior Citizens Forum.—An information and educational series to acquaint and notify them of various programs set up to benefit them. Also we would encourage their identification of problems and needs and seek to help them through our community organization services in follow-up. We would expect them to be actively involved in the cultural activities and programs of our center.

In the Youth Department, we envision the following recreation and group service programs:

Clubs, Athletic Teams, Trips, and Field Days.—An active and vigorous recreational program would provide a wholesome outlet and some positive alternatives to possible involvement in the drug problems in our community. We see these programs leading to our youth's possible involvement in the program described next in this proposal. Volunteers will help in these programs.

Youth Leadership Development.—The challenges and opportunities we hope to develop with our youth who are leaders should have long-range effect in future community development. Our youth leaders will be given opportunities to accept and assume responsibility, to plan and develop programs for the youth and community, and to further learn and develop tools for leadership. They will actively engage in community service projects to help our people.

Street Work Program.—To reach some of our alienated youth, we see the need to have workers relate to them and redirect them at

the community level. Many of our youth are frustrated, disillusioned, and feel apart from the mainstream in our American society. We see this program providing intensive individual work and counseling, building bridges to schools and other service organizations, and being an advocate for the needs of our problem youth.

The Citizens in Action Department will be one of the most lively aspects of our multiservice center and will contain the following programs to help our people:

Voter Registration.—This will be a year-around concern and be an active effort to inform and stimulate voter registration and participation. We will sponsor public meetings to inform our people about issues and candidates which will be on the ballot. Follow-up efforts will be made to see that registered voters do cast their vote at the time of election.

Community Organization.—Direct service and assistance will be given to our residents in helping them to organize to achieve social change. Issues will be identified, discussed, and planned action will occur to resolve them in the interest of our people and the community. We will attempt to form coalitions with other groups (Blacks, Appalachians, Indians, Ethnic, etc.) on common concerns. We will seek to develop greater opportunities for our people to take an active role in our society and in shaping our community.

Economic Development.—We will develop consumer cooperatives, buying clubs, and credit unions to help our people in a direct economic way. We are concerned with price markups and cheating that takes advantage of our people. There is a need for community education on these matters and citizen involvement to correct these injustices. In addition, we will be concerned with helping new minority owned or operated businesses to start. We will seek resources to assist them.

Adult Leadership Training.—As mentioned earlier, we are interested in opportunities to develop presently active and potential leaders in our community. There are an increasing number of opportunities for our people to serve on civic, social, and religious boards, but we are unable to supply the necessary manpower. Thus, it means opportunities lost for our people and the community. Greater impact and influence of the Spanish-speaking will be felt throughout Greater Cleveland, as we are better able to meet this need. Our community needs our leadership and we need to be heard.

Another of the major departments in our proposed center will be that of Employment, which we see providing some of the following services:

Job Counseling.—Direct assistance will be given to our people to help them find, obtain, and retain employment. We plan to help them prepare themselves in the best way possible for the prospective job and its demands. A counselor may accompany an applicant for the interview, assist in completing the application form, and continue to follow up with the applicant and employer after he is hired. It will be a personalized approach to helping the currently unemployed.

Job Development.—It is obvious that we need to have good working relationships with present employers as well as aggressively seek new employment opportunities for our people. We do not want our people to be limited in opportunities to certain restricted job fields, and so developing new fields for employment will be most important.

Employment Upgrading.—This will be another of our concerns, as we want our people to have advancement opportunities. We will try to provide some support services—counseling, information on various training programs, language classes, etc.—and work also with employers to promote and

develop upgrading opportunities for our people.

Our final department for our Spanish Multi-Service Center will be that of Emergency Assistance and offer these services:

Housing.—To assist newcomers in locating housing in our community. We also plan to have some involvement with housing rehabilitation, using volunteers, to improve our current housing. We will educate our people on proper home care and maintenance and promote community pride. Also, we recognize the need to develop plans and programs for new housing in our community.

Food.—To help those without financial resources obtain food on an emergency or other special-need basis. We will provide follow-up in these situations, as other services may be indicated and desirable. Volunteers will help with this program.

Clothing.—To help our people obtain clothing in time of need. Many youngsters are missing school due to inadequate clothing, and this could be remedied through this service and follow-up. Volunteers would help procure and distribute clothing to those in need.

Health Care.—Due to the recent establishment of a fine city health clinic in our community, we see our role here mainly in terms of information, referral, and advocacy. We would promote public meetings to keep our residents informed of new health services being made available to them. In addition, we would help individuals and families with emergency health problems—by assisting with transportation, accompanying them to hospitals or doctors' offices, and helping to speed health service delivery. We would keep alert to health problems of our people and work to develop appropriate health services as indicated.

VI. PROPOSED BUDGET

In order to undertake the range and scope of services and programs, which we believe are most essential and are described in this proposal, a large financial commitment becomes crucial. We believe that this is totally in keeping with our plans for a massive attack on our problems, that is so vital to us at this point in time and history. We are willing to assume responsibility for the programs we have outlined above, and to seek meaningful involvement of our people in bettering our community; but we cannot succeed without proper funding. We wish to apply for three years' funding in order to measure the true effectiveness of our approach and to develop meaningful programs with the community. We firmly believe that a three-year period is essential for any adequate demonstration of our plan.

With this in mind, we wish to submit for your funding consideration the following budget request: (See Following Pages)

Spanish multiservice center annual budget

I. Personnel

Multiservice Center director.....	\$14,000
Education coordinator.....	10,000
Youth coordinator.....	10,000
Citizens in Action coordinator.....	10,000
Employment coordinator.....	10,000
Emergency Help coordinator	
(Diocese \$5,000) total \$8,500.....	3,200
Two adult education teachers	
at \$8,000.....	16,000
Two bilingual preschool at \$8,000....	16,000
Automobile driving instructor.....	8,000
Librarian & cultural specialist.....	8,000
Educational counselor.....	8,500
Group services specialist.....	7,000
Three Youth Outreach workers	
at \$7,000.....	22,500
Three employment counselors	
at \$8,000.....	24,000
Two community organizers	
at \$8,000.....	16,000
Housing specialist.....	7,500
Health specialist.....	7,500

Spanish multiservice center annual budget—Continued

I. Personnel—Continued

Food specialist.....	\$7,500
Clothing specialist.....	7,500
Bookkeeper-secretary.....	8,000
Six secretaries at \$4,800 (Dioc. \$4,800) total \$28,800.....	24,000
Three maintenance men at \$6,000 (Dioc. \$6,000) total \$18,000.....	12,000
Subtotal.....	257,200
Social security.....	1,900
Workmen's compensation.....	300
Total personnel.....	259,400

II. Nonpersonnel

Travel.....	\$3,000
Conferences.....	800
Local Meetings.....	400
Staff Reimbursement.....	1,000
Client Transportation.....	800
Space costs: Estimate rent value \$6,120 per year (Table V). "In kind" contribution from Diocese of Cleveland.....	
Consumable Supplies.....	4,920
Office.....	1,000
Cleaning.....	500
Educational.....	3,000
Xerox Copies at \$35 month (Dioc. \$3,800).....	420
Equipment Purchases.....	26,030
Rent Xerox machine at \$25 mo.....	300
Mimeograph Machine.....	650
Four typewriters at \$250 each.....	1,000
Thirty Office and Reception Chairs at \$150.....	4,500
School bus.....	7,500
Two automobiles at \$2,500 each.....	5,000
Two minibuses at \$3,500 each.....	7,000
Adding machine.....	80
(Dioc. equipment on hand \$34,220— See Table III.).....	
Other costs.....	9,668
Postage.....	3,600
Telephone.....	2,000
Insurance (automobiles and build- ing).....	4,068
Utilities (Dioc.).....	6,600
Total Non Personnel.....	43,618
Total budget request per year.....	303,018

Diocese of Cleveland contribution per year

I. Personnel

Social services worker.....	\$5,200
Maintenance man.....	6,000
Secretary.....	4,800
Subtotal.....	16,000

II. Nonpersonnel

Building Rental Value (table V).....	6,120
Supplies.....	3,800
Utilities.....	6,600
Equipment.....	34,220
Human development grant.....	3,000
Subtotal.....	53,740

Total Diocesan contribution..... 69,740

VII. SUMMARY

This request to develop a Spanish Multi-Service Center in Cleveland represents an honest effort on our part to develop a proposal and programs to deal with the problems and needs of our people. It has resulted from numerous hours of study, discussion, and planning, which we willingly undertook

to assist our people and community. Since this is an ambitious project, and one that would require greater demands on us in the future to make it successful, we request three (3) years funding. We feel deeply committed to see it become a reality. We wish to thank you in advance for your time and interest in this request.

FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND NARCOTICS

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, on November 19, 43 of my colleagues joined me in sending a letter to Ambassador Charles Lucet, of France, urging France to make a greater effort to stem the flow of narcotic drugs through that country to the United States. We pointed out the glaring weaknesses of the French law-enforcement effort and called for an all-out commitment by the French Government to halt the transshipment and processing of narcotic drugs in Marseilles.

On November 26 Ambassador Lucet responded in thoughtful detail to our letter. He disputed some of our allegations about the lack of commitment and resources the French Government has applied to solving this problem. For example, he stated that France on November 9 redeemed its pledge to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control, while our letter asserted that she had not. I have checked with the Department of State and they have informed me that to the best of their knowledge, France has not yet redeemed that pledge. The latest information the Department possesses is contained in a press release from the French Embassy released in New York, which quotes from a letter dated November 1, 1971, from the French Permanent Representative to the United Nations addressed to Secretary U Thant. That letter stated:

I have the honor to inform you that the French government has decided to contribute \$100,000 in 1972 to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control.

It should be pointed out that laudable as this as yet unredeemed pledge is, it is far smaller than the contributions made by the United States—\$2 million—or by the Federal Republic of Germany—\$300,000. The U.N.'s effort to halt the international flow of drugs is withering on the vine because of both the lack of contributions and the pitifully small size of those contributions or pledges that have been made.

The Ambassador admitted the truth of our charge that his Government has not closed a single heroin processing laboratory since 1969, but pointed out the difficulty of detecting and destroying these laboratories. Yet, if such operations are so difficult, why have Chile, Ecuador, and Peru, all of which are far less developed countries than France, been able to close down processing laboratories in the past few years? The United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs has reported that each of these countries has closed down

cocaine or opium processing laboratories in 1968 and 1969, the latest years for which figures are available.

At the close of his letter, Ambassador Lucet comments thoughtfully on our own country's uncoordinated efforts to combat the international flow of narcotic drugs. His comments are highly relevant to the Congress' ongoing deliberations about creating a centrally coordinated, comprehensive Federal program to attack all aspects of drug abuse, and I quote them in full at this point in my remarks:

The fight against drug abuse is made somewhat simpler in France through central directions. All phases of the operation are under one command. Not quite so in the United States, where the crusade is led by various agencies—BNDD and the Customs especially—a situation which raises problems of coordination among different services. There are times when this diversity of command and authority creates real difficulties for those of us trying our best to cooperate with speed and effectiveness.

I enclose the text of our letter to Ambassador Lucet and his response for the attention of my colleagues:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., November 19, 1971.

His Excellency CHARLES LUCET,
Ambassador of France,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: As American citizens and Members of Congress, we are prevented by law from negotiating with foreign countries. However, there is no legal barrier which prevents us, as representatives of both political parties, from expressing our concern to you about the French effort to control the traffic in narcotic drugs.

You are no doubt well acquainted with the magnitude and severity of the narcotic drug abuse problem in the United States. Drug abuse is literally killing our cities and our youth and has reached the point, in our President's words, "of a national emergency."

We know that we are responsible for solving our country's problems and we have, in fact, supported a many-fold increase in our country's efforts.

However, it is also true, as our President has stated, that heroin is a "foreign import." The success of our efforts is, therefore, very much dependent upon international cooperation.

France has long been a major trans-shipment and processing point for opium produced in other countries. In fact, France is responsible for the transformation of a substantial amount of relatively cheap opium into much of the heroin, worth hundreds of millions of dollars, which ultimately reaches the United States.

Your country has made an attempt in recent months to rectify this situation. However, we believe that the commitment and resources that your country has focused upon the problem have been far less than the situation demands.

Not one heroin processing laboratory has been closed since 1969.

The number of narcotics agents, now totalling 50, currently stationed in Marseilles, a major processing and trans-shipment center, is grossly insufficient. Paris, with a population of 2.5 million, has a police force numbering at least 40,000.

The agents who are stationed in Marseilles are not adequately equipped with automobiles, two-way radios, secretaries or translators.

Although France took the constructive step of supporting the creation of the United Nations Special Fund for Drug Abuse Control and of pledging a contribution, that pledge has not been redeemed.

France has not fully cooperated with American officials in the Mr. Delouette case in which a French intelligence official has been indicted, and a French consular officer implicated.

In short, France has not lived up to her protestations of commitment. We hope that in the very near future France will take immediate steps to rectify this situation.

As long time friends of France and supporters of continued Franco-American friendship, we regret the need for this letter. We are convinced, however, that France does not wish to incur the bitter enmity of the American people and of the people in those countries which are increasingly becoming victims of narcotic drug abuse.

France, by virtue of her key position in the processing of and traffic in narcotic drugs can either continue half-hearted apathetic efforts or rise to the challenge and make an all-out commitment to stamp out the narcotic drug abuse which is paralyzing cities around the world. We sincerely hope that, true to her ancient tradition, France rises to the challenge.

Sincerely,

Seymour Halpern, Herman Badillo, Jack Brinkley, Ella T. Grasso, Ken Hechler, Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Thomas M. Rees, Peter N. Kyros, Robert N. Gialmo, K. Gunn McKay, John G. Dow, James H. Scheuer, John J. Rhodes, Henry Helstoski, Edward J. Patten, William J. Green, Joshua Ellberg, Robert N. C. Nix, John H. Dent, Dominick V. Danile, Parren J. Mitchell, Michael Harrington, Robert A. Roe, Roman C. Pucinski, James M. Hanley, Robert F. Drinan, Hamilton Fish, Jr., Otis G. Pike, Frank Thompson, Jr. Brock Adams, Ben B. Blackburn, Jonathan B. Bingham, Shirley Chisholm, Louise Day Hicks, Morris K. Udall, Andrew Jacobs, Jr., Tom S. Gettys, Charles A. Vanik, Abner J. Mikva, Chet Holifield, William F. Ryan, Spark M. Matsunaga, Bella S. Abzug, Frank Horton, Robert H. Steele, Members of Congress.

AMBASSADE DE FRANCE
AUX ETATS-UNIS.

Washington, D.C., November 26, 1971.

Hon. JAMES H. SCHEUER,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. SCHEUER: I am taking up your letter of November 19.

French authorities share the anxiety of American Congressmen as they face the dangers drug abuse brings to the youth of the whole civilized world. Indeed, this scourge spares France no more than it does the United States, and my Government feels the same way about it as yours—the fight against drug traffic represents one of its foremost responsibilities.

French authorities are rapidly and purposefully improving their methods and extending their forces. My press services here at the Embassy have already forwarded to you, on several occasions and at my request, precise information on the measures in this field undertaken in France.

But let me take up the specific statements in your letter.

It is true that no laboratory has been shut down recently. Unfortunately, in France as well as in the United States, the responsible authorities still have to reach some of the goals they have set in their struggle against traffickers.

In this respect, one should point out that the important means put forward by the police of Marseilles have compelled the traffickers to change their methods of operating and to scatter their laboratories, in ways that make their detection even more difficult than it was. One might add that other countries than France, both European and Asiatic, have faced the same problem and encountered the

same frustrations. Indeed, evidence submitted in recent hearings before your own colleagues in Congress indicated the vast traffic in narcotic drugs coming into your country from the Far East via the Pacific. I do not cite this fact to excuse any shortcomings in this dreary field, but simply to point out that the difficulties encountered are to be found everywhere the problem comes up.

Besides, there are indeed some accomplishments to record. Some very considerable narcotic stocks have been located and seized. From January 1, 1971 to November 11, 1971, over 1100 lbs of morphine base and 400 lbs of heroin were confiscated, and during the same period, 104 international traffickers, of various nationalities, were arrested. In addition, late in 1970 the penalty for infraction of the law concerning narcotic traffic was increased. My country does mean business in its prosecution of all those it can reach in this criminal activity.

You cite statistics concerning the number of officers assigned to the Marseilles region in the fight against narcotics. They are not correct—or perhaps I should say they are obsolete. Two years ago there were seven. Now there are sixty-three—an increase of 900%. (I am referring, of course, to specialized agents, who should be compared in number with the general police force in Paris). The sixty-three agents in question are part of the one hundred ninety-two members of the regional service of Judicial Police, to which should be added the 3016 officers of Public Safety. The Central Office of the Judicial Police, in Paris, includes thousands officers, of whom 92 have direct responsibilities in the control of drug traffic. The central bureau of Drugs has 44 officers highly specialized who have been given nation-wide assignments on this field. And, finally, some 3000 regular police officers, throughout the country have had a special training in drug problems and have been assigned to drug traffic control.

French authorities believe that the Marseilles police is far from being poorly equipped. It is true that the equipment they have is not always of the same type furnished the police of, say, Detroit or New York. The narrow streets of some quarters in Marseilles are used by traffickers on foot only, and only on foot can the police deal with them effectively. But even with this restriction, the mechanized equipment available is considerable. I shall not load you down with the pertinent statistics, but they are available here in the Embassy if you want them.

I do not understand your statement that France has not paid its contribution to the U.N. Special Fund for Drug Abuse Control. France did indeed make a commitment in this regard, and has redeemed it, despite the very considerable financial efforts required already in developing effective ways for controlling drug traffic on French territory. You were informed of our contribution to the Special Fund through a release by our Embassy press services on November 9, 1971. I added for the record that thus far, only four nations have made their payments to this U.N. Fund.

You bring up the case of Mr. Delouette. Let me simply say that in my country, we are sorry that the rogatory commission sent by French Justice to American Justice has not yet been implemented. French Justice is ready and willing to examine any and all complaints that American Justice brings to its attention. It is indeed actively working on this case.

These indications, motivated by the points you raise in your letter, are intended merely to set the record straight.

I would like to go a step further, after this statement of what France is doing on the national plane, and indicate the effort my country is making on the international plane. The President of the French Republic, Mr. Pompidou, took the initiative, in August of this year, with the goal of establishing a coordi-

nated effort against drug traffic among the countries of the European Community and the United Kingdom. This initiative will serve as evidence, if need be, of the seriousness with which the question is treated in France. The French Foreign Minister, M. Maurice Schumann, presented to his colleagues in the European communities, in September, the French plan of cooperation. France's partners in the European Communities along with the British Government, have just forwarded their replies. A preliminary meeting took place recently in Paris at the Ministry of Interior. We like to think that this represents an important and fruitful trend.

Franco-American cooperation is likewise developing rapidly. Like all effective action of this type, it is carried out discreetly, and sensational revelations could only make its task more difficult. But I would all the same like to bring to your attention a few precise facts. Thanks to this cooperation, eleven arrests have been made in the United States since the first of September 1971, among them four important American drug buyers. The same sort of collaboration has led to further arrests in France. And since September 1, some 600 lbs of drugs have been seized in the United States in three operations carried out in direct connections with the New York branch of our Central Bureau for the control of drugs.

There is, however, one important fact to which I would like to draw your attention. The fight against drug abuse is made somewhat simpler in France through central directions. All phases of the operation are under one command. Not quite so in the United States, where the crusade is led by various agencies—BNDD and the Customs especially—a situation which raises problems of coordination among different services. There are times when this diversity of command and authority creates real difficulties for those of us trying our best to cooperate with speed and effectiveness.

Let me sum up. Our two countries face the same tragic problem, and because of it, we are as concerned for our children as you are for yours. Our two countries have the same reasons—ranging all the way from old traditional friendship to common interests in today's world—for working together. I ask your assistance in watching over this collaboration. It is not helped by unsubstantiated accusations. It must be strengthened by mutual trust if we are to meet the defiant challenge of the criminal operations we face in common.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES LUCET.

AWARD-WINNING POEMS OF MRS.
ETHEREE ARMSTRONG

HON. DAVID PRYOR

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. PRYOR of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, recently a constituent of mine, Mrs. Etheree Armstrong, of Magnet Cove, Ark., was the winner of My Gratitude Award at the State Poetry Day Fair held in Little Rock. Her poetry represents the depth of soul which is in so many Arkansas citizens. It expresses clearly not only their love of the land but also their love of life itself. I would like to insert in the RECORD several poems which Mrs. Armstrong has written and ask the Members to pause a few moments from their daily routine to read them:

AMERICA, MY LOVE

My greatest heritage,
Bound securely in the "Bill of Rights,"
Created for freedom at great sacrifice;
I owe a debt to countless thousands
Which I can never pay!
But render my puny best
Toward world Christian brotherhood.

RECKONING

I think of my heritage and what it has cost
In the battles won—and the lives that were
lost.

And I think of the mothers and their "win-
dow stars";
I think of my heritage and what has cost
bars.

Oh God, what a heritage they have handed
to me—
The Torch of Freedom for the whole world
to see!

And I shall guard this Freedom with life, if
I must,
I can do no less than to honor this Trust!

SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE

Nomadic winds of yearning caress the minds
of men,
The lure of high adventure compelling deep
within!
For balm to soothe our restless souls we seek
without relent,
Nomadic winds forever flow in the valley of
discontent.

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

When I grow up, I'm going to teach
May be "Superintendent of Schools"
Then get right down to business
Of changing all the rules!

We will have a standing menu
Of cookies and Kool-ade,
Chocolate cake, cherry pie,
Ice cream and Lemonade!

With all the bases loaded—
The score is two to two,
I couldn't ring the bell
Honestly mother, could you?

When the snow starts falling
They can't study anyway,
I'll walk up to the intercom
And declare a holiday!

All the children will like me
For changing up the rules,
Things will sure be different, when
I'm Superintendent of Schools.

DID NIXON DESERVE NOBEL PRIZE?

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's successful efforts in creating and maintaining peace are seldom recognized. The President has, in fact, made a remarkable contribution to peace in his first term in office. I have here a column by Walter Trohan from the Chicago Tribune which considers some of President Nixon's accomplishments concerning world peace.

The full column follows:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Nov. 17, 1971]

DID NIXON DESERVE NOBEL PRIZE?

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, November 16.—This is a tale of two men—one, West German Chancellor

Willy Brandt, who got the Nobel Peace Prize; the other, President Nixon, who didn't. Both were considered, so it is fitting that we should consider the choice.

No doubt Nixon can sympathize with Marcus Cato, who exclaimed: "I would much rather have men ask why I have no statue than ask why I have one." Yet, the President can wonder what Brandt had that he didn't, because Brandt's qualifications for the prize are fewer than his own, altho no less well-intentioned.

Brandt's overtures to Russia probably got him the award. He negotiated a treaty between West Germany and the Soviet Union and another between West Germany and Poland. Neither has been ratified. If they are, no one can say how long they will be honored if it does not please the Kremlin to do so.

The West German pact with Russia is aimed at ending Communist harassment of West Germany and its allies over access to West Berlin. In the agreement with Poland, the Brandt government gave up what it does not own—territory once held by prewar Germany but given to Poland after the Nazi defeat by way of compensation for that part of Poland taken by Russia.

Poland is a Red satellite, and the Kremlin is not about to let Poland forget it. Moscow undoubtedly would consider it bad form for Poland, its servant, to sign the West German treaty before Russia, the master. When the Kremlin gives permission, the treaty probably will be signed.

The Nobel prizes were created by the will of Alfred Nobel, the Swedish inventor of dynamite. All but the peace prize are awarded by Swedish committees. The peace prize is awarded by a committee named by the Norwegian parliament, frequently from its own membership.

All the prizes are awarded in countries lying under the shadow of Russia. Norway undoubtedly was aware that Brandt, an anti-Nazi who might be forgiven Russian sympathies, fled to Norway and remained there until Adolf Hitler fell. Prizes frequently have gone to Leftists—including this year's prize for literature, which went to a radical Chilean poet.

This commentator is not downgrading Brandt. In fact, I voted to have him speak in Springfield, Ill., during the Lincoln centennial, because he was the mayor of a divided city and Abraham Lincoln came into national prominence as a result of his anti-slavery speech against a divided house.

Brandt has worked to lessen East-West tensions. But then so has Nixon, who has emphasized time after time that a lasting world peace is his major concern. The President is carrying out his promise to get out of Viet Nam, having withdrawn two-thirds of the American forces and cut casualties to a tenth of what they were under the previous administration.

Through the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks the President is pressing for overall arms limitation with Russia. He has joined Russia in signing a treaty against using ocean beds as sites for testing of nuclear weapons. He has negotiated a treaty banning use of biological weapons in warfare.

Further, the President is going to Red China to work for better relations with 800 million people. He also is going to Russia to work for better relations with 240 million people. Many Americans feel he is too sanguine and too trustful. They would be happier if he demanded concrete evidence of good intentions from Red China and Russia.

Yet, the President's record for peace is impressive for a man who is blasted almost daily by doves as a warmonger, doves who would be moved to outbursts of hysteria if he should be granted the Nobel Peace Prize.

THE WAR IS WINDING DOWN

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial from the Boston Herald Traveler. Relying on facts rather than subjective opinion, the editorial concludes that through the decisive action and effort of President Nixon "the war is very demonstrably winding down."

The complete editorial follows:

[From the Boston Herald Traveler, Nov. 6, 1971]

THE WAR IS WINDING DOWN

How goes the war in Vietnam? Slowly, more slowly every day, and anyone who bothers to look at the facts ought to be impressed by the success President Nixon has had in winding down the war. The administration's case is put cogently by Dennis Doolin, Deputy Assistant Secretary for East Asia and Pacific Areas of the Department of Defense, who wrote briefly about it in the New York Times recently. He makes these telling points:

Expenditures for ammunition in the whole of Southeast Asia have been reduced by 47 per cent since 1968 and 37 per cent this year;

Raid by B-52 bombers have declined by 40 per cent and all air sorties in the entire theater are less than half what they were in 1969. In South Vietnam air strikes are one quarter of what they were;

Total cost of the war has dropped more than 50 per cent since 1968 and a 40-per cent decline is expected this year;

Enemy attacks during the first six months of 1971 were less than half those of early 1968; harassments have fallen to 38 per cent of the earlier total and Vietcong terrorism this year is 30 per cent below last year's total.

This is some of the factual information by which the success of the winding-down process can be measured. The reduction in air attacks is especially significant in view of the increased reliance on air power to cover continued withdrawal of U.S. troops and in view of their much wider area—Cambodia and Laos—now covered by our aircraft. And even including the fighting in those two countries, where our attacks were called extensions of the war, the total expenditure and effort involved in the fighting has been reduced by half or more.

In addition to these indices, Mr. Doolin points out that fighting in the populated areas of South Vietnam is almost non-existent and that the lives of the inhabitants have been much improved. More than 500,000 acres have been distributed to the people, the largest rice crop in the history of the country was harvested last year, the active caseload of refugees is 40 per cent below that of the end of 1968, and more than 2000 of the country's 2300 villages are being governed by locally elected officials.

Meanwhile the President's troop-withdrawal program is ahead of schedule and administration spokesmen foresee only 50,000 servicemen left in the theater next May, a number somewhat below that of Americans who are killed by automobiles in their own country in a single year.

The insistent clamor that the war is not fading out goes on, but it does not stand up in the face of the few key facts that show exactly how successful Mr. Nixon has been in reducing American participation in the war and providing better living conditions for countless Vietnamese.

The war is very demonstrably winding down.

A FREEDOM THE WORKINGMAN
LOST

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, last week 18 colleagues joined me in introducing H.R. 11827, a bill repealing those provisions in existing law that authorize compulsory unionism.

The distinguished columnist, Mr. David Lawrence, discusses this bill and its importance in his column which appeared in the November 19 issue of the Washington Evening Star. So that all Members of Congress can have the benefit of Mr. Lawrence's views, I insert his column at this point in the RECORD:

A FREEDOM THE WORKINGMAN LOST

(By David Lawrence)

With all the talk and agitation about individual liberty, one freedom has been taken away from the American workingman and, strangely enough, the loss of the precious right has been ignored for a long time.

This is why Rep. Sam Steiger, Republican of Arizona, along with 17 other members of the House, has introduced a bill to abolish compulsory membership in unions. Continued pressure in the courts and overwhelming evidence that the public opposes this form of concern is behind the movement. It is argued that excessive union power is in the hands of a small body of officials and that this has been a contributing factor to our present economic problems.

For many years, labor unions have had the privilege of requiring workers to join a union if it has a majority status in a plant or company.

The "closed shop"—in which a person could be employed only if he was a union member—then sanctioned by law, enabled unions to increase membership from 2 million in 1935 to 17 million in 1945. Under the "union shop," which now is widely in effect, dues must be paid by a new employee after a certain period in order to retain a job, and the net result is compulsory membership.

Nineteen states have enacted "right-to-work" legislation outlawing compulsory unionism. Eleven of these state laws were in force at the time Congress adopted the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, which permits a union shop but specifically says agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment may be prohibited by state law.

During a Senate debate in 1965, when the power of the states to pass right-to-work legislation was threatened, many arguments were made supporting the right-to-work principle. The late Sen. Everett Dirksen declared that no person should be forced to belong to or pay money to any private organization in order to earn a living. In 1970, Congress enacted a right-to-work law for postal employees.

Unquestionably, there is increasing sentiment among members of Congress that a similar federal law should cover every form of business and that no worker should be compelled to join a union or lose his job. Steiger said in his speech introducing the bill, the purpose is to amend the National Labor Relations Act and the Railway Labor Act by deleting those provisions authorizing compulsory unionism. He declared:

"This bill is not anti-labor but pro-worker. This bill will not interfere with a union's right to organize, nor its right to collective bargaining.

"This bill merely makes union membership voluntary in all 50 states.

"It seems to me to be amazing that we here in the United States who are so preoccupied and concerned with individual liberties have so long tolerated such a flagrant abuse of individual liberties as compulsory unionism. It is time to stand up for freedom."

The drive to pass the bill introduced by Rep. Steiger has been in process of organization for some time. It is motivated by belief that each person has a right to decide for himself whether or not he wishes to join any organization and that he should be free to make his own choice when he enters into a contract with his employer.

His obligation is to the management of the company to do the job required. If he wants to become a member of a union or prefers not to be, this would remain his privilege. But the element of compulsion would be removed.

In many of the labor disputes today, however, workers who are not members of a union stay at home for fear of encountering some form of physical restraint from those on strike. Even members of unions which are in no way involved in the dispute refuse to cross picket lines during a strike rather than become subject to discipline by their own union or intimidation by the striking workers.

All these conditions would seem to be subject to protection by law-enforcement authorities. No organization should have the privilege of keeping from their jobs any workers who wish to perform their services. The big question is whether individual liberty really prevails in America and whether every citizen is to be permitted to enjoy the freedom that is so often extolled.

THE TRUTH ABOUT FREE
ENTERPRISE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, that truth is a stranger in today's free society is best evidenced by a recent letter from the National Education Program prepared by Dr. George S. Benson and entitled "The Truth About Free Enterprise."

In today's haste to bring about change and to discuss reforms, too often our free discussion and educational orientation omit or negate the American system of economics—the free enterprise system—which alone is greatly responsible for the progress and level of civilization attained in the United States.

The free enterprise system, as the Constitution of the United States, is unsurpassed in excellence by any other form of economics or government. But are the creation of man in his noblest hour; but what man has created, man can destroy. It is up to each of us who appreciates our system of government and economics to understand the opportunity we have by stewardship to pass these pillars of libertarian strength on to our posterity. This we can only do by understanding and defending free enterprise.

I insert Dr. Benson's letter at this point:

THE TRUTH ABOUT FREE ENTERPRISE

(By Dr. George S. Benson)

Herbert Aptheker, recent visiting professor at Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania, has

repeatedly predicted the death of America's private enterprise system. He himself is working to kill it. The surprise in this is that Professor Aptheker has been teaching the American young at Bryn Mawr, a college built with the wealth produced by our free enterprise system and operated with money from the same sources. Herbert Aptheker is a Communist. He's more; he is the widely advertised theoretician of the Communist Party USA, and recognized in security and intelligence quarters as perhaps the "brains" of U.S. Communism.

How foolish can Americans get—paying Communists to indoctrinate the minds of American youth with Communist falsehoods against our system! No wonder a substantial percentage of our 8,000,000 college students attack the basic principles of private enterprise and an alarming number are dedicated to the overthrow, or are aiding in the gradual death, of the system. Herbert Aptheker and his comrades within the Communist Party, and the nationwide revolutionary youth movement they have spawned, constitute the clearly visible enemies of free enterprise.

FACTS NOT GIVEN

Millions of other people, who lack knowledge about the American system and about Socialism-Communism are aiding the Commies by default; they do not support the system when it is attacked. Millions of adults, as well as youth, cannot define free enterprise; and only a comparatively few know how it works and why it out-produces all other economic systems.

I've been an educator for 45 years. In the last 30 years I have been disturbed because our schools and colleges do not adequately prepare our young people for the citizenship responsibilities that go with freedom. In most cases our educational institutions have simply failed to teach the essential facts in American history and the facts about our economic and political systems. As a college professor for 29 years, I was shocked to see so many youngsters coming out of high schools all across America who did not understand the private enterprise system, who simply hadn't been taught. Uninformed as they were, they were prime subjects, in many colleges, for the propaganda against the system.

THE SYSTEM DEFINED

What is free enterprise? It is the economic system through which we in America make our living. There are three economic systems.

1. A system like the Communists have installed in Russia, where the Government owns the tools of production and distribution.

2. A system like we have in America, with private individuals owning the tools of production and distribution.

3. A combination of these two, such as the Socialists installed in England, with most of the basic industries and institutions owned by the Government, but with much of the retail business operated by private citizens under strict Government control.

America offers the world's best example of a private enterprise economy. We started as an agricultural country, with 90% of our people on the land and earning a living by farming. Farming rapidly improved in America for these reasons: Farmers owned their land and wanted to improve it; the livestock and grain they produced was their own; they wanted to improve the varieties and the total production; they had to do the work or pay for having it done, so they wanted to improve their tools as much as possible, thus making the individual's labor more productive.

PROGRESS UNLIMITED

Farmers have succeeded until today only 5% of our people live on farms, and yet the nation is the best fed in its history and we sell and give away great quantities of our farm produce. As people left the farms they went into various kinds of businesses. These businesses grew for the following reasons.

They were privately owned and naturally the owners wanted their businesses to prosper, and they worked hard; they were competitive, consequently the businessman was under constant pressure to try to out-produce his competition; this forced the development by the businessmen of tools, machine tools, automatic tools, automated tools; the entire nation, and in fact the world, was the market place; so the businessman's opportunities were virtually unlimited.

PROGRESS WITH FREE ENTERPRISE

When the American free enterprise system evolved out of the principles of private ownership of property and the competitive market there was nothing like it in all the world. The principle of private ownership meant two basic things to Americans: independence that comes from freedom and self-reliance, and the opportunity to advance economically to the extent of one's ability and devotion to duty. If the grain miller, instead of grinding his corn and wheat with a hand-tool stone, could build a water-wheel that would turn out ten times as much (and with less manual labor) he was making a contribution to society and helping himself too.

Inventions increased rapidly in early America, both on the farms and in the industrial plants. Horsepower on the farm gave way to tractors. One-row cultivators gave way to four or even eight-row cultivators. Transportation expanded—with the building of hard-surfaced highways, railroads, automobiles, and airplanes.

SCREENING OUT INCOMPETENCY

The automobile is a good example of how competition works. The auto industry has grown until today it is an \$89 billion business. But it started as a \$1000 business and a dream. There was much competition along the way. In my files are the names of 1400 companies organized to make automobiles in the last 80 years. Only four are now making automobiles. This doesn't mean that the other 1396 went broke. On the contrary several would combine their inventions and their capital into a single company to make a better automobile. Others quit trying to make automobiles and started making one or more parts for automobiles. Others started making washing machines or refrigerators, or a hundred other items that America needed or wanted. General Motors alone now has more than 1500 subcontractors, or suppliers, making parts for its automobiles. And the number of employees involved in the whole industry is 2.5 million.

The keen competition, as companies sought a share in the almost unlimited market, required high investment in tools. Consequently, the investment in plant, tools, and inventory today averages out to about \$35,000 per job in the auto industry.

THE MIRACLE OF TOOLS

The increased productivity brought on through the employment of miraculous machine tools in industry, made a man's hourly work more valuable to the producer. With machine tools he produced a great deal more. So industrial wages increase—from about a dollar a day at the turn of the century to \$25 to \$50 a day—and even more in some highly skilled machine work. The average income for every man, woman and child in America today is \$3600. Which means that the family breadwinner on the average makes three times that much.

In Western Europe—Norway, Sweden, England, Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands—the average per capita income is about \$1800, just half as much in purchasing power as American's enjoy. In Russia, where they have total Socialism, the average is about \$800 a year, less than a fourth. This is a powerful commentary on

the value of our private enterprise system to the people of America. It gives us a living standard four times higher than the Russians have, and more than twice as high as in Western Europe.

SUCCESS CANNOT BE CHALLENGED

The two nations coming closest to us in productivity are West Germany and Japan—two nations that we taught to follow private enterprise principles after World War II. In fact, it was American free enterprise productivity that won World War I and World War II. Since that time we have aided other nations more than any other people ever aided foreign nations—to the tune of perhaps a hundred billion dollars since World War I.

The facts we've given here cannot be challenged. Wouldn't we be fools to give up such a productive system! Yet, faith in our American system of private enterprise is being shaken by the propagandists and by some of our own people who have unconsciously swallowed some of the propaganda and believe that Big Government can provide a better living for everybody. Faith in our system wouldn't be shaken if our people, young and old, knew and understood the full story of free enterprise, how it works and its incomparable record of serving the needs of our society.

ENEMIES IDENTIFIED

The critics of our private enterprise system—those who are not linked to the Communist-Socialist conspiracy to overthrow the system—can't tell us where Big Government, which is invariably their formula for society's progress, has provided for its people a better living standard and a climate for the growth of freedom such as Americans have enjoyed for nearly two centuries. The reason they cannot is that nowhere on earth at any time in history has a Government provided for its people as much as one-half the good things of life—including food, shelter, clothing, recreations, freedom, happiness—that private enterprise has provided for the American people.

These people who are willing to stand by while the American system is wrecked don't know the facts, or they would challenge the detractors, the wreckers. Of course, our system hasn't worked perfectly; but the basic reason is that we do not have perfect people operating the system. The 100 million Americans who are involved, through stock ownership or actual participation in running the economic system, are not perfect people. There are some bad apples, there is some incompetency, some greed, and many mistakes made. But this doesn't mean that the principles of the system are not sound. They are. History has proved that over and over again. In fact there is far less exploitation under private enterprise than under a dictatorship.

A CHALLENGE

Yet there are millions of people in America who are, through their actions or their failure to act, aiding the cause of America's enemies—which is to ruin and overthrow the private enterprise system. So it becomes the responsibility of all the other citizens, an overwhelming number if they can be once moved to action, to protect private enterprise under constitutional government, which is the source of our unmatched national wealth, our freedom and our future prosperity. They must become missionaries to the uninformed. They must help reach all the people of America with the facts about the American economic system. This crusade requires the cooperation of the family, the church, the schools, and the government.

Of course, the Communists and Socialists are the major enemies. Both are world wide conspiracies. Both plan to bring everything under Government ownership—for this gives

a small group of the "elite" absolute power over the lives of all the people. And they are working together, the Socialists and the Communists.

FALSE TEACHINGS

Many young people in America who do not know the difference between Socialism and Capitalism have been alienated from our system by Socialists or Communists in our educational system, Socialists or Communists in the press, Socialists or Communists in the motion picture industry, in publishing, and in many other areas of communications. In some cases, textbooks have not painted a true picture of our history and economic system, and thus many young people have turned against the American system on the basis of false or incomplete information.

The No. 1 Enemy is World Communism. Its agents have been busy in all facets of our society. The Communists began trying to tear down America back in the early 1920's. They infiltrated their people into every phase of our way of life, particularly into all the agencies and institutions of information. Until the end of World War II, the success of the infiltrators was limited. But in the latter part of the 1940's they began to make astounding progress influencing the opinions and actions of millions of people.

ATTACK BUSINESS SYSTEM

The Communist propagandists among us continue to hammer away at our economic system, our industrial system, and what they call "Big Business." Actually they mean to destroy the entire business system; but they cunningly use "Big Business" as their propaganda "whipping boy."

They hammer away at traditional morality. On many campuses they get their young converts or dupes elected to stop student offices, such as presidents of the student body, chairman of the student councils. They begin to form revolutionary cadres among the students. They may introduce their young recruits to Marijuana and then the "hard" drugs. They forment "demonstrations" and whenever possible "violence" against "The Establishment," "The System," "Private Enterprise." They send their ruffians to destroy banks because they have made banks symbols of private enterprise capitalism. Over and over again in America the Communists have shown an ability to mobilize hundreds of thousands of "dissidents." And the basic reason they are successful in this is because the dissidents do not know the facts about our American system.

WRECKERS OF MORALITY

In the last 20 years I have met and worked with some of the most prominent former Communists who have severed ties with the world-wide conspiracy and are working now to make amends for their transgressions against mankind. Also among my intimate acquaintances have been (and continue to be) a number of loyal Americans who have made terrific sacrifices and served as underground agents of the FBI within the Communist apparatus in America. And among the people I continue to work with today are some former high-up officials or agents of the FBI, Army Intelligence, and other Security agencies who have resigned or retired so they could more freely fight the Communist forces within our nation.

These facts are mentioned to affirm our rather unusual authority to write about the Communist drive to break down the moral foundations of our society. All of the men and women who have had close contact with the conspirators in our midst speak of the emphasis placed on undermining and tearing down the moral foundations in America. This is in line with the long-range strategy of the Communist masters in Moscow and Peking. They are smart and they read the

history of the human race and they see that throughout history moral deterioration has utterly destroyed nations.

CAUSE OF DOWNFALL

The history of the world shows that there have been many civilizations, and as each civilization marched across the stage of time, one nation or group of nations stood out in leadership, representing the best at that period of history. Historian Arnold Toynbee notes that 19 of these 21 major civilizations fell prey to moral decay from within. They disappeared from the world scene—Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and Rome, were among them. Each had its day on the stage of history. Each was first among nations of the world for a time. But each moved down the Western slope to oblivion. Having started the downfall, no one of them ever stages an effective comeback.

The fall of Rome did not come at a time when another superior nation was ready to take the place of the Romans. On the contrary, the fall of Rome ushered in a period known as the Dark Ages, which lasted 1000 years. During that period civilization moved backward, not forward, which demonstrates the fact there was no leadership to replace the leadership of Rome.

WESTERN CIVILIZATION EVOLVED

Out of the Dark Ages, finally, came Western European society, and England became the foremost nation, not because she had more land or more resources but because she granted more freedom. I can personally remember when England was the foremost nation of the world and "Mistress of the Seas." But today England is a third-rate power and she demonstrates no signs of a comeback. She is neck-deep in Socialism; and her decadent society has to some degree infected our own.

For nearly half a century America has stood at the peak of Western civilization. She began to represent mankind's loftiest ideal when, 200 years ago, she won individual freedom from the Monarchy of England. For nearly two centuries America climbed toward the pinnacle of leadership, serving as an inspiration to the whole world; and her military strength in the last 50 years has kept despots (such as Hitler and Stalin) from overrunning the world. But in the last 25 years, the people of the world have watched a mighty nation seem to lose its bearings and falter.

MAN'S BEST HOPE

Is the decay of civilization inevitable? Of course it isn't. The Communists tell us it is. They say that the American system, which has at its heart the principles of individual freedom and individual responsibility, contains the seeds of its own destruction. That is true only in one sense: mankind is weak. But in Western civilization man has found a tower of strength in Almighty God. Faith in God has been the foundation stone in our birth and our rising strength as a nation. Tuned to God, mankind can exercise great power for good. Alienated from God, man, indeed, is weak and destined to failure.

And this is the great weapon free man has against the Godless peril and the tyranny of World Communism. This is not meant to be a sermon. But when we carefully look at the enemies of free enterprise, we cannot escape the fact that the Communists as well as their recruits among our young people are atheists. And that says something. We cannot be overcome by World Communism if we marshal our strength on the foundations on which Western civilization in America was built—Faith in God, Constitutional Government, an Economic System operating on the principles of private ownership and the competitive market. This is the challenge laid upon us. Will we accept it?

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WHERE THE ACTION IS

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on July 1 of this year, the Federal Government gave birth to a new agency under Executive Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1971. The agency was called Action, a merger of seven Federal volunteer service programs including VISTA and the Peace Corps. It was placed under the able leadership of Mr. Joe Blatchford, formerly the Director of the Peace Corps. Its mission was to give new impetus to volunteer efforts to meet the pressing social needs of the decade, both on the domestic and international fronts.

Tomorrow, this fledgling agency will be 4 months old and already it is exhibiting the new life and energy which its name would indicate. Despite the fact that the Congress has not yet appropriated the extra \$20 million which the President has requested for new program initiatives, Action has nevertheless been able to build on existing domestic antipoverty programming to create new opportunities for service. Three new cooperative concepts which have emerged are relationships with the American Red Cross, the Opportunities Industrialization Center of Philadelphia, and the University Year for Action. The latter program is a cooperative effort with some 10 universities on a pilot basis to field several hundred student volunteers in the poverty community for a year. The students would receive academic credit for this service.

At this point in the Record I am including an editorial from last night's Evening Star on the University Year for Action—UYA—plus a November 1 report on "The First 120 Days of Action." I commend these to the reading of my colleagues:

[From the Evening Star, Nov. 29, 1971]

STUDENTS AGAINST POVERTY

The new federal Action agency formed through a merger of VISTA and other volunteer service groups in July, seems to be living up to its name. At least it has been quick to get some innovative ideas into operation, and one of those involves the challenging and activating of college students.

Called University Year for Action (UYA), this program was launched in September with 11 colleges and universities participating. Now 20 more plan to join at the next semester break, which means that more than 1,000 youths soon may be enlisted in the enterprise. They will go into poor communities near their colleges and work full-time for a full year, fighting poverty. What's unusual is that they receive generous academic credit for these labors, along with assistance from faculty members. Their assignments are to give special assistance to all sorts of disadvantaged people in all environments—from ghettos to the great open spaces.

The response has been overwhelming; about 170 colleges and universities all across the country have tried to get into the program. But Action is moving cautiously, and with good reason. This is, as Director Joseph Blatchford makes clear, a demonstration project, a test of "the concept of combining academic credit with involvement in realistic

projects to alleviate poverty." There are still vivid memories of disappointments that came from wholesale plunges into some other anti-poverty concepts, in which implementation far outran the planning and testing.

But this program has a powerful appeal, for two reasons: It affords an outlet for the idealism of the young, and it might provide a cadre of professional antipoverty workers, not only educated but seasoned and sobered by experience, that will be a valuable asset in the years ahead. The UYA will be where talk about commitment ends and testing of commitment begins, and some students will find obstacles to human redemption they never dreamed of. Some will drop out, but many no doubt will grow in dedication as they comprehend the awesome dimensions of the task.

It's good to note that Howard University and Federal City College here in Washington were among the first to put students to work in this laudable experiment.

THE FIRST 120 DAYS OF ACTION

Since July 1, 1971, Action has been devoting itself to the task of bringing together volunteer service programs designed to aid all who need and want help at home and abroad. The new agency is taking what President Nixon calls "the first step toward a system of voluntary service which uses to the fullest advantage the power of all of the American people to serve . . . the nation."

Action brought together from throughout the federal government seven volunteer service programs whose purposes and spirit remain intact, but whose goals and effectiveness are being sharpened and expanded to better deal with the pressing social requirements of the 1970s. On both the international and the domestic fronts, Action programs are tailoring the experience of the past decade of volunteer service to the realities and needs of today. Action includes:

VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America)—sends volunteers to work in locally sponsored projects to alleviate poverty in the United States and its territories. VISTA was previously a program of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

Peace Corps—sends volunteers abroad to help the people of 55 countries of the developing world to attain a higher level of social and economic progress.

SCORE (Service Corps of Retired Executives)—utilizes the skills and experience of America's retired businessmen and women as volunteer consultants to small businesses with management and operating problems. Both SCORE and its complement ACE (below) came to Action from the Small Business Administration.

ACE (Active Corps of Executives)—provides the voluntary counsel of active executives on an "as needed" basis to small businesses.

Foster Grandparent Program—enables men and women over the age of sixty to provide companionship and guidance to children in institutional settings. This well-received and mutually rewarding program was originally under the Office of Economic Opportunity and subsequently was administered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).

RSVP (Retired Senior Volunteer Program)—offers opportunities for older citizens to use their talents in community service projects. This program came to Action from HEW.

Office of Volunteers Action Liaison—encourages interest and participation from the private sector in Action programs; maintains liaison between Action and non-federal government officers and organizations; and finds and coordinates career opportunities for former volunteers. The program which has evolved from an earlier Office of Voluntary Action, was formerly carried out by HUD.

In the shaping of Action, change for the

sake of change has been avoided. Both the Peace Corps and VISTA, whose missions have been amply established over the years, remain unchanged in terms of program and identity. What Action has been doing in the past 120 days has been to encourage each of these units to build on its unique features and draw upon the experience of the others. The new agency is now exploring the best ways to bring the talents of volunteers from all programs to the continued service of both our own citizens and the citizens of the rest of the world. The present arrangement enables Action to draw on greater recruitment resources and talents, and opens new channels for volunteer talents and skills.

This inter-program sharing has great advantages both for the program individually and for the people they are designed to help.

THE CONSULTATION PROCESS

Action's component programs continue to maintain the close consultations they have always kept up with their field staff and members of the communities they serve. This interchange assures that programs are responsive to community needs and interests, and identifies areas in which more work is needed. During the past 120 days, Action has continued and expanded these contacts in order to assure the continuity and maximum effectiveness of the merged programs. Action's staff has consulted with a great range of people, from field workers to anthropologists and educators. The results of these discussions have been most productive to Action's senior staff and to the future course of the programs they direct.

From the moment the re-organization was proposed, Acting Director Blatchford began an intensive schedule of dialogues to determine the directions Action should take and to assign priority to necessary moves and needed innovations. Minority leaders, educators, volunteers, the staffs of the various programs to become components of Action, people in poor communities, and officials of national and community organizations were consulted for their views and suggestions. Anthropologist Margaret Mead, Acting Director Harold Simms of the National Urban League, and Edwin Shelley, President of the National Council on Aging were among those people with whom Acting Director Blatchford spoke personally.

Also prior to the merger, task forces composed of member program personnel were at work. The VISTA task force, composed of the ten regional administrators, held two meetings leading to the submission on July 23 of its comprehensive report on regional reorganization. In addition, an Action steering committee, composed of component agency representatives, met several times to prepare for the merger on July 1st.

CONSULTATIONS SINCE THE MERGER

Action has been continuing its contacts during the first 120 days, and they are designed to remain an ongoing part of operations. By means of letters and telegrams, personal visits and meetings, and through the media, the executive staff of Action has contacted persons and groups whose experience and interests are relevant to the work of a citizen service agency.

The educational community

One such group is the educational community, one of Action's primary volunteer and advisory sources. An educational conference, held on October 12-13, 1971, brought together 17 of the major professional educational associations and 15 universities in which Action/Peace Corps has had intern programs, to explore and discuss the relationships between Action and the universities.

Within Action an Educational Advisory Council has been established as a way of keeping the agency apprised of developments within the academic community. Its mem-

bership is composed of senior level representatives from all Action divisions dealing with universities and other institutions of learning.

Action maintains a liaison with the Office of Education (HEW) with which future joint programs are being developed. The proposed shift of the Teachers Corps from the Office of Education to Action is also being discussed through these channels.

In addition, Acting Director Joe Blatchford and senior Action staff members have been in the field visiting professors and students on their campuses, where they have held discussions on mutual goals and the joint projects which might help realize them.

A result of these contacts with the educational community has been the development of guidelines for the creation of the University Year for Action (UYA) program, the largest project initiated since Action's inception in July.

Elected officials

Legislators and state officials comprise another group that Action has regularly consulted. Acting Director Blatchford and Action's senior level domestic operations staff have met with the governors of Minnesota, Washington, and Indiana; lieutenant governors of New Mexico and California; and mayors of such diverse cities as San Jose, California, New Orleans, and Troy, Alabama. The purpose was to discuss Action programs in their areas and the increasing need for citizen service on a larger scale.

Program component personnel

Before the creation of Action, discussions were held with personnel of the programs designated to form the agency by the Acting Director. In these discussions, the organization and plans for the new citizen service headquarters were worked out. Since the information of Action, headquarters personnel have continued to exchange news and ideas with program staffs. Regional meetings of SCORE/ACE, Foster Grandparents, and VISTA that have taken place since the merger have been attended by Action senior staff members.

In mid-July, the ten regional directors of VISTA met in Washington to talk over such issues as personnel authority, the makeup of regional offices, volunteer and contract relations, and communications between the field and headquarters. To study these issues, a task force on volunteer support issues has been formed, and is described below. Meanwhile, top agency executives also visited each of the regions, where they consulted with the field staff and volunteers to identify problem areas.

Volunteers

On July 1, 1971, Acting Director Blatchford sent letters and telegrams to all volunteers in the field describing the new agency and explaining the implications of the reorganization. These messages also expressly asked the volunteers to communicate their ideas for ways of making Action more responsive to their needs and those of the communities in which they serve. Their responses highlighted the need for a stronger voice in policy and operations by both volunteers and local communities, and the need for stronger definition of programs.

Volunteer task force

The responses of VISTA volunteers were major considerations in determining the issues of a task force on volunteer support put to work in July. The 13-member force, whose preliminary recommendations are due within days of this report, includes volunteers, project sponsor representatives, and an officer of the National VISTA Alliance. Subjects under study are health, transportation, pay systems and legal support for VISTA volunteers.

To further solicit volunteer views Acting Director Blatchford made a nine-state trip

through the South and Southwest visiting projects and talking to both volunteers and community residents in locations from Asheville, North Carolina, to Chinle, Arizona. The Blatchford trip was complemented by others on the part of domestic operations senior staff, and before the end of 120 days, all high-level Action officers had been in the field for first-hand conversations with volunteers and local residents.

Along with visits to project sites and consultations with community groups, the Acting Director has visited five of the ten regional Action offices since July 1—in Atlanta, Dallas, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Seattle—and met with the Federal Regional Council (which includes the Action Regional Administrator) in Boston. The other five regional offices have been visited by senior staff members in order to strengthen Action's mission through cooperation among its own programs as well as finding new ways of responding to the needs of those it exists to serve.

Acting Director Blatchford toured five African nations on a three-week mission to explain Action to those concerned with Peace Corps activities there. Among others, Kevin O'Donnell, Acting Associate Director for International Operations, visited Peace Corpsmen in Latin America and also held talks with ministers in Peru, Chile, Paraguay, Brazil, and Venezuela in order to gain a better understanding of their attitudes, and to explain Action's functions to them.

The Peace Corps National Advisory Council met in March to discuss the merger and consider its impact on the Peace Corps. Since that meeting, its members have made trips abroad, where they visited Peace Corpsmen and projects, explaining the plan to Volunteers and host country officials. Chairman Neil Armstrong visited Volunteers in several East Asian nations. Gustav Nordin of the Pasadena *Star-News* went to Iran, and Mrs. Edmund C. Lynch, Jr., toured projects in Ghana, Kenya, and Ethiopia. Athlete Bill Toomey has traveled to South American projects, and in the United States has actively supported Peace Corps recruitment during his public appearances.

Older Americans

In June and August, the Acting Director met with groups of SCORE volunteers in Portland, Oregon, and Dallas, Texas, and in October he attended the National SCORE Convention and addressed the delegates on several outstanding issues in the administration of the SCORE program. The Acting Director of Domestic and Anti-Poverty Operations, Christopher Mould, also attended and addressed this convention; both assured the delegates of Action's commitment to preserving the function of SCORE as a source of expert guidance to small business. The concerns of the SCORE volunteers were reflected in the Director's commitment to explore ways of increasing funds available for reimbursement of out-of-pocket expenses of SCORE volunteers, and in increasing recognition of SCORE's work. The creation of Action was described to the volunteers as providing an opportunity for involvement in a broader range of management problems, for those SCORE volunteers who wish to engage in the counselling of non-profit and community-based organizations.

In August the Acting Director visited a Foster Grandparent project site in Dallas as well. Subsequently, he referred to this program as "a true 'love story' which deserves all the support and encouragement we can give it." Through SCORE, Foster Grandparents, and the Retired Senior Volunteer Program, Action seeks to greatly expand both the opportunity for service by older Americans and the impact of such service on communities throughout the nation. The 28 million persons in the United States over age 60 represent an enormous national resource,

if ways can be found to facilitate and mobilize their service. Action is actively seeking ways to build on the strengths of its older Americans programs in the direction of a comprehensive program for all who wish to join in service. In recognition of the importance of volunteer programs for older Americans, Action's Acting Director has been appointed to the Executive Committee on the Aging, and he and members of his staff have attended the meetings of this group held since his appointment.

The poor community

Following Peace Corps models for making programs directly responsive to local community needs, Action policy has placed great emphasis on the views and suggestions of members of the communities being served, as well as local community volunteers who are helping carry out Action projects. To this end, high-level Action staff concerned with domestic operations have been in the field to talk with migrant workers, blacks, Indians, and other low-income Americans—both those currently working with Action projects and those who might be so involved.

During his field visits in the South, Acting Director Blatchford went into poor communities in Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina visiting VISTA projects and drawing out the views of local people as to highest priority needs.

He visited nine Community Action Program offices as well as having numerous meetings with volunteers, the poor, and concerned groups of individuals. In the West and Southwest, a special emphasis was placed on opportunities for drawing Indian and Mexican-American populations into closer contact with Action, both as volunteers and as organizers of Action projects.

In New Mexico and Arizona, Acting Director Blatchford successively conferred with the Chairmen of eight Northern Indian Tribal councils near Santa Fe; visited a VISTA rabbit co-op project in Espanola, New Mexico, and then went on to a Navajo reservation in Chinle, Arizona, where VISTA volunteers are manning an extended care center to supplement an overburdened hospital.

Meanwhile on a separate trip, Action's Acting Domestic Operations Chief Christopher Mould met with several Indian representatives at the Orlala Sioux Reservation in Pine Ridge, South Dakota. With the tribal council chairman he discussed such issues as possible Indian participation in the Peace Corps and Action's proposed University Year for Action program. The effectiveness of VISTA volunteers on the reservation, reservation needs, and difficulties in cross-cultural communications were also examined. The Domestic Operations Chief, in addition, visited five of the Action regions, conferring with staff, inspecting projects, and talking with project sponsors and volunteers.

In a similar fashion, the Acting Director and other staff members have visited sites of potential Action projects or places where work might be expanded. The Acting Director talked with student and inmate volunteers at the Washington State Reformatory in Monroe, and with inmates and prison officials at San Quentin in California. He has also met with groups of student volunteers from Cincinnati, Ohio, and in Lafayette, Louisiana.

Maximum input is being sought at the community level not only on the part of senior Action officers but in the form of continuous outreach by the ten regional offices. Sponsor agencies, VISTAs, community volunteers, and local people have provided feedback on problem areas and needed projects in which they might all participate with greatest effectiveness. New policies and programs now being developed by Action, in its deliberate attempt to decentralize its policy-making functions, will rely heavily on this information.

Additional contacts

Apart from interchanges with educators, legislators, Action personnel, volunteers and the community, continuous contact has been maintained with other government agencies, community service groups, and volunteer organizations. A number of joint projects are in the works or under study with, for example, HEW, the Public Health Service, the American National Red Cross and the U.S. Department of Labor.

Objectives growing out of the consultation process

Consultation and investigation will continue. Action exists to serve wherever there is need, by mobilizing those who want to help. To fill this role, Action must be continuously aware of opportunities for volunteer service and of the talent and dedication which may be called into service. Even in the brief period since Action was formed, certain priorities have become clear. Future planning for citizen service will also reflect these objectives:

In each Action program area needs exist which can be met by citizen service. Each Action program plays a critical part in improving the quality of life for people in need, and each must be strengthened.

There are other areas in which the need for real service is not met because of a lack of resources and programs. Action must expand citizen service into every area of need.

Those who are chosen to fill leadership posts in volunteer programs must be specifically qualified for the job and capable of mobilizing support and enthusiasm outside the government as well as among volunteers.

Citizen service programs must respond to those needs which people recognize and want to help solve; so Action must cooperate closely with local groups in developing extensive opportunities for citizen service.

An effective volunteer is the one who serves as a channel between full community resources and the people who need and want help. By mobilizing part-time volunteers and by calling on others for a variety of tasks, Action's volunteers perform this function.

The skilled manpower necessary for effective projects can only be found through recruiting campaigns tailored to the requirements of volunteer programs. Recruiting must build on the ideas of local community contact, if it is to be fully effective in the support of Action programs.

Skill training is critical to the success of volunteer work, and if volunteers are to realize their full potential, training programs must be designed to meet the exact needs of the job to be done.

Volunteer support must be realistically tuned to job requirements and conditions of service. It is recognized as wasteful and damaging to morale to economize on out-of-pocket expenses and living allowances of volunteers.

Action, through its ability to provide a mix of volunteer resources, can provide a response tailored to specific needs set forth by local communities.

THE TASK OF REORGANIZATION

Staffing

For Action to achieve its complex goals, it has been recognized that its staff must be composed of carefully chosen, committed people. Consequently, much effort is going into the recruitment and selection of men and women for key Action positions. The response to the initial search has been both exciting and gratifying. Some 6,000 applications have been received for agency staff posts since July. For top posts in the ten domestic regional offices alone, 750 referrals were received as a result of inquiries in the field.

The sifting of the applications is a complicated and sensitive task. Persons to be seriously considered must be well known and acceptable to volunteers and community groups. They also must have shown a strong

interest in volunteer programs. A case in point is that of the new Director of Action's Voluntary Action Liaison Office; as many as 60 suitable people were considered for this position, and following field interviews and careful reference checking, this number was reduced to a dozen or so candidates. From this final group, Action made its selections.

Even after selection, however, there is still a considerable amount of negotiation to be done; for the kind of person Action needs is likely to be already deeply involved in a career—which frequently pays far more than Action can offer. Therefore, Action can only recruit those people who are as motivated by its work as by the promise of personal reward.

As an example, one new officer has left behind a substantial law practice and interests in several community business and service projects to come to Washington because of her belief that volunteer service can help solve problems in local communities.

Similar selection processes were carried out for the new head of VISTA. Her name was submitted by a number of human rights organizations, including the NAACP, for the post to which she was named. Her credentials were checked professionally, with VISTA volunteers in the field, and with former VISTAs now serving on the staff. Community service organizations and low-income groups with whom she has worked and will work, were also consulted. The reports were so favorable that she was promptly offered—and has accepted—the position.

To refine and perpetuate this selection process, Action's Office of Staff Placement is at work developing an intricate and thorough reference-checking system. By extending this process, the OSP will soon be able to reach out through many sources at once, to get the people Action wants, and in turn interest and involve these people in the agency's mission for the 1970s.

Much time has also been spent on developing new staffing patterns which will enable both the domestic and international aspects of Action functions to respond to their new integrated roles. A careful investigation is being conducted to streamline overhead positions at headquarters and to insure that Foreign Service Reserve and Government Service systems are equitably integrated. Considerable savings and an advantageous blending of systems have already been brought about in the Office of Citizen Placement, and comprehensive studies of other offices are underway. Plans are also being developed for an efficiently decentralized Domestic Regional staffing pattern that will insure program and operations linkages among VISTA, Foster Grandparents, SCORE and ACE.

Labor relations

In line with the assurances made to Congress and in order to further assure the orderliness of the transition to a unified volunteer agency, Action top staff has established a continuing dialogue with the representatives of the American Federation of Government Employees local which represented VISTA employees in OEO. Action officers have met with officials of the Department of Labor to facilitate the completion of the pending election of representatives required to qualify the AFGE for recognition under Executive Order 11491. Dues deductions for AFGE local have been continued during the interim.

Action has also taken steps to include its Foreign Service employees within the coverage of the proposed Executive Order on union activity in the Foreign Service, so that a constructive and orderly system for labor relations with representatives of these employees can be established. A grievance procedure has been established within Action to hear and review complaints of the competitive service employees, and the agency has adopted a merit promotion system and an Equal Employment Opportunity action plan.

THE OFFICE OF CITIZENS PLACEMENT

The creation of the Office of Citizens Placement, handling recruitment of all Action volunteers, was a major new effort to streamline agency functions. A number of volunteer recruitment efficiencies have been made possible through the establishment of the OCP. The government no longer, for instance, sends a Peace Corps recruiter to a campus a week after a VISTA recruiter has been there. Duplication of federal effort has also been eliminated in:

Recruitment drives.
Recruitment materials such as posters, brochures, advertising.
Recruitment sources and training of recruiters.

Exhibit space and convention coverage.
The agency has developed a combined Action application serving both Peace Corps and VISTA volunteers. This both reduces the amount of processing formerly required of the two programs and facilitates the exchange between the two programs of applicants in needed skill areas.

Combined facilities have also made it easier for volunteers completing their periods of service in one program to move into another. Peace Corps volunteers have frequently indicated interest in joining VISTA, and vice versa; now their experience—something a new recruit cannot offer—is made more readily available to programs in which it is vitally needed.

In addition to the talents of these returned volunteers, Action has another enormous source available to it in the form of federal employees. Through cooperation between Action and the Civil Service Commission, the ruling under which federal personnel may serve for two years in the Peace Corps while maintaining both salary and seniority levels has now been extended to both VISTA and other full-time volunteer service efforts. This agreement enables government employees to make a contribution without interrupting their long-term career plans, and Action to tap their vast talents.

The Citizens Placement Office, during its first 120 days, has instituted a WATS line by which any Action applicant or prospective applicant can receive answers to inquiries from the Action Washington headquarters. An inexpensive recruiting tool, the WATS line eliminates the cost of calls to the agency, and retains contact with qualified applicants who might otherwise be lost because of changes in address, availability dates, etc.

A first unified recruitment campaign was launched for Action volunteers in Minneapolis in August, and made use of new combined materials and facilities. With Minnesota Governor Anderson's active participation, the campaign featured media saturation, meetings and briefings with community leaders, two mall displays, and airport exhibits reaching over two million people.

While savings have been realized in the efficiency moves already mentioned, more substantial economies have been achieved in the conversion of recruitment contracts and in representation on college campuses.

Since the formation of the Office of Citizens Placement, four contracts for VISTA recruitment and selection, established by the Office of Economic Opportunity, have been terminated. The work formerly performed under the contracts is now performed by Action staff. By terminating these arrangements, the OCP has been able to save over \$750,000.

In FY 1971, VISTA had a recruitment contract which retained 95 campus representatives for seven months per year, for a total cost of \$33,000. The Peace Corps, at the same time, maintained 35 campus representatives for seven months, for \$13,000. Beginning in FY 1972, Action will need to retain only 40 campus representatives for both programs, at an economy of \$32,000.

Action is also seeking greater black and other minority participation in its programs. Because of this, it has recently engaged a black professional research firm to prepare a study of attitudes—originally concerned only with the Peace Corps, but extending to include reference to VISTA as well—at five universities, and will help define new approaches to minority volunteer recruitment. An effort also has been made to encourage volunteers from the Chicano, or Mexican-American, community through a series of regional contacts and a national recruitment program centered at Los Angeles.

THE TRAINING OF ACTION VOLUNTEERS

Action believes that all volunteers must be trained for specific jobs they are to do for the sponsor agency, host country ministry, or client. Training is viewed as consisting of a set of controlled learning experiences which will enable the trainee to master the necessary skills before he or she begins volunteer service.

Peace Corps training

Peace Corps Volunteers continue to undergo approximately 12 weeks of intensive training prior to beginning their volunteer service. This consists of host country language study and cross-cultural preparation; learning the jobs to be done (for generalists) or adapting given skills to in-country application (for skilled trainees); and learning how to train host country nationals in these skills.

During the past year, and especially the last four months, there has been a shift toward training in the actual country where the Volunteers will serve. At this time, approximately 80% of Peace Corps training is done wholly or partially in-country. By 1973, virtually all training is expected to be done in-country. In-country training is far more effective: it cuts down on later attrition during volunteer service; encourages better understanding and support of host country ministries and agencies through their involvement in training; and costs far less than training done in the States.

Peace Corps is continuing to develop innovative training models. In Ghana, host country nationals are being trained along with Action trainees in skilled trades through a process wherein they must demonstrate mastery of each skill unit and teach it to another trainee before proceeding to the next unit. In India, the Peace Corps has initiated a "satellite village" concept of training involving a group of villages and villagers in agricultural training. Volunteers first serve in these villages for a year after which they may qualify to move into supervisory agricultural extension jobs at district headquarters. They may then be invited to extend and serve at the state or ministry level.

In Western Samoa this fall, the Ministry of Education will turn over the use of one of its schools during the long Christmas break and will invite pupils and junior teachers to participate in a model school sponsored jointly by the Peace Corps and the government. Peace Corps trainees will practice teach both as teachers of students and as teacher trainers. They will also administer the school. In Ethiopia, a local Ethiopian agency will soon conduct all Peace Corps training. In Brazil, a recently opened binational training center supplements the Puerto Rican center which has been training most Volunteers going to Latin America. This summer the Peace Corps instituted new guidelines for training family Volunteers.

VISTA training

On July 6th, Action undertook a comprehensive study of VISTA training including: 1) reports from each of the ten regional offices on the goals of the agencies where VISTAs serve, the goals of the projects in which they serve, and the Volunteers' job description; 2) a factfinding study in which thirty summer training programs were visited and observed, reported and summarized; 3)

conferences with all contractors currently doing VISTA training; 4) conferences with former contractors; 5) approximately 4,000 questionnaires sent out to former VISTA volunteers asking their views on the strengths and weaknesses of their training; 6) extensive conferences with acting directors and staff of the ten regions.

All findings have confirmed the need to improve training. There must be specific and realistic performance goals established. Doing so depends upon analysis of skills and attitudes a volunteer must have before beginning service—skills and attitudes which may be gained and demonstrated through an ordered process of growing experiences and supervised tasks.

New four-week training models are being gradually developed with each of the ten VISTA regions, consisting of: 1) orientation to Action/VISTA and the role of the volunteer; 2) communication in the culture in which he/she will serve, with specific cross-cultural performance experiences; 3) skills training for both generalist and skilled volunteers; 4) extension training for all trainees in teaching their jobs to future co-workers and associates; 5) special training for different kinds of trainees (i.e., nationally recruited and locally recruited community volunteers, as well as their future agency supervisors); 6) an ordered qualification process for trainees based on well-defined job performance descriptions; and 7) possible training innovations, such as communication study to adapt trainees' speech and understanding to local idioms, word usage and speech levels, or language training as needed, in Spanish or Indian languages.

Training done at the local level has been shown to be most suited to volunteer work. Action has therefore initiated efforts toward designing new training models for each region, to meet the expected volunteer input for the next fiscal year.

OTHER HEADQUARTER OFFICES

Several internal functions of the agency, besides those dealing with recruitment and training of personnel, have been heavily burdened by the merger. Offices of General Counsel, Administration and Finance, Congressional Liaison, Minority Affairs and Public Affairs have had to develop new systems and approaches to cover the newly linked Action programs.

Since the merger, Public Affairs has concerned itself with an identification campaign for Action, underlining the policy of maintaining the identity of each member program while coordinating those organizational functions which apply equally to all. Public Affairs has also developed informational brochures and advertising materials on the programs—some of which are now receiving their first wide-scale attention through the press—and a field support system relaying information from the domestic regional offices to headquarters.

In Administration and Finance, an Action manual detailing procedural order is now being prepared. This office has also instituted a combined computer operation, so that accounting and payroll procedures formerly contracted out by member programs can be handled by Action headquarters.

During Action's first 120 days, a new office of Policy and Program Development has been created to assure Action's continued flexibility and responsiveness to the needs of the poor community in the coming years. Established along the lines of the recommendations received from all levels of consultation over recent months, this division is responsible both for working out new cooperative programs with outside groups, and for continuously evaluating the direction Action is taking. University Year for Action, the first program initiated since the merger, is one of this office's responsibilities. It and future projects are discussed in later sections of this report.

PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION

Since the Action merger, the program components have been re-evaluating their operations. Their roles in relation both to Action and to their particular target groups are under study. All programs have held regional meetings. The Foster Grandparent program, for example, held two-day regional conferences in September and October to discuss application procedures and other current issues. At the same time, that program has engaged a management consultant firm to conduct a cost/benefit study on its operations. The Peace Corps, the single international program within Action, has been affected by the merger primarily in the coordination of common functions with other Action programs.

PROJECTS INITIATED SINCE THE MERGER

Action's mandate is not only to improve and strengthen existing opportunities for voluntary service, but also to seek out ways in which a small federal contribution can magnify the effects of individuals in service to communities and people who need and want help. Action's ability to respond to this challenge is a result of the accumulated experience of ten years of Peace Corps, seven years of VISTA and SCORE, and four years of Foster Grandparent programming. The challenge is a real one, since millions of Americans need only a little encouragement to become involved in volunteer programs to improve their communities: Action's role should be to strengthen and develop these opportunities for service as well as those of existing federal programs.

Evidence of the breadth of support for volunteer programs can be seen in the new program concepts which Action is developing. So far, these efforts have been limited by available funds—\$20 million earmarked for Action by the President at the time of the reorganization plan has not yet passed through the Congressional appropriations process, and cannot be put to use in designing new program initiatives.

Nonetheless, it has proved possible to build on existing domestic anti-poverty programming in the creation of new opportunities for service. Three cooperative concepts have emerged which have sparked widespread interest and hold promise of indicating the extent of public response to federal initiatives in the area of voluntary service. These are: University Year for Action, which involves cooperation with universities to field volunteers in anti-poverty programs, and the establishment of relationships with the American Red Cross and with Opportunities Industrialization Center of Philadelphia.

UNIVERSITY YEAR FOR ACTION

Reflecting the need for a link between people in need and the powerful resources of America's educational institutions, University Year for Action has begun, on a pilot basis, on campuses this fall; 130 proposals have been received already for later program cycles. Drawing on VISTA's success in attracting the concern of established architects and lawyers to the problems of poor communities, Action sees University Year for Action as a further extension of professional involvement in anti-poverty efforts.

University Year for Action responds to three current trends: academic and student interest in experimental learning; the need for highly motivated and skilled volunteers in America; and the importance of managing assistance to the poverty community on a decentralized basis, and on terms established by local communities themselves.

Ten universities, working with Action, have selected several hundred volunteer students to spend one of their academic years in service to the poverty community. Universities are selected by Action for participation on the basis of geographic distribution, and on the strength of their proposals,

including local involvement and the universities' own commitment to the program. Students entering the University Year for Action program receive an academic year's credit from their universities for their work in the field, regardless of area of study. The emphasis is upon the needs of the poverty community in health service, environmental problems, economic development, education, the administration of justice, consumer education, and housing. Selection of students is made by the universities on the basis of the applicants' skills and experience. Project tasks are defined by the universities together with community sponsors (non-profit, non-political organizations such as the Urban League, Model Cities, and Job Corps), and members of the communities to be served.

Evaluations of University Year for Action volunteers will follow the lines of present VISTA evaluations. Preliminary steps have begun: baseline data are now being compiled on Phase I for a full evaluation of its field effectiveness.

A second phase of University Year for Action beginning January 1972, will introduce ten more universities to the program, with a possible volunteer force of 1000 for both phases. The response to Action's Phase II call to other universities has been an overwhelming one—130 institutions have submitted proposals for University Year for Action projects.

In Phase II, graduate students in medicine, law, business, urban planning, public health, and dentistry are being particularly sought.

ACTION/RED CROSS

A partnership agreement has been reached between Action and the American National Red Cross, through which volunteers will be brought into communities in disaster-prone areas of the United States to help them prepare for the hurricanes, tornadoes, fires and floods that frequently strike them. The Red Cross, in an effort to develop participation and leadership particularly within the black communities, has contracted to train experienced volunteers with community development and health backgrounds for assignment in its projects. Areas identified as target zones are the Mississippi delta, the southern tornado belt, and the Florida hurricane regions.

The volunteers will work in teams, usually consisting of a health specialist and a community development specialist. In cooperation with local leaders, community groups and Red Cross workers, they will instruct in disaster preparation measures, identify relevant community needs, and help organize disaster action teams among citizens, to care for the injured, man shelters, and work as the nucleus of relief operations.

The project is to begin on a pilot basis. A limited number of volunteers are soon to be assigned to existing Red Cross program. From Action they will receive living and personal allowances, plus travel to their assignments. The Red Cross will be responsible for training and travel expenses during assignment.

As the Action/Red Cross project expands, volunteers may also be provided to a joint effort between the Red Cross and the National Medical Association. Volunteers in this effort would be required to train disaster health aides who would then be part of the disaster action teams. While Action/Red Cross is currently focusing on domestic problem regions, future projects may extend beyond U.S. boundaries to earthquake and flood zones in other nations.

ACTION/OIC

Another of the organizations with which Action is developing a project is the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), a Philadelphia-based project aimed at bringing adult education to low-income city dwellers. Under its Adult Armchair Education program, trained volunteers use private inner

city homes as classrooms to bring basic instruction and counselling to adults who otherwise might never receive it. Because the meetings are held in the relaxed atmosphere of the students' own neighborhoods, and because studies are carried out with members of the adults' own peer groups, the OIC program helps to build confidence, to offer new directions to adult students and to show them other educational and vocational training opportunities.

Acting Director Blatchford, visiting the project, held a series of discussions with its founder and board chairman, the Rev. Leon Sullivan. As a result of these talks, Action has recently made a \$300,000 grant to help expand the AAE project in Philadelphia and to spread it to Washington, Boston and Dallas on a pilot basis. Action's grant is supplemented by nearly \$50,000 in funds and in-kind contributions from OIC.

Within a month, OIC-trained volunteers will begin an Armchair education project in Washington. The other two operations will also begin shortly. The recruitment and training of the fifty volunteers included in the three programs will account for approximately one-third of the grant, and the remaining funds will support them in a one-year field experiment. These volunteers are receiving several weeks of training in Philadelphia over a three-month period prior to returning to their communities, where they will recruit, train, and counsel the members of their programs.

PROJECTS UNDER STUDY

Under the Office of Policy and Program Development, a number of new projects are being worked out in conjunction with outside organizations. Several of these involve the cooperation of other federal agencies. Action has maintained continuing dialogues with the Office of Education (HEW) on issues of common interest. The major concern of these dialogues has been future planning for the Teacher Corps.

TEACHER CORPS

Although the Teacher Corps is still a program of the Office of Education, there is close cooperation between it and Action. This began in 1968, when the Peace Corps, VISTA and the Teacher Corps inaugurated some joint recruiting efforts.

VISTA and Teacher Corps have also collaborated in the development of programs for correctional institutions. Beginning in 1970, the Peace Corps and the Teacher Corps joined in the development of a program in which volunteers first serve for a year in the United States while preparing for Peace Corps assignments abroad; then, while serving in schools in developing nations, they continue in a two-year program of training developed by a United States university which prepares them for jobs in American schools and communities upon their return home.

Action sees the Teacher Corps as a vehicle for educational innovation and, in particular, for the introduction of service-learning programs, which may become one of the most significant changes in American education during this decade.

OTHER AGENCIES

With other federal agencies, programs centering on health, child development, and career training are being investigated. Action's function in these programs would be to provide volunteers, and sometimes volunteer support, and to systematize the use of volunteer manpower in programs devised by these agencies. Following are sample programs currently under review.

For the provision of manpower:

An anti-lead-poisoning program, with HEW and the Public Health Service, HEW has received funding for this project which is expected to be used to mitigate the dangers of lead poisoning to children in about fifteen cities. Action might supply needed

manpower with a variety of skills in each city.

A child development program, with the Office of Child Development (HEW) and other agencies. Head Start listed some 85,000 volunteers in 1970, but many times that number are needed in the area of child development. Action might enlist its own programs to this end. Their probable role: a wide range of volunteer activities, such as tutoring, parent organization, health education, medical and dental follow-up, career development for mothers, transportation, and environmental education.

An Indian health project, with the Indian Health Service (PHS) and other agencies. Action could possibly link up with OEO-directed Indian urban assistance centers in seven large cities near reservations. A broad range of services, including health, education, employment, language, and cultural interpretation are required.

A Public Service Careers program, with PSC, a division of the U.S. Department of Labor. Complementing the efforts of Public Service Careers to train low-income people for community development work, Action proposes to help recruit and place these trainees in paid positions at the conclusion of one year's service with a non-profit community development firm in Louisiana.

For volunteer support:

A medical school volunteers program, with university medical schools. Medical students, supported by Action, would be placed for three months to one year in community health programs, operating in teams under a physician supervisor. Year-round continuity of health service is a key goal in Action's participation.

For coordinative functions:

A health project with the National Health Service Corps. The NHSC was established by Congress late last year and expects to place its first Corps members as health aides in the poverty community later this year. Action would coordinate local allied health people to work with NHSC members in the provision of health services, follow-through health care, etc.

A FUTURE FOR ACTION

Throughout the world, there are many other volunteer programs. Foreign countries, often with the cooperation and guidance of the Peace Corps, have set up domestic civilian service corps and have followed the Peace Corps lead in sending volunteers to help in other nations; recently the United Nations has joined this movement, with the creation of the United Nations Corps of Volunteers by a unanimous vote in the last session of the General Assembly. In the United States there are state- and locally-sponsored volunteer programs operating across the country, in addition to the thousands of private organizations and local committees which call upon their fellow citizens to volunteer.

Action seeks the widest and fullest cooperation with all such groups. The Office of Multilateral and Special Programs, a subdivision of International Operations, works with overseas volunteer programs, while the Office of Voluntary Action Liaison performs similar tasks within the United States.

Several options are under review as possible avenues for the expansion of Action's participation in citizen service efforts launched by others:

Technical assistance. The National Student Volunteer Program, operating within the VISTA organization, is experienced in providing information on program areas and administrative techniques to volunteer projects on college campuses. This experience, and this model, could be expanded into other areas.

Recruiting. Many citizens offer their assistance to Action programs but cannot be successfully placed. Action is seeking ways to

make these volunteers aware of other opportunities for citizen service in the country and in their own communities.

Public awareness. The achievements and quiet successes of citizens in service go largely unheralded, which contributes to a feeling of hopelessness and inaction on the part of many. Action seeks opportunities to dramatize the role played by volunteers in improving life for people in need everywhere in the world.

Spokesman. As the federal focus for volunteer programs, Action has a concern for not only the 25,000 volunteers enrolled in its programs, but also for the uncounted thousands of volunteers who work in local communities throughout the nation and who go overseas in other programs using volunteer services. In this connection, Action is seeking to foster the "sabbatical" concept for mid-career businessmen—allowing them to give a year or two of service without sacrificing seniority or retirement benefits—and to anticipate other changes (like the four-day week) which would make volunteer service a more readily available option for people who wish to serve.

Mobilizer. Action seeks to encourage the formation of locally sponsored volunteer corps. Programs which will provide support for such local initiatives are being reviewed at the present time, and might involve cooperation between Action and state or city governments as well as private sponsors.

CONCLUSION

Action is a catalyst, drawing together and coordinating resources and common development interests for the greater good of the disadvantaged community.

What unifies Action is creative experimentation coupled with operational stability and a decade of experience in the volunteer area. Action, through its associations with outside groups, is experimenting with new ways of mobilizing volunteers and coordinating citizen service, not from the top, but from the local level. This is where such efforts must begin, and where they must be defined and carried out. The experience of VISTA and the Peace Corps has been instructive in this regard, showing that local definition, local participation, and clear-cut responsibilities are essential for any volunteer program to achieve success.

But Action's work is of course limited by the funds presently available. Money for new programming has not yet become available, and this has placed a degree of uncertainty over the initiatives of the agency. The problem is one shared by many federal agencies. But it is of particular concern in the formative period of Action, when relationships with potentially important members of the public, and with other agencies, are just being established.

On every front, however, the indications are that Action can become a dynamic force to mobilize the citizen service that America and the world need. In recruiting, in programming, in support of volunteers in the field, in technical assistance, evaluation and modification, the difficulties that came with reorganization are being overcome, the problems solved. Opportunities for cooperation are being found, programs strengthened and ideas encouraged. Every component of Action has benefitted from its new close association with other programs which bring dedicated Americans to serve those in need at home and overseas.

Action's is an exhilarating mission. Real necessity underlies it. Volunteer service is a two-sided tool—the volunteers themselves often benefit as much from their service as the communities they work with and in. This mutual benefit is the essence of volunteer work—and it is what could make Action such a significant force in the life of our nation.

PRICE CONTROLS FOR THE MEDIA

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, in their editorials of November 12, 1971, the Chicago Sun-Times and the Chicago Daily News set forth the policy position of Publisher Marshall Field in support of holding the line on prices of newspapers and advertising. They point out that in their opinion adherence to existing price structures is not a threat to the rights of a free press under the first amendment. It is stated:

The main threat of the wage-price controls, is to try to contain the inflation that long threatened to make beggars of us all. The public interest is best served if the controls work.

I want to commend Mr. Field for his realistic and constructive position, and to attach the editorials for my colleagues to read:

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Nov. 12, 1971]

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 authorized 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.

[From the Chicago Daily News, Nov. 12 1971]

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 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 people's 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.

ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS HELD IN NEW YORK CITY

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, at the recent annual meeting of the assembly of Captive European Nations held in New York City simultaneously with the opening of the United Nations meeting, Stefan Korbonski, former member of the Polish Parliament, noted journalist and author, delivered one of the outstanding speeches of the session. The title of his message was "Katyn: Lest We Forget."

This organization has been most diligent during the last 30 years since the greatest international crime in world history was committed by the Soviets in massacring approximately 14,000 Polish leaders who made up a large part of the Polish intelligentsia, in constantly alerting the world of this atrocity.

Mr. Korbonski also served as the last President of the Underground Government in Poland.

I submit the remarks of Mr. Korbonski, chairman of the assembly, and some of the proceedings of the session:

KATYN: LEST WE FORGET

(By Stefan Korbonski)

Man's inhumanity to man has become the order of the day in our desensitized society. Some brutalities, however, still remain abhorrent enough to prod mankind's conscience. A case in point is the Katyn Massacre of 1940, which, even after thirty years of worldwide violence, cannot be consigned to oblivion.

The anatomy of the Katyn Massacre brings into sharp focus two poignant reminders: the vanquished can expect little mercy from the victors—especially if the latter represent a totalitarian form of government; and when two totalitarian systems are confronted with the responsibility of answering for mass murder, each tries to pin the blame on the other.

Here is the anatomy of the Katyn Massacre.

The Soviet Union attacked Poland on September 7, 1939, without a declaration of war and in defiance of existing treaties and agreements. The stab in the back came at a time when Poland was trying to defend herself against Nazi onslaughts.

About 1.5 million Poles, including 230,000 soldiers, were subsequently deported to the USSR. An estimated 15,000 officers and intellectuals—selected carefully as the elite of the Polish nation and its potential leaders—were imprisoned in three special camps: at Kozielec, Starobelsk, and Ostashkov. These camps were shut tight by the Russians in April-May 1940; nothing was heard of these men thereafter.

Germany attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. A Polish-Soviet agreement, signed on July 30 by the representatives of the London-based Polish government in exile and the USSR, provided for the release of all Polish citizens in the Soviet Union and the formation of a Polish army on Russian soil that was to join in the struggle against Nazi Germany.

Countless inquiries were made as to the fate of the missing Polish officers, but for a year and eight months the Soviet government gave only evasive, vague and misleading answers.

In March-April 1943, the Germans discovered mass graves at Katyn, near Smolensk, USSR. The graves contained the bodies of 4,253 Polish officers from the Kozielec camp.

The Polish government in exile requested that the International Red Cross investigate this horrible discovery, but the Soviet refused to allow an on-the-spot investigation by the Red Cross and broke off diplomatic relations with the Polish government. Even without the help of the International Red Cross, the Germans set up an "International Medical Commission," which included an eminent Swiss professor, Francois Naville. The unanimous findings of this commission asserted that the Katyn crime had been committed by the Russians in the spring of 1940.

At the Nuremberg trials, in 1946, the Soviet prosecutor attempted to pin the Katyn massacre on the Germans. He failed, however, to come up with the necessary evidence and had to withdraw the charges.

On September 18, 1951, the U.S. House of Representatives adopted House Resolution 390, which provided for the establishment of a select committee—authorized to conduct a full and complete investigation into the Katyn case.

The Select Committee, headed by Representative Ray J. Madden (D-Ind.), completed its investigation on December 22, 1952. It examined 81 witnesses, took more than 100 depositions from persons unable to attend the hearings, and considered 183 additional exhibits. The final report of the Select Committee, placed before the House of Representatives, included as its component part the interim report of July 2, 1952. The latter report stated categorically that the 4,253 Polish officers whose bodies were found in the mass graves at Katyn had been murdered by the Soviet NKVD, and expressed belief that over 10,000 other Polish officers from the Ostashkov and Starobelsk camps who had disappeared inside Russia, must have met the same fate.

In its final report the Select Committee recommended that the House of Representatives approve the committee's findings and adopt a resolution:

1. Requesting the President of the United States to forward the testimony, evidence, and findings of this committee to the United States delegates at the United Nations;

2. Requesting further that the President of the United States issue instructions to the United States delegates to present the Katyn case to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

These recommendations were submitted in 1952, but no action was taken. An international conspiracy of silence descended on the subject—presumably for fear of offending Russia. Despite several further attempts in the British House of Commons and in the Congress of the United States, no judgment or international pronouncement has ever been made on the Katyn murders.

After 19 years of silence, the Katyn issue has suddenly been raised in the British House of Commons. On April 22, 1971, Mr. Airey Neave, M.P., tabled the following motion—signed and sponsored by 165 members of the House:

"The Motion: That this House urges Her Majesty's Government to call upon the General Assembly of the United Nations to appoint a committee of investigation into the massacre of over 4,000 Polish officers in the Katyn Forest and if the evidence is conclusive to condemn those responsible."

On May 26, 1971, Lord Barnby tabled a similar motion in the House of Lords:

"The Lord Barnby—To ask Her Majesty's Government whether they will now support an effort to secure pronouncement establishing beyond contention the authorship of the mass murder of over 4,000 Polish officer prisoners of war in the Katyn Forest near

Smolensk, Russia, in the spring of 1940; and bring to light the disappearance without trace of a further 10,000 Polish officers interned in 1939 in the Soviet camps of Ostashkov and Starobelsk."

The motion was debated in the House of Lords on June 17, 1971. Twelve Lords called for a fresh look at the Katyn Massacre, and for a proclamation of truth at the international level.

Encouraged by the action of the British parliamentarians, Congressman Roman C. Pucinski (D.-Ill.) inserted in the Congressional Record of July 1, 1971, the content of the debate in the House of Lords, as well as the motion of Mr. Airey Neave—including the names of the 165 Members of Parliament who had signed it. In his opening remarks Congressman Pucinski said:

"... I should shortly circulate a petition among our colleagues to join our British counterparts in demanding a United Nations investigation."

The recent revival of the case creates a new hope that the concerted action of the British and American parliamentarians may still result in a belated, but nevertheless much needed, condemnation by the United Nations of the real perpetrators of the Katyn mass murder.

The Polish people have waited for over 30 years for a forthright condemnation of this horrible crime, which has few counterparts in the annals of our civilization.

ASSEMBLY OF CAPTIVE EUROPEAN NATIONS OPENS ITS XVIII SESSION

The urgent need to keep the public and world opinion leaders informed of the dangers of communism and Communist objectives was repeatedly raised at the September 21 meeting that marked the opening of the XVIII Session of ACEN. Held at the Carnegie Endowment International Center in New York City, the meeting attracted a capacity audience of East and Central Europeans and their American friends.

In his introductory remarks, outgoing ACEN Chairman Vasil Germenji of Albania reviewed the activities of the Seventeenth Session and pointed out that "our Assembly has channeled all its efforts in support of the aspirations of the peoples of our homelands for freedom and independence."

Prof. Germenji spoke of the arduous tasks ahead, but he also stressed the unity of purpose of ACEN in addressing itself to the challenge.

"Firm in our determination to continue our work," he said, "we join with the peoples of our homelands and with all freedom-loving persons everywhere in the belief that our efforts will hasten the day when all men will once again be able to enjoy their inalienable right to freedom and self-determination."

REP. MADDEN QUESTIONS SOVIET INTENTIONS

Representative Ray J. Madden (D.-Ind.), the featured speaker, warned of the pitfalls of "peaceful coexistence" on Soviet terms, pointing to the USSR's long record of broken agreements.

"When the Soviet leaders talk about peace through disarmament," Representative Madden said, "we must remember that this is merely a shallow Communist slogan. . . . International agreements are useless unless both parties are honest and sincere."

Congressman Madden also brought into sharp focus the meaning of the 31st anniversary of the Katyn Massacre. The Indiana legislator had served as Chairman of the House Select Committee investigating the 1940 brutal slaughter of at least 4,253 Polish officers in the Katyn Forest.

The Indiana legislator said:

"We must continue to strive toward the day when men are not senselessly executed for their courage, spirit and loyalty to a free

nation. Although the Katyn Massacre no longer occupies the international forum, the conspiracy of silence continues to hover across the mass graves and, to quote from an article which appeared in *International Affairs*, 'the unquiet dead of Katyn and the victims of all captive nations still walk the earth.'"

In addition to Congressman Madden the September 21 session—divided into one meeting in the afternoon and another in the evening—heard addresses from distinguished Americans and exile leaders from the captive nations of East and Central Europe.

The other guest speaker, Christopher Emmet, offered a somber analysis of the current developments in international affairs.

Mr. Emmet, who is Chairman of the American Friends of the Captive Nations, pointed to the dangers in granting concessions to the Soviets without receiving corresponding concessions in return.

The noted writer and commentator said, however, that he was encouraged by the limited success of the Polish workers last December—especially in terms of the concessions they were able to extract from the Communist regime.

Mr. Emmet also spoke of the urgent need to inform the younger generation, both in the United States and abroad, of the real nature of communism and its true objectives.

FIGHT ON WATER POLLUTION

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, in the past few days, since Senate passage of water pollution control legislation, the press has reported what it believes to be growing partisanship on this issue of water pollution.

The Senate bill, S. 2770, calls for the complete elimination of all industrial and municipal pollutant discharges to lakes and streams by 1985. The legislation strongly encourages the recycling of wastes in sewage to make possible this no-discharge objective.

The results for most bodies of water would be a drastic reduction in the nutrients pouring into them today and contributing to their rapid deterioration. Except where nonpoint sources of pollutants such as agriculture runoff are the major cause of degradation, our lakes and streams would then recover from man's misuse and return to conditions allowing swimming and other water contact recreation as well as the existence of desirable fish and shellfish populations. At the same time those surface waters would then become much better sources of drinking water, with reduced costs for water supply treatment. I would like to commend the Senate for its clean water goal in this legislation.

The administration, which also wants to claim clean water as its objective, is reluctant to do so out of fear that the costs to achieve it are prohibitive or that it is not possible given present-day technology. In short, the administration does not wish to promise the American people what it considers impossible of achievement.

I would not want in any way to im-

pugn the motives of either side in this most serious problem. There are courageous, brilliant, dedicated, totally honest people on both sides of this issue. But having played a personal role in the evolution of the issue, I would like to make several observations which might help bring additional understanding to the subject.

Primarily, as a legislator, I understand very well the desire of the American people to improve the environment of this Nation and that means to clean up our waters among other things. I recognize, too, that if the costs of doing so are too high, if we cannot have clean water and jobs, then clean water may well be sacrificed in the short term. In the long run, we human beings will in all probability have to clean up our waters in order to survive as a species.

The United States and the rest of the world, of course, have had water "pollution" problems in some degree throughout geological history. Lakes have filled up with vegetation; rivers have carried silt long before man appeared on the scene. And a degree of water "pollution" is necessary if animal life is to exist on this earth. If some nutrients were not present in water there would be no life. So the problem is to control nutrients and "pollution" to optimize animal and plant life in our surface water for man's long-term well-being. This must be our goal.

We must also recognize that man's intelligence leads him to sophisticated agriculture and industrial techniques to achieve a high standard of living. Those methods often require the concentration of substances such as minerals taken from the land or water. The leftovers of those activities, along with human wastes, are all too often pollutants because they end up out of place in the environment. Botanists have always perceived that weeds are merely plants out of place. Similarly, the environmentalist recognizes that pollutants are resources out of place.

Over the centuries, as populations have grown and industry has evolved, man has been forced to seek ways to get rid of his wastes. And I should define "get rid of" because the earth is a closed system for all practical purposes. While wastes may be transported to sites where they are not visually evident, they do not cease to exist although forms may change.

Surface waters have seemed a cheap and convenient way to "get rid of" wastes until today when we understand better the consequences of such waste disposal.

Our lakes and streams have what is called an assimilative capacity for certain wastes. That is to say, we will not notice the effects of discharge of wastes into water up to a certain point. There will be an effect no matter what the circumstances, however, and some day we will have the capability to measure such effects. I do not believe we have that capability today.

The Detroit River, for example, can dilute and transport a waste load that subsequently damages the Lake Erie ecosystem. And we now recognize that such

discharges ultimately may have a deleterious offset on Lake Ontario, the St. Lawrence River, the coastal waters of Newfoundland, and beyond.

We have passed even the "assimilative capacity" on a great majority of our surface waters. Accelerated aging of lakes, vegetation choked streams, contaminated estuary shellfish beds, and many other indexes give evidence of the human propensity to destroy natural systems.

The question then becomes, Why have we made these mistakes? And how can we correct them?

To answer those questions it is absolutely necessary to consider sound environmental principles. First, we must agree that no physical substance is ever really thrown away. There is no such thing as "away." What is "away" for me is your backyard, fishing grounds or ocean beach.

Then we must accept the full significance of the determination that pollutants are simply misplaced resources. Phosphorus in sewage effluent disposed of in a river or lake is a pollutant. Phosphorus spread on the land is a nutrient for agriculture purposes. Sewage sludge burned in an incinerator contributes to air pollution, creates an ash disposal problem and wastes resources. But sludge spread on the land is a soil conditioner and fertilizer.

We must begin to think much more seriously about scarce resources. Our supplies of raw materials are extremely limited on this earth today in their natural geologic formations, relative to our growing needs. We cannot afford to "dispose" of them where they will be difficult to recover for reuse by our children and our children's children. We need to tie them down where they cannot migrate to become pollutants or become "lost" in lake bottoms or oceans. Central waste "disposal" sites on land are the only answer on this point at this time. Today's scattering of "wastes" for economic reasons is extreme profligacy in terms of tomorrow.

Taking all of these environmental principles into consideration, it becomes increasingly apparent that drastic change in thinking must take place within our society if future generation of human beings are to enjoy anything like the standards of living we have rather thoughtlessly produced for ourselves. We must begin to work with nature, using our God-given intellect to help us understand how to do so. We have made environmental errors through ignorance. We can solve our pollution problems by adhering to these principles. Our determination to do so might well become the "moral equivalent of war" discussed by William James. As Pogo so aptly describes it, "we have met the enemy and he is us." In 1969, mindful of these considerations, I joined other Members of Congress in calling for an environmental decade in the 1970's, a decade of war on pollution.

All of this brings us to Senate bill S. 2770. The legislation in quite substantial ways calls for an adherence to environmental principles. It demands zero discharge to surface waters of pollutants by 1985. It strongly encourages the de-

velopment of sewage treatment systems that recycle "pollutants." It provides funds in sufficient quantities to meet current needs. It provides for tough enforcement measures.

I do not agree with several sections of the bill and hope that the House Public Works Committee might effect certain changes.

First. The 1974 goal of secondary treatment seems highly inappropriate in that such systems provide for discharge of pollutants to surface waters. That provision is not particularly compatible with no-discharge deadlines. It might better call for the establishment of long-term planning objectives through comprehensive review of water quality objectives and alternative treatment measures by that date. The adequacy of the Lake Michigan Water Pollution Abatement Conference 80 percent phosphate removal objective by December 31, 1972, is subject to serious question today, for example.

Second. The section requiring industry to repay to the Federal Government an amount equal to its share of construction costs paid by Federal funds seems inappropriate. A requirement that industry pay its share of operating costs and local debt retirement through user charges ought to be sufficient incentive for industry to minimize its wastes. Industry participation with municipalities in utilization of treatment facilities can effect economies of scale. At the same time, industry pays taxes, a part of which support the construction grant program. It seems incongruous to require industry to pay twice to participate in the treatment plant construction program.

Third. Additional emphasis might be given to programs involving septic tank design, installation and maintenance. With 30 percent of the population of the Nation unsewered, and with septic tanks in all probability the lowest per capita cost treatment system, it would seem desirable to see that environmental variations are reflected in the design and location of such facilities along with development of maintenance techniques to assure effective performance.

Fourth. Additional R. & D. attention should be given to systems which recycle sewage wastes. Because such approaches have been seriously neglected in the past they deserve much more attention today. Without such special attention those who control sewage treatment R. & D. may well continue to emphasize projects incompatible with no-discharge objectives.

Fifth. In the area of long-range regional water management planning, I would like to encourage a continued role for the Army Corps of Engineers as stated in section 209 of the Senate legislation. At the same time, because of a recent letter by EPA Administrator Ruckelshaus requesting termination of the present five corps regional studies, I would like to see a specific congressional mandate for the continuation of these studies under corps direction. They appear to be the only effective regional studies being undertaken today. Through contract procedures, full use can be made of State and local capabilities in the planning effort.

While I would like to see the above changes in a House water pollution bill,

the Senate version, in my estimation, provides a sound foundation for these proposed changes. I am extremely disappointed in the administration's opposition to the Senate legislation. While some of the CEQ and EPA objections may be legitimate, the major objections seem unfounded.

A review of the past 2 years relative to a specific waste water management project may be helpful to an understanding of my position.

In the fall of 1969 a proposal for a radical sewage treatment system in Muskegon County in my district came to my attention. It involved the fundamental environmental principles I have discussed earlier.

The system will receive almost all of the industrial and municipal sewage wastes in the county and treat them in a system of lagoon treatment cells where natural forces including sunlight, wind, time, and biological activity, with the help of mechanical aerators, will break down organic matter and settle out solids. The treatment cells will provide effluent equivalent or superior to that of a well designed and operated traditional secondary treatment plant.

There are advantages in the use of this type of secondary treatment process. Important is the fact that it is a very simple system to operate and maintain. A distinct additional advantage relates to circumstances when an accidental spill of toxic wastes would normally be expected to destroy the bacteria colony in a conventional activated sludge system, putting the system out of commission for 10 days, while the bacteria colony became reestablished. There is evidence that such events shut down traditional systems approximately 20 percent of the time. The size of the treatment cells and the potential for isolating toxic substances will allow the Muskegon system to continue to function while bacteria killed in one section are being reestablished.

The system will also have the capacity to handle unusual peak loads without bypassing the treatment process, an attribute not available to traditional systems.

Up to this point, there is not anything particularly unusual about the Muskegon system except that its treatment cells are exceptionally large. The system will handle 43 million gallons a day of waste water and 90 million gallons at peak loads. About half of the current waste flow comes from a papermill on Muskegon Lake. Other industrial discharges include wastes from chemical companies, a tannery, foundries and general manufacturing. An unusual functional consolidation of 13 local governments has resulted in the participation of all major county sources of sewage in the system.

What does make the system extremely unusual is the next step in the sewage treatment process. It involves the spreading on land of the effluent from the treatment cells. In the major segment of the system 6,000 acres of land are to be used for that purpose. Through a system of rotating irrigation spray rigs this nutrient-rich water will be sprayed onto the soil. Agriculture crops will be grown on

the land to utilize the nutrients. What we end up with is a substantial farming operation utilizing irrigation water and sewage nutrients to optimize crop growth. We are converting "pollutants" into valuable resources in the process.

Water filtering through the soil gives up essentially all environmentally harmful substances. BOD is reduced to zero. Phosphorus removal is total. Nitrogenous substances are reduced 80 percent. Chlorination in the treatment cells destroys all bacteria, and viruses are totally converted to harmless protein in the soil. Water filtering through to the under-drainage network of the agriculture land will meet U.S. Public Health Service drinking water quality standards. The system will have substantial treated effluent storage capacity in the form of two 850-acre lagoons so that winter irrigation will not be necessary.

President Nixon, Governor Milliken of Michigan, the President's Council on Environmental Quality under Russell Train, the Federal Environmental Protection Agency's Water Quality Office then under David Dominick, and John Erlichman and John Whitaker in the White House have all substantially helped Muskegon in the establishment of this system which is now under construction and will begin operation in 1972.

The system represents a solid environmental breakthrough although its total potential has by no means been exploited. While it conserves natural resources it halts water pollution. It provides a logic to greenbelt considerations and a halt to urban sprawl.

Further synergisms will no doubt be developed. At the present time serious consideration is being given to the siting of a nuclear powerplant in the treatment area which would utilize the storage lagoons for cooling water purposes. This would eliminate the need for expensive cooling towers for the powerplant. It would provide warm water to the treatment cells to improve biological activity. The warm water would help plant growth on the agriculture land. Increased evaporation would reduce water storage and land requirements, thus reducing capital costs of the sewage treatment system.

Because the use of rotating circular spray rigs results in some acreage not receiving irrigation water, land is available in the system for a solid waste disposal project where all of those wastes from western Michigan could be accommodated for 100 years. A solid waste disposal center could be established with large scale separation equipment for paper, glass, metals, and so forth, along with sanitary landfill possibilities. Wastes could be accumulated and managed under economies of scale and with environmental principles adhered to.

Costs of the Muskegon system are most encouraging. Construction contracts and land acquisition figures are resulting in total costs of about 80 cents per thousand gallons of treatment capacity. A comparison of costs for a traditional system with phosphate removal, on which contracts have just been awarded in Chicago, is about \$1.40 per thousand gallons.

The project is the Salt Creek plant, where 30 million gallons per day will be treated and contracts add up to \$43 million. That figure does not include land and sludge disposal costs, which are included in the Muskegon figures.

There is substantial evidence that operating costs in Muskegon will be half the costs of traditional systems. Muskegon will also have the benefits of agriculture income not included in these calculations. Nuclear powerplant cost benefits are not included at this point in time, of course.

What Muskegon is doing is radical only in the size of the system. As Ralph Purdy, executive director of the Michigan Water Resources Commission, stated in the March-April issue of the Michigan Department of Natural Resources magazine:

We've seen some spray-irrigation projects under way both here and in other States for a long time. But this is the first time a full-sized metropolitan area has ventured to use the idea.

In other words, we know that the concept will work, from experience.

In addition, the Environmental Protection Agency, in its 1971 report on "The Cost of Clean Water," emphasized the effectiveness of the concept, stating:

Water reaching watercourses after passage through the filtering and decomposition processes afforded by soil is far purer—provided that soil loading rates are not exceeded—than any waste treatment process short of distillation could make them.

To help encourage the county to build the system, the Environmental Protection Agency is providing the largest research and development grant in its history, more than 32 million over a 7-year period, including \$40,000 per year for farm management.

The major reservation concerning the concept is the amount of land that is needed. In Muskegon we have access to substantial amounts of marginal land at relatively low cost. There is evidence that such land is available within acceptable distance of most metropolitan areas of the country. Buffer-area requirements of nuclear powerplants, about 2,000 acres each by some calculations, offer interesting synergisms nationwide. We are planning to build 300 such powerplants by 1990. Intensive studies are needed to verify this contention and the Corps of Engineers is making such studies today in five major urban areas: the Merrimac River Basin in New England, Cleveland-Akron, Detroit-southeast Michigan, Chicago and the south end of Lake Michigan, and San Francisco. Other areas of the country are interested in such studies.

As I indicated earlier, I have been informed that EPA has called for the termination of those studies. Competition between EPA and the corps in wastewater management planning is intense. While EPA has the major responsibility for water quality under current legislative authority, its role as described in its own testimony in reorganization hearings does not include planning and management functions, both long-term areas of the corps' responsibility.

At the same time, an understanding

had been reached between the two agencies earlier in the year under which the corps would proceed, with assistance from EPA and the States involved. The corps' broad experience in floodplain management, the development of regional systems and its available trained manpower were additional factors in the decision.

Preliminary corps figures suggest Muskegon-type systems would be more expensive than conventional systems in all five studies. But I can recall all too vividly the arguments that the Muskegon lagoon-spray irrigation system would be too expensive. Traditionalists were not interested in optimizing costs of this radical approach to sewage treatment. Muskegon's consultants proved them wrong. Muskegon's contracts are half what opponents of the concept said they would be.

The information gathered by the corps in these five areas must be subjected to the same kind of objective, intensive review which resulted in approval by Michigan and EPA of the Muskegon project. As Under Secretary of the Army Thaddeus Beal stated:

The studies have not been refined in sufficient detail to provide the most cost effective solutions . . .

It will be an environmental tragedy of the highest order if those studies are terminated.

I have mentioned Muskegon's consultants and I want to explain who they are. Dr. John R. Sheaffer, on leave from the center for urban studies at the University of Chicago, leads the team. Dr. William Bauer of Bauer Engineering of Chicago provides the engineering application of Sheaffer's environmental principles. Both have solid environmental and scientific credentials. Dr. Sheaffer today is the scientific adviser to the Secretary of the Army. Dr. Bauer and his firm have designed the deep tunnel storm sewer system for Chicago and have established the Semco system which spreads Chicago's sewage sludge on farmland in central Illinois. You will be totally correct in assuming a major role on Dr. Sheaffer's part in establishing the five Corps of Engineers regional wastewater management studies.

With this background we now reach the point of my objections to the administration's arguments against the Senate water pollution legislation.

Again, one major argument is that the goal of clean water by 1985 is not achievable. The other major argument is that the cost of attempting to reach such a goal is too high. A November 1, 1971 paper, "Environmental and Economic Benefits and Costs Related to Various Water Pollution Abatement Strategies," spells out administration contentions. It is an economic study essentially based on the fact that costs of removing pollutants from sewage by traditional activated sludge plants with tertiary treatment added on for phosphate removal, or so-called physical-chemical systems, go up in geometric ratios as total pollutant removal is approached. Eighty to ninety percent BOD and phosphate removal is possible at relatively reasonable cost. Ninety-five percent removal becomes

quite expensive and higher percentages raise costs astronomically.

Based on the logic of the paper the conclusion that the 1985 no-discharge goal is unattainable and too expensive to attempt makes sense. Based on sound environmental principles it is strictly an academic exercise. The Muskegon concept on which the Senate bill is based does not directly concern itself with such calculations because the pollutants are shifted to the land to be utilized as resources in treated effluent rather than to be looked upon as something which must be removed and "disposed of."

That paper raises the question of costs to industry and effects on jobs and exports, and so forth. Muskegon County industry is delighted with the spray irrigation system. It is relatively low cost, it can handle a great variety of wastes, and it will provide total removal of pollutants from surface waters, thus improving the environment of people who live and work in the area. Industry is hand in hand with local government and citizens in support of the system.

The paper estimates total construction costs of \$95 billion to achieve zero discharge for both industry and municipalities. Based on Muskegon costs, we can talk about 40 billion gallons a day of sewage or \$32 billion for total removal of municipal and industrial pollutants from surface waters. And about 20 percent of this cost would be for collection systems, not treatment.

Also to be given careful consideration is the fact that Muskegon's costs may be higher than ultimately necessary elsewhere because the county is forced under present Michigan requirements to acquire land outright. Legislative review ought to be able to evolve a program of Government easements on land allowing the spraying of irrigation water and nutrients, or outright sale of those resources to farmers since there is positive economic value in both. One-acre inch of effluent would have the value of 25 pounds of 10-10-12 fertilizer worth 87 cents or a value of about \$60 per year per acre at Muskegon application rates. We have just begun to scratch the surface in the potential of benefits in land utilization systems of sewage treatment.

The administration expresses concern that the construction industry will not expand its labor force to meet the needs of a temporary program such as sewage treatment plant construction. Others have also been greatly concerned about the scarcity of skilled technicians to operate advanced waste treatment plants.

The Muskegon concept does not require the use of very complicated construction processes. Most of the costs relate to earth moving—for sewer lines, lagoon impoundment dikes and berms, drain tiling, and so forth.

The work compares in many ways to highway construction. With our interstate highway system approaching completion, is it not logical to consider the use of part of the labor force employed there for a new national goal, clean water? And the simplicity of the operations of the system suggests a reduced need for highly skilled operators required by physical-chemical and tertiary waste treatment systems.

I have been asked about the land requirements for the construction of Muskegon-type systems throughout the country. While different soil types and evaporation rates would determine rates of water application, 40 billion gallons a day based on Muskegon standards would mean 7,200,000 acres of land. That is roughly equivalent to 6 percent of the land area of the State of Texas. It is also about 1 percent of the land presently used to grow the 59 major agriculture crops produced in this country. Crop yields, of course, are much higher than average where such effluent has been sprayed on land.

It must be recognized that population concentrations are not uniformly distributed in agriculture areas so that it would be more difficult to find areas for spreading treated sewage effluent in the northeastern part of the country than in the great plains. However, marginal lands are available in sufficient acreages in almost all sections of the Nation. High land costs may be circumvented by easements or other techniques I have discussed earlier. At the same time, beyond urban commuter range, land costs tend to reflect agriculture use.

Forest lands must also be considered. At the Penn State spray-irrigation project considerable work has been done indicating greatly accelerated growth rates for certain species of trees on land receiving treated effluent. The potential for increasing our woodland resources for raw materials for housing and other construction is fascinating.

Mr. Speaker, it is time that the Nation was offered the environmental vision inherent in the land utilization concept of sewage treatment. The concept allows man to admit the wisdom of God and nature and to move in harmony with natural processes. To ignore this wisdom is to court environmental disaster.

Clean water ought not to be a partisan issue. I hope I have made clear the role, as I see it, that both political parties have played in the development of the Senate water pollution legislation. The administration has made possible the Muskegon system without which there could be no foundation for hope that clean water was an achievable goal, at least in this environmental decade. The Senate has grasped the vision which I am certain the House will perceive.

Muskegon County citizens, organizations, government officials, Michigan and Federal officials all have played major roles in the evolution of this concept. Dr. John Sheaffer deserves our deepest gratitude. I hope that the Congress can make the most of the opportunity we have been given.

CATHERINE BASIE, A GREAT AMERICAN

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, there is probably not a person alive in America today who has not heard of Count Basie.

His music continues to thrill the hearts of young and old alike. But not many Americans are fully aware of the activities of his wife, Catherine Basie, a woman whose love of children and devotion to the mentally retarded is matched only by her husband's expertise in the jazz world.

Catherine Basie grew up in Ohio, spending her schooldays in Cleveland. While in high school she was the backstroke swimming champ and a contender for the 1936 Olympics title. However, a lack of funds prevented her from training for the special event—a circumstance that later prompted her to finance the training of two youngsters for the 1962 Olympics.

Her life was nevertheless a full one, meeting Count Basie—then a rising musician—whom she married in 1942. Two years later the Basies had a little daughter born to them. Diane, now 27 years old, was born mentally retarded. Rather than considering this a tragedy, the Basies treated it as a blessing drawing closer to their daughter. Rather than sending her to an institution, the Count and Catherine cared for her in their own home along with the help of Diane's nurse, Deedee.

From that day on, Catherine Basie dedicated herself to helping mentally retarded children. She wanted to show others that these children needed help and love. But most importantly she wanted to give of herself to help uplift the spirits of mentally retarded children. At first it was only her small neighborhood community, but that community's boundaries continued to grow so that today she will go anywhere to aid a mentally retarded child.

For her efforts she has been recognized by numerous groups. In the fifties she received awards from the Citizens Committee of Jamaica, WWRL, the Boy Scouts of America, the Salvation Army, the Brooks Brooklyn Citizens Committee—juvenile, the State of New York Auxiliary Police, the Queens Junior Guild, the Kiwanis Club of Jamaica, the Ladies Guild of Queens County, Inc., Lighthouse for the Blind, the United Cerebral Palsy and the House of Friendship Community Center.

In the sixties, she was honored by the Zeta Beta Sorority, Inc., Industrial Home for the Blind, the Long Island Choral Group, the Urban League of Greater New York, the Queens County Ladies Auxiliary, the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., Allen African Methodist Episcopal Church, South Jamaica Community Council, the Greater Long Island Cosmotologists, Inc., Queens County Chapter of the National Multiple Sclerosis Society, Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority, the Hebrew Home for Chronic Ill, National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., Ambassadors Civil Association, the ladies auxiliary of the Queens County Veterans of Foreign Wars and Calvary Methodist Church.

She has received the Brotherhood Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Brotherhood Award of the Jamaica B'nai B'rith, the Ebony Community Service Award, the

National Tay-Sachs Woman of the Year Award, the Apostolic Blessing of Pope Paul VI from Fu Jen Catholic University, the Red Bags Youth Award, the Long Island Choral Society Woman of the Year Award and the Amita Sister Achievement Award.

Now the countess, who was known as Princess Aloha from Tahiti when she danced in several short subjects during her Hollywood career, is retiring. She and the count are moving to the Bahamas where they will set up permanent residence.

The State of New York and this country will lose a great couple. The Count and Catherine will be greatly missed. The many retarded children whom she has helped over the years will remember her for the kindness and help she has offered throughout her life.

The Bahamas will surely gain a great woman and know that she is not retiring from her work with mentally retarded children. Her great heart of kindness will be spread over the children of the Bahamas, where she will continue with her good works. May God give this great lady the strength to help others, for in this she is doing God's work.

DEDICATED WOMEN TO JOIN IN PLEADING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS FOR SOVIET JEWS

HON. BOB CASEY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. CASEY of Texas. It is indeed heartwarming to know that thousands of dedicated women, both Jewish and non-Jewish, throughout 27 cities in the United States will join together on December 6th to plead for "Human Rights for Soviet Jewry."

For too long, the world has ignored the plight of the Soviet Jews. These 3 million people—the second largest Jewish community in the world—have been the victims of many types of anti-semitic persecution, and suffer increasingly vigorous efforts by the Soviets to repress basic human rights and stifle religious and cultural identity.

It is a point of pride to me that in Houston under the sponsorship of the Sisterhood of Temple Beth Israel and the Sisterhood of Temple Emanu El, these concerned citizens—representing a broad spectrum of civic and community groups—will meet at the University of St. Thomas to express their united concern for the plight of Soviet Jewry.

In my judgment, this national effort to arouse world opinion, will do much to ease the suffering now endured by Soviet Jews. For too long, the world governments have stood idly by—our own included—while the Soviets have abridged the basic human rights and dignity of these hapless people. And the effort to be made in Houston and throughout our land on December 6th will prove to the world, and to our own

Government, that the time has come for us to take a strong stand in their behalf.

Mr. Speaker, because I think it vitally important that the world know some of the grim facts of life facing Soviet Jews, I ask unanimous consent that the fact sheet entitled "Status of Soviet Jewry—1971" sent to me by Mrs. J. H. Wilkenfeld of Houston, representing the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods and its local affiliates in Houston, be printed at this point in the RECORD:

STATUS OF SOVIET JEWRY—1971

There are approximately 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union, making it the second largest Jewish community in the world. Russian Jews have historically been the victims of various types of anti-semitic persecution. Now, this last large remnant of East European Jewry that survived the Nazi Holocaust is facing increased repression of its basic human rights and growing efforts to strangle its religious and cultural identity.

Even in a state which claims opposition to religion in general, anti-Jewish religious campaigns go well beyond atheistic attacks on religions as a whole. All other religious groups, except Jews, are permitted to teach religion, conduct church conferences, organize religious committees, instruct clergymen, print prayer books, hymnals, and religious articles. No national Jewish religious organization is permitted, and there are no facilities for the training of rabbis. Although Soviet law allows ten parents to band together to provide instruction for their children, Jews who do so are in jeopardy of arrest.

The synagogue is the only official meeting place allowed Jews, and those who attend do so in fear and are viewed with suspicion. Frightening figures indicate that while there were 3000 synagogues in the USSR in 1914, this number declined to 450 in 1956, and has further declined to a mere 40 synagogues throughout the entire USSR in 1971.

In addition to being a religious grouping, Judaism is also considered a nationality by the Soviet Government, one of 108 nationalities in the USSR. However, the Jewish remain without the cultural ingredients given to other nationalities: Jewish schools, theaters, publishing houses and broadcasting facilities, all of which once flourished in the Soviet Union. Yet, such cultural activities are maintained for the other USSR nationalities, most of whom number much less than the Jewish community. While a total of 59 languages are taught in the nations schools, there is not a single school that teaches Hebrew or Yiddish. And again, when individual parents attempt to transmit to their children such traditional teachings, they do so in fear of reprisal.

Even as they are deprived of their right to preserve their religious and cultural identity, Soviet Jews are discriminated against because of that identity. The printing of the nationality "Jewish" on individual passports, which are required for securing jobs, housing, public benefits, etc., makes blatant discrimination common in all aspects of economic and public life. That the Soviet Government condones anti-semitism is evident in the publishing of vicious anti-semitic literature, articles, caricatures and books, all of which must pass official censorship.

Because of these conditions, it is not surprising that numbers of Jews are seeking to leave the Soviet Union. Their hopes are supported by Article XIII of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which says that everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own. The Soviet Union has shown that it is not opposed in principle to the idea of repatriation as exemplified by the treatment of Soviet Armenians. Yet, the Soviet Government is allowing few Jews

to emigrate, even on a basis of reuniting with families in Israel and other parts of the world. Applications to emigrate are often followed by demotion, loss of job, harassment, and even imprisonment. The heart-rending stories of such denials of emigration requests, as well as the treatment of those who would attempt to emigrate, have reached the outside world through the petitions and pleas from Soviet Jews.

Of growing concern in recent months are the reports of the plight of Jewish "Prisoners of Conscience" now being held in Soviet prisons. This growing number of men and women are being arrested and tried for the crime of simply being Jewish, of expressing their pride in belonging to the Jewish people, or of desiring to leave the country and emigrate to Israel where they can live freely as Jews. The treatment of these "Prisoners of Conscience" is the antithesis of basic human rights: being held incommunicado for months, without knowledge of specific charges; harsh prison sentences, up to 15 years in some cases; a brutal prison regime, meager food rations, which has constituted, especially for women prisoners, a sentence to slow death by starvation and exhaustion.

In sum, Soviet policy places the Jew in an extricable vise. They are allowed neither to assimilate, nor to live a full Jewish life nor to emigrate to Israel or any other place where they might live freely as Jews. Soviet policy as a whole then amounts to spiritual strangulation.

Indications from both within and outside the Soviet Union are that this policy toward Soviet Jewry will only be changed when public and official opinion throughout the world make it undesirable for the government of the USSR to pursue its repression of basic human rights to its Jewish community.

CALIFORNIANS ARE VIEWING WATER PROJECTS DIFFERENTLY

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, in this era of economic "phases" it is interesting to note the involvement of "phase" in another area of discourse. I refer to the second phase in the effort to preserve our environment.

Mr. Speaker, the initial phase in this effort was the massive public reaction to the threats posed by pollution and unrestrained growth to the environment. Led by the Sierra Club and other conservation organizations, the American people have recognized that the very air and water they breathe and drink is imperiled by emissions into the skies and lakes, rivers and estuaries of our Nation and the oceans of the world.

While there has been a marked increase in legislative and administrative action in the wake of this public outcry for ecological protection, it has been woefully short of the steps needed to provide adequate protection.

In recognition of this failure by the Congress and by local and State legislative bodies, a second phase in the environmental battle has begun—the political phase.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that many of us in the Congress have been aware since

the congressional elections of 1970 that conservationists have potentially powerful influence on the electorate.

Mr. Speaker, two elections in California recently served as indicators of the type of action to be expected with regard to water projects and policymakers who act on projects to spur growth at the expense of the environment.

In Marin County, the voters decided against joining in a project to meet expected population growth. The vote was an awesome 10 to 1 against the project.

In Santa Barbara County, voters, including a large number of students, defeated three incumbent water district board members who had advocated bringing northern California water to the area to meet expected growth.

Mr. Speaker, these are significant votes, but they are only a tip of the iceberg.

Mr. Speaker, I would like at this time to insert in the RECORD an article by Ed Salzman of the Oakland Tribune which elaborates on this issue.

The article follows:

[From the Oakland Tribune, Nov. 14, 1971]

PUBLIC'S VIEWS ON WATER CHANGING

(By Ed Salzman)

SACRAMENTO.—Mayor Joseph Alioto of San Francisco won most of this year's post-election headlines, but perhaps a far more significant victory in Southern California was almost totally overlooked.

The winners were the newly franchised students at the University of California in Santa Barbara. The youthful voters in the once-pillaged community of Isla Vista made an unexpected grab for political power.

The students were not out to gain control of the local police force or city or county government. They concentrated on the Goleta Valley Water District and succeeded in replacing three growth-oriented directors with three ecology-minded directors.

Just two days after this vote, William R. Gianelli, the state director of water resources, presented a speech in Texas to the National Water Resources Assn.

He labeled the ecology movement as "a political ploy" which has surpassed motherhood, apple pie and the American flag. Then he offered a couple of definitions, supposedly handed to him by a conservationist:

"An ecologist is a man who finished building his mountain cabin last year. If he were to start building this year, he would be called a developer."

The man responsible for carrying out the State Water Project declared that "the environmental movement in America today has become so extreme, in some cases, that it has made a Typhoid Mary out of the water developer."

PUBLIC IMAGE

The keynote to his address was an assessment that the public image of the water developer is bad and getting worse. Water men, he emphasized, must approach the public with the same enthusiasm as is used by their environmentalist opponents.

Gianelli bases his drive for California water development on the 1960 vote which authorized the sale of bonds for construction of massive State Water Project.

Some day, he ought to take another look at the election returns. The proposition carried by an extremely narrow margin—3,008,000 yes to 2,834,000 no.

Does anyone doubt what the result would be if the same vote were taken today? The measure would lose overwhelmingly, and

even Southern Californians would oppose it.

The Santa Barbara vote is merely the latest in a long string of indicators that the California public has turned against growth and against water bonanzas for the agricultural industry in the San Joaquin Valley.

OPPOSITE VIEWS

Gianelli's views run exactly opposite to those of most Californians. The state official who speaks for the people is Kerry Mulligan of St. Helena, chairman of the State Water Resources Control Board.

Mulligan has led his board in a fight against pollution of San Francisco Bay by San Francisco and others. He has shown no reluctance to use the state's tough new laws against anyone befouling California's waterways.

Above all, Mulligan and his board have told Gianelli and the Federal Government that they cannot rape the San Francisco Bay-Delta System to send a maximum amount of water to Southern California. In the historic Bay-Delta decision, the board even established a requirement that water must be released from northern dams if necessary to maintain a proper flow in the Sacramento River.

Mulligan now is leading a campaign to promote rapid development of waste water reclamation systems in California. There is no reason why a big portion of the state's future water needs cannot be met through purification of effluents.

Gianelli has been screaming that the Bay-Delta decision will force the damming of more northern rivers so that commitments to Southern California can be met.

Californians will not tolerate this obsolete and narrow-minded view. They are much more likely to go along with even more expensive programs calling for the recycling of waste water.

SCHWENGEL CALLS FOR HOUSE OBSERVANCE OF THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF PEARL HARBOR

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, next week we will observe the 30th anniversary of the infamous attack on Pearl Harbor. I addressed myself to this event earlier—page 42537 of the RECORD for November 20. I have now received resolutions from the Disabled American Veterans, Department of Iowa, and their auxiliary in support of such an observance. The resolutions follow:

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS, DEPARTMENT OF IOWA

RESOLUTION—PEARL HARBOR ANNIVERSARY

Whereas, 1971 is the Thirtieth Anniversary of that day which President Franklin Roosevelt said "Would Live in Infamy", and

Whereas, many of the people today have forgotten or were not born when that day of infamy happened and we should bring this to the attention of the public and to remind the public that sneak attacks are possible and we should always be alert to that possibility, and

Now therefore be it resolved that the Disabled American Veterans in meeting assembled on 23 October 1971, in Davenport, Iowa, go on record urging Congress to pay special recognition of the Thirtieth Anniversary of Pearl Harbor Day.

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS AUXILIARY, DEPARTMENT OF IOWA

Whereas, 1971 is the 30th anniversary of that day which President Franklin Delano Roosevelt said would live in infamy.

Whereas, many of the people today have forgotten or were not yet born when that day of infamy happened and we should bring to the public attention to remind the public that sneak attacks are possible and we should always be alert to that possibility.

Now therefore be it resolved, that the Iowa Department of the Disabled American Veterans Auxiliary goes on record this 23d day of October supporting special recognition of the 30th anniversary of Pearl Harbor.

PARAPROFESSIONALS AND THEIR PERFORMANCE

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, November 30, 1971

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, the increasing utilization of paraprofessionals in almost every area of the human services has been one of the most significant developments in the manpower field in the last decade. Alan Gartner's new book, "Paraprofessionals and Their Performance," examines the impact of paraprofessional programs on health, education, and social and community services, as well as on paraprofessionals themselves. It also gives background on the new careers movement, which provides employment mainly for the poor and undereducated through simplification of jobs, on-the-job training, and a structure of job ladders enabling workers to advance.

To quote from Frank Riessman's foreword:

This book provides a remarkable integration of a vast array of data on the way in which paraprofessionals contribute to the improvement of human service practice—by reaching hitherto unreached people, by providing new kinds of services, by improving the professional's performance and sometimes munity ethos into agencies that have limited his attitudes, and by introducing a new comities to the community.

This study analyzes the research on the paraprofessional in a variety of fields: health education, social service, corrections, and mental health. It presents a highly balanced picture of the accomplishments of paraprofessional workers and anyone interested in the role of the paraprofessional in current U.S. society should consider it carefully. The author not only covers all the existing literature (which is remarkable extensive), but he also develops important insights regarding a variety of issues, including the relationship of indigeneity and training, the relationship of the paraprofessional and the professional, and the relationship of the paraprofessional and the community.

Early next year the Congress will be deeply involved once again in an effort to restructure our manpower programs. This book is highly relevant to that effort. This book is highly relevant to that effort, as it sheds a great deal of light on both the promise and performance of one of the most innovative, and highly successful manpower and career development programs.