

ference still has not broken up. We have not proceeded to a resolution of differences, but the bill before the conference is a very good bill in this area and I am still very hopeful we can prevail upon the House and the Senate to accept authorizing legislation before a substantial amount of money is made available for the continuation of this program.

I merely wanted to say that because I thought over the weekend there might be misapprehension in the minds of many people as to the status of this particular legislation.

AID TO PORTUGAL

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, there is another article in the New York Times today that I wish to comment on. The article states that the United States has promised Portugal \$435 million. It is reported that the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. CASE) objected to the procedure that has been followed, that is, the ignoring of the Senate and Congress, as far as I know—but certainly the Senate—in the negotiation of an agreement of this consequence and this size.

I think the administration should have submitted this agreement to the Senate for consideration. This is a very large amount of money and I am bound to say that the negotiation of agreements of this size without consultation with Congress is very disappointing and verges upon irresponsibility.

It seems to me that these people are not aware of the very serious financial conditions in this country. The programs referred to here are the kinds of programs that the people of my State and all the States are interested in, such as schools and hospitals.

The article states:

The American commitment to finance the purchase in the United States of goods and equipment worth up to \$400 million for Portuguese development projects—ranging from town planning to the building of airports, highways, bridges, hospitals and schools—was described by State Department

officials as conditional on the approval of each individual project application by the Export-Import Bank, an independent governmental agency.

Those are the very projects that are being held down, and are without funds in my State and, I believe, in all other States. I want to register my strong objection to the continuation of this program of financing abroad at concessional rates, and there are grants in this program, under the circumstances that exist in this country. We know about the impoundment of funds for highways, for example, and yet we are making money available for highways in Portugal. I cannot understand the continued granting of this kind of financing in the face of our own needs.

It seems to me that what we all know to be a fact with regard to our economy has not come to the attention of the people in the State Department and the executive branch. They must live in some kind of ivory tower that insulates them from the news of what is going on in this country.

I suppose they take the attitude that programs in this country are not their responsibility, but it is the responsibility of the Senate and I shall urge the Senate to try to bring some restrictions on this kind of agreement without consultation with the Senate.

Mr. President, I thought it was fair to say that before we recess for the weekend.

QUORUM CALL

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum. I assume this bill be the final quorum call today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded. The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr.

HUGHES). Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS ON MONDAY

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that after the two leaders have been recognized on Monday, there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business for not to exceed 30 minutes, with statements limited therein to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1971

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 11 o'clock and 31 minutes a.m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, December 13, 1971, at 12 o'clock meridian.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate, December 11, 1971:

U.S. DISTRICT COURTS

Jon O. Newman, of Connecticut, to be a U.S. district judge for the district of Connecticut.

Arnold Bauman, of New York, to be a U.S. district judge for the southern district of New York.

Lee P. Gagliardi, of New York, to be a U.S. district judge for the southern district of New York.

William Terrell Hodges, of Florida, to be a U.S. district judge for the middle district of Florida.

Bruce M. Van Sickle, of North Dakota, to be a U.S. district judge for the district of North Dakota.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

HUNTING ACCIDENTS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, Montana Outdoors Editor John Willard of Billings has written another thoughtful piece about hunting accidents. In it he points out that, while a game hunter is in greater danger driving to and from his hunt than when in the field, there is still a job to be done on hunter safety programs.

Mr. Willard also finds "significant the lack of any real mandate to keep out of the field, even temporarily, a person who shoots another in a hunting accident."

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Willard's article, published in the Billings, Mont., Gazette of December 5, be printed in the RECORD.

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

CAR STILL MORE DANGEROUS THAN GUN

(By John Willard)

Notwithstanding the concern of hunter's wives, the chance of harm coming to her hubby is 67 times greater from wheels than from bullets.

Hunting accidents continue to take their toll, of course, and will as long as people are people. Last week reminded again that a hunting buddy can kill his partner as easily as some total stranger of whose presence he wasn't even aware. Such accidents date back 150 years to the day of Peter Cruzatte shot Captain Meriweather Lewis in a painful but not serious part of his anatomy while elk hunting in the Missouri river bottoms.

The fiddle-playing member of the Lewis and Clark expedition got off very lightly in view of the fact the senior officer spent several very uncomfortable days in the bottom of the boat and no court-martial ever was held on the subject. Today, there is about the same penalty for shooting someone in the field, unless there is proof which justifies ac-

tion under general laws covering homicide, manslaughter and assault, the shooter faces no difficulty under fish and game statutes.

So, while the hazard in the field may be only about one-sixty-seventh that faced while tooling down the highway coming or going from hunting, there seems still to be some lack of teeth in punishment for carelessness at the butt of a firearm.

Everyone should feel pleased that public firearms fatalities nationally during 1970 dropped 10 per cent from 1969, probably due mostly to good hunter safety programs, enriched somewhat by new money from arms taxes. This record was unmatched in other public accident categories.

Happily, Montana is one of the 16 states requiring safety training prior to first hunting licensing, but even states which have volunteer programs report good attendance in safety training classes. Montana also has a law requiring wearing of safety clothing while hunting, a law which has consistently been strengthened as hunter numbers increase.

What seems most significant is the lack of any real mandate to keep out of the field, even temporarily, a person who shoots an-

other in a hunting accident. The penalty provision for violation of fish and game statutes or rules and regulations of the Fish and Game Commission includes authority for license revocation for 18 months from date of conviction. Since fish-game laws are silent on fatal and non-fatal accidents, the same silence pervades authority to deny the offender a second chance to maim or kill accidentally.

NORTHEAST KANSANS RESPOND TO QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. WILLIAM R. ROY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, last July I sent a questionnaire to every resident of the Second District of Kansas, which comprises the northeast portion of the State. More than 10,000 persons responded, and I would like to share their views with you and my colleagues.

It is difficult to summarize something which involves thousands of persons and responses to multiple questions. Despite this, there are certain conclusions which can be drawn with some certainty from the results.

The residents of northeast Kansas want a speedier end of the war in Southeast Asia, a national health insurance program, and some form of wage and price controls.

They also would like to see smaller expenditures on foreign aid, defense, space and welfare, and larger sums spent on pollution control, health, education, and manpower training.

Writing last summer, more than half of the respondents—53.3 percent—expressed the desire to see the United States out of Southeast Asia by the end of this year. It appears they will be disappointed.

One in three favored the President's program of winding down the war. One in 20 wanted to stop withdrawals and stay to achieve a military victory.

Half the respondents—49.8 percent—favored a program of national health insurance "to cover the cost of medical expenses." One in three said no.

Roughly one in three—35.4 percent—approved of some form of wage and price controls, either across the board—25.4 percent—or on selected industries—10 percent. This was before the August 15 freeze was announced, of course.

One in six—16.2 percent—wanted tax reductions for individuals.

Two out of five—40.2 percent—felt legislation is needed to provide better availability of credit for rural areas, and I am pleased that Congress has acted in this regard this year.

Opinion was divided as to whether marketing order authority should be extended to any agricultural commodity if a majority of the producers approves of such an extension. One quarter of the respondents went on record each way, with one in three undecided.

On the question of national priorities, smaller expenditures for foreign aid were favored by 67.8 percent, on defense by

56 percent, on space by 53.3 percent, and on welfare by 49.5 percent.

Increased expenditures were called for on pollution control by 68.3 percent, on health by 49.5 percent, on education and manpower by 46.3 percent, on housing and community development by 39 percent, and on agricultural and rural development by 36.5 percent.

Only 4.3 percent wanted to spend more on foreign aid, and only 7 percent wanted to spend more on defense.

Forty-seven percent tabbed the economy when choosing issues of "most concern" to them. Social issues were named by 41.5 percent, foreign relations by 27 percent, health by 21 percent, the role of the Government by 20.3 percent, the military by 12.8 percent, and agriculture by 4.8 percent.

A feature of the questionnaire was that a large amount of space was provided for persons to comment, in their own words, as to their own view of the issues. Thousands of persons, many of whom might never otherwise have written, took advantage of this opportunity.

Throughout the questionnaire, responses were elicited from three persons per household, under the categories "his, hers, and young voter." This approach proved very successful, and often two or three persons responded on the same questionnaire.

I have been so pleased with the results that in the future, in addition to sending out another major questionnaire next year, I will include two or three questions and some room for individual comment in all of my districtwide mailings.

I think the questionnaire results are important in two vital respects: first, they show that people are interested, and given the chance, they will voice their opinions; secondly, that Kansans do want change in our society, a reordering of our national priorities.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I wish to present the complete and detailed results of my first districtwide constituent poll.

The results follow:

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

THE ECONOMY

What do you think should be done to create a more healthy economy? Please rank those courses of action you feel would help the economy, beginning with No. 1 for the action you feel would be most helpful. (The figure listed is the percentage of persons who felt that action would be the No. 1 step to take.)

	Percent
Tax reductions for individuals	16.2
Tax reductions for business to invest and expand	5.2
Increased government spending	1.2
Reduced interest rates and expanded money supply for mortgages and other loans	11.7
Informal government pressure and voluntary restraints in wages and prices	9.0
Wage and price controls imposed on selected industries	10.0
Wage and price controls imposed across the board	25.4
Other, No answer	21.3

RURAL NEEDS

Do you favor extending marketing order authority to any agricultural commodity if a majority of the producers approve such extension?

	Percent
Yes	25.4
No	24.9
Undecided	33.2
No answer	16.5

Do you think legislation is required to provide a more adequate and flexible flow of money into rural areas to meet rural credit needs?

	Percent
Yes	40.2
No	31.9
Undecided	18.9
No answer	9.0

HEALTH CARE

It has been proposed that a national health insurance programs be established to cover the cost of medical expenses. Do you favor such a program?

	Percent
Yes	49.8
No	36.3
Undecided	9.3
No answer	4.8

THE INDOCHINA WAR

The United States should

	Percent
Immediately withdraw all troops from Southeast Asia	19.6
Speed withdrawal of troops, so that all are removed by the end of this year	33.7
Continue the "winding down" of the war and gradual removal of troops, as advocated by President Nixon, with 175,000 American servicemen still in Indochina at the end of the year	36.7
Stop troop withdrawals and stay in Indochina as long as necessary to achieve a military victory	4.5
No answer	5.5

NATIONAL PRIORITIES

[President Nixon has proposed Federal expenditures totaling \$229 billion for the fiscal year which began July 1. The figures below are administration requests and the percentage of the budget for various items. Do you think Congress should allocate more (M), less (L), or the same (S) amounts? (NA=no answer)]

	M	L	S	NA
Defense	7.0	56.0	27.5	9.5
Social security	27.2	12.0	53.0	7.7
Health	49.5	11.3	29.3	10.0
Veterans benefits	28.8	11.8	48.5	11.0
Education and manpower	46.3	11.3	32.0	10.5
Transportation	26.0	24.5	37.3	12.3
Welfare	15.8	49.5	25.3	9.5
Agriculture and rural development	36.5	11.5	41.0	11.0
Housing and community development	39.0	15.8	35.0	10.3
Foreign aid	4.3	67.8	20.5	7.5
Space	12.0	53.3	27.3	7.5
Pollution control	68.3	8.0	17.5	6.2

What are the issues or problems of most concern to you?

	Percent
Economy	47.0
Social issues	41.5
Foreign relations	27.0
Health	21.0
Role of government	20.3
Military	12.8
Agriculture	4.8

TESTIMONY OF GOV. WENDELL ANDERSON BEFORE THE HOUSE PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, our environment—the purity of our air, the

cleanliness of our streams and lakes, the naturalness of our forests—is of concern to all public officials. And, all of us are for eliminating pollution—the only question is, "How sincere are we?"

Legislation that recently passed the Senate set up a mechanism to test that sincerity. This legislation proposed in law that our Nation should eliminate pollution by 1981. The House of Representatives has agreed with this goal.

On December 9, 1971, the Governor of Minnesota, Wendell Anderson, addressed himself in a realistic and forthright manner to pollution problem and to the goal of pollution elimination by 1981. In testimony before the House Public Works Committee, Governor Anderson noted that—

We should have uniform standards of pollution control in all fifty States—tough, fair, standards, a set of meaningful and comprehensible rules that permit neither exception nor evasion.

I ask unanimous consent that Governor Anderson's statement be printed in the RECORD.

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

TESTIMONY OF GOV. WENDELL R. ANDERSON
OF MINNESOTA

This is a committee of experts. Your attention to the detail of pollution abatement is well known. On the single issue of an amendment to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, this committee and the Senate have conducted seventy days of public hearings.

To the enormous body of material before you, and in light of your own commitment and expertise, what can be added by one governor who has held executive office less than a year?

I suggest that there is one insight which should be shared with you. I suggest that every governor in the country knows what is the greatest political barrier to effective pollution control. It is the threat of our worst polluters to move their factories out of any State that seriously tries to protect its environment. It is the practice of playing off one State against the other. It is the false but strident cry of the polluter that clean air and water mean fewer jobs.

Every governor in this country knows that when he tries to put some teeth into his State's antipollution laws, his efforts will be met by precisely these sort of threats.

My message to you today is this: The answer to threats is uniformity. The only way to stop polluters from political intimidation is to prevent them from raising the alternative of moving to a place where pollution is allowed. There should be no such place in this country. We can no longer tolerate the fact that the price of diligence is intimidation. We should have uniform standards of pollution control in all fifty States—tough standards, fair standards, a set of meaningful and comprehensible rules that permit neither exception nor evasion. Pollution does not stop at State boundaries, and neither must its regulation.

My testimony to you today is directed toward this end. I am grateful for the opportunity to suggest a number of particulars in which this committee might strengthen its legislation aimed at achieving rigorous and uniform regulation for all the fifty States.

At the outset, let me state that all of us in Minnesota appreciate your dedicated and continuing effort to report before Congress recesses, a strong, enforceable, and carefully considered amendment to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

I am especially pleased that the House and Senate agree that our Nation should

eliminate pollution through the "best available treatment" by 1981 and a "no-discharge" rule by effluent standards are absolutely essential.

By achieving the no-discharge rule, we will save not just our lakes and streams, but also the wasted resources that are dumped in them. As an example of this resource waste, I would point out that five billion dollars of copper alone are lost each year by discharge into our waters. This type of senseless resource loss must be considered in the cost analyses required by this legislation.

It is said that some polluters will move to other countries if the United States enacts strong national pollution control standards. This is still another form of environmental blackmail, and one which must be thwarted, too. The ransom is too high. I recently met with governors from Japan who are working hard to abate that country's pollution. The industrialized nations, who are this country's chief competitors, are also striving to control the spread of pollution within their own borders. The United States should move forward, too. If the efforts of other lands are not equal to our own, then we need not fear that our industry will as a consequence be placed at a competitive disadvantage in terms of production costs. This country is perfectly capable, should it be necessary, of insuring that our industry is protected against foreign pricing that is possible only through pollution.

I have been discussing the necessity for uniform standards, both within this country and on the international level as well. Until such uniformity is achieved, however, I think it is appropriate to mention one area in which there has been a rather dramatic conflict between two different sets of standards. I refer to the clash between State regulatory standards and those of the Atomic Energy Commission. I submit to you that when the regulatory standards of States and other non-Federal units of government are stronger and more protective of the public interest than those of the Federal Government that the State, and not the Federal, standards should be permitted to prevail.

This concept was incorporated in the original Muskie proposal last August, which affirms the States' authority to regulate atomic power plants if the appropriate State standards were stronger than those of the AEC. We believe that the States have this inherent right.

I think that my own State of Minnesota provides a good example of State standards far better equipped to protect our citizens than any standards yet proposed by the Federal Government. Minnesota's isotopic limits on radioactive material released to water are some 300 times to more than 100 million times more restrictive than the limits set by the AEC. This means that the people of Minnesota are showing a willingness to pay a few more pennies for their electricity, if this should be necessary in order to eliminate potential risks to the health of their children. Surely citizens in other States must also be so inclined. The language in the original Muskie proposal would have affirmed States' right to maintain stronger standards than those of the AEC. I would urge that that language be restored.

The need for such restoration has been dramatically illustrated in Minnesota. Since this July, Minnesotans have encountered several low-level radioactive discharges from a nuclear generating plant owned by Northern States Power Company located on the Mississippi River at Monticello, Minnesota, 35 miles northwest of the Twin Cities. Some of these releases have resulted from malfunctions and others have been deliberate. The deliberate releases could have been reduced by the use of different operating procedures, or avoided completely by the utilization of holding tank facilities.

On November 19th of this year a deliberate discharge of radioactive material was released from the NSP plant in question. Three days were permitted to pass before an Atomic Energy Commission compliance inspection team arrived on the site. Three days. During this period, intolerably long considering the risk, there was some action taken to minimize the dangers of the radioactive discharge. But that action was taken by the state. The AEC inspection unit had not yet arrived at the plant.

I can cite another example of State preparedness being superior to that now offered by the Federal Government. States should also be allowed to enforce stronger marine boathouse standards than those prescribed by the Federal Government. Minnesota recently passed a holding tank law. We fear, however, that our standards will be pre-empted by more lenient federal standards set pursuant to section 312(b) 1 and 312(f) 1. This can be remedied by deleting section 312(f) from the act. Or, the following can be inserted in lieu of section 312(f) 3:

"(3) If the administrator is requested by the Governor of a State to adopt holding tank requirements to further protect and enhance the quality of specified waters within or bordering on the State, he shall by regulation completely prohibit the discharge from a vessel of any sewage (whether treated or not) into those waters."

Also, this act should provide funds for on-shore disposal and pump-out facilities where needed.

Also, I would hope that you would clarify for the record whether it is the intent of Congress to have the marine sanitation devices governed by effluent standards and the no-discharge rule provided for in title III, I believe title III should govern.

Just as the State and Federal governments should provide for a check on each other, citizens should be allowed to check the government. It is good, therefore, that both the House and Senate bills include a citizen's right to sue provision. This section (505) can be strengthened by allowing persons (the definition of which includes States) to sue the EPA administrator for all acts and not just for non-discretionary acts, as is now provided. Such a provision would protect the States and the public from arbitrary action by the EPA administrator and still allow the administrator to take any action that could be supported by reasonable and factual evidence. In addition, this would provide for judicial review of disputes arising between the States and the Environmental Protection Agency.

Persons bringing a citizen's lawsuit may be required to post a bond when seeking a temporary injunction or restraining order. This requirement is in conflict with Minnesota law which waives the bond when the State is seeking a temporary injunction. A bond, if required at all, should be limited by law so that citizens with legitimate grievances can afford to air them. In addition, if a bond protects the polluter from the improper granting of an injunction, a bond must also protect the citizen from an improper denial. If citizens are required to post bond in the one instance, the polluter should have to do so in the other.

I support the mandatory language in both the House and Senate bills that directs the EPA to turn the permit programs over to the States if they meet acceptable criteria. The States should be required to provide enough manpower to run a credible permit program, however, and that manpower should be free from any conflicts of interest.

If the States are to run the permit program, however, the EPA must have a veto over individual permits issued by the States. It is true that the House bill allows the Federal Government to review the State's total permit program, but once that program is approved by the Administrator it

is extremely unlikely that such approval would be rescinded.

The EPA Administrator should not have to veto a State's total program just to get at permits granted improperly to a couple of polluters. So we still need a veto on individual permits to check those that are improperly granted, and this concept is already embodied for interstate waters in section 402(d)(2) of the House bill. The Administrator, if he exercises a permit application veto, should be required to do so within 60 days or the veto will be waived. This will have the effect of requiring him to focus on only those permits that involve significant problems and would provide a reasonable double check on this crucial part of the States' program.

The following reasons for such a check are apparent.

Suppose a State adopted a policy of approving more lenient permits as a device to lure industry away from more conscientious States. This would circumvent and destroy the uniformity created by national effluent standards. Or, what if the person in charge of issuing State permits owned stock in the company whose permit he issued? EPA's veto power should further apply to help overcome political and other pressures sometimes exerted by local industry on State agencies. The further away one is from such pressures, the easier it is to be objective in making such important decisions. Each branch of government, therefore, must help the other resist untoward pressure and act as a check on the other to produce the strongest pollution control possible—that is cooperative federalism.

Minnesota's position on the Federal veto is a middle ground, therefore, between the Senate and House bills. We believe this approach will avoid the administrative problems which could bog down the program if an unlimited time period were allowed for Federal review of permit applications. Although a small increase in EPA staffing may be required, we believe this approach will provide a margin of additional safety on the side of the environment when the administrator determines stronger protection is needed by strengthening an individual permit.

I appreciate the fact that several Governors, well informed on this issue and conscientious in their efforts to protect their citizens, have taken a somewhat contrary position. These gentlemen have opposed the right of the Federal Government to exercise a veto over individual permits. I appreciate their concern but respectfully submit that that concern is inappropriately applied in this instance. I appreciate the fact that several Governors are reluctant to give any veto power to a Federal Government which has in the past supported standards less stringent than those of the States. I referred to this problem earlier. But in this particular instance, I feel the cause of stricter standards is best served by permitting the individual permit vetoes.

If this safeguard is not permitted, those States which do not pursue a vigorous anti-pollution program will continue to be cited by polluters as havens from which to escape proper environmental regulations. The uniformity which I cited at the outset of these remarks as the major necessity for an effective pollution control program cannot, therefore, be achieved without permitting this type of Federal check on permits which simply do not accomplish the job of pollution control.

It is good to see the provision in the Blatnik bill which increases funding authorization to \$20 billion. The House should also be commended for raising the Federal share of funding sewage treatment works to 75 percent. Minnesota still has 346 municipalities with no collection systems or combined treatment facilities. Seventy-eight percent of these towns have less than 500 people. They

must, therefore, depend on larger governmental units to finance the cost of such facilities. And we would appreciate your assurance that Section 211 of this bill will allow grants to these existing municipalities for collection systems.

We are unimpressed by the argument that the success of this program should require local units of government to finance a substantial share of treating sewage. There is ample precedent in the Federal Highway Program indicating that generous federal sharing does not impair the commitment of the participating local units of government. Indeed, the administration's commitment to federal revenue sharing should not be allowed to wane in this area. Increased federal support of local construction projects is clearly needed to assist the many municipalities attempting to restore and preserve water quality. The economic position of many of these communities inhibits their present efforts.

We approve of the Blatnik bill's authorization of funds for collection systems. It is said that federal grant money for these collection systems and treatment works is available in contract authority in section 203. If this is your intention, we would appreciate a clarification for the RECORD. Does the House bill negate contract authority by its deletion of Senate bill wording that keeps authorized funds "available until expended?" Also, if the authorization is available for contract obligation, the EPA administrator should be required to approve title II grant applications within 90 days or state his written reasons for rejection. Once those objections have been resolved by the states, EPA approval should automatically result.

Apparently there has been an oversight in section 301(2)(b) allowing public discharge sources to escape the effluent standards applied to private sources. I mention this to emphasize the importance of equal application.

I again express my admiration for the work you are doing here and thank you for the opportunity to participate. We must act now to reshape priorities so that both clean water and productive capacity are achieved. If we do not act, rivers like the Buffalo, Rouge and Cuyahoga will continue to catch fire because of the pollution in them. And nobody sets his own house on fire just to keep temporarily warm. When that glow is gone, all we are left with is ashes. Our people deserve a better legacy.

STUDENTS PETITION SALT TALKS

HON. ALAN CRANSTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, last week, representatives of student body presidents and campus newspaper editors from all over the United States presented a petition to the United States and Soviet Union delegations to the strategic arms limitation talks now being conducted in Vienna. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the petition and accompanying statement, the list of signers and an article from the Christian Science Monitor of December 1, 1971, which describes the event, be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

I am very much pleased by the efforts of these student leaders to demonstrate their concern for the future of the world that they and their children will inherit.

Their statement is a heartening reaffirmation of the commitment of America's future leaders to the cause of peace.

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

STUDENTS PETITION SALT TALKS

(By Eric Bourne)

VIENNA.—Four hundred American student presidents and campus editors have told the U.S. delegation engaged in strategic arms limitation negotiations here with the Russians that "the only road to disarmament is to disarm."

They said so in a petition presented Nov. 26, in the name of more than one million American students from universities and colleges in some 42 states to Ned Nordness, the press officer attached to the U.S. SALT delegation.

It was handed over by 21-year-old Michael A. Hackard (Sacramento State College), coordinator for the student presidents and editors group, and 25-year-old U.S. Army Negro veteran of Vietnam Willis Edwards (Los Angeles State College).

ACCEPTED FOR U.S. DELEGATE

Mr. Nordness received it on behalf of Ambassador Gerard Smith, both in the latter's capacity as leader of the American delegation here and as director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

The petition is addressed to the President, Congress, state governors, and "all the American people," but the two sociology students flew to Vienna to present it through the SALT delegation in order to publicize their move to raise disarmament as a significant student issue in next year's presidential election.

Behind the movement is the newly constituted Student Leaders' Task Force for Disarmament which—says Michael Hackard—has already "created quite a momentum in getting students involved in the problems of the arms race."

Plans for 1972 include publicizing congressional voting records on relevant issues and also building up a panel of student leaders to travel the country working for candidates who are "strong for arms control and disarmament."

TEST BAN RECALLED

The petition cites the limited test ban treaty of 1963 as "the first step in putting the genie of Nuclear Hades back in the bottle" and adds: "We now need a comprehensive treaty."

This, it urges, should include a curb or even total dismantlement of the ABM system, a stop to the deployment of MIRVs, and a limit on other strategic missiles.

"This would be a first step toward the destruction and abolition of all nuclear weapons.

"Many of these steps could be taken at SALT if our President is truly dedicated to a generation of peace," the statement ends.

Before visiting Vienna's Hofburg to deliver the petition to the American SALT team, the two young disarmament "emissaries" presented the Soviet embassy with a copy for Russia's chief negotiator, Vladimir Semynov. It was accepted by an English-speaking member of the delegation.

Another copy, with an accompanying letter, is on its way to the Kremlin, addressed to Russia's party chief, Leonid I. Brezhnev.

STUDENT PRESIDENTS' AND EDITORS' STATEMENT ON DISARMAMENT

(A petition for disarmament from American student body presidents and campus editors to the President, Senate, House of Representatives, State Governors, and all the American people, November 16, 1971.)

The Student Presidents' and Editors' Statement on Disarmament transcends our

national boundaries, prejudices, fears, and enfold all of mankind in a spirit of brotherhood. The student body presidents and campus editors who signed the statement did not do so lightly or without serious thought. For indeed it is a serious thought to contemplate a nuclear war and the subsequent destruction of the family of man. It is serious and careful thought that brought these student body presidents and campus editors to call for general and complete disarmament.

Reality dictates that general and complete disarmament will neither spring from the summons of a student leader's petition nor the growing outrage of the general populace. Steps must be taken to put the genie of nuclear Hades back in the bottle. President Kennedy took the first step in 1963 with the signing of the limited Test Ban Treaty. We now need a comprehensive test ban treaty. The ABM system that is so destabilizing must be limited if not entirely dismantled. MIRV must cease to be deployed. There must be a limit on the ICBM's and SLBM's. This limit would be a first step to the destruction and abolishment of nuclear weapons. Many of these steps can be taken at SALT if our President is truly dedicated to a generation of peace. Hardened silos surrounded by a questionable ABM do little for peace but much for the fear and distrust inherent in warlike states.

The student leaders who signed this petition ask you to consider all steps that can be taken to disarmament. They believe that every step taken toward disarmament is a step taken away from the horror of nuclear war.

MICHAEL A. HACKARD,

Coordinator for Student Presidents' and Editors' Statement on Disarmament.

(Student Body President, Sacramento State College, Sacramento, California.)

STUDENT PRESIDENTS' AND EDITORS' STATEMENT ON DISARMAMENT

"We think that opposition to the arms race among youth is greater than President Nixon appears to believe. As student body presidents and campus newspaper editors, we are personally troubled by the spiraling arms race.

"To show how deep and widespread our conviction that this preparation for war is wrong, we have signed this statement. I believe the nuclear arms race is wrong and that the manufacture of nuclear arms must cease. I also believe that general and complete disarmament is the only path leading out from the brink of nuclear Hades. In short, the only road to disarmament is to disarm."

Following is a list of people who have signed the above statement:

ALABAMA

Athens College, Robert F. Goodman, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Jacksonville State University, Thomas W. Simpson, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Auburn University, John Samford, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

ALASKA

Alaska Methodist University, Patrick W. Conheady, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

ARIZONA

Northern Arizona University, Pat Nilz, Student Body President.
University of Arizona, Randy Tufts, Student Body President.

ARKANSAS

Southern State College, Doyle DeWoody, Student Body President.
Hendrix College, Tim Tarvin, Student Body President.
School of the Ozarks, Susan Bush, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Philander Smith College, William L. Collins, Student Body President.

Arkansas College, Mike Bowlan, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

CALIFORNIA

Sacramento State College, Michael A. Hackard, Student Body President.
Humboldt State College, Arnie Braasladt, Student Body President.
San Jose State College, Pamela Strondborg, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
San Fernando Valley State College, Harold Kloppers, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Fresno State College, Barbara McDowell, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
California State College at Long Beach, Chris Christopherson, Student Body President.
San Francisco State College, Ken Maley, Student Body President.
Los Angeles State College, Willis Edwards, Student Body President.
Fresno State College, Phil Sherwood, Student Body President.
California State College at Los Angeles, Michael A. Katz, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Sacramento State College, Daniel L. Parker, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, Pete Evans, Student Body President.
Humboldt State College, Hank Kashden, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
California State College at Fullerton, Brent F. Romney, Student Body President.
San Fernando Valley State College, David A. Wilk, Student Body President.
San Bernardino State College, Breck Nichols, Student Body President.
San Francisco State College, Jeremy Cohen, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
University of Southern California, Joel Rosenzweig, Student Body President.
Mills College, Marsha Martin, Student Body President.
San Bernardino Valley College, Steven A. Hardin, Student Body President.
California Institute of Technology, Spencer Watlin, Student Body President.
Marin Community College, Kenneth Bott, Student Body President.
Diablo Valley College, Frederick J. Speck, Student Body President.
Imperial Valley College, Larry Cowne, Student Body President.
Los Angeles Valley College, Robert D. Dutton, Student Body President.
West Los Angeles College, Bill Crutchfield, Student Body President.
College of the Redwoods, Benjamin F. Harville, Student Body President.
Immaculate Heart College at Los Angeles, Ursula Hyman, Town Hall Chairman.
Orange Coast College, Don E. Baker, Student Body President.
University of Santa Clara, Edgar A. Sutes, Student Body President.
Cabrillo Community College, Dave Henderson, Student Body President.
Whittier College, Roger K. Workman, Student Body President.
Shasta Junior College, K. M. Caylor, Student Body President.
Claremont Men's College, Neil Locke, Student Body President.
Los Angeles City College, Alvin Maxwell, Student Body President.
Santa Monica College, Gregg Atokell, Student Body President.
Chapman College, David S. Lathrop, Student Body President.
Mesa College, Eric C. Jones, Student Body President.
Saint Mary's College of California, Joseph C. Bell, Student Body President.
Allan Hancock College, Lawrence Edward Lehr, Student Body President.
Ventura Community College, Paul L. Johns, Student Body President.
College of the Holy Names, Patricia K. Sabo, Student Body President.
Merced College, John Lewis, Student Body President.

Cypress College, Steve Cifelli, Student Body President.

Chapman College, Thomas E. Olson, Editor of the Campus Newspaper.
Yuba College, Larry Newman, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Moorpark College, Kay Cavanaugh, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Southwestern College, David J. Grell, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Lassen College, Katie Clements, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Cal State at Dominguez Hills, Allen Ball, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
U.S.I.U.-California Western University Campus, Sean D. Griffin, Student Body President.
Columbia Junior College, Michael Vincent Mager, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Foothill Junior College, Tom Wilmer, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

COLORADO

Colorado College, Paul J. Clark, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Western State College of Colorado, Mardi Crawford, Linston Hatcher, Co-editors of Campus Newspaper.
Colorado State University, John D. McGrant, Student Body President.
University of Colorado, Gary Svoboda, Student Body President.
University of Denver, William A. Ray, Jr., Student Body President.
Southern Colorado State College, Paul I. Martinez, Student Body President.
University of Northern Colorado, Kenneth E. William, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Colorado College, John H. Fybe, Jr., Student Body President; Paul Clark, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Adams State College, Miles F. Porter IV, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Regis College, Kevin T. O'Connor, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

CONNECTICUT

Connecticut College, Mary Ann Sill, Allen Carroll, Co-Editor of Campus Newspapers.
Western Connecticut State College, Katherine R. Kucia, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Central Connecticut State College, Roger M. Smith, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Connecticut College, Jay B. Levin, Student Body President.
Holy Family College, Patrick C. Wilson, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

FLORIDA

St. Leo College, David J. Schulte, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Florida Presbyterian College, Anita Gagnon, Editor of Campus Newspaper. Larry Pellegrini, Student Body President.

GEORGIA

Oglethorpe University, Linda Lennox, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Fort Valley State College, Thomas W. Dortch, Jr., Student Body President.
Barry College, Jazon McCollum, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Morris Brown College, Robert Lewis Reese, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Georgia Southern College, John Thomas McElheny, Jr., Student Body President.
Georgia Tech, Chris Boxby, Student Body President.
Berry College, Kenneth Stewart, Student Body President.
Wesleyan College, Maude A. Vaslie, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
Piedmont College, Ronald Webb, Student Body President.

IDAHO

Northwest Nazarene College, Stew Smith, Student Body President.
University of Idaho, Mary Ruth Mann, Student Body President.
Northwest Nazarene College, Brad Arnesen, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

ILLINOIS

Aurora College, Wallace B. Hamlin, Student Body President.
 Augustana College, Mark Schmichart, Student Body President.
 Blackburn College, Linda Buchs, Editor of Campus Newspaper, Carl Bergauer, Student Body President.
 Chicago State University, Michael J. Dunbar, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Concordia Teachers College, David A. Kiesclinule, Student Body President.
 Eastern Illinois University, Jack Marks, Student Body President.
 Elmhurst College, Donald P. Bizer, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Illinois College, Cindy Nazy, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Illinois Institute of Technology, John W. Schuck, Student Body President.
 Lake Forest College, Ron Burian, Co-Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Loyola University, Thomas J. Hart, Student Body President, Martin D. Glista, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Monmouth College, Alfred Flesch, Student Body President.
 North Park College, John Hunt, Alan G. Muller, Co-Editors of Campus Newspaper. Joyce Nelson, Student Body President.
 Northern Illinois University, Thomas Conrad, Editor of Campus Newspaper, Marvin Leavitt, Student Body President.
 Quincy College, George Martin Kreuzer, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Roosevelt University, Carl Andrews, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Rosary College, Caryl Inglis, Jean Vonduska, Co-Editors of Campus.
 Shimen College, Mary T. Grund, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 University of Evansville, Joe White, Student Body President.
 University of Illinois, Kim Williams, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

HAWAII

Church College of Hawaii, Scott Leggat, Student Body President.

INDIANA

Ball State University, Carl Young, Student Body President.
 Earlham College, Asa Jawvey III, Carol Thorp, Co-Student Body Presidents. Sara Elizabeth Weeker, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Hanover College, Stephen B. Ellis, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Indiana Central College, Brian D. Thompson, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Indiana State University, Jack McDonald, Student Body President.
 University of Notre Dame, John Barkett, Student Body President.
 Valparaiso University, Jim Bernthal, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

IOWA

Briarcliff College, Kay Stover, Chairman Joint Board, Randall J. Barron, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Central College, Dell A. Richard, Student Body President.
 Cornell College, Doug Lia, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Drake University, Jack Hatch, Student Body President. Tim Harper, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Drake University, Jack Hatch, Student Body President. Tim Harper, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Grinnell College, Steve Grow, Mark Sableman, Co-Editors of Campus Newspaper.
 Luther College, Marsha Bergan, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Morningside College, Edward Johnson, Student Body President.
 Simpson College, Douglas King Priebe, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Sioux Falls College, John D. Elliott, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 St. Ambrose College, Tony Dloser, Terry Shelton, Co-Editors of Campus Newspaper.

University of Iowa, Ted Paletas, Student Body President.
 University of Northern Iowa, Keith Stamp, Student Body President.
 University of Northern Iowa, Craig M. Bancroft, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Upper Iowa College, Thomas Jay Novak, Student Body President.
 Wm. Penn College, LaVon Leo Worley, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

KANSAS

Avela College, Marty Rupp, Student Body President.
 Baker University, Lowry Anderson, Student Body President. Bob Sperry, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 College of St. Benedict, Joan Knothe, Student Body President.
 Ft. Hays, Kansas State College, D. W. Tarrant, Student Body President.
 Kansas State University, Sandi Reed, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Marymount College, Betsy Ross, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 McPherson College, Colleen F. Paige, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Washburn University, John L. Fisher, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

KENTUCKY

Eastern Kentucky University, Charles I. Kelhoffer, Student Body President.
 Georgetown College, Jim Applegate, Student Body President.
 Murray State University, Raymond G. Huzla, Student Body President.
 Western Kentucky University, Travis M. Witt, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

LOUISIANA

Grambling College, Howell T. Humphrey, Sr., Student Body President.
 Louisiana State University, James F. Lestelle, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Northeast Louisiana University, Daniel V. Rhodes, Student Body President.
 Southern University, Louis Paige, Student Body President.

MARYLAND

Goucher College, Penny Brandy, Student Body President. Kathy Wolff, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Hood College, Kathy Ann Stewart, Student Body President.
 Johns Hopkins, A. Michael Hill, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Salisbury State College, Tom McLaughlin, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 St. John's College, Christi Martha Stevens, Policy Executor.
 Stonehill College, Christian P. Mihos, Student Body President.
 Washington College, John Dinsdale, Student Body President.

MASSACHUSETTS

Eastern Nazarene College, Daniel A. Sorensen, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Emerson College, Steven K. Shure, Student Body President.
 Lowell Technological Institute, Francis T. McLaughlin, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Nicholls State University, Kerry L. Cooley, Student Body President.
 Regis College, Linda M. Regele, Student Body President.
 Springfield College, Lee Evan Kelmach, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Stonehill College, Kevin R. Carleton, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Suffolk University, Joseph R. Shanahan, Jr., Student Body President, Thomas E. Heslin, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 William College, Ronald B. Duning, Jr., Student Body President.

MICHIGAN

Alma College, Robert J. VandenBos, Student Body President.
 Calvin College, John M. Roels, Student Body President.
 Eastern Michigan University, Tom Quar-
 ton, Student Body President.

Eastern Michigan University, Ann Lindner, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Hope College, Garrett E. DeGraff, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Mercy College of Detroit, Bob Beauchamp, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 University of Michigan, Robert Kraftowitz, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Michigan Technological University, Dennis G. McGrath, Student Body President. Veople Babus, Student Body Vice President.
 University of Detroit, Dave Shulman, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Western Michigan University, Bruce Foerch, Student Body President.

MINNESOTA

Academy of the New Church, Michael L. Pendleton, Student Body President.
 Augsburg College, Saul Stensvaag, Student Body President.
 Carleton College, Brett A. DeHaven, Student Body President.
 College of St. Benedict, Terest Landwehr, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 College of St. Catherine, Barbara Brauch, Student Body President.
 College of St. Thomas, Kevin E. Johnson, Student Body President.
 Concordia College, James Weeks, Student Body President.
 Macalester College, Robert Stomberg, Student Body President.
 Mankato State College, Larry Alan Spencer, Student Body President. Patricia Anne McGregor, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Moorhead State College, Bruce Ellingson, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 St. Mary's College, Brother John P. Schoper, Student Body President.
 St. Olaf College, Steve Miles, Student Body President.
 University of Minnesota, Jack Baker, Student Body President.

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson State College, Sandra L. McClairne, Student Body President.
 Lindenwood College, Janet Y. Francois, Student Body President.
 University of Mississippi, William N. Reed, Student Body President.
 William Cavey College, Jason D. Carlisle, Student Body President.

MISSOURI

Cardinal Glennan College, Timothy M. Doan, Student Body President. Ben Gilberts, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Drury College, Tom Gist, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Farkio College, Marty Sens, Student Body President.
 Immaculate Conception Seminary, Edward Lambro, Student Body President.
 Maryville College, Megan Walker, Student Body President.
 Missouri Valley College, Robert A. Hansen, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Northwest Missouri State College, Stanley Barton, Student Body President.
 Rockhurst College, Richard P. DeJane, Student Body President.
 St. Mary's Seminary, Al Weilbacher, Student Body President.
 Washington University, Helen E. Page, Student Body President.
 William Jewell College, Paul Duncan, Student Body President.

MONTANA

Carroll College, Robert Jahner, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Western Montana College, Daniel Gilman, Student Body President.

NEBRASKA

Creighton University, F. Joseph Zarin, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Dana College, Patrick Tupps, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Doane College, Rodger A. Kube, Student Body President.
 Hastings College, Richard W. Patterson, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Kearney State College, Scott Sidwell, Student Body President.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Keen State College, Ron Boisvert, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

St. Anselm's College, Malacky Coyhlans, Student Body President. Gregory John Noonan, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

NEW JERSEY

Fairleigh Dickinson, Margaret Noonan, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Jersey City State College, Jeffrey N. Kutzoff, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Newark College of Engineering, Charles Formen, Student Body President.

Newark State College, Robert DiFedinando, Student Body President.

Rider College, David J. Forgort, Student Body President.

Seton Hall University, Paul Callan, Student Body President.

Trenton State College, Maureen E. Gibbons, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Upsala College, Maureen A. Doyle, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

NEW MEXICO

Eastern New Mexico University, Joanne Rohr, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

NEW YORK

College of New Rochelle, Denise C. Meany, Student Body President.

Hofstra University, Billy Ellis, Student Body President.

Pratt Institute, David Stifent, Acting President.

Herbert H. Lehman College, Francisco Padin-San Martin, Student Body President.

Cooper Union, Robert Forgiione, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Russell Sage College, Susan Ackelman, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Hartwick College, Randall P. Lamb, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Clarkson College of Technology, Steve Flahive, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

C. W. Post Center of Long Island University, G. Shatken, Student Body President.

St. Lawrence University, John Adrit, Student Body President.

Rochester Institute of Technology, Keith G. Taylor, Student Body President.

Marist College, George C. Bazan, Student Body Vice President.

Long Island University, Lewis R. Sterlen, Student Body President.

Vassar College, Jane Bishop, Student Body President.

Ithaca College, J. Donaldson, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Medaille College, Donna Colleen Day, Student Body President.

Adelphi University, Bil Tipsitz, Val Hodge, Co-Student Body Presidents.

Columbia University, Jon Groner, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Colgate University, Roy Edgar Cott III, Student Body President.

Syracuse University, John R. Helliker, Student Body President.

Cornell College, Lloyd J. Wells, Student Body President.

York College, Editorial Board-Pandora's Box.

Yeshiva College, Melvin Hoffman, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Jack Tai, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Rochester Institute of Technology, Gregory P. Lewis, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

NORTH CAROLINA

Duke University, The Editorial Council of the Chronicle.

Gulford College, Kyd D. Brenner, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

North Carolina State University, Richard A. Curtis, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

High Point College, James G. Beaulieu, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

University of North Carolina, Joe Stallings, Student Body President.

Lenoir Rhyne College, John Hall, Dick Hoffman, Co-Editors of the Campus Newspaper.

Greensboro College, Samuel H. Leonard, Student Body President.

Gulford College, Douglas Scott, Student Body President.

Atlantic Christian College, Bob Bancon, Student Body President.

Lenoir Rhyne College, Jenny F. Rimmer, Student Body President.

Atlantic Christian College, James C. Abbott, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

A & T State University, Ronald P. Topping, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

OHIO

Athenaeum of Ohio, Richard J. Sweeney, Student Body President.

Bluffton College, Erica Gellert Kratz, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

College of Wooster, Jack Swismore, Student Body President.

Edgecliff College, Rosemarie Pandy, Student Body President.

Findley College, Robert L. Wood, Student Body President.

Heidelberg College, Christopher C. Campbell, Student Body President. William E. Gaslin, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

John Carroll University, Michael A. Fuoco, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Kenyon College, Liesel Friedrich, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Marietta College, Robert H. Ward, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Ohio State University, Terry Olbrysh, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Ohio Wesleyan University, Robert M. Stein, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Miami University, Mark Enedman, Student Body President.

University of Dayton, Mike D'Arcy, Student Body President.

Youngstown State University, Larry Simho, Student Body President.

OKLAHOMA

University of Oklahoma, Teresa C. Pitt, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Oklahoma City University, David Seay, Student Body President.

Northeastern State College, William R. Coatney, Student Body President.

OREGON

Reed College, Thomas B. Schaffey, Editor of Campus Newspaper. Peretz Wittman, Student Body President.

Eastern Oregon College, Ed Marquard, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Lewis and Clark College, James V. Ovellet, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Mt. Angel Seminary, Stephen J. Arnold, Student Body President.

Oregon College of Education, Alan L. Holland, Student Body President.

University of Oregon, Iain E. More, Student Body President.

PENNSYLVANIA

Allbright College, Kenneth Parola, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Allegheny College, Frank Tadley, Student Body President.

Beaver College, Tobi Steinberg, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Bryn Mawr College, Kathi Atkinson, Student Body President.

Bucknell University, Robert Nachshin, Student Body President.

California State College, Lynn M. Wagner, Gerald F. Little, Donald O. Carney, Editors of the Campus Newspaper.

Clarion State College, Robert Stein, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Duquesne University, Chet Czarniak, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Eastern Baptist College, Richard W. Schramm, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Edinboro State College, Brian Griffith—

Chairman, John Kliffel, Jim Geer, Paula Keyes, Mary Fuhemeen, Members of Editorial Board.

Elizabethtown College, Robert D. Kettering, Student Body President.

Gettysburg College, William E. Yacker, Student Body President.

Haverford College, Charles J. Durante, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Juniata College, Jonathan C. Hunter, Student Body President.

Lafayette College, Alan McFarland, Student Body President.

Loquitur-Cabrini College, Theresa Cavanaugh, Mana Valente, Co-Editors of Campus Newspaper.

Mansfield State College, Robert Stevenson Laird, Jr., Student Body President.

Mercyhurst College, Vincent Doran, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Millersville State College, Jay B. Neeshy, Student Body President.

Milligan College, Richard L. Roames, Student Body President.

Muhlenberg College, Eric Shufer, Student Body President.

St. Vincent College, Michael I. Gallia, Student Body President.

Shippensburg State College, Deborah E. Freeston, Editor of Campus Newspaper. Carl Deaner, Student Body President.

Susquehanna University, Scott C. Truver, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Theil College, David C. Tanhoos, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Villa Maria College, Colleen M. Locke, Student Body President.

Villanova University, Margaret McCarvell, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

West Chester State College, J. Robert McLaughlin, Student Body President.

RHODE ISLAND

Bryant College, Alan J. Kluger, Student Body President.

University of Rhode Island, John P. McKee, Student Body President.

SOUTH CAROLINA

College of Charleston, Daniel Ravend, Jr., Student Body President.

Limestone College, Mr. Jules Anderson, Student Body President.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Dakota Wesleyan University, Kenrad V. Pederson, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Wayne R. Horsley, Student Body President.

University of South Dakota, Charles McDonnell, Student Body President.

TENNESSEE

Bethel College, Robert Voth, Student Body President.

King College, Steve Williams, Student Body President.

Marysville College, H. Ward Brooks, Student Body President.

Scanitt College for Christian Workers, Scott Davis, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Southwestern College at Memphis, Jackie Rutledge, Student Body President.

Tennessee State University, Robert L. Smith, Student Body President.

TEXAS

Angelo State University, Davis Smith, Student Body President.

Austin College, Darwin McKee, Student Body President.

Lamar University, Julian M. Gallane, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Southern Methodist University, Dan L. Flanagan, Student Body President.

Texas A & I University, Cecil Parker, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

Texas Woman's University, Odilia Mendez, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

University of Corpus Christi, Moe Lehand, Editor of Campus Newspaper.

UTAH

University of Utah, Grover Thompson, Student Body President.

VERMONT

Bennington College, Joan Ellen Balter, Student Body President.
 Johnson State College, Geoffrey R. Bloemitt, Student Body President. Kent Adams, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Kirkland College, Abby M. Goulder, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Middlebury College, Robert S. Metzger, Student Body President.
 University of Vermont, Eugene W. Beaudain Jr., Student Body President.

VIRGINIA

College of William and Mary, Andy Purdy, Student Body President.
 Eastern Mennonite College, Ben Gamber, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Hampton Institute, James M. Hazgood, Student Body President.
 Mary Washington College, Linda Cayton, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Old Dominion University, Charles R. Appleback, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Radford College, June Habeck, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Roanoke College, Bruce E. Melchor, Student Body President.
 Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Fred William George, Student Body President.
 Virginia State College, Jerome Johnson, Coordinator of Student Welfare.
 Washington and Lee University, Stephen W. Robinson, Student Body President.

WASHINGTON

Eastern Washington State College, Jennifer Davis, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Gonzaga University, Rose M. Gangle, Student Body President.
 Seattle Pacific College, Tim Pomeroy, Student Body President.
 Seattle University, Matthew T. Boyle, Student Body President.
 University of Puget Sound, Darrel Johnson, Student Body President.
 Whitworth College, Bob Yinger, Student Body President.

WEST VIRGINIA

Alderson-Broaddus College, Christopher C. Chaffee, Student Body President.
 Marshall University, Denise Gibson, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Morris Harvey College, Ron McGill, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Salem College, Thomas E. Hall, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 West Virginia University, Peter J. Kalls, Student Body President.

WISCONSIN

Carroll College, Ben Laird, Student Body President.
 Carthage College, Thomas E. Kieso, Student Body President; Thomas J. Christensen, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Georgetown University, Rerju J. Cechetti, Student Body President. Don Hamer, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Lawrence University, Walter North, Student Body President.
 National College of Education, Mark Azer-sky, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Northland College, Steven L. Willborn, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Ripon College, Stephen J. Korotush, Student Body President.
 St. Francis School of Pastoral Ministry, Denis Brick, Student Body President. Jeffrey M. Thielen, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 University of Wisconsin, Tim E. Higgins, Student Body President.
 University of Wisconsin, Randy Nike-stuer, Student Body President. James A. Jenkins, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 University of Wisconsin—Superior, Stuart A. Kraft, Student Body President.

POST DEADLINE RETURNS

California: Stanford University, Larry Diamond, Student Body President.
 Colorado: Regis College, John Lamb, Student Body President.

Georgia: Albany State College, Jerry J. Dewegall, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Illinois: Illinois Benedictine College, Jim Kovarih, Editor of Campus Newspaper.
 Missouri: St. Louis University, Jeff Slov-
 vak, Student Body President.

NIXON'S VETO OF S. 2007: A CHRISTMAS PRESENT TO AMERICA'S CHILDREN

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I join the parents of America in thanking President Nixon for his wise and courageous decision to veto S. 2007. The action of our President is certainly in the interest of liberty, individual responsibility, and preservation of our traditional family ties.

The American parents are also indebted to the thousands of grassroots organizations all over America such as concerned parents associations, save our children groups, committees for moral education, civic clubs, women's clubs, taxpayers educational associations, legislative and research councils, and many others. Without minimizing the contributory efforts of fathers in helping to exterminate at least temporarily the threat of the comprehensive child development programs, I am satisfied—as a result of the many letters, telegrams, and phone calls to my office—that mothers were primarily instrumental in alerting the President to the dangers seen by parents regarding Federal child care. And this is right, for after all “a child's best friend is his mother.” Let us pray that we can always keep it that way.

The text of my letter of appreciation to the President follows:

DECEMBER 10, 1971.

THE PRESIDENT,
 The White House,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I wrote to you on November 12, requesting that you veto S. 2007 should the bill be approved by both houses and sent to you for signing into law. I am writing at this time to express my appreciation to you for your courageous and statesman-like act in vetoing S. 2007.

During the several months while the comprehensive child development programs were being considered, communications from concerned citizens continued to mount as details of the programs came to public attention.

I am certain that your rejection of federal child care reflected the views of the vast majority of parents and grandparents in America. The thousands of citizens whose views have come to my attention, I believe, agree with you that the child development programs would have “family-weakening implications,” create “a new army of bureaucrats” and “commit the vast moral authority of the national government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing against the family-centered approach.”

Thank you again, Mr. President. I believe that to the overwhelming number of parents and guardians of America's children, your veto of S. 2007 was the finest Christmas present you could have possibly given them.

Sincerely,

JOHN R. RARICK,
 Member of Congress.

TRIBUTE TO ROLLAND A. RITTER

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, on December 20, 1971, Rolland A. Ritter, of Philadelphia, Pa., will be honored on the 25th anniversary of Ritter Financial Corp. I have been privileged to know Rolland and wish to take this opportunity to address myself to some of his achievements.

The history of an organization encompasses more than its financial accomplishments and statistical achievements. Such impersonal pieces of information would fail by far to tell the story of how and why a company developed from a small beginning in Montgomery County in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, my home county, to its present position of serving the needs and desires of consumers in eight States through 112 outlets.

Rolland A. Ritter believes that faith in people and a desire to serve them will be both recognized and rewarded. That belief led to the establishment 25 years ago of a small consumer finance organization whose purpose was to serve the public in suburban and rural areas.

Born in 1907 in Philadelphia, Rolland A. Ritter grew up in unpretentious surroundings with the dream of one day being in business for himself. This is a dream that has been brought to fruition by many citizens of this Nation, past and present. Small business has been and remains the heart core of the system we call free enterprise.

At the age of 21 Ritter entered the consumer finance industry as a raw recruit. He progressed rapidly and after a relatively few years he was given the responsibility of guiding the growth and development of a substantial number of finance offices, although he knew he would one day have to attempt to bring his dream of being in business for himself to reality.

Spurred by his faith in the opportunities open to any man or woman, armed with his experience and some personal savings, and buttressed with borrowed funds from friends who had confidence in his ability, Ritter established the company that bears his name. The date was November 6, 1946.

By the end of that year, the Ritter organization was serving consumers through three offices in rural and suburban communities in eastern Pennsylvania. Although the enterprise operated three locations, it had but one manager. That manager was Rolland Ritter who daily completed a circuit of the three offices carrying funds and details for each in a separate pants pocket. He was also his own investment banker and acquired equity capital as it was needed and established banking relations as growth demanded.

In due time the Ritter organization arrived at a crossroad. The remand for consumer finance service in nonurban areas had been demonstrated. Ritter had to decide whether to remain small or, by obtaining broad financial support, to ex-

tend the company's service to many additional small communities lacking the facilities it was able to offer. Rolland Ritter chose to extend service knowing full well he would no longer be able to be in business for himself. The need for additional capital was too great; he had to and did attract many coinvestors.

On its 10th anniversary, in 1956, Ritter's organization was providing employment to 166 people in 30 offices throughout five States. Over 37,000 consumers were being served and two-thirds of that number were residents of nonurban areas, in keeping with the founding philosophy.

By 1961, almost 74,000 consumers were receiving credit from the Ritter organization. Fifteen years had passed since one man achieved a desire which even today is possible of attainment by others: success through faith in our system and a willingness to work and persevere in the face of adversity.

When 1966, Ritter's 20th anniversary year, drew to a close, 109 offices were serving over 127,000 families.

There are opportunities in this land today for those who would seek them. What I have just related is but one example of what one man, Rolland Ritter, has done with faith and determination. He did not find the American promise of opportunity for all wanting, nor did those who have forged lifetime careers with his organization. Let us resolve to keep that promise viable so that opportunity will remain for all.

HON. JOHN ROONEY

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, there is no other Member of Congress among us who better serves his or her home district than our very able and distinguished colleague, the Honorable JOHN ROONEY, the chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary, and Related Matters.

Even before I came to Congress in 1962 I had become aware of the exemplary and outstanding leadership of this Brooklyn Democrat in the highest legislative body in the land.

People in Washington, in Texas, and many other parts of the country know that Chairman ROONEY is a man of courage, conviction, dedication, and a highly patriotic American.

However, the people of the 14th district of New York know all of this better than anyone, and have chosen Congressman ROONEY to serve them in Congress for 15 terms now.

An example of the awareness of the people of Congressman ROONEY's district as to the effectiveness of the work of their U.S. Representative is found in an article in the "La Papita Caliente"—"the hot potato"—column of the Spanish-language newspaper, "El Tiempo."

Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with you and my other distinguished colleagues a translation of this article.

The article follows:

FROM "EL TIEMPO," NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.

The veteran democratic Congressman from Brooklyn, John J. Rooney, who heads the House Committee on Appropriations, has been a tireless fighter to keep active not only the Naval Base—Brooklyn Navy Yard—but also the army base—Brooklyn Army Base.

The important part about this is that the majority of the workers in these two centers are Puerto Ricans.

Not long ago, Congressman Rooney launched a big fight to get construction of three tankers of 230 million tons apiece in the naval base, at a cost of approximately 100 million dollars. These are for use in the Sea Train line. And now, one is under construction. This "little operation" represents no less than the casual pastime of 4,000 jobs and, we repeat, most of the workers are Puerto Ricans.

His other great success has been keeping the army base in Kings County active for another year, as reported in the Monday edition of this newspaper. This means 1,500 more jobs.

And this is the man that the liberals, reformists and activists intend to overthrow after 20 plus years of positive public service in Washington Congressional circles. If those who wish to do away with our way of life were to succeed—a very doubtful event—the chairmanship of the most important committee in Congress which the veteran Rooney has been holding, would fall into the hands of southern reactionaries. And the apostates who intend to bring us "socialism" would be very satisfied.

It is for that reason that our community should be on the alert and not allow those whose actions show red tendencies to get their way.

It is not possible for a person like Congressman Rooney, who has always been identified with the cause of hispanic peoples in general, to be ignored by the electorate of our race, and therefore, we must show that we are appreciative and ready to defend and support him so he may continue as a bulwark in defense of the principles for which he has always fought.

We are sure that those same Puerto Ricans who have benefited from the successes of Mr. Rooney, will never turn their back on him, since it is a proved fact that the Puerto Rican knows how to reply when his help is needed and when he is approached to fight for the rights that are his and that benefit his own people.

OPTISCOPE ENLARGER—NEW HOPE FOR VISUALLY HANDICAPPED

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. MINSHALL, Mr. Speaker, our former colleague and my good friend, now Ohio State Senator Donald E. Lukens, has called to my attention a major advance in the field of optics.

Millions of Americans, although not totally blind, have so little vision that they are considered "legally blind," meaning their vision is less than 20/200 after corrective lenses have been prescribed. The vast majority of these people, because of their terribly poor eyesight, find it difficult, if not impossible, to read.

Until now, scientists and medical researchers have been unable to help these millions of people incapable of utilizing their eyesight, and because of their de-

ficiency, the United States is deprived of a great reservoir of human talent. Magnification by use of corrective lenses has proved totally unsuccessful in treatment, simply because their problems relate to the intensity of light reaching the retina and not to the magnification of an image.

Now, however, I am pleased to report that recent developments in the field of optics will by all indications bring these millions of poorly sighted citizens back into the visual world.

An inventor and scientist, Mr. Alphonse P. Cinque, a man who has devoted many years of his life to devising methods of improving the quality of life through conservation of energy, heads a firm, Opaque Systems Ltd. of Hempstead, New York, which has developed a unit called the Optiscope Enlarger. This invention intensifies the available light to the point where many sight-deficient people who have not been helped by corrective lenses are now able to read through the Optiscope viewing screen without the use of any corrective lenses whatsoever. The machine relies on a patented light source to intensify the amount of light reaching the retina, thereby increasing the ability to see images clearly.

There are innumerable cases recorded by ophthalmologists describing people who years ago gave up using their eyes for all close work—reading, for instance, because the task was too painfully slow to be worthwhile. These people in some cases have not read in over 15 years. With this new development they have been restored to a constructive daily life which utilizes their eyesight more than the patients themselves had hoped would ever again be possible.

Very importantly, the Optiscope is a portable unit, weighing only 14 pounds, and priced well within the means of the average American who requires this type of device.

This major scientific advancement crystallizes America's need to conserve the energy and natural resources which are our country's greatest asset. As this new development illustrates, we should not be so short sighted as to ignore conservation in human terms, which is certainly an integral part of our total environment.

THE UNITED NATIONS

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, a great deal has been said recently about the United Nations as result of some of the action which that international body has engaged itself in and the evident confusion about its role as the true representative of nation-states. Recently I introduced a Sense of Congress Resolution (H. Con. Res. 449) and called the attention of my colleagues to the inequitable representation in the General Assembly citing particularly as

an example Soviet Union's three votes in comparison to that of the other members, who have one vote, under the guise of the Byelorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR being separate nation-states from the U.S.S.R. And everyone knows that these two Republics are integral part of the U.S.S.R.—as Florida and California are integral States of the United States of America.

Recently I have received a number of interesting articles written on the subject of the United Nations and thought to share several with my colleagues. Today, I would like to insert one by Dr. A. G. B. Metcalf, an astute analyst of foreign affairs who is an editor with the Institute for American Strategy and the American Security Council.

The article follows:

DEATH OF THE U.N.—AND OTHER REALITIES

Seven years ago WR 64-41 set forth "The Matter of Red China and The U.N." over the by-line of DeWitt S. Copp, which recalled the following chronology:

"On January 13, 1950, the Soviet delegation, led by Andre Vishinsky, stalked out of the U.N. over Russia's failure to get the Peking regime seated in the U.N. Five months later, the Korean War began, and on February 11, 1951, the General Assembly passed a resolution branding Red China an aggressor. That resolution still stands. Between 1951 and 1960, the General Assembly did not include the question of China's representation on its agenda. Then on December 15, 1961, it adopted a resolution which declared that the representation of China was 'an important question.' This meant that under Article 18 of the Charter, any future proposal on the matter would require a two-thirds majority to pass. The efforts of the Soviet Union in 1961 and 1962, and of Albania in 1963, failed to command the necessary plurality to seat Red China."

On October 31, *The New York Times* noted: "The two-thirds rule was widely regarded as applying to membership for a given country, not the rival claims of two governments of the same country." There is little doubt that the vote taken by the United Nations on the evening of October 25, 1971, which expelled the Republic of China is of questionable legality.

Moreover, the U.N. decision to expel one of the signatories of its original Charter and a nation representing over 14,000,000 people—larger than 100 of its members—in response to a Resolution of Albania, a nation with less than 2,000,000 people, marks not simply a new low water mark but, indeed, a new direction for the U.N. How does one justify the high purposes expressed in the Charter of the U.N. and its stated lofty principles if the peoples of this law-abiding nation are denied representation? *The Boston Herald Traveler* for October 27, 1971, editorializes:

"The only plausible explanation for the General Assembly's action on Monday is that, confronted with the ultimatum from Peking that unless Taiwan was expelled it would refuse to accept membership, the overwhelming majority abandoned principle and chose pure expediency.

"But what happens next year if Peking or Russia threatens to quit unless Israel, Cambodia or some other small nation is expelled? Will expediency be chosen again? Will that issue rate as an 'important question'?"

"If Monday's decision stands, the U.N. is going to be a very different place than it has been up to now and was intended to be when the Charter was written with a preamble proclaiming that it was established, among other things, to reaffirm the rights of nations large and small."

At all events, the U.N. by this act is dead as a moral force in the world, and now becomes a potential danger to the free world.

In this self-styled, highest international tribunal, which for twenty-five years pretentiously paraded the trappings of world morality, moral right or wrong has no standing in the face of the naked image of power. On the whole, regrettable as was the treachery meted out by the U.N. to a decent and loyal member nation, the interests of freedom-loving nations of the world are well served by this notice.

DOWNGRADING THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Those who "manage" the news and who own the newspapers and television networks, which generate instant imagery through their wire services and nationwide hook-ups, just recently downgraded the Republic of China to "Taiwan." Now they are further reducing it to "Taipei." One must ask, what further journalistic denigration lies in store for the only duly constituted government of the Chinese people—a people presently enslaved by a murderous gang of criminals of such rapacity as to make Hitler look like Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm? The answer appears to have been forecast in a recent cablegram to the U.N. Secretary General, U Thant, from Acting Minister of Affairs of Communist China, Chi Peng-fel, and from the text of a government statement issued by the Peking press agency, Hsinhua. (*The New York Times*, October 30, 1971). The cablegram to Thant opens with the following self-serving polemic:

"I have received your telegram of 26 October informing me that at its 26th session the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted on the 25th October the resolution restoring to the People's Republic of China all its rights in the United Nations and expelling forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupied at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it."

The press release from Peking halls "the bankruptcy of the policy of depriving China of her legitimate rights in the United Nations obdurately pursued by U.S. imperialism over the past 20 years and more and of the U.S. imperialist scheme to create 'two Chinas' in the United Nations." It goes on: "The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries are continuing to spread the fallacy that 'the status of Taiwan remains to be determined' and are frenziedly pushing their scheme of creating 'an independent Taiwan' in a wild attempt to continue to create 'one China, and one Taiwan,' which in effect is tantamount to 'two Chinas' . . . While instigating the representatives of the *Chiang Kai-shek clique* (italics ours) to hang on in some specialized agencies of the United Nations, they are even vainly attempting to let the Chiang Kai-shek clique worm its way back into the United Nations under the name of a so-called 'independent Taiwan.' This is a desperate struggle put up by them, and their scheme must never be allowed to succeed. The just Resolution adopted by the U.N. General Assembly must be speedily implemented in its entirety. All the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique must be expelled from the United Nations organization and all its bodies and related agencies."

So at last, the issue is drawn as to future United States actions with respect to its obligations—by treaty and moral duty—toward the maintenance of the integrity of Taiwan.

THE LEGITIMACY OF PEKING

As to Peking's right to represent the 800 million mainland Chinese, Dr. Stefan T. Possony made some astute observations in his article in *Orbis*, (Vol II, No. 1, 1967) which are worth recalling: "To-day, despite the Cultural Revolution and other indicators of instability, the follow-on hypothesis has been, and still is, that the Chinese communist regime is stable and durable, and since it is here to stay, we must accommodate to it. The fact is that the Chinese communist regime has been unstable for nearly ten

years and has proven itself to be one of the most ineffective and unsuccessful and at the same time 'destabilizing' regimes on record. . . . For several years—at least since 1959—Mao has been running into increasing opposition within the party and state bureaucracy. . . . The impact of China on the rest of the world, whether for good or evil, is bound to grow rather than to decline. . . . Many American politicians who, with good reason, worry about the China problem, assume implicitly that the Mao regime is deeply entrenched and that Mao and Lin speak for the whole, or for most, of China. Accordingly, they argue that, in order to remain in contact with the Chinese people, the Mao regime must be recognized and normal diplomatic relations established with 'China,' even if this means the concealed abandonment of Taiwan. This thesis makes sense only if Mao really represents the majority. If he is not the legitimate spokesman of China, the goal of reestablishing contact with the Chinese people cannot be achieved through Mao. On the contrary, dealing with him would be counterproductive. . . . We would have an incomplete picture of Communist China if we ignored the possibilities of a coup d'etat within the regime's top echelon. . . ."

Liu Chieh, spokesman for Nationalist China, underscored Dr. Possony's closing comment in saying: "I have not the slightest doubt that although for 22 years the people of the mainland have been forced to submit to Communist tyranny, they will sooner or later overthrow their oppressors and join hands with their compatriots in Free China."

"Sick—but still dangerous. That is the verdict on China after two decades of Red rule. People are restive, the party in ruins, quarrels raging with neighbors, China will survive in the end. It's the future of Communism that's in doubt." was the way *U.S. News & World Report* for October 13, 1969, put it.

THE MORALITY OF EXPEDIENCY

Thus, our adventure on the low ground of expediency in the interest of facing up to the world "as it is" could all be for nothing. In any case, we have certainly helped sustain, at home and abroad, a dangerous totalitarian regime which is an implacable foe of all we stand for.

[Ed: As if to confirm the above, diplomatic sources have just reported that Lin Piao, Red Chinese Defense Minister and successor to Mao, was "purged" in a plot to oust Mao and Chou En-lai from power. Fellow-conspirators are reported to include the chiefs of staff of the army and air force, liquidated after Lin's death in a Red Chinese Air Force airplane which crashed in Mongolia near the Soviet border on September 12, supposedly trying to escape to the Soviet Union when the plot was exposed and failed. All this, while this shaky dictatorship is being interviewed by obsequious columnists, being impertuned to receive the President of the United States, and its arbitrary demands are being hurriedly translated into action by the U.N.]

Despite the recent attempts of the well-known professional apologists for Red China to rewrite history in the press and in some of the slick magazines, the plight of China today—Taipei or Peking—would be vastly different were it not for United States failure clearly to read the realities of an earlier day as to who were our friends and where our interests lay.

As to who are our friends: we now know. And on that point, Senator Goldwater observed on a nationwide TV program, "It seems to me that we've been supporting some of the nations which have voted against us since World War II."

THE LESSONS OF REALITY

The time has come for us to re-examine our relationships with those who receive our financial support. And we certainly should take another look at the intricate defense arrangements presently existing with our

"trusted allies," lest our failure to learn from history be not further worsened by a failure to learn from current realities. Indeed, it is this opportunity to learn from this abrupt confrontation with reality that is the only source of consolation in an otherwise humiliating experience.

Reality—because it lets us know where we stand so that we may adjust our relationships accordingly.

Reality—because the vote of the General Assembly of the U.N. of '76 to '35, applauded by the Soviet Union and without a single NATO ally voting on the U.S. side, clearly delineates the present low level of U.S. world prestige.

Reality—because it points up the accommodations—and quickly, too—that other nations, including those most closely tied to us, have made with the forces of world Communism in the light of the U.S. decision to accept secondary status as a world military power.

Reality—because this first bitter cup is one of many the United States will have to swallow now that the Soviet Union and Communist China are both in the U.N. Security Council and openly dedicated to the enslavement of the peoples of the world under the yoke of Communist totalitarianism.

Reality—because the leadership of the United States and its influence as a moral force is discredited in the eyes of the world and this is additive to our decline as a military force.

Reality—because it throws into question whether an Administration so out of touch with the hard facts of life will be able clearly to assess what constitutes "realistic deterrence" or military "sufficiency" as expressed by the Nixon Doctrine and upon which the survival of this nation and the free world depends.

MORE AGONIZING REAPPRAISALS

What action the United States will take remains to be seen. Present discussion looking toward a re-examination of our open-handed financial policy toward a world organization now so drastically altered in respect to its moral purposes, is a step in the right direction—but a trivial one. Of much greater importance is that we should look to our own spiritual and material purposes. As to the former, while Taiwan is indeed a nation of only 14,000,000 people, it is quite big enough to provide the graveyard of U.S. honor and integrity. Here it is well to remember that it is not the U.N. alone, but the U.S. as well, which has suffered irreparable damage to its moral posture.

When the last moral stricture has been stated, much will depend on what the United States does in the area of military defense. Were we to desert Taiwan and permit the swift blood-bath which would follow a Maoist takeover, we should, after the moral and military bankruptcy of Vietnam, never again be able to raise our head in the world community. But such moral leperdom, however onerous, would be as nothing compared with the military consequences to world freedom and to the survival of this nation which would greet the announcement that at long last, in this, as in the acceptance of second rate status as a military power, we were no longer powered by those principles of honor and human liberty which have been our historic "inner" strength. History holds no hope for the survival of nations of great material wealth, in moral decline, committed to a policy of appeasement, and unwilling to bear the expense of adequate military power.

DO THEY KNOW?

When asked by Pauline Frederick on the "Today" show, where were those commitments pledged to the United States and upon which the U.S. relied on its initiative to seat Peking without expulsion of Taiwan, Ambassador Bush replied: "They faded away into thin air, Pauline."

In no other walk of life would such widely advertised, self-acknowledged ineptness on the top most level of national interest be accorded the opportunity for continued exercise of high leadership authority. In this light, with the Peking and Moscow visits coming up, one has the right to ask where the leaders in this Administration are leading us. Do they know?

NO END OF IRONY IN THE TITO VISIT

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, an article has been called to my attention which appeared in the Scarborough Sun newspaper of Ontario, Canada, concerning the rise to power of Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito.

Recently, Marshal Tito paid a visit to the United States.

Towards the end of World War II, the British turned over 20,000 patriotic Yugoslav troops to Tito's partisans, who were machinegunned to death in the dense forests near the village of Kocevje. This is reminiscent of the Katyn Forest Massacre earlier in the war where more than 10,000 Polish officers were murdered by the Russians.

The great General Drazha Mihailovich was shot by a firing squad after being condemned as a traitor by Tito, who was the quising himself.

I should like to place in the RECORD today the excellent article by the Scarborough Sun. The duplicity and chicanery of many aspects of World War II have yet to be written, thus attesting to the truth of the statement that what is past is prolog.

Mr. Speaker, the article follows:

NO END OF IRONY IN THE TITO VISIT

It is one of history's great ironies that the man honoured by the White House last week and by Dalhousie University on his visit to Canada—Marshal Tito—would have been convicted as a major war criminal had he stood on the losing side of the war. It is an even greater irony that the United States, still engaged in a war allegedly fought against the spread of Communism in Asia, flings open its door to Communist leaders from Europe.

For some time now, Tito has been categorized in the West as some sort of "Democratic" Communist. His true status was revealed by Lubor J. Zink in an article published in the Telegram, July 22, 1966, which read in part:

"Although the total number of victims of communist totalitarianism is estimated to exceed by far that of the Nazi tyranny, no one apparently dares to even consider demanding a trial of the Bolshevik criminals.

Stalin, the arch-murderer who pioneered genocide in this supposedly enlightened century, died peacefully in his bed, revered to the end by Communists all over the world as a messiah of social justice and progress. And there is nothing but praise all over the place for Yugoslavia's Josip Broz-Tito, the foxy player of both sides of the Cold War street.

Few people know that at the end of May, 1945, when the guns were already silent all over Europe, Tito's partisans massacred close to 20,000 of their compatriots who, during the last stages of the war, tried to keep the

Slovenian part of Yugoslavia free from Communist domination.

The motley remnants of what was once the Yugoslav Royal Army lost the battle and retreated into the British-held part of Southern Austria. There they were put in a camp near Klagenfurt and promised transfer to Italy where some other remnants of Peter's army found refuge.

However, on May 24, 1945, the disarmed Yugoslav troops were transported by the British to the Yugoslav border and handed over to Tito's partisans. The Communists took the transport to specially prepared clearings in the dense forests near the village of Kocevje and there, in cold blood, machine-gunned the 20,000 men.

This crime of the Tito regime is described in detail by Yugoslav writer B. M. Karapandzic who now lives in Cleveland. His book, Kocevje, is based partly on extensive research and partly on an eye-witness account given by a survivor of the massacre who, wounded by the firing squads, managed to crawl from under the heap of bodies and make his way to Austria.

When I read the book, which accused the British of complicity in this horrible event and even gives the name of the British army major who was in charge of the transfer of the 20,000 men to the Titoists, I asked the British High Commissioner's office in Ottawa to check the gruesome story. After several weeks of waiting for the result of the query in London, I was told that the book's description of the Kocevje massacre was 'essentially correct.'

This, by no means, is the end of the irony in Tito's visit. Following the massacre of these 20,000 men, the one man who more than any other individual reversed Germany's advance in Russia, thereby deciding her defeat—General Drazha Mihailovich—was executed on a fabricated charge of treason after a mock trial, publicly having been condemned as a traitor by Tito before conviction. The evidence comes from history itself, as related by The New York Times, July 18, 1946.

"The fingers of history, rustling through the pages of the Second World War, may provide an ironic postscript to the scene that took place at dawn yesterday somewhere in the vicinity of Belgrade when General Drazha Mihailovich crumpled before the bullets of a Yugoslav firing squad. The record is fairly obvious now. A more complete search and study of the files of the German General Staff and a historical assessment of the various factors that entered into the successful defense of Moscow by the Red Army during the fall and winter of 1941, may show that the one most important factor was the time that was bought for the Russians in the spring of 1941 by Yugoslavia and Mihailovich. On the record written thus far, the Russian-controlled Tito Government has taken the life of a man to whom Russia owes a great debt.

Mihailovich, then a Colonel, was among an influential group in Yugoslavia that resisted an alliance with Germany, overthrew the pro-Nazi Government and installed one favourable to the Allies. When it became evident that Yugoslavia would not yield without a fight, von Paulus tells us, Hitler set the date of the drive on Yugoslavia for March and that against Russia for five weeks later. The attack on Yugoslavia actually was launched on April 6, 1941.

"The recorded facts of the German attack on Yugoslavia and Soviet Russia in 1941 are these, as testified to by von Paulus, the German commander at Stalingrad and by Jodi, the former German Chief of Staff, before the Allied Tribunal at Nuremberg.

"Hitler drew his plan for the attack on Russia in December, 1940. At that time he hoped to absorb the Balkans without a fight. This would have secured his right flank for the attack on Russia.

"The initial German attack on Yugoslavia made swift progress. In the hills, however, a new Yugoslav hero emerged. Mihailovich, fighting a gallant delaying action, rallied the remnants of the Yugoslav Army and began an open and effective guerrilla resistance to the German Army. Because of this unexpected resistance, the German Army's timetable of five weeks between the attack on Yugoslavia and the drive on the Soviet stretched to ten weeks.

"Delayed three months beyond the time originally set for the attack, the German Army failed to reach Moscow before the dreaded Russian winter had set in. Hundreds of thousands of Germans who had expected to garrison in the shelter of the Russian capital died instead in the icy trenches a few miles away. There is good reason to believe that this—even more than the defence of Stalingrad—was the turning point of the German-Russian conflict."

But the press of the non-Communist world needed no such evidence. It had its own. In one unanimous voice it cried "murder" when Mihailovich was executed. A collection of 65 newspaper articles in various languages tells the Mihailovich story, which is also the story, the true story of Tito (The World's Verdict, published by John Bellows Ltd., Gloucester, 1947). The testimony comes from men who had known Mihailovich and served with him, men well-informed of the military and political situation. All agree on the facts; on the personal character and heroism of Tito's victim and cite long lists of action and rewards. The following, however, reflects not only the tragedy of the fate of Mihailovich but that of the entire West through implication in the bloody affair in which far more was betrayed than a patriot called Mihailovich. Walter Dushnyck, in "America" (New York), July 16, 1946, wrote in part:

"Mihailovich is a symbol of the times. Had history run a different course, we might have found General MacArthur, or de Gaulle, or Montgomery in his stead, or even a mass trial of all. Ironically enough, General Bor-Komorowski had the good fortune to be captured on the Nazi side of the iron Curtain... Mihailovich was not alone in having his movement labelled 'Fascist' and in being heartlessly discarded by his Allies in order to placate the Grand Master of the Kremlin. The case of General Mihailovich from the time of his organization of resistance, through the ascendancy of Tito, Stalin's Communist exponent in Yugoslavia, down to the treason trial and execution, is an instance of abandonment of principles on the part of the Victorious Powers. He represents the small nations of Europe, still oppressed and betrayed.

"Tito, alias Joseph Broz, is relatively little known in his 'native' Yugoslavia. Like Togliatti in Italy, Thorez in France, Bierut in Poland, Manulsky in the Ukraine, Dimitrov in Bulgaria, and Kuusinen in Finland. Tito was sent from the Kremlin to take over the Communist puppet. He had a powerful sponsor in Moscow. Stalin seems to have been astonishingly successful in convincing Roosevelt and Churchill at Teheran that Mihailovich was a traitor. After the conference, Mihailovich was officially dropped by the Allies and Tito elevated. This was at a time when, according to Colonel McDowell, vast areas had been liberated and were being held by Mihailovich's nationalist forces! The American and BBC broadcasts, however, obediently followed the Communist communiques and thus helped foster the deception."

The core of the problem was explained by Major Kenneth Greenlees in The Tablet (London), July 16, 1946, as follows:

"Dominating the situation were Mihailovich's relations with and attitude towards Tito and his Communist-led Partisans. The German attack on Russia was the signal for Tito and his followers to take to the hills. Tito's object, like that of Mihailovich, was to liberate Yugoslavia from Axis occupation.

But their ideals for the future of the country were very different. Tito, the Communist, wished to establish a republic; Mihailovich, the loyalist, sought the return of the monarchy." He relates further that in 1944 the Allied Missions, in complying with wishes from Moscow, withdrew from Mihailovich. Supplies were increased to Tito for use against the Germans. But Mihailovich could prove that to a great extent, they were being used against his own forces.

Accused of collaboration with the enemy, the facts unearthed proved only that Mihailovich wanted neither Russian nor German domination for Yugoslavia. This is how The Whitehall News (London), July 19, 1946 saw it:

"Mihailovich was a true patriot of Yugoslavia and as such, considered it his first duty to appreciate realistically the interest of his nation. Tito, on the other hand, was never a free agent; he was consistently carrying out the directives of Soviet policy and so was never hampered by any patriotic scruples. Thus, he could wage the Partisan war, regarding the bloody reprisals taken by the Germans on the civilian population.

"One may ask now what would have been the fate of Mihailovich if, being less realistic, he had continued his fight irrespective of consequences.

"The answer is easily provided by the fate of another Allied commander, the Polish General Bor-Komorowski, who led the Warsaw rising. Bor did exactly the opposite of what Mihailovich has done. He disregarded realistic political considerations—he fought to the bitter end and to prove the intransigence of the Polish resistance, did not even hesitate to lay Warsaw in ruins. And yet, neither he nor the Polish Home Army commanded by him, have escaped the accusation by the present rulers of Poland of being pro-Nazi, Fascist and collaborationists. General Bor avoided the fate of being tried like Mihailovich only because he was outside the grip of the Warsaw administration. His successor in the command of the Polish Home Army, General Okulicki, was less lucky; ten years of penal servitude, the sentence of the Moscow trial against 16 Polish Leaders, was his reward."

Canada's stand was best put forth by The Canadian Social Creditor (Edmonton), May 30, 1946, which stated in part:

"The shameful treatment of General Mihailovich, one of the bravest men of history, is awakening the whole American continent. It has been notable that in our own Canadian Parliament, only one man—the Social Credit Member of Parliament for Wetaskiwin, Norman Jaques—had the courage to rise and say a few words in defence of this Shetnik hero. The story cannot be told even in volumes. Here in this country, many airmen owe their very lives to Mihailovich. Their plea of 'He saved our lives, we'll save his!' is taking the country by storm. When the leaders are cowards, the people must act."

Wiser words could not be spoken today, when our leaders prefer once more to shut their eyes to the shameful evidence presented here and equate crime with heroism. But now, as then, the Social Creditors do remember and repeat the closing words of that editorial, no less fitting today:

"After the Teheran Conference, Mihailovich's name was replaced by a new name, Tito. The 'sphere of influence' in the Balkans had been decided upon. Stalin got his way—and part of his price was Yugoslavia, via Tito. That meant the head of Mihailovich. The hero was sold down the river—and a lot of people know it.

"Is this any subject for a Social Creditor paper? Start betting your life that it is—because Social Credit is a way of life and that way of life recognizes honour and integrity where others think only of Mammon or political expediency, or both."

How true, how true!

A CALL TO PRESIDENT NIXON TO INCLUDE A REPRESENTATIVE OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES ON THE WAGE PRICE BOARD.

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, the members of the California Public Employees Federation have recently called on President Nixon to include a representative of public employees on the Wage Price Board. Quite frankly, I am surprised that the President should exclude the public employees from representation on the Wage Price Board especially since one out of every 5 workers in this country is a public employee.

Two months ago the President imposed the most severe restrictions of the wage price freeze on the Federal employees, by postponing to July 1, 1972, a wage increase which was due January 1, 1972. This was done despite the countless statements by the administration that the attempts to curb inflation will be based on a fair and equitable division of the burden between the various segments of the economy. I, therefore, urge the President to add one member to the Pay Board and such member shall be chosen to represent the millions of public employees in this country.

The following is the text of the resolution:

RESOLUTION

CALIFORNIA PUBLIC EMPLOYEES FEDERATION
337-Seventh Street, Suit 204
Oakland, California 94612
Phone: (415) 834-7333
Contact: RANDALL M. PREVO, General Manager

October 13, 1971

Randall M. Prevo, General Manager of the California Public Employees Federation (CALPEF), representing over 70,000 county, city and public employees, demands representation on Nixon's wage freeze board. In convention at San Diego, this thirty-one year old independent labor organization instructed its sixteen-man Board of Directors to pursue by legal, political or economic means any needed remedial action to alleviate hardships imposed by the wage freeze recently extended by the President. CALPEF will strongly support the freeze if assurance will be given that public employees will be represented on the wage board. With 1 of every 5 workers being a public employee, it seems a little ridiculous they may receive no acknowledgments at all.

The Conference of over 200 delegates, headed by CALPEF President "Bucky" Orcutt, who is also President of the 6,200 member San Diego County Employees Association, adopted the following policy:

Whereas: CALPEF affirms its support, in principle, for the efforts of the President and the Federal Government in their attempts to curb inflation, provided those attempts are based on a fair and equitable division of the burden between the various and competing segments of the economy;

And whereas: The wage freeze order promulgated by the President and the rules and regulations enacted thereunder bear directly on the public employees of this organization and restrict their right to receive negotiated wage increases and cost-of-living increases while prices and interest rates continue to rise due to lack of regulations or enforcement by the government;

And whereas: The placement of the burden of curbing inflation solely upon the wage

earner while allowing other segments of the economy free reign violates the employees' rights to equal protection under the law as provided in the U.S. Constitution;

And whereas: Such wage freeze order and the rules and regulations enacted thereunder interfere with the contractual relationships existing between public employees and their respective public agencies and deprive employees of their rights thereunder without due process of law;

And whereas: Such wage freeze order and the rules and regulations enacted thereunder cause abrogation of various city and county ordinances and pre-empt the sovereignty of the State and local governments;

And whereas: All of the above actions of the President and the Federal Government have unreasonably placed the burden of curbing inflation on the wage-earning employee and have caused great financial burdens and hardships to be borne by members of this organization;

Now therefore let it be the policy of CALPEF that the Board of Directors of CALPEF is directed to examine all available means of bringing relief to its members from these unfair and burdensome enactments, including legal, political and economic means. FURTHER, after such examination, the Board of Directors is directed to pursue, by all necessary and appropriate means, those actions it deems required to protect the rights of its members. Further, be it declared as the Policy of CALPEF that any wage and price boards or commissions to be set up under the President's inflationary control policies be autonomous and be vested with the necessary powers to control interest rates and price raises as well as wages, and that such boards or commissions contain a proper proportion of public employee members.

Other independent public employee organizations are urged to coordinate their activities in this vein with CALPEF. Prevo indicated that many such organizations have already been approached and there have been favorable responses.

Mr. H. W. "Bucky" Orcutt was re-elected as President of the State-wide organization. In other action, Lt. Ed Maybrum of Sonoma County was elected Vice President, Mr. Charles Maple of Los Angeles County was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer, and Mr. Charles Williams of Ventura County was elected Sergeant-at-Arms. Elevated to the Board of Directors were: *Group I*—Charles Frye, Los Angeles County; Dan Fox, San Diego County; Jim Farrel, Orange County; William Henrikson, Alameda County; Robert Renfrow, Kern County. *Group II*—Clarence Dodge, Santa Clara County; Howard Menzel, Santa Barbara County; Benjamin Russell, Contra Costa County. *Group III*—Dan Gordon, Solano County; Gene Weaver, Marin County; LaRocque Creighton, Shasta County.

PRESIDENT CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT IS GOOD FOR AMERICA

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, a Presidential veto is never popular, especially when warnings are made in advance on what the political impact might be.

Yet once again President Nixon has proved that he is not motivated by politics. He is motivated by a genuine concern for what is good for America.

The issue this time is the Economic Opportunity Act extension, which con-

tinues the Office of Economic Opportunity—where the war on poverty is fought—and sets up two new programs: a legal services and child care center network.

The Washington Evening Star says bluntly that the Congress "indulged in fiscal wishthink and pork-barrel politics." Wishthink because Congress hopes that the best of wishes will bring about the best of results. Pork-barrel politics because Congress thinks that popular programs are good programs, regardless of how they're run.

President Nixon may be bringing on himself the wrath of the "poverty" lobby or the self-proclaimed child advocates of Washington. But he is answering a plea made by the people back in 1968: give us good government, not phony promises.

Congress will sustain President Nixon's veto. But I hope this action will lead to legislation that we can all support, not for political gain but for a better society. We are not in the business of passing the titles of bills. We are, I hope, in the business of passing meaningful legislation that will realistically live up to the needs of America. When this happens there will be no need for a veto.

HIGH CAMPAIGN COSTS

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the progress of the urgently needed Revenue Act of 1971, which finally cleared Congress yesterday, was unfortunately slowed in recent weeks by a thoroughly unrelated rider added by the Senate which would set up a special fund to subsidize Presidential election campaigns with taxpayers' money. However, House and Senate conferees have agreed to postpone the effective date of this proposal until after the 1972 election. Given the present composition and control of the Congress this is probably the best solution that can be obtained at this time. Nonetheless, I believe that before any plan goes into effect Congress should reexamine it thoroughly. Many questions have been raised about this scheme and I particularly wish to commend to the attention of my colleagues the November 30 editorial broadcast by station WJIM-TV of Lansing, Mich., which offers a particularly timely commentary.

The editorial follows:

The U.S. Congress is still groping for some rational solution to the problem of the high costs of political campaigning. In the litter of inept legislation it is probable that no plan is more futile or counter-productive than the "tax deduction" bill recently approved by the Senate. It is to be hoped that the House displays better judgment and moves to kill this nightmare proposal.

The bill provides that taxpayers can check off a one dollar contribution to the presidential campaign of the party of their choice as a deduction on their Federal Income Tax returns. The limit an individual party could receive on this basis would be 20.4 million dollars and the party would have to agree

to finance its campaign solely from such funds. The problems with such a scheme are multitudinous. First off, 20.4 million is far beyond what either party spent in the last Presidential campaign so the Bill hardly places any limit on spending.

Secondly, such legislation would inevitably finance a wide range of splinter parties covering the entire radical spectrum. Just as an indication, it is estimated that passage of this measure would put 10 to 14 million dollars into the ultra right wing coffers of George Wallace, resolving immediately, by the way, any doubt in George's mind about running. Since the communist and socialist labor parties are also legally recognized on the ballot, their campaigns would be financed by the taxpayers to the tune of millions of dollars . . . and once the golden cat was out of the bag that would be only the beginning.

Thirdly, this bill only addresses the financing of Presidential campaigns ignoring areas of harsher inequity such as the cost of becoming a U.S. Senator or Representative.

Finally, the proposal is monumentally undemocratic . . . once the taxpayer pledges a dollar it is there for the party to spend no matter who the candidate is. It is just another step in removing the people from the selection process . . . a tendency that already seriously threatens this nation's political stability.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S VETO OF THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AMENDMENTS

HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, the President, yesterday, with one veto managed to break his promise to promote meaningful child development; destroy the hopes of the poor and, incidentally, the majority of the legal profession, for an effective legal services corporation; nullify a new and effective way toward utilizing economic development programs under OEO auspices; and thwart the intent of Congress to keep intact the advocacy role of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I am at a complete loss to understand the President's action. Mr. Nixon frequently and explicitly stated his administration's commitment to the concept of child development. He incorporated child care provisions which, he stated, were "more than custodial" into H.R. 1, a measure to which his administration ascribed extraordinary importance. Yet when the House and the Senate, after a great deal of work arrived at an approach that at least opened the door to equal opportunity for all young children in our Nation, the President invoked the power of the veto.

There are presently about 8 million preschool children of working mothers in our Nation. Day care services are available to only about 700,000. By 1980 there is expected to be a 43 percent increase in the number of working mothers with preschool children. Without the child care provisions evolved by the Senate and the House there is absolutely no way of making available to these youngsters and their mothers meaningful, effective, eco-

nomical, and developmental type child care. The best most of these children will receive, unless their parents are well to do, will be custodial care—and that at an exorbitant price. I can only repeat, Mr. Speaker, that I find the President's action both unbelievable and unpardonable.

As far as the legal services section of the bill is concerned, both the House and the Senate worked long and hard to prepare a bill that could receive widespread support. Many of us, who wanted to push a stronger version, agreed to the compromise in order to secure these much-needed services for all our citizens. It seems that we have worked in vain. The presidential veto destroyed several months' worth of efforts on the part of Members of Congress, members of the legal profession, representatives of the poor, and the wide segment of the American public who worked and lobbied to make the phrase "equal before the law" a reality in our country.

Title VII established a coordinated community development program. It would have made possible precise, overall, professional planning for maximum impact of economic development programs developed by community-based organizations. I had hoped for much progress under this approach. I am keenly disappointed to have it destroyed.

In conclusion, the bill vetoed contained an amendment which would have restricted the power of the Director to further spin off programs presently operating under titles II, III, VI, and VII. This amendment was incorporated into the measure to keep the Office of Economic Opportunity functioning as an advocacy agency with on-going programs. In his veto statement the President clearly stated that he wants to remove operable programs from the jurisdiction of OEO and transfer them to already existing agencies. This in spite of the fact that extensive testimony indicated that these agencies are not responsive to the special needs of our poor.

Mr. Speaker, the President's veto destroyed an extraordinary collection of good programs. As far as the child development provisions are concerned, the veto has done irreparable harm. It remains to be seen, what, if anything, can be salvaged of the other programs.

PRISON REFORM—AND INSPECTION

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, I inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of a deeply encouraging address delivered by Attorney General Mitchell at this week's National Corrections Conference in Williamsburg, together with a brief sketch of my own proposal for an independent national prison inspection system which I believe is highly compatible with the views and recommendations of the Attorney General.

The other principal speaker at the

Corrections Conference was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Warren E. Burger, whose address was another memorable contribution to the growing determination to provide the kinds of correctional institutions, personnel and procedures which can transform an often repressive and self-defeating prison system into a genuinely rehabilitative one.

I am delighted, Mr. Speaker, to bring to the attention of our colleagues the Chief Justice's very thoughtful and positive speech, and to include an editorial published on Monday of this week by the Courier-News of Plainfield, N.J., commenting favorably on a State rehabilitation program and on my prison inspection system. The material follows:

REMARKS OF CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN E. BURGER

I am sure that everyone concerned about problems of corrections and prisons was heartened by the action of the President in convening this Conference. It is time for a massive coordinated effort by the state and federal governments.

It is also highly appropriate that these sessions are held in this historic place for it was a distinguished Virginian, George Keith Taylor, brother-in-law of Chief Justice Marshall, who, as a member of Virginia's House of Delegates, spoke here almost exactly 175 years ago—on December 1, 1796, to be precise—on behalf of legislation to improve the penal system of the Commonwealth.

Taylor is remembered as one of the first leaders on this continent to advocate the enlightened views of the great Italian reformer and legal philosopher, Beccaria. Thus, Virginia is a familiar forum for the problems this Conference is considering.

For as long as I have been a judge, I have tried to see the administration of criminal justice in terms of three major entities, or parts, all constituting interrelated parts of a single problem.

The first, obviously, is the police and enforcement function; the second is the judicial function; and the third is the correctional and confinement aspect, and, closely related, the vital release programs of probation, parole, and work parole.

This Conference is concerned with that third and final, and very crucial, aspect of justice. On other occasions I have said, and I strongly believe, that this third phase is perhaps the most neglected of all three of the aspects of justice, although each of the other two has strong claims, unfortunately, for first place in that respect.

The problem of what should be done with criminal offenders after they have been found guilty has baffled societies for thousands of years. Therefore, none of us would be so brash as to assume that this Conference can even discuss, let alone solve, all the enormous problems that have been with us for several thousands of years. Because of this terrifying magnitude of the problem, I hope the Conference will find a way to identify just a few of the most urgent but soluble problems and address ourselves to them at once. If we try to solve all the problems, we will solve none. We must be content with modest progress and small victories.

Ideals, hopes and long-range planning must have a place, but much can be accomplished without further research or studies in the essentially "nuts and bolts" side of corrections.

I hesitate to suggest, even in a tentative way, my own views of those solutions to an audience that includes so many genuine experts and authorities in this field. Since the recent events at Attica, New York and in California, the country has been recalling the warnings that many of you have uttered on the need to reexamine both

the basic attitudes and the tools and techniques of correctional systems and prisons. (I need hardly add, to this audience, that there is a vast difference even though for shorthand we use the two terms interchangeably.)

Even to reach some solutions on the urgent, the acute, the immediate problems, will take large outlays of money, and this cannot be produced except with a higher order of public leadership to develop a public commitment and, in turn, a legislative commitment at state and national levels.

As I see it, the urgent needs include these:

1. Institutions that provide decent living conditions, in terms of an environment in which hope can be kept alive.
2. Personnel at every level who are carefully selected, properly trained, with an attitude of understanding and motivation such as we seek in teachers; and with compensation related to the high responsibility.
3. Improved classification procedures to insure separation of incorrigibles from others.
4. A balanced program of productive work, intensive basic education, vocational education, and recreation.
5. Communication with inmates.
6. A system of justice in which judges, prosecutors and defense counsel recognize that prompt disposition of cases is imperative to any hope of success in the improvement of those convicted.

INSTITUTIONS AND FACILITIES

I will not dwell on the subject of institutional housing since most of you are better informed on the facts and more knowledgeable as to the needs than I am. I fear that if we took a realistic national inventory and determined how many states meet minimum standards that most of us would agree on, the result would be a melancholy commentary on a 20th century society. The rise in crime has crowded most prisons beyond any reasonable bounds and new structures are needed. We know, however, that many of our problems flow from having institutions that are too large, that are poorly located and inaccessible to the family of the inmates, too far away from facilities for work release programs, and located in areas that do not provide adequate housing for personnel of the institution.

As you well know, bricks and mortar do not make a sound correctional institution any more than bricks and mortar make a university, a newspaper, or a hospital. People and programs are crucial. The recent events in two of the largest and most affluent states are evidence that more than good "plant and equipment" are needed. With all that has been said and written about the problems in New York and California, there has been almost nothing communicated to the public about the fact that the particular institutions in question are among the more modern penal institutions in a physical sense. Attica and San Quentin serve to remind us that even the best of buildings have not provided solutions.

So even when we finally eliminate the 19th century dungeons and terrible overcrowding that prevails in so many places, we will still have enormous problems left to solve. It will take millions of dollars to accomplish the changes needed, but it must be done and we must have new thinking about what constitutes a correctional institution in a purely physical sense, where it should be located and how large it should be.

PERSONNEL

You are well aware, but the public is not, that well-trained personnel is far more important than the bricks and mortar. "Just anybody" cannot make a sound correctional institution any more than "just anybody" cannot make a good parent or a good teacher. We have yet to understand that the people who operate prisons, from the lowest guard

to the highest administrator, are as important in the whole scheme of an organized society as the people who teach in the schools, colleges and universities.

I suspect some experts would say that is an understatement in the sense that the reasonably normal people who go to schools can overcome the handicap of poor teaching. We know that most prison inmates are not mentally and emotionally healthy and therefore need something more than normal people require. Guards and guns are not enough.

As we are now slowly awakening to the need for more intensive training for policemen on the beat and in the patrol cars, we must sense that the guards, the attendants, the teachers, and the management of prisons must be specially selected for their temperament and attitudes and then specially trained for their crucial part in the task of helping prisoners to help themselves.

I am sure that every person here must be elated over the Attorney General's proposal to establish a National Corrections Academy patterned after the great training program of the FBI Police Academy. The management and operation of penal institutions has desperately needed such a nationally coordinated program to train every level of prison personnel from guards to wardens, as the Department of Justice has done with police administrators.

This decision on the part of the President and the Attorney General could be one of the milestones in correctional history.

IMPROVED CLASSIFICATION PROCEDURES

In many institutions we know that overcrowding and understaffing have led to a breakdown of classification procedures and practices. In some institutions there are no such procedures. One of the high prices we pay for that lack is a mingling of youthful offenders and first offenders with recidivists, incorrigibles, drug addicts and others who are seriously mentally disturbed. A very high priority must be given to separating inmates, and this is particularly important today with respect to the riot-prone inmates. Those who would disrupt and destroy a penal institution must be separated to protect those who are trying to learn and to prepare themselves for the future. Every inmate has a right to be insulated from those who are bent on lawless acts.

A BALANCED PROGRAM

We need look only at the median age of inmates to see at once the need for athletic and other recreational facilities so that these young men can burn off the surplus energies of youth as many of them would be doing if they were free. The corrosive impact of enforced idleness at any age is bad enough, but on young men it is devastating. Playing cards, watching television or an occasional movie, with nothing more, is building up to an expensive accounting when these men are released—if not before. Such crude recreation may keep men quiet for the time, but it is a quiet that is ominous for the society they will try to reenter.

RECREATION

Some states have recognized these needs and provided for them, but many have not. If anyone is tempted to regard this as "coddling of criminals" let him visit a prison and talk with inmates and staffs. I have visited some of the best and some of the worst prisons and I have never seen any signs of "coddling" but I have seen the terrible effects of the boredom and frustration of empty hours and a pointless existence.

EDUCATION

Recreation and education programs really go hand in hand in prisons as they do in schools and in life.

When society places a person in confinement, it deprives him of most normal opportunities and much of the motivation for

self-improvement. When society does this, it has a moral obligation to try to change that person—to make a reasonably successful human being out of him. Common sense and the self-interest of society dictate this even if we lay aside all considerations of human decency and our religious beliefs as to redemption.

Here perhaps our failure is the greatest. The percentage of inmates in all institutions who cannot read or write is staggering. Another, and largely overlapping category, is made up of those who have no marketable skills on which to base even a minimally successful life.

The figures on literacy alone are enough to make one wish that every sentence imposed could include a provision that would grant release when the prisoner had learned to read and write, to do simple arithmetic, and then to develop some basic skill that is salable in the market place of the outside world to which he must some day return and in which he must compete. Since the best of human beings need motivation and hope, why have we thought prisoners can do without both? We should develop sentencing techniques to impose a sentence so that an inmate can literally "learn his way" out of prison as we now try to let him earn his way out with "good behavior."

We know that today the programs of education range from nonexistent to inadequate, with all too few exceptions. However we do it, the illiterate and the unskilled who are sentenced for substantial terms must be given the opportunity, the means and the motivation to learn his way to freedom.

Meanwhile, we should make certain that every inmate works and works hard. With countless thousands of law-abiding citizens "moonlighting" on second jobs to make both ends meet, there is no reason why every healthy prison inmate should not be required to work to earn at least a part of his "keep." Moreover, every consideration of rehabilitation demands that inmates be kept busy with productive work, with learning and self-improvement. With this must come an expansion of psychological and religious counseling to instill motivation and maintain hope.

COMMUNICATION

We know that one of the deepest hungers of the human being is communication with others on his hopes, his fears, his problems. Inside the walls of a prison this basic need of Man does not vanish and indeed we know it is greater than ever. A means of regular communication should be established between inmates and those who run the institution. We cannot turn the management of a prison over to the inmates, but society, as represented by the "keepers," can listen to what the inmates have to say.

To the extent it is feasible and consistent with orderly administration, therefore, the inmates need to have a chance to regulate some limited part of their lives, however small, by the processes of deliberation and choice. If we tie a person in a chair for a long time, we can hardly be surprised if he can't walk when we let him loose. Within limiting regulations necessary for basic order, inmates should be allowed to think and walk and talk as we will demand that they do when they are released. What can be wrong with allowing prisoners to practice, on a small scale, the very things we will insist they do when they are again free?

SPEED IN ADMINISTRATION—JUSTICE

Finally, a few words need be said about the functioning of the courts in relation to the correctional system. Time does not permit discussion of standards for sentencing and related matters that you are dealing with in "work shops" and seminars, but I am confident we would all agree the judicial system has a responsibility to see to it that every criminal charge is tried as promptly

as possible and that the appeal is swiftly heard and decided. In some places the time lag between arrest and trial is hardly less than a public disgrace. Some of this is due to the maneuvering of lawyers who misconceive their function and seek to postpone the trial date as long as possible; some is due to overworked defender legal aid staffs, overworked prosecution staffs, and overloaded courts—and some to poor management of the courts.

Whatever the cause, the impact of the delay in disposing of criminal cases covers a range of consequences:

(a) For any person, guilty or innocent, a long pretrial confinement is a corrosive experience; it is an enforced idleness in an environment often worse than the poorest correctional institution.

(b) Prolonged confinement after sentence and before commitment to a conventional corrections institution is likely to erode whatever may be the prospects of making a useful and law-abiding citizen out of the convicted person.

(c) We have all seen examples of defendants who have exploited procedural devices to postpone the final verdict of guilt for years with the result that their warfare with society has embedded and intensified their hostilities and rendered prospects for future improvement virtually zero.

(d) Delay in final disposition also exposes the public to added dangers when the accused is in fact an incorrigible criminal whose release on bail is exploited to commit new crimes. Sometimes this rests on a belief, widely shared by sophisticated criminals, that when finally brought to justice he will receive concurrent sentences for multiple crimes. The measure of these risks can be found in the increasing percentage of recidivists on the criminal dockets of every court in the country.

We in the legal profession and the judiciary have an obligation to put our own house in order, and to this end the Judicial Conference of the United States in October approved programs to expedite trials and appeals in federal courts and to establish means of identifying the cases in which there is a likelihood that delays will occur. Other programs have been instituted and yet others are to come, all directed to insure the speedy justice to which every accused is entitled and which the society has a right to demand for the protection of all its members.

The statistics of the federal courts are only a small fraction of the total picture and they show nearly 42,000 new criminal cases annually, an increase of 45% in 10 years.

PRISON VISITATION

Two and one-half years ago, in discussing corrections problems at the ABA meeting in Dallas, Texas, I urged that lawyers and judges—and indeed citizens generally—visit prisons and form their own judgments. The Young Lawyers' Section of the ABA took on the burden of promoting a Prison Visitation Program. I am not currently informed on all the details but I do know that in some states a very large number of such visits have been organized and that more and more judges and lawyers are finding out about prisons. Few things would help more than having the public fully informed on the problems of prisons and the burdens of those who administer them. Most administrators know a great deal of what ought to be done and none of my cursory observations at this Conference present anything new to you. What is desperately needed is that you have the resources and the authority that only public support and legislative action can provide. The people of this country can bring that about if they will see firsthand how their institutions are being run and what support they receive. We know that not all offenders can be salvaged, as we know that not all lives can be saved from disease, but like the physician, we must try.

It is most fortunate that one of the great organizations in the country saw, two years ago, that a national effort was called for to improve our correctional processes. The ABA created not one of the usual committees of lawyers, but a Commission that includes leaders of Labor, Industry, Judges, lawyers, penologists, and other specialists, including some of the most distinguished correctional administrators in the country, and a professional staff to carry on their work. All of the members of that Commission are invited members of this Conference and I know that Governor Richard J. Hughes, its Chairman, will cooperate in every way with you.

What I have been trying to express is my deep conviction that when society places a person behind walls we assume a collective moral responsibility to try to change and help that person. The law will define legal duties but I confess I have more faith in what a moral commitment of the American people can accomplish than I have in what can be done by the compulsion of judicial decrees.

The great tradition of America comes to us from the people who came here and by work, faith and moral fortitude turned a wilderness into a nation. Most of them were the poor and the oppressed of Europe. All of them wanted something better than the life they had abandoned.

Part of the American tradition has been to give of our bountiful treasure to others to restore them from the ravages of wars and natural disasters. We have not always shared our resources wisely but we have shared them generously.

Now we must try to give leadership and guidance to see that this generous spirit and this American tradition are applied to one of the large unsolved problems of Mankind and surely one of the unsolved problems of our society.

You accept this as your obligation by being here and I accept it as part of mine. Together we must let the people and the lawmakers know what needs to be done.

PRISON UNREST SPURS GOOD PROPOSALS

In the wake of Attica and the Thanksgiving Day upheaval at Rahway State Prison come two encouraging developments of significance in New Jersey and the nation.

State penal officials have revealed that a special furlough system for trusted convicts is a success, and Rep. Florence P. Dwyer, R-12th District, has proposed an inspection corps for federal, state, county and local prisons.

The state program, despite criticism from Rahway prisoners, is a move toward rehabilitation, and Mrs. Dwyer's proposal is a giant step toward improving conditions in non-federal prisons—conditions she described as "atrocious beyond description."

Effective rehabilitation programs are sadly lacking in prisons today, but the N.J. furlough system is a forward-looking program that enables trusted prisoners to prepare for a career after their release, rather than sending them off with a few dollars and a new suit to fend for themselves.

Thousands of prisoners, state officials report, have been able to participate in job interviews, and scores have taken jobs under a work-release program while still imprisoned. The statistics are impressive. In October alone, 80 employers hired 167 convicts. And AWOLs have been infrequent.

The state Corrections Division wants to expand the program to provide more vocational guidance and job opportunities and overnight shelters. The Legislature should approve the necessary funds.

Mrs. Dwyer's proposal would permit independent inspectors to make unauthorized visits to any prison in the country and make public their findings and recommendations.

Noting that there is no "systematic and effective" way to inspect prisons, Mrs. Dwyer

went on to say that "we don't even know what's going on in institutions which are vital to our personal security."

If an inspection corps had existed just a few months ago, the demands of the Attica and Rahway prisoners might have come to light long before tensions in each prison reached the boiling point.

It is possible to speculate that with an inspection corps there would have been no Attica or Rahway and that the 43 persons who died in the Attica bloodbath would be alive today.

THE PLIGHT OF JEWS IN SYRIA

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 8, 1971

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, while increasing attention is being given to the repressive policies of the Soviet Union toward its Jewish citizens, and rightfully so; we must not forget that thousands of Jews in other countries are daily suffering a similar plight. This is particularly true of those Jews living in certain Arab countries of the Middle East.

The world was shocked into painful awareness of this tragic situation in January of 1969 with the public hangings in Iraq of nine Jews—along with five others—for the charge of spying for Israel. When such shocking incidents do not occupy the headlines, however, we too soon forget the restrictions under which so many Jews are forced to live day in and day out.

The ill treatment of Jews in the Arab world unfortunately continues and I would like to call the situation in Syria to the attention of my colleagues at this time.

While over 20,000 Jews are estimated to have left Syria since Israel's formation in 1948, the latest Syrian census places the Damascus Jewish community at 4,000, with fewer numbers living in two other towns. These citizens are required to carry special identity cards noting their religion and other personal data. They have been subjected to curfews at various times and cannot travel from one district to another outside the city limits without special travel permits. Their opportunities for employment have been restricted, with Jews being prohibited from holding jobs in civil service or nationalized sectors of the economy.

The above is not meant to be an all-inclusive list, but merely an indication of the type of discrimination affecting Syrian Jews.

Perhaps the most tragic repression lies in the inability of these Jewish citizens to escape from this situation by emigrating. The Syrian government has refused to permit such emigration, and this has resulted in the arrests of those who have tried to leave the country without a passport. Several Jewish men and women thus caught seeking to make their way out of the country received lengthy prison sentences.

In January 1970, more than 100 delegates from 26 countries met at a conference in Paris and made a formal appeal to world opinion to save those Jews remaining in Iraq, Syria and the United

Arab Republic. Refugee witnesses at this conference gave testimony of the humiliation and suffering in their communities. Cablegrams appealing for the right of emigration were addressed to the three Arab countries and to Secretary General Thant of the United Nations. Delegates also made plans to press their own governments to make diplomatic representations as well.

Mr. Speaker, since I am aware of no evidence suggesting that the situation in Syria has changed, efforts such as the above must continue. Toward this end I have written to the Secretary of State to express my concern and to urge that he bring the plight of these Jewish people to the attention of the world community in the United Nations and elsewhere. I would strongly urge that my colleagues in the House make similar expressions of concern, in the hope that an aroused world opinion might bring pressure to bear on such governments as the Syrian government toward an end to these repressive policies.

A REPORTER'S LOOK AT WASHINGTON

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, in the rush toward adjournment we in the Congress many times have neither the time nor the inclination to pause for a moment of introspection.

We do not have the time nor the inclination to ask what we are trying to accomplish.

We sometimes fail to reflect on the heritage and the meaning of the procedures and the customs we are following in the lawmaking process.

Several weeks ago a reporter for one of the newspapers in my district visited Washington for the first time. Her reflections on the visit are meaningful and worth taking the time to read.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that Jane Putnam of the Contra Costa Sun has offered us food for thought. I would urge my colleagues to read her series of articles and take the time to think about what is going on here—and why.

The articles follow:

PART I—SUN REPORTER DISCOVERS CAPITOL: "Does It Work?"

(By Jane Putnam)

"Somehow It Works."

The title of newscasters Huntley and Brinkley's book about the chaotic 1964 presidential primary in San Francisco refers to Democracy.

How does it work?

In Orinda, Moaga and Lafayette, many people were asking this question.

The Republican attitude seemed to be that there was no problem so long as they were the party in power.

The Democrats—as usual—were scrapping amongst themselves. The decisions on redistricting were being made in the smoke-filled rooms in Sacramento by the Assembly Committee on Reapportionment. Decisions on boundary lines which will determine Contra Costa's political future for the next decade were being drawn arbitrarily behind

closed doors by a committee headed by a Los Angeles assemblyman and one from San Francisco.

Both parties seemed to be saying, "We'll teach the people Democracy if we have to shoot every last one of them."

There was the periodic purge going on in Orinda. The infant city of Lafayette had its share of governmental screamer-meemies, as did the "boom town" of Moraga.

Commenting on dissension, Dr. J. S. Holliday, the executive director of the California Historical Society, said recently in a talk before members of the Or-La-Mo historical societies: "The tradition of dissent is our proudest heritage . . . That is how we got here." (Dissenting from Ye Merry Olde Mother Country).

He also told about the influence of the Gold Rush on today's society. One illustration of "the presence of the past" given by Dr. Holliday was that the first legal decision in which the public good took precedence over private rights was in 1893 concerning water rights.

This example reminded me of Benjamin Franklin's concluding remarks in a talk May 9, 1731 (no, I was not there): ". . . Fewer still in public affairs act with a view to the good of mankind."

Suddenly, I wanted to go to the land of Jefferson, Franklin and Washington.

In an era when flag waving is suspect, and singing "God Bless America" smacks more of Right Wingism than patriotism, writing a series of articles on the nation's capitol might be out-of-date.

Besides, "What is the local angle?" asked Sun's Managing Editor Tim McAllister, when I asked if my beat could include the country seat. "Thomas Jefferson said that if he had to choose a government without newspapers or a newspaper without government, he would not hesitate to choose the latter," I said, reaching for a rationale.

McAllister was silent. He still had that "no local angle" look in his eye.

If only Pat or Dick were from Or-La-Mo! Oh, well, I needed a vacation anyway. It was time to gain some perspective: How far was Washington from Martinez and Sacramento? Was Contra Costa's congressman minding the store? Can a boy from Antioch?

Having something of an innate martyr complex, this simple Moraga mother-reporter decided to make the sacrifice for her Or-La-Mo country and boarded a month-old DC-10 (complete with champagne and Trader Vic's broiled beef tenderloin Malagasy) in San Francisco.

Five hours later, I arrived at Dulles to see what I could of D.C.

PART II—DISCOVERING D.C.: THIS IS THE PLACE THAT GEORGE BUILT (By Jane Putnam)

Like a good house, Washington, D.C. was built from a good plan.

Back in 1800, George Washington and Pierre L'Enfant laid out the city like a wheel. The Capitol was the hub with the spokes being the streets, which are named after the States.

There are those who say that the plan is no longer functional. There is no way to build a mass transit system or "high rise" or multiples within the radius of the "wheel."

George Washington made sure about that. Not only did Washington and his colleagues come up with a workable plan for government—his master plan for the city (the heart of that government), also is working in our moon-oriented society.

D.C. is physically beautiful. Like a woman, its beauty is reflected from what is inside.

The topography and the natural resources of Capitol Hill are nil when we compare them to Contra Costa. The Capital city has been enhanced through good planning with restrictions and conditions, aided and abetted by a contagious national pride, symbolized by the dominant Washington Monument.

The city makes me painfully aware that while D.C. has done so much with so little, Contra Costa has done so little with so much.

There is open space and green belt all around the nation's capital. There are hardly any overhead wires. Signs are conspicuous by their absence. The height of the buildings are limited by the height of the Capitol—no building can be made more than 13 stories.

"This is where the action is," said a Washingtonian whom I met briefly during a taxi cab ride. (The New York cabbies are often written about, but those in D.C. are a breed apart. They are very fussy about whom they pick up and sometimes you are rejected because you're not going to the right zone or something).

The benefactor who allowed me to share his cab pointed out that Washington houses more art (dollarwise) than any place in the world, it is the home of 12 Federal departments, 53 agencies, 209 labor unions, 3500 associations, 116 legations, eight international banks . . .

He went on and on and I'll admit that the statistics of this man with the engineering mentality did not impress me.

The 134-room White House with its sweeping, green lawns and adjoining nursery; the 540-room Capitol with its two-mile green, tree-lined mall; the National Archives Building with the biggest bronze doors in the world; the Ford Theater where Lincoln was assassinated and the Peterson house across the street (where Lincoln died) and which the government bought for \$30,000 about a decade ago; the monuments built to honor Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson and our other national heroes; the Smithsonian Institute where our past is excitingly preserved; the new Kennedy Center for the performing arts where our culture is synergized; the Arlington Cemetery where our dead soldiers, and their families' gravesites are marked with simple dignity—all of these reminders that "what is past is prologue"—is what I find exciting.

And as I type this, back in our Congressman Jerome Waldie's office, I feel as hamstrung as he sometimes does in trying to preserve and enhance the remnants of Contra Costa County.

What is happening to our landmarks? (Mr. Waldie has a letter from the chairman of the Corduroy Hills group which is trustee for Eugene O'Neill's "Tao House" in Alamo. It states that unless legislation is passed by Oct. 13 for the government to purchase the site, (a preposterous deadline), a developer will make a deal on the 1013.64-acre site to surround the home with 1800 cluster homes).

The county board of supervisors has been dragging its feet on processing the simple request of the Orinda Historical Society to put the oldest building in the county, the Moraga Adobe, on the National Register.

What is happening to our natural resources? Our ridges? Our water? Maybe the question we should really be asking is why put private interests before the public good?

A country's, a county's, a city's heritage is a priceless thing which cannot be measured with an economic yardstick. Why haven't we cared enough to preserve and enhance and plan for the very best? Where do we put our priorities?

With the passage of the county park dedication ordinance and the consideration of a county landmarks ordinance, maybe we are just beginning to awaken to what the father of our country knew nearly 300 years ago.

PART III—DISCOVERING D.C.: THE SYSTEMS APPROACH TO AMERICAN FREEDOM

By Jane Putnam

America's Democratic system IS working 195 years after its birth.

What makes it happen? The answer depends upon whom you ask.

For a reporter from Or-La-Mo, it might be: "Finding your way through the subway

from the Capitol to the House and Senate."

Legislative assistants (most of whom are former newspapermen) agree to a pragmatic approach that the secret is "counting the votes."

The political maneuver of when to call the vote in the sub-committees or the Congress (when the guys on the other side are out of town) is part of the trick; and of course, to have the "good guys" turn out to vote for the measure which the boss (a Senator or Congressman) supports.

The secretaries to the Congressmen and Senators differ in viewpoints according to their years in government. The young secretaries seem inclined toward hero worship and maybe finding a husband in the glamorous Washington-go-round.

A secretary who has been around awhile is more apt to be idealistic. "The higher the government official goes the higher the calibre of man," said one.

The press corps which zeroes in on the legislators daily and uses the mass media to reduce the distance of the Capitol to the living room has made the legislators "more answerable" to the people, a TV cameraman said.

"You have to learn to be a politician before you can be a statesman," said a member of one of the State departments.

"I'll never be complacent again," said the wife of a diplomat.

On the Senate floor, the terms "revered colleague" and "the distinguished Senator from —" were used by the Senators (all 50 of them) and no matter how heated the debate, the chambers have almost a religious atmosphere.

It was surprising to me how many of the arguments by the Senators and Congressmen (I didn't meet all 435 of them) still center around the freedom of speech, the freedom of religion, the freedom of the press and other rights contained in that Bill of a pretechnological age.

And out of the window of the Senate press gallery, there is that old Washington monument, somehow as modern and mysterious as the tablet in the science-fiction film "2001"—dominating this capital of the greatest nation in the history of man.

The key to getting Democracy to work is for the legislative branch to act as a check and balance to the power of the president; and to work for reforms in the system, according to the legislators to whom I spoke.

California's Democratic senators and Contra Costa's congressman are making their presence felt in the White House and the world.

A deputy press secretary to the President answered our question by saying, "It isn't simple." He was going to look up the answer in a speech which President Nixon had given and call me back. (He never did).

Not knowing anyone who could speak for the judicial branch, its functions in the system is told in the few words on the United States Supreme Court building: "Equal justice under the law."

The men who make the laws may be less than perfect; but let's hear it for those guys back in 1776 who had a great idea for the systems approach to freedom.

In the last analysis, maybe it IS counting the votes. However, not in the way that my somewhat cynical cronies believe; but in that little draped room that has the rubber stamp with the x.

PART IV—DISCOVERING D.C.: SUN'S REPORTER BIDS FAREWELL TO TROOPS

(By Jane Putman)

And so with the rain falling gently on the Washington Monument and the paddy wagon eerily "beeping" down Pennsylvania Avenue, the nation's newest political analyst bids adieu to Dick and D.C.

Because my business is words, the thing that I will take with me is a noggin-ful of words. If the gentlemen who said them will

forgive my taking them out of context and repeating them without any particular order, these are the words I'll keep:

CONGRESSMAN WALDIE'S OFFICE

"If a man does not keep his peace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away."

—THOREAU.

SENATE FLOOR

"If you've got a bad deal, hug it harder."

—LINCOLN.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE

"... Of all the foundations . . . none can be named more deserving . . . Whoever increases knowledge multiplies the uses to which he is able to put the gift of his creator."

—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1767-1848.

"James Smithson was well aware that knowledge should not be viewed as existing in isolated parts but as a whole, each portion of which throws light on all the other—and that tendency of all is to improve the human mind to give it new sources of power and enjoyment—Narrow minds think nothing of importance but their own favorite pursuit. But liberal views exclude no branch of science or literature. For they all contribute to sweeten, to adorn and to embellish life..."

—JOSEPH HENRY, 1797-1878.

"Every man is a valuable member of society who by his observations, researches and experiments procures knowledge for men . . . It is in his knowledge that man has found his greatness and his happiness, the high superiority which he holds over other animals who inhabit the earth with him. And consequently no ignorance is without loss to him, no error without evil—The particle and the planet are subject to the same laws. And what is learned of one will be known to the other . . . I bequeath the whole of my property to the United States of America to found at Washington under the name of the Smithsonian Institute, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

—JAMES SMITHSON, founder Smithsonian Inst., 1765-1829.

JEFFERSON ROTUNDA

"I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

"... God who gave us life gave us liberty . . . His justice cannot sleep forever . . ."

"... We hold these truths to be self-evident . . . Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

LINCOLN MONUMENT

"In this temple as in the hearts of the people for whom he saved the union, the memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined forever."

"... that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom . . . and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

"... with malice toward none, with charity for all . . . with the firmness in the right as God give us to see the right . . ."

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

KENNEDY MEMORIAL

"... the torch has been passed to a new generation . . . A call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle . . . a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself."

"... The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it and the glow from that fire can truly light the world."

"... and so my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you, ask what

you can do for your country . . . My fellow-citizens of the world, ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man."

"... with a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds—let us go forth to lead the land we love asking the blessing and His help. But knowing that here on earth, God's work must truly be our own."

—JOHN F. KENNEDY.

There were lots of other words—eloquent words spoken about the war and peace and poverty and the economy. They may be in tomorrow's headlines. But I don't think any of them will go much beyond that.

Let us remember that what is past, is prologue; and the words that are engraved in this city and my mind and heart, enable me to say, "So long, D.C., all states are in good hands."

THE "ANDREA DORIA"—"STOCKHOLM" DISASTER: ACCIDENT'S DO NOT HAPPEN

HON. ROBERT H. STEELE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, I include an article from the August 1971 issue of the U.S. Naval Institute's "Proceedings" written by John C. Carrothers of Deep River, Conn., which I thought would be of interest to my colleagues. Mr. Carrothers, now retired, was a surveyor in the construction and repair division of the Matson Navigation Co., San Francisco, during World War II. He sailed as a chief engineer with the Matson Co., and as an inspection engineer with the Vitro Corp. of America. He was chief engineer, Overlook Hospital, Summit, N.J., before returning to sea as an assistant engineer on Moore-McCormack Line's SS *Brasil*.

The article follows:

THE "ANDREA DORIA"—"STOCKHOLM" DISASTER: ACCIDENTS DO NOT HAPPEN

(By John C. Carrothers)

July 1971 marked the fifteenth anniversary of the *Andrea Doria-Stockholm* collision in which 51 persons perished. Six months after the disaster, the official inquiry was terminated when, apparently convinced by the welter of contradictions and name-calling that guilt or innocence could not clearly be ascertained, both steamship companies agreed to assume equal responsibility for the disaster. With the permission of the Federal Court, all third-party claims were settled under the terms of "limitation of liability" whereby a potential total of \$85 million in claims was settled for \$6 million.

On the first anniversary of the disaster, George Horne, marine editor of *The New York Times*, wrote: "In the morass of legal actions that followed the *Stockholm-Doria* crash, no impartial body ever rules on the accident in an official determination as to which, if either, of the ships was at fault and why. The suits for death and injury damages, and losses to personal effects and cargo were neatly packaged in a settlement procedure approved by the Federal District Court, in such a way that a final legal determination of liability and negligence, such as would almost naturally follow an airline, railroad, bus or automobile accident has not yet been established." This quote of Horne's is as applicable today as it was when it was written.

In his editorial, Horne twice refers to the "accident" a word which has inherent connotations of the *unforeseeable* and *unavoid-*

able. But, before a catastrophe of this magnitude can be so labeled, at least three questions ought to be asked: What happened? How did it happen? Why did it happen?

On that fateful night of 25 July 1956, the westbound Italian luxury liner *Andrea Doria* was rammed by the eastbound Swedish motorship *Stockholm* at 11:11 p.m. The collision occurred 180 miles east of Ambrose Lightship, the main entrance to New York Harbor. The *Stockholm's* bow penetrated deep into the *Andrea Doria's* hull at a point directly under her bridge on the starboard side in what was approximately a right-angle collision. The duty officers on the *Andrea Doria's* bridge said the night was foggy with visibility reduced to less than one mile. The *Stockholm's* bridge watch claimed the night was clear with scattered patches of insignificant fog. Until about one minute before the collision, when her engine order telegraphs were suddenly flashed to "Full Speed Astern," the *Stockholm* was running at 18.5 knots with her telegraphs set on "Full Speed Ahead." The *Andrea Doria* was running at a speed reduced from 23 to 21.85 knots, with her engines operating under "Stand By" orders. This she had been doing for several hours prior to the collision because of restricted visibility. The *Andrea Doria* sank some ten hours after the accident while the *Stockholm* limped back to New York with about 75 feet of her bow demolished.

At the official inquiry the testimony of the two prime witnesses was in total conflict even to the point as to where each claimed to have first observed the other appearing out of the fog. Ernest Carstens-Johannsen, the *Stockholm's* Third Officer, who was in charge of her bridge at the time of the collision, testified that he saw the *Andrea Doria* appear from out of the fog over the *Stockholm's* port bow. At the same time, Captain Piero Calamai, of the *Andrea Doria*, claimed that when the *Stockholm* appeared from out of the fog he saw her over the *Andrea Doria's* starboard bow. These were visual sightings; thus, any possibility of malfunction of the radar equipment must be ruled out.

Common sense dictates that when two ships are approaching each other on reciprocal courses, the passing must be either starboard-to-starboard or port-to-port. The testimony of the two men in charge of their respective bridges at the time of the collision contradicts this reasoning. The only possible conclusion is that one witness is correct and one witness is incorrect. There is no room for compromise. Fortunately, there exist two vital documents upon which is inscribed the full story of how the ships arrived at the collision. These documents are the Sperry Gyrocompass Course Recorder graphs which had been officially presented by both defendants and recorded by the Court as evidence.

In reconstructing collision cases, strandings, or any maritime casualty where navigation is involved, all that the U.S. Coast Guard, or Navy, requires are the Course Recorder graphs and the testified speed of the ships involved. Through the interpretation of these known factors, the events leading up to a casualty can be accurately determined. The absolute integrity of this Sperry instrument has never been questioned, let alone challenged.

Had this inquiry been conducted under the jurisdiction of the Coast Guard, or Navy, the first order of business undoubtedly would have been to produce a plot or diagram illustrating that which was scribbled on the graphs. As each witness testified, his testimony then would have been compared with the graph's evidence. In this manner the correct answers would have been apparent. But this was not done, since neither the U.S. Coast Guard nor the Navy investigated the collision which involved two foreign ships in international waters and was therefore not under their jurisdiction.

Long before the Course Recorder graphs became available for study, this writer did a comprehensive study of the testimony of the official inquiry. The study eventually became the subject of an article, "There Must Have Been a Third Ship!" which was published in the July 1958 issue of the *Proceedings*. The outcome of this probe was given in a single paragraph that stated, "In analyzing the testimony it is plain to see that, barring perjury, there is only one possible conclusion—The original lights sighted by the *Stockholm* were not those of the *Andrea Doria*!" If the *Stockholm's* navigational watch was correct in seeing lights over the *Stockholm's* port bow three minutes before the collision, then these lights were being displayed from a ship other than the *Andrea Doria*. And, in turning away from these lights, the *Stockholm* plunged directly into the *Andrea Doria* coming up on the *Stockholm's* starboard side. The Course Recorder graphs confirm this theory.

There are certain irrefutable facts that should convince anyone about the validity of the third ship theory. The *Stockholm's* Third Officer said that three minutes before the collision the *Andrea Doria* appeared out of the fog. A positive radar fix at that time placed her at a distance of 1.85 miles, bearing 20 degrees over the *Stockholm's* port bow. The *Andrea Doria*, he continued, was showing her red sidelight with masthead and range lights open. At this juncture he ordered a two-point (22½-degree) turn to starboard away from *Andrea Doria*. Then, three minutes later, his ship plunged halfway through *Andrea Doria's* hull, at a point directly underneath her green sidelight.

Under no circumstance could the *Andrea Doria* have been anywhere on the port side of the *Stockholm* three minutes before the collision. Furthermore, it would have been utterly impossible for anyone on the *Stockholm's* bridge to have seen the *Andrea Doria's* red sidelight before the collision.

Both ships have categorically denied that there was any other ship in the immediate vicinity and, stated that during the entire collision approach there never was more than one target appearing on their radar screens. Moscow, in his book, *Collision Course*, tells us that the lookout in the *Stockholm's* crow's nest testified that, after he had completed his telephone conversation with the *Stockholm's* Third Officer one minute before the collision, he watched the *Andrea Doria* execute the long port turn into the collision. Both Walter Lord, author of *A Night to Remember*, in his review of Alvin Moscow's documentary, published in *The New York Times*, and Captain Raoul de Beudean, commanding officer of the *SS Ile de France* which played such a heroic role in the rescue operations, have totally discounted any possibility of a third ship being involved in this tragedy; in fact, both ridiculed the idea.

Yet, if there was no third ship, and if the *Stockholm* was not turning away from lights showing on her port bow three minutes before the collision, why did the Third Officer order and execute the bold 22½-degree starboard turn that ended in disaster?

A comparison of Carstens-Johannsen's testimony with the established facts of the case, implies an error in his use of radar as an aid to navigation. The circumstantial evidence clearly indicates that the *Stockholm's* radar equipment was operating on the five-mile range while the Third Officer calculated his interpretations as though the equipment was operating on the 15-mile range. This error in radar range could well have been what triggered off the fatal sequence of events.

The *Stockholm's* Course Recorder graph shows a three-degree change in course to starboard which started at 11:06 p.m. Therefore, the order for this change in course was issued at 11:05 p.m., plus or minus a few seconds, which was six minutes before

the collision. The Third Officer said that just as he ordered the slight change in course to starboard, which was to compensate for drift which he found as a result of the 11:00 p.m. radio direction bearing that he had recorded in his log book, he picked up the radar pip of the *Andrea Doria* at a distance of 12 miles.

This was obviously a gross error, because six minutes before the collision the *Andrea Doria* was only four, and not 12, miles away from the *Stockholm*.

Moreover, at 10:53 p.m., when the ships actually were 12 miles apart, there is no change in course indicated on the *Stockholm's* Course Recorder graph. The *Stockholm* on a steady course of 92 degrees with considerable yawing from 10:40 p.m. until 11:06 p.m. made the slight change in course of three degrees to starboard.

All this would seem to indicate that the *Stockholm's* radar equipment was operating on the five-mile range, while the Third Officer considered it to be operating on the 15-mile range. A target four miles distant on the five-mile range setting would appear on the identical spot on the radar's screen as one on the same bearing would have if she were 12 miles away on the 15-mile setting. The Third Officer also said that the target was slightly to the left of the *Stockholm's* heading flasher. The radar target was actually slightly to the right of the heading flasher. With this constant yawing, it is plain to see how the target would jump from one side to the other of the ship's projected course line or heading flasher.

Carstens-Johannsen also testified that the target was coming toward the *Stockholm* at great speed. This, he said, led him to believe that the target might be some sort of naval vessel on maneuvers. Then, three minutes before the collision, when the radar target had actually closed from a distance of four to two miles (while through his misinterpretation he thought the target had closed from 12 to six miles—thus indicating great speed), Carstens-Johannsen committed what appears to be the fatal error. It was at this moment that he ordered the 22½-degree change in course to the right which brought the *Stockholm* into the collision situation with the *Andrea Doria*.

Had the *Andrea Doria* actually been at a distance of six miles, instead of the two miles that she was, three minutes before the collision, the *Stockholm's* Third Officer's action in ordering this 22½-degree turn to starboard would have been absolutely correct according to the rules for using radar as an aid to navigation. Here the rule is: When a radar target appears dead (or nearly dead) ahead, make an early and substantial change in course, preferably to the right, in ample time for your action to show clearly on the other ship's radar screen. With the elimination of any other ship being present in the immediate area, this is the only other logical reason for Carstens-Johannsen to order such a bold change in course.

After the *Stockholm* had leveled off from the 22½-degree right turn, which was about one minute before the collision, the Third Officer said that he momentarily removed his eyes from the *Andrea Doria* to answer the telephone. At the conclusion of this telephone conversation, which had been from the lookout in the crow's nest reporting the lights, he found that the ships had totally changed relative positions. Now, he said, the *Andrea Doria* was in a collision situation attempting to race across the *Stockholm's* bow. From this point on, right up to the collision, the testimony, as given by both ships and the documentary evidence scribed on their graphs, dovetails in every respect. Thus, the testimony and graphs have established that the first time that Carstens-Johannsen could possibly have seen the *Andrea Doria* was about one minute before the collision after he had completed the 22½-degree right turn. It also establishes that the ordering of this 22½-degree right turn three minutes before

the collision was the final cause of the disaster.

At the official inquiry, Carstens-Johannsen testified that he had changed the range on his radar equipment from the five-mile to the 15-mile to the 50-mile ranges from time to time during the course of his watch. When one considers that the range in radar equipment is changed with the turn of a dial, as one would change channels on a television set, it is understandable how easy it would be, in the pitch black of a darkened wheelhouse, to commit such an error. This is not an infrequent kind of error; however, in the majority of cases, it is detected before any damage is done. Nevertheless, it could account for the all-too-many collisions in which ships find themselves approaching each other in the fog on starboard-to-starboard reciprocal courses which terminate in right-angle type collisions.

For those whose prime interest in accident cases is safety and education, there is no satisfaction in pointing the finger of guilt. Yet, facts are facts, and they have an eloquence of their own. Accidents don't just happen; they are caused. By examining the causes, valuable lessons can always be learned, by and for the men who are and will be in charge of the watch on the bridges of ships.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE HOSPITALS

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my concern and support for the continuation of the Public Health Service hospitals that have served this Nation since its inception.

Many months ago the administration let it be known that it intended to unload the last of the eight remaining Public Health Service hospitals—that is was going to put an end to a system of medical service which has endured in this country since the first Congress established the marine hospitals.

This disclosure brought an overwhelming response from the communities affected and from the Congress. More than 250 Members of Congress joined in a resolution expressing their desire to see that the hospitals remain open and funded. After holding extensive hearings on this matter, and after seeking the opinion of the Comptroller General, which was that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare had no power to close the remaining eight hospitals, Congress was assured that the facilities were not in jeopardy and that vital and much needed health care services would not be terminated.

Now we learn that without informing the Congress, HEW fully intends to move ahead with the conversion of two of these hospitals. Earlier suspicions that the administration would pick these hospitals off piecemeal, closing say, Boston and San Francisco this year, and Baltimore next year, have been confirmed by this latest development.

How the administration can clandestinely plan the shutting down of these hospitals while at the same time mouthing a commitment to an improved system of medical service for all Americans is beyond belief.

This latest episode in the continuing

battle over the existence of the Public Health Service hospitals serves to illustrate one important fact: That Congress must insist on complete openness in the conduct of matters relating to this issue, and that interested Members can never relent in their commitment to millions of Americans who use these facilities to keep them open.

We all know that America faces a health crisis. There is no justification for closing desperately needed hospitals at a time when the Nation must squarely meet such a crisis.

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE FOR NEW VOTERS

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, last weekend Chicago was the site of a political convention, this one considerably less raucous than that held in August 1968. This time the delegates were all youthful, and some were those who had been locked out of the Democratic Convention Hall in 1968. They had gathered in Chicago this year to participate in the Emergency Conference for New Voters, hosted by Loyola University.

Attending this convention were some 3,000 young students, workers, blacks, browns, and women who are determined never again to be locked out of a political convention. In light of the recent reforms of the McGovern-O'Hara Commissions and the extension of the vote to 18-year-olds, I do not think, at least as far as the Democratic Party is concerned, that young people and minorities will ever again be denied full opportunity to participate in a political convention.

Mr. Speaker, the Emergency Conference of New Voters was successful beyond all expectations. The 3,000 delegates have returned to their communities armed with the knowledge of how to organize on the precinct level and demand recognition of their right to participate in the Presidential nomination process. I am heartened by this early sign that youth, blacks, browns, and women are determined to work together within the system and help turn this country around. And, I submit for my colleagues' edification the idealistic and forward-looking statement which the emergency conference delegates adopted before adjourning:

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

On behalf of the Steering Committee and all of those that helped organize and plan for this Emergency Conference for New Voters, we present this statement of purpose for the National Youth Caucus.

Hundreds of us have come here this weekend from every part of the country. Among us are people who have helped organize the voter registration rallies and caucuses that have taken place in 24 different states across the country in the last seven months. We move now into a new phase of the effort to organize and mobilize the youth vote.

Our preferences may differ on candidates, on parties, on the particulars of national issues. But we are of one mind on the overriding purpose of this conference—to claim a share of the power in the American political system.

Power not for ourselves, but for what we believe in:

An end, immediately and completely, to the war in Indochina and the nightmares of an interventionist foreign policy;

A massive reordering of national priorities to attack full-scale the problems of hunger, poverty, education, and urban and environmental decay;

An adequate income and job for every American;

An opening up of the political parties to America's heretofore disenfranchised classes, young people, poor people, black people, brown people, women of all ages and races;

An end to government by deceit and manipulation, and,

Therefore, an end to the Administration of Richard Nixon.

To make real our claims for a share of the power, we must organize—organize with such energy and skill that no politician in either Party who hopes for the votes of young people can ignore us.

It will mean taking back with us to our respective states techniques so we may get young people selected as delegates to the conventions (young people like ourselves—students and working youth of all ages and races). Young people who are committed to the issues and to their constituency, not young people who will vote as a Mayor Daley or a Lyndon Johnson tells them to vote.

It is an awesome task, and the cards are stacked against us. The kingmakers of both parties have been playing this game for years. We haven't, and we haven't much time to learn the rules and apply them before delegates start being selected in key states.

Which is why this weekend may be one of the most critical in the 1972 elections. This is the first and last gathering of young political organizers before the conventions next summer! If the youth vote is to be organized into any serious and coherent national movement, that movement must be begun here in Chicago tonight. And we must organize locally and on a statewide basis to provide for the selection and election of youth candidates.

Tonight we officially begin that effort by announcing the formation of the National Youth Caucus. If we are to have some say in who the parties nominate for President, in what their platforms embody, in whether they meet their own announced reform goals—then we must leave Chicago united behind the National Youth Caucus, and each of us must strengthen and activate in our local areas.

We have come here—all of us—fed up with the course of this country and with the success of political bosses in excluding us from any power to change it. We have come here united against the perversion of a process. We leave here with the skills, the knowledge, the energy, the determination, the sophistication and the unity of purpose that will enable us to elect people like ourselves across the country as delegates to the conventions, as mayors and legislators from our local areas, and in doing that, reclaim that process. We must leave this conference as a coalition of young people, brown people, black people, American Indians, women and all disenfranchised classes of America.

We have come here as individuals, or in groups of many different sizes and origins. We leave as a movement.

REBUTTAL FROM ADVANCE SCHOOLS, INC.

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, on November 17, 1971, I included a letter from

Mr. Milton D. Swan of Oakland, Calif., in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This letter was very critical of Advance Schools, Inc., of Chicago, Ill., for their practices in dealing with students of their correspondence courses.

After considerable study of information provided me by Advance Schools, Inc., I feel it only proper, Mr. Speaker, to include their rebuttal to Mr. Swan's letter in the RECORD. I have been given every assurance, by the Office of Education, that Advance Schools, Inc., is accredited by the National Home Study Council. In addition, the Office of Education advises me that, at the present time, they have no file of complaints concerning the practices of this company.

But Mr. Speaker, before I include their rebuttal on these pages, I want to note some further information concerning home study schools in this country.

I am advised that three problem areas now exist with many home study institutions. Refund policies are high on the list. Some schools apply refunds to the time a student is under contract, while not giving any consideration to the educational services rendered. In this department, Advance Schools, Inc., shows good marks—they offer a prorated refund plan voluntarily, while the FTC has met constant roadblocks in getting other institutions to submit to similar regulations.

Salesmen provide another major problem, since they work primarily on a commission basis. There is no way for a school to control what a salesman will tell a prospective student—other than threaten to fire him if they receive indications he is making promises the school cannot keep.

And last, Mr. Speaker, misrepresentation in advertising by some schools supply the reason for many complaints to the Office of Education. With better regulations that are now appearing to cover this area, the incidence rate is dropping.

Mr. Speaker, after enduring the controversy that has sprung up around this entire case, I have come away with some conclusions concerning the whole area of home study.

It is apparent to me that the Office of Education needs the enforcement powers necessary to become a check on some of these institutions. At the present time, they are accredited only through the National Home Study Council, an association of home study institutions that tries to watch its members. At the same time, the council can be classified as a lobby on Capitol Hill, since they have been a primary force in countering any effort by Congress or Federal agencies to gain more control over the way these institutions do business. I am not saying the council has done a bad job, but it is apparent to me that more comprehensive and equitable regulations could be drafted, through the cooperation of Federal agencies, the Congress, representatives of home study institutions, the National Home Study Council, and officials from the Office of Education.

We need, Mr. Speaker, to insure that the welfare and proper education of all our people is the prime concern of any agency governing the accreditation of these institutions. Certainly the job is a heavy responsibility for an association

that relies on these very institutions for their support in its other efforts.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, some comment on the information received from Advance Schools, Inc., of Chicago.

Their rebuttal contains a condemnation of the remarks of Mr. Swan, who served for only 19 days as a salesman. No one but Mr. Swan will ever know exactly what pressures he endured in trying to succeed as a salesman. Whether real or imagined, Mr. Swan obviously felt they existed.

I also noted that a computer breakdown on the number of students rejected from this institution from my general area of California reveals some important information. Three hundred seventeen rejections came from students' cancellation of the program. One hundred ninety-nine students were rejected because of "credit." Yet, during the period of January to October 29, 1971, not one single student from this geographic area was rejected because of academic reasons. In fact, Mr. Speaker, only three areas for rejection, among nine possible areas, showed significant percentage rates. They were failure to submit entrance examination, credit, and student cancellation.

One more very important point, Mr. Speaker, is that students who accept this Home Study School are faced with three options in making payment. They can pay the entire cost in cash—a policy that many would find difficult since the average cost per course in the catalog I received ran just over \$721.

Their second option is to apply for a loan under the federally insured student loan program. Not long ago, officials of this program cited a high rate of delinquencies among students who obtained these loans in recent years. Students who dropped out of correspondence and trade schools were listed a major part of the delinquencies.

The third option, Mr. Speaker, is benefits obtained by a veteran through the Veterans' Administration. Payments can be applied to the tuition. But, payments are made only on the basis of how many lessons the student has completed in a single quarter. Hence, a slower student or individual who does not have time to devote his entire energies to these courses is penalized while facing a high tuition bill.

In short, Mr. Speaker, the "Enrollment Agreement" offers the prospective student no opportunity for an education unless he commits himself to financial obligations. And, those obligations continue regardless of the student's future educational endeavors.

It is with these facts and thoughts in mind, Mr. Speaker, that I submit the following rebuttal letter from Richard A. Christensen, vice president, Advance Schools, Inc., Chicago, Ill., for inclusion in the RECORD:

ADVANCE SCHOOLS, INC.,
Chicago, Ill., December 1, 1971.

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE,
House of Representatives,
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WALDIE: Recently your remarks concerning Advance Schools, Inc., contained in the Congressional Record—Extensions of Remarks (on Wednesday, No-

vember 17, 1971, Page 41889), were brought to our attention.

In reading the letter which you received from our former representative, Milton D. Swan, we noted many inaccuracies and incorrect statements. We would like this opportunity to correct the RECORD on the procedures which are utilized by Advance Schools, Inc. in its operations and to answer the accusations contained in the letter.

First of all, Mr. Swan was employed by California Advance Schools which is the legal name under which Advance Schools, Inc. does business in the State of California. On July 1, 1971, Mr. Swan was hired under the School's normal employment procedure and was terminated nineteen days later for cause. After being terminated, Mr. Swan attempted on several occasions to rejoin Advance Schools without success.

The procedures utilized by the School are ethical and do not involve a misappropriation of any Government funds nor the misuse of the Government mails nor are any deceptive sales practices employed as alleged by Mr. Swan in his letter. Our School has attempted in every way to safeguard the trust which has been reposed in us in dealing with Veterans and applicants under the Federally Insured Student Loan Program.

Mr. Swan alleges that he would enter homes with a memorized presentation. This procedure is not utilized by Advance Schools. All representatives are required to undergo certain training programs for contacting prospective applicants. During this training period a representative is shown how to use 35 mm. film strip and audio equipment. This equipment is used during the presentation to inform the prospective student of the obligation that the School has to the student and the obligation that the student has to the School while taking the course. We are attaching the transcript of the audio recording concerning one of the courses.

The accusation that one of the tools of the sales presentation was that "the Government was going to foot the bill" is incorrect. The applicant is fully informed of his rights under the Federal Student Loan Act and if he qualifies what benefits he can anticipate receiving. Veterans are informed of their rights under the G.I. Bill and advised that they may apply for benefits if they are eligible.

The first lesson left with the applicant at the time of the application is entitled "How to Get the Most From ASI Training" Form S-166, a copy of which is enclosed. This booklet reviews the Federally Insured Tuition Loans and the benefits under the G.I. Bill on page 4 of Form S-166. It gives the student a brief summary of his obligations under both of these programs. In order to determine that the student fully understands his obligations, a five question test must be completed and returned to the School before the School will accept the student. Any incorrect answer will be corrected by letter from the School so that the student is made aware of his obligation.

The School does not utilize a "\$15.00 an hour" approach in attempting to induce applicants to take a course. The representatives of Advance Schools do not misrepresent the financing of such courses. Prospective students are allowed only two years to complete the course and are advised that the repayment schedule will begin nine months after the completion of the course. The representatives are required to advise all students of these obligations and the audio-visual presentation sets forth clearly the obligations under these programs.

The School does not draw the majority of its sales from "the Nation's poverty pockets and ghetto areas," as alleged by Mr. Swan. We are enclosing a copy of the Market Facts Inc. Report which illustrates a student profile on page 20 of that report.

Mr. Swan alleges that all students are accepted by Advance Schools which is not the case. Our records will show that some 15% of all applicants are not accepted by the School. We do not know where Mr. Swan has obtained his facts regarding the "five million dollar deficit of payments" but it is our understanding that the Federally Insured Student Loan Program is financially sound.

Mr. Swan alleges that promises of increased wealth and success are made to the students knowing full well that completion of the course is unlikely. This statement is false and we are attaching a certified report of Arthur Andersen & Co. illustrating the number of students who have completed the courses and those who are still active students, together with the amounts involved. At present we project our completion rate will reach 70%, far above the average. This has been accomplished through the personal attention given our students by regional service centers established by the School.

Advance Schools, Inc. has never taken advantage of the poor or any minority group. The facts are that we have established a 15-day cooling off period to permit any student to cancel with a full refund of all moneys paid. Furthermore, should the student cancel for any reason, after completing only a portion of the course, a charge of \$75.00 will be made which will be deducted from the course tuition plus a pro rata charge for each lesson completed as related to the remaining tuition balance with a complete refund of all money in excess of these charges. Advance Schools is proud of the fine work which we have accomplished with the poor and minority groups and representatives are trained never to exploit or take advantage of an applicant from a minority group.

All applications for Veterans are processed and should it be determined that a Veteran does not qualify for benefits under the G.I. Bill, he is advised by letter within thirty days. We are enclosing a copy of the letter which is forwarded to him. The Veterans Administration also notifies the Veteran when he is ineligible for benefits.

The School will not allow any representative to "front" any enrollment money from an applicant. Such a procedure is completely improper and is not tolerated by Advance Schools. Under California law, a representative is required under his application to refrain from such conduct. All full time representatives of Advance Schools are salaried and enjoy such other fringe benefits as hospitalization, sick leave and vacation pay and expense accounts.

The School does not utilize any deceptive sales tools in dealing with applicants. Veterans are informed of their rights under the G.I. Bill and all applicants are advised of their rights and obligations under the Federally Insured Student Loan Program.

Representatives are required to leave copies of enrollment application, enrollment agreement, promissory note and disclosure finance statement with all applicants and failure to do so will result in termination of the representative.

Mr. Swan in his last paragraphs alleges that there is misrepresentation in the educational survey conducted by Advance. This is incorrect and the School obtains clearance of all of its presentations through the Office of the Attorney General of the State of California prior to using them. This practice was established upon our entry into the State of California. Copies of all presentations are presently on file with the Office of the Attorney General of the State of California. Advance Schools, Inc. follows this procedure in all other States in which it operates.

Advance Schools, Inc., is proud of its record in assisting to educate students throughout the country through the correspondence field. We believe that the programs instituted by Advance Schools have helped thousands of students throughout the United States and will be an economic benefit, not only to the students, but to the Nation in their increased knowledge and proficiency in their fields.

We hope that this letter will answer the incorrect statements which were contained in the letter of Mr. Swan. Should you wish to receive any additional information, we will be most happy to cooperate with you in every way.

Yours very truly,
RICHARD A. CHRISTENSEN,
Vice President.

JOSEPH J. SALERNO, ESQ., AND
SIDNEY SALOMON, JR., RECEIVE
UNICO AWARDS

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, UNICO National is a service organization whose membership includes many thousands of Americans of Italian descent and which has performed tremendous service to the American people.

I have worked closely with many of the dedicated men in UNICO as well as their wonderful wives who have given unselfish service to America. Knowing of the great service UNICO members have provided to American communities, I was pleased to learn of two awards presented to outstanding UNICO members, Joseph J. Salerno, Esq., recipient of the UNICO Vastola Award and Sidney Salomon, Jr., recipient of the Antonio R. Rizzuto medal.

Mr. Speaker, the acceptance speeches of these two men exemplify the dedication and patriotism of all the members of UNICO. I am pleased to insert their speeches into the RECORD in order that my colleagues might be more familiar with this great organization.

The speeches follow:

REMARKS BY JOSEPH J. SALERNO, ESQ., ON THE
ACCEPTANCE OF THE VASTOLA AWARD

Mr. Toastmaster, My friend Ted Mazza, fellow Unicans and friends:

My wife, Connie, and I have been treated with such kindness, consideration and affection here in St. Paul during the last week, that we feel as though, we are in the midst of our family and loved ones.

The fact that this award has been bestowed by Past National President Ted Mazza gives it greater meaning and significance, because Ted Mazza is cut from the same cloth and cast from the same mold as Dr. Vastola himself. What Ted Mazza said about me and the way in which he said it, proves to me once again that of all of Ted Mazza's many virtues, his greatest virtue is his warm-hearted generosity. We will be forever grateful to him for tonight and for the many years of true friendship which he has given us.

When I was a boy in high school, I had a very special hero. Many of you of my generation will remember Admiral William Halsey who in the dark days of the war in the Pacific was appointed to command all naval forces in the southwest Pacific. At that time he said "There are no great men, there are

only great challenges, which ordinary men like you and me are forced by circumstances to meet." As a young high school boy, I did not fully understand what Halsey meant because I was extremely patriotic and romantically idealistic and I believed that greatness and heroism were divinely bestowed qualities. As I grew older and as my patriotism matured and mellowed and as my ideals were tempered by the realities of life, I came to understand more and more the meaning of Halsey's words.

As age and maturity advanced and as a small degree of wisdom developed, I came to know that there is a high degree of heroism in merely functioning, competing and surviving in a world which is hard and unrelenting. I came to realize that plotting a straight course in a society which is not always straight, that trying to do something for others while still providing for one's self, requires a certain quiet valor. Most thinking men who have weathered the rigors of life must come to the same conclusions. Yet most other men have only the inward satisfaction that they have achieved this accommodation between ideals and reality.

I, on the other hand, have been more fortunate, for tonight, you have bestowed upon me this Medal, this rank of Honor, and only because I have done those things that many before me have done and yet gone unnoticed. Tonight you have conferred upon my life a degree of dignity which cannot but affect immeasurably all my future actions.

I have always performed best as a team player and in Unico I have played on some championship teams. Can I ever forget the Passaic and Clifton Chapters and their wonderful members, the 1961 Constitutional Convention, the 1965, 1967 and 1969 National Convention Committees and all the other committees and groups with which I have had the delight of working in the past 19 years? Would I be up here tonight if I were not married to a girl who infused so much love into my life that I have had some left over to share with you?

To thank you, I will close with a story. Earlier this year, during the televised ceremonies of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, the Academy President Gregory Peck, bestowed the Jean Herscholt humanitarian Award on Frank Sinatra. After the thunderous applause subsided, Sinatra said that it is really a shame that a man must be around for a long time and have many friends before he gets a Humanitarian Award, because, he said pointing to the television camera, there are a million Mr. and Mrs. John Doe's out there who do humanitarian acts every day of their lives and all they get for it is "tired". And then he held up the Oscar to the camera and said "O.K. Mr. and Mrs. John Doe, reach out and grab your piece of this award because you deserve it more than I do."

And so, to all of you throughout this room and all my Unico friends throughout this country, I say tonight—"O.K. Mr. and Mrs. Unico, Reach out and grab your piece of this medal, because you certainly deserve it more than I do."

Good night and God Bless You All.

REMARKS BY SIDNEY SALOMON, JR., ACCEPTANCE
OF THE ANTONIO R. RIZZUTO MEDAL

Mr. President, Reverend Fathers, distinguished guests, members and friends of Unico, ladies and gentlemen. I stand before you this evening with feelings of great pride . . . and great humility. You have placed me among a most distinguished company by awarding me "The Antonio R. Rizzuto Medal." I pray that I may be worthy of this great honor.

I am particularly honored to be recognized by your organization, Unico. Your chapters and your national organization have distinguished themselves through selfless community service . . . service to youth, to the elderly, to education and to the general com-

munity welfare. In fact, Unico in every way exemplifies the ideals that have built and will continue to build this great country of ours. These ideals are simple. They don't take great minds to understand. But they take greatness of heart to put into practice. They are the ideals which our immigrant forefathers instilled in their children and grandchildren . . . the ideals of freedom, of dignity for each and every human being regardless of race, class or national origin. The ideals that every man must be free to become whatever his talents and energies enable him to become . . . without fear, without favor, without prejudice. And, of course, the ideals of high personal moral standards and concern for the less fortunate. And the ideal that each and every one of us is a precious child of eternal God.

Today we hear much discussion . . . negative discussion . . . about confusion of moral values. Our immigrant forefathers were not confused over moral values. They knew that a successful family, and a successful nation, must live by several guidelines: First, above all, faith in the almighty Creator of us all. Second, respect and concern for our families and neighbors and our fellow man of all races and creeds; third, education and self-improvement, the continual effort to learn and to grow. And, fourth, that simple but vital ingredient . . . hard work.

These values haven't changed. And I am convinced that despite threats to traditional ways of thinking, they will not, in the long haul of history, disappear from our national life. They will not disappear because they have served America too well. And they will not disappear because organizations like Unico are keeping them alive.

Organizations like yours, with leaders such as Dr. Vastola and Antonio Rizzuto, continue to pass along the message of our American heritage. They continue to implement these traditional values in our contemporary living. One outstanding example of this implementation is your Unico scholarship program . . . both at the chapter and national level. This program has its eye on the future of America . . . building leaders who will work toward a better society through learning and knowledge. For no matter how much we respect and look to the past, our children and grandchildren must live in the future. And Unico has wisely recognized that education, the development of minds, is the way to insure that future.

Education . . . learning . . . brings with it new dreams, new hopes, new motivation to improve the society we have inherited. Education brings with it new understanding of the problems of our brothers, the need for creative change. It brings the compassion that wipes out prejudice, the wisdom that recognizes problems and ultimately solves them.

For a society, in the last analysis, is not judged by the material things it creates, but by the moral heritage it leaves behind. In the centuries to come, America will not be evaluated by the fact we turned out millions of automobiles, refrigerators and air conditioning units. Or that we built skyscrapers and cities. Or even that we sent men to the moon.

America will be judged on its success in achieving the American dream of a society of free and equal men . . . a society marked not only by material wealth, but by universal justice. Not only by affluence, but by opportunity. Not only by a high standard of living, but a high standard of morals. In other words, not just a society with a mind, but a society with a heart . . . and a soul.

Let me say in closing that I shall always cherish this award and what it stands for . . . recognition of working with and for my fellowman. I shall always be grateful to the St. Louis chapter for presenting my name to Unico National. I shall always be thankful for being selected by your national organization as worthy of this great honor.

THE RIGHT TO HEALTH

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, Mr. Rubin Morris Hanan, president of the Alabama League of Aging Citizens, Inc., was in the Nation's Capital during the recent White House Conference on Aging, to present suggestions and recommendations concerning the health care system of America. Mr. Hanan's remarks and recommendations are presented in a precise and articulate manner. His recommendations are among the best that I have seen to date and I am inserting his entire statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that my colleagues may have the opportunity to study his suggestions.

Mr. Hanan has done an outstanding job in working for improved health care for our senior citizens. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank him for his many contributions and extend to him my continued wholehearted support.

The statement follows:

THE RIGHT TO HEALTH
(By Rubin Morris Hanan)

Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: The health of the American people is the basic foundation upon which all their happiness and their security rests. Regardless of a person's wealth or his freedom or independence, he cannot truly be happy or secure without good health and good health care. Although America is a country of unlimited wealth, offering great personal freedom and possessing the highest standard of medical technology in the world—America still has great problems providing adequate health care to all its citizens.

We find ourselves living through dramatic hours; hours which demand of each of you, as delegates to the White House Conference on Aging, and as Americans, a determined and unwavering course in support of the right of health care for all Americans.

One of the great unresolved issues of the Conference is whether or not a national health system of some type should be adopted. Before going any further, I want to make one point very clear. America cannot solve its national health problem by socializing its people and socializing its medicine.

The type health care program made available to our citizens is something that should be examined in depth in order to safeguard quality and quantity of medicine. In my opinion, Senator Edward Kennedy's Health Security Plan has many flaws, and this and other similar plans must be studied in detail before Congress forces them upon the American people.

It is often said and agreed by many in the health field that at its best, American medicine is the best in the world. I know that because I have visited Europe and most recently the Middle East countries. I know what socialized medicine is: half slave and half man. No American who truly prides freedom can really wish to see himself and his fellow citizens plagued by unreasonable health taxation, unwarranted government interference in his health, and unfair restriction on the exercise of individual rights. But in a society governed totally by bureaucracy, there is no such thing as total freedom. I believe the Federal Government can improve health care in America without Federal domination of the healing arts profession and the patients.

The Federal Government could rectify the shortage of medical manpower, medical schools facilities and equipment, regional cancer, heart and diabetes hospitals and research centers. The Federal Government, through its great wealth, can assist in establishing more medical schools and can create a resource distribution pattern which will assure access to health care for all Americans.

In attempting to solve America's major problems, Congress has forgotten the need to improve financially our medical colleges, our regional research centers, and centers for many other areas of service.

I am Chairman of the joint City and County of Montgomery Health Clinic. We are charged with the responsibility of providing health care service to the indigent population of the city and county. I can verify that approximately 40,300 persons live in families which earn less than \$3,000 per year in our area. Our present clinic of 9,072 square feet has overflowed into four mobile trailers in order to better serve the 10,755 patients who made over 24,000 visits to the clinic last year. Our facilities are being taxed beyond all reasonable limits. Add to this the average of 300 new patients who visit the clinic each month and it becomes obvious that either services must be curtailed, new eligible patients refused, or additional facilities must be provided. The same situation exists all over America today.

The social and economic problems of America's poor, are directly related to the solution of their health care problems. Major diseases do not respect national boundaries, neither do they respect age, sex, race or economic levels. There can be no North-South conflict over health care in this country.

What America needs is to launch an all-out attack on the causes of disease. Medical colleges and research centers and clinics need hard cash in order to conquer cancer, heart disease, diabetes, and the many crippling diseases, and to make health care and medical research in America second to no other nation.

What we don't need, is Federal control of the doctor-patient relationship, and socialized medicine.

In 1968 I, and a few other ordinary citizens of Alabama started one of the largest public fund drives in the State's history to build a cancer hospital and research center as a lasting memory to Alabama's only woman governor who died of cancer. What makes this memorial unique however is that unlike other memorials, it will provide life. The Lurleen B. Wallace Memorial Hospital and Tumor Institute will be more than brick and mortar. It will be the embodiment of a comprehensive concept for the care of cancer patients which will be available to all the people in the Southeastern part of the United States.

This great hospital will become part of the University of Alabama Medical Center in Birmingham, under the leadership of Dr. Joseph Volker, Dr. S. Richardson Hill, Dr. John Durant, and the Dean of the Medical College of Alabama, Dr. Clifton K. Meador.

If we supply each citizen with a form of national health insurance, but we do not provide enough doctors, and fall in our research of major diseases, then we have taken the wrong approach to health care. Our citizens should not look to government first for all health care. I have traveled widely to participate in planning and acceleration of research programs against the dread diseases. Wherever I have gone, I have seen human beings reacting much the same way. Whatever the claims of nationality, the peculiarities of religions, the color of skin, or political practices, they have the same human reactions. The anguished cry of a mother who has lost her child or the grief of one marriage partner after the death of the other is basically the same everywhere.

Giving these people health insurance is little help, if the dread diseases are not conquered in the research centers and medical schools of the nation.

I make the following recommendations:

1. We must urge adequate Hill-Burton appropriations for constructing medical colleges and for construction and improvement of regional medical centers, research centers dedicated to conquering cancer, heart disease, diabetes, and the major crippling diseases.

2. The Federal Government must target all health resources assistance on bringing health care to all people who are sick with the dreaded diseases. We must focus our primary concern—not on expanded research for the sake of publishing more technical monographs—nor improving hospitals for the greater convenience of doctors or nurses alone—but on regional medical research and treatment centers.

3. The number of medical personnel is growing less every day in relation to the population. We must urge the administration and Congress to reinstate the financial assistance to medical schools, and must assist individual students with scholarships and tax incentives in order to bring doctors into the areas most needed. The time has come when America must recognize that for millions of people the financing of educational costs is more than a mere personal problem. It is a vital national problem, and should be recognized as such in our tax laws.

4. The present shortage of health manpower is in part due to maldistribution. It is concentrated in middle class suburban America. The total supply of health personnel to all citizens is more important than a national health insurance program.

5. We must expand the range of health education opportunities, particularly for youths of lower income families. This can be done through expanded and improved medical schools and streamlined curriculum by placing greater emphasis on the para-professional fields. We recommend screening programs in a limited number of regional and community clinical centers, equipped with the latest in instrumentation and communication systems. It could become the cornerstone for a genuine national effort to prevent or reduce chronic diseases by detecting them in their early stages. In other words, doctors treat disease when it occurs. It has been said that the American doctors do not attempt to put obstacles in the path of disease. The American people give disease a head start, then we run to catch up with it, after it has already begun to cause real damage to the body.

6. We must permit admissions directly to nursing homes rather than only via hospitals, so that persons who are too sick to remain in their homes, but not eligible for hospital care could not be denied service.

7. We should recommend "Fall Tune Up" Programs to provide free medical tests for people 55 and over.

And finally, just as we have a Federal system of guaranteeing bank accounts, I recommend the same type system to guarantee the insurers, the physicians, nurses, and hospitals of their rights to receive fair and just compensation for their services.

I believe that every person at this conference is a humanitarian, attending today to seek a means to better man's life. Then, let the conference embrace with fatherly love, all those who suffer—the sick, the poor, the disabled.

In closing, I want to read a prayer I wrote which I hope this conference will adopt:

Dear God, give us an understanding heart,
Clear thinking to find the essential good,
Purpose to find true goals for lasting values,
Honesty to hold and do what's right in
God's sight,

Humility to know our weakness and mistakes,

Strength to meet the increasing daily demands,

Recognition to see the words of our colleague's sincere plan,

Confidence to always press forward when the cause is just,

Independence if needs to stand alone when our conscience says we must,

Gratitude for this great privilege to serve America and mankind,

Spiritual Awareness of our Nation's pledge "In God We Trust",

And now we pledge with grateful hearts our loyal service to man and God.

Thank You.

LEGISLATION TO RETURN TO NOVEMBER 11 AS VETERANS DAY

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, we are approaching the end of this session of Congress and, to our great disappointment, nothing has been done by the Committee on Judiciary with respect to the legislation pending with it to amend the law relating to legal holidays that November 11 will again be Veterans Day. I am taking this time simply to serve notice that there are many of us, and I am one of them, who are determined that this action be taken before the end of this Congress.

In 1968 the Congress enacted a bill making various changes in our legal holidays, effective in January of this year. When the measure was before us former Congressman Roudebush, of Indiana, offered an amendment to retain November 11 as Veterans Day instead of changing it to the "fourth Monday in October." I voted for this amendment, but it failed of adoption by a small teller vote. And on final passage I was one of the 83, out of the 295 then present and voting, to vote against the entire bill.

As provided by the bill this new law, approved on June 28, 1968, did not become effective until this year. We now have had experience with it, and we now surely recognize that by virtue of the change Veterans Day has become a day without significant meaning.

November 11, 1918, marked the signing of the armistice that stilled the guns in World War I. President Wilson urged us to look upon November 11 "with solemn pride" and "with gratitude." In 1926 the Congress directed the President to proclaim a national observance of November 11, and in 1938 November 11 was officially made a national holiday known as Armistice Day. It became a day not so much for rejoicing over our victory in war, but rather for our having attained peace and preserved freedom. It was a day for expressing our gratitude as a nation to those who fought and died in the cause of peace and freedom we enjoy. We are a nation that loves peace, but loves freedom even more.

Since 1918 we became involved in two major conflicts for the cause of freedom—the Second World War and the Korean war. November 11 as a holiday of remembrance became even more meaningful. In 1954 Congress changed the title

of the day from Armistice Day to Veterans Day.

It is a day on which we express our gratitude to all our veterans and to their families. In the cause of freedom our young men continue to make sacrifices in Southeast Asia. Veterans Day this year should have been November 11, not only a day of remembrance and of thanks, but a day of prayer for peace. As we experienced this year with the change to the fourth Monday of October, Veterans Day did not have the significance it should have and would have if it had remained November 11.

Mr. Speaker, when we return for the next session of this Congress I trust the Committee on Judiciary will give prompt attention to the pending legislative proposals to return to November 11 as Veterans Day.

IN MEMORY OF HERBERT D. STERNS, OF WATERVILLE

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened by the recent passing of one of Waterville's outstanding citizens, Herbert D. Sterns, but was greatly impressed with the editorial tribute which Station WTLV of the Kennebec Broadcasting Co. chose to pay him. The following remarks, aired by WTVL on November 12, are a fitting eulogy to a man who will be missed not only by his family and close friends, but by his entire community as well:

IN MEMORY OF HERBERT D. STERNS, OF WATERVILLE

We sat quietly together this morning in the beautiful Beth Israel Synagogue here in Waterville as our community joined together in tribute to the memory of a friend. A reverent calm seemed to come to ease the sadness which often pervades at times such as this. But, as Rabbi David Berent of Lewiston spoke of Herbert D. Sterns, in whose honor and memory every seat in that synagogue had been filled by a friend, or a relative, one came to rejoice that somehow he had come within the sphere of the kindly influence of this man, Herbert Sterns. His life among us in this community has always reflected friendliness and love.

The joy of that verbal tribute to friend Herbert Sterns was that it left with those who heard it a living essence and spirit of this man, who quietly passed away yesterday morning. Though he was only in his middle age, and in spite of all that science and loving care could do to prevent, our friend quietly slipped away by God's will. The sadness of yesterday became the glory of today, for those participating in this service of tribute. Herbert Sterns' dedication to his faith, his family, his country, and his desire to serve others are monuments to his spirit. These are the qualities of permanence which our community shall continue to cherish as fond memories of a noble man, a friend, one whose kindness and love shall not be forgotten.

To us the words of another say what we believe Herbert Sterns' life has stood for:

"I have sought beauty through the dust of strife, I have sought meaning for the awful ache, and music in the grinding wheels of life; Long have I sought, and little found as yet Beyond this truth: that Love alone can make Earth beautiful, and life without regret."

DECEMBER 1971, REPORT ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, so that the information therein contained will be available to my colleagues and other interested persons, I insert the text of the December 1971 issue of the Council on Environmental Quality's "102 Monitor" to appear at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

102 MONITOR, COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

NOTICE OF OPPORTUNITY FOR PUBLIC COMMENT ON PROCEDURES TO IMPLEMENT THE NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY ACT (42 U.S.C. SEC. 4331 ET SEQ.)

Following its annual practice, the Council on Environmental Quality invites comment and suggestions from interested parties with respect to possible revisions of the Council's Guidelines on the preparation of environmental impact statements pursuant to Section 102(2)(C) of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) (42 U.S.C. Sec. 4332(2)(C)). These Guidelines, dated April 23, 1971, are available from the Council and appear at 36 *Federal Register* 7724-7729.

The Council also invites similar comment and suggestions with respect to the procedures adopted by agencies to implement NEPA and the Council's Guidelines. These procedures, to the extent they have been adopted, are available as follows:

Department of Agriculture—Departmental procedures dated November 12, 1971 (text follows this notice); Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (no separate procedures); Animal Plant and Health Service (no separate procedures); Cooperative State Research Service (no separate procedures); Economic Research Service (no separate procedures); Extension Service (no separate procedures); Farmers Home Administration (no separate procedures); Forest Service Procedures dated July 31, 1971 (text follows this notice); Rural Electrification Administration Procedures dated June 17, 1971 (text follows this notice); and Soil Conservation Service Procedures dated November 15, 1971 (text follows this notice).

Appalachian Regional Commission—Procedures dated June 7, 1971 (text follows this notice).

Atomic Energy Commission—Regulatory activities, procedures dated September 9, 1971; 36 *Fed. Reg.* 18071-18076; Supplement, 36 *Fed. Reg.* 22851-22854; and Nonregulatory activities procedures dated July 16, 1971; 36 *Fed. Reg.* 13233-13235.

Canal Zone Government—Procedures dated July 1, 1971 (text follows this notice).

Civil Aeronautics Board—Procedures dated July 1, 1971; 36 *Fed. Reg.* 12513-12515.

Delaware River Basin Commission—Procedures dated October 21, 1971; 36 *Fed. Reg.* 20381-20382.

Department of Commerce—Departmental procedures dated November 6, 1971; 36 *Fed. Reg.* 21368-21370; Economic Development Administration, Procedures dated November 16, 1971; Maritime Administration (no separate procedures); National Bureau of Standards (no separate procedures); and National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration (no separate procedures).

Department of Defense—Departmental procedures dated August 18, 1971; 36 *Fed. Reg.* 15750-15754; and Army Corps of Engineers, Procedures dated June 11, 1971; 36 *Fed. Reg.* 11309-11318.

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—Departmental procedures dated November 23, 1971 (text follows this notice);

Facilities Engineering and Construction Agency (no separate procedures); Food and Drug Administration (no separate procedures); Health Service and Mental Health Administration (no separate procedures); and National Institute of Health (no separate procedures).

Department of Housing and Urban Development—Departmental procedures dated November 19, 1971; Federal Housing Authority (no separate procedures); Urban Renewal Program (no separate procedures); Water and Sewer Grants (no separate procedures); Model Cities Program (no separate procedures); Open Space and Public Facilities Assistance (no separate procedures); and Mortgage Insurance Programs (no separate procedures).

Department of the Interior—Departmental procedures dated October 2, 1971; 36 Fed. Reg. 19343-19347; Bonneville Power Administration (no separate procedures received); Bureau of Indian Affairs (no separate procedures received); Bureau of Land Management (no separate procedures received); Bureau of Mines

(no separate procedures received); Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (no separate procedures received); Bureau of Reclamation (no separate procedures received); Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife; (no separate procedures received); National Park Service (no separate procedures received); Office of Coal Research (no separate procedures received); Office of Saline Water (no separate procedures received); and U.S. Geological Survey (no separate procedures received).

Department of Justice—Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Procedures dated October 27, 1971; 36 Fed. Reg. 20613-20617.

Department of State—Departmental procedures dated December 1, 1971; Agency for International Development, Special procedures for Capital Projects dated September 1, 1971; and International Boundary Water Commission (U.S.-Mexico), Procedures dated August 21, 1971.

Department of Transportation—Departmental procedures dated October 4, 1971 (text follows this notice); Coast Guard, Procedures dated October 13, 1971 (text follows this notice); Federal Aviation Administration, Airport Development Aid Program Procedures dated December 7, 1970, amended June 25, 1971 (text follows this notice); Federal Highway Administration, Procedures dated August 24, 1971 (text follows this notice); St. Lawrence Seaway Administration (no separate procedures received); and Urban Mass Transportation Administration (no separate procedures received).

Environmental Protection Agency—Procedures dated December 1, 1971 (text to be published separately).

Federal Communications Commission—(no procedures received).

Federal Maritime Commission—(no procedures received).

Federal Power Commission—Procedures dated December 15, 1970; 35 Fed. Reg. 18958-18960 and Amendments dated April 16, 1971; 36 Fed. Reg. 7232-7233; November 30, 1971; 36 Fed. Reg. 22738-22741.

Federal Trade Commission—Procedures dated December 1, 1971; 36 Fed. Reg. 22814-22815.

General Services Administration—Federal Supply Service, Procedures dated September 15, 1971 (text follows this notice); Property Management and Disposal Service, Procedures dated September 15, 1971 (text follows this notice); Public Buildings Service, Procedures dated September 15, 1971 (text follows this notice); and Transportation and Communication Service, Procedures dated June 30, 1971 (text follows this notice).

Interstate Commerce Commission—Procedures dated May 26, 1971; 36 Fed. Reg. 10807-10810.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration—Procedures dated October 31, 1971; 36 Fed. Reg. 21753-21755.

National Capital Planning Commission—Procedures dated August 9, 1971 (text follows this notice).

National Science Foundation—Procedures dated November 15, 1971 (text follows this notice).

Office of Economic Opportunity—Procedures dated July 1, 1971.

Office of Management and Budget—Procedures dated September 14, 1971 (text follows this notice).

Small Business Administration—(no procedures received).

Tennessee Valley Authority—Procedures dated November 2, 1971; 36 Fed. Reg. 21010-21014.

Department of the Treasury—Departmental procedures dated July 31, 1971, 36 Fed. Reg. 14221-14222; and Internal Revenue Service, Procedures dated August 12, 1971, 36 Fed. Reg. 15081-15082.

United States Postal Service—(no procedures received).

Veterans Administration—(No procedures received).

Water Resources Council—Procedures dated February 10, 1971 (text follows this notice).

Comments and suggestions should be filed with the Council (Attention: General Counsel) no later than thirty days from the date of publication of this notice and, in the case of agency procedures, should be addressed directly to the agency concerned, with copies to the Council.

RUSSELL E. TRAIN, Chairman.

NOTE—The text of agency procedures referred to in this notice appears in Part 2 of the *Federal Register* for Saturday, December 11, 1971, a copy of which is enclosed.

The 102 Monitor is published by the Council on Environmental Quality, 722 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. If your address is incorrect, please write to Hope Hale, Acting Editor.

The title of this publication refers to Section 102(2)(C) of the National Environmental Policy Act (42 U.S.C. 4332(2)(c)). File this and subsequent issues in a ring binder for handy reference.

SOURCES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENTS

In order to receive more efficient and prompt service, requestors are urged to order draft and final impact statements from the Department of Commerce's National Technical Information Service (NTIS) rather than the preparing agency. Each statement will be assigned an order number that will appear in the 102 Monitor (at the end of the summary of each statement) and also in the NTIS semi-monthly Announcement Series No. 68, "Environmental Pollution and Control." (An annual subscription costs \$5.00 and can be ordered from the NTIS, U.S. Department of Commerce, Springfield, Virginia 22151.)

Final statements will be available in microfiche as well as paper copy. A paper copy of any statement can be obtained by writing NTIS at the above address and enclosing \$3.00 and the order number. A microfiche costs \$0.95. (Paper copies of documents that are over 300 pages are \$6.00.)

NTIS is also offering a special "package" in which the subscriber receives all statements in microfiche for \$0.35 per statement. Statements will still be available for public scrutiny in the document rooms of the various agencies. However, only limited copies will be available for distribution.

Yet another possible source of statements is from the Environmental Law Institute,

1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. To order a document, please indicate the Department, date, and ELR Order # (given at the end of each summary). The Institute charges \$0.10 per page, and as you will note the number of pages is also given at the end of the summaries. Please enclose the correct amount of money with your order and mark the envelope to the attention to the "Document Service."

SOURCE FOR BACK ISSUES OF THE 102 MONITOR

Because the supply of past issues of the 102 Monitor is not sufficient to meet all requests, a list is provided below indicating where the various issues of the 102 Monitor appeared in the *Congressional Record*. You may wish to order these *Congressional Records* from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 (\$.25 per copy).

Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2 & 3—*Congressional Record*—April 28 (Extension of Remarks), page E 3607.

Vol. 1, No. 4—*Congressional Record*—May 27 (Extension of Remarks), page E 5151.

Vol. 1, No. 5—*Congressional Record*—June 16 (Extension of Remarks), page E 6023.

Vol. 1, No. 6—*Congressional Record*—July 28 (Extension of Remarks), page E 8458.

Vol. 1, No. 7—*Congressional Record*—Sept. 13 (Extension of Remarks), page E 9483.

Vol. 1, No. 8—*Congressional Record*—Sept. 24 (Extension of Remarks), page E 10002.

Vol. 1, No. 9—*Congressional Record*—Nov. 1 (Extension of Remarks), page E 11596.

Vol. 1, No. 10—*Congressional Record*—Nov. 15 (Extension of Remarks), page E 12213.

ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENTS RECEIVED BY THE COUNCIL FROM NOVEMBER 1 THROUGH NOVEMBER 30, 1971

(NOTE: At the head of the listing of statements received from each agency is the name of an individual who can answer questions regarding those statements.)

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Contact: Dr. T. C. Byerly, Office of the Secretary, Washington, D.C. 20250 (202) 388-7803.

Agricultural Research Service

Draft

Title, Description, and Date of Transmittal

Soil Inhabiting Insects program: Application of chlordane at 35 high-risk locations (airports, military installations) in 21 states to prevent long-distance artificial spread of plant pests. (ELR Order No. 1165, 13 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 018-D) November 4.

Office of the Secretary

Final

Title, Description, and Date

Legislative proposal to designate Sycamore Canyon Primitive Area as Sycamore Canyon Wilderness, in the Coconino, Kaibab and Prescott National Forests, Arizona. Involves 46,542 acres, 1,050 of which are contiguous to the Primitive Area. Comments made by USDA, DOC, DOD, FAA, FPC, HEW, DOI, 2 Members of Congress, Pima, Coconino and Yavapai Counties Boards of Supervisors and Cities of Tucson and Flagstaff. (ELR Order No. 1269, 36 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 454-F) November 18.

Legislative proposal to designate Pine Mountain Primitive Area as Pine Mountain Wilderness, in the Prescott and Tonto National Forests, Arizona. Involves 19,569 acres, 3,671 of which are contiguous to the Primitive Area. Comments made by USDA, DOC, DOD, FAA, FCC, FPC, HEW, Ariz. Game and Fish Commission and Yavapai County Board of Supervisors. (ELR Order No. 1270, 38 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 (455-F) November 18.

Forest Service

Draft

Title, Description, and Date

PH-12, Rio las Vacas-Senorita Section, Santa Fe National Forest, Sandoval County, New Mexico. Upgrading 15-mile portion of dirt and gravel road to a paved road. Involves loss of estimated maximum of 85 acres of productive forest land (ELR Order No. 1250, 14 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 377-D) November 22.

Soil Conservation Service

Draft

Title, Description, and Date

Clarks Fork-Bullocks Creek Watershed, York County, South Carolina. Includes 17,600 acres of conservation measures, 360 acres of critical area stabilization, 6 floodwater retarding structures, 1 multi-purpose structure and recreational facilities. Will eliminate 867 acres of woods, 229 acres of open land and 15 miles of stream fishery. (ELR Order No. 1149, 10 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 877-D) November 2.

Truth or Consequences-Williamsburg Arroyos Watershed, New Mexico. Conservation land treatment supplemented by 4 floodwater-retarding structures, about 1 mile of channel and pipeline and about .6 mile of floodway. Will eliminate agricultural use and wildlife habitat on 34 acres of rangeland and periodically interrupt such use of 152 acres. (ELR Order No. 1180, 8 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 090-D) November 8.

Tallahul Creek, Watershed, Long Creek portion, North Carolina. Application of conservation land treatment on 410 acres and construction of a multi-purpose municipal storage and flood prevention structure; 53 million gals. of water to be stored. Will remove 36 acres of agricultural and forest land from production, limit use of 36 acres in the detention pool and destroy 4000 ft. of trout stream. (ELR Order No. 1261, 20 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 457-D) November 23.

Final

Title, Description, and Date

Red Lick Creek Watershed, Kentucky. Acceleration of land treatment program and installation of 4 floodwater retarding structures and 1 multiple purpose structure. Will inundate 6 miles of intermittent stream channels, involve 244 acres of land in sediment pools and necessitate relocation of 10 families. Comments made by Army, HEW, DOI and Appalachian Regional Commission (ELR Order No. 1230, 14 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 255-F) November 15.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Contact: Dr. Sydney R. Galler, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Environmental Affairs, Washington, D.C. 20230 (202) 967-4335.

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

Draft

Title, Description, and Date

Great Lakes Snow Redistribution Research Project. An exploratory investigation into the nature and characteristics of Great Lakes snowstorms, caused by movement of cold air masses over relatively warm water, to assess the possibility of moderating excessive snowfall along the leeward side of the lakes by overseeding the related cloud systems. (ELR Order No. 1216, 18 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 158-D) November 15.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Department of Air Force

Contact: Col. Cliff M. Whitehead, Room 5E 425, Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20330 (202) OX 5-2889.

Final

Title, Description, and Date

Consolidation of all Air Force helicopter training at Hill Air Force Base, Utah. Includes combat crew training, air rescue, recovery, aircraft fire and rescue training. Fire training will involve open burning of jet fuel, resulting in some smoke and unburned jet fuel. Comments made by DOA, DOI, EPA, Utah Governor, Utah Dept. of Social Services, and Utah Air Conservation Committee. (ELR Order No. 1151, 162 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-198 764-F) November 2.

Development and testing of 3 flight-test B-1 aircraft, a high subsonic, low-altitude penetrator (two-thirds size of B-52) capable of supersonic speed at high altitude. First flight scheduled for April 1974, with decision to enter into production about 12 months later. Describes measures being developed to lessen noise and air pollution. (ELR Order No. 1160, 32 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 711-F) November 3.

Development of the F-15 aircraft to fill the Air Force need for an air superiority fighter. A single-place, fixed-wing, twin-turbofan fighter in the 40,000 pound weight class capable of speed in excess of Mach 2, the F-15 is in the advanced development stage. Plans are for a first flight in 1972, with initial operational capability in the mid-1970's. (ELR Order No. 1164, 32 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 710-F) November 3.

Department of Army

Contact: George A. Cunney, Jr., Acting Chief, Environmental Office, Directorate of Installations, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, Washington, D.C. 20310 (202) OX 4-4269.

Draft

Title, Description, and Date

Safeguard Ballistic Missile Defense System sites within Minuteman field near Whiteman Air Force Base, Missouri and within Minuteman field near Warren Air Force Base, Wyoming or near the National Command Authority, Washington, D.C. System consists of Missile Site Radar (MSR) and Perimeter Acquisition Radar (PAR), two types of interceptor missiles (Spartan and SPRINT) and a high-speed data processing and communications system (ELR Order No. 1203, 14 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204, 162-D) November 15.

Corps of Engineers

Contact: Francis X. Kelly, Assistant for Conservation Liaison, Public Affairs Office; Office, Chief of Engineers, 1000 Independence Avenue, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20314 (202) 693-0892.

For the reader's convenience we have listed the numerous statements from COE by State in alphabetical order.

Draft

Title, Description, and Date

Crescent City Harbor Navigation Project, Del Norte County, California. Construction of a T-shaped basin from deepwater, 20' deep, 1500' long, with a stem 1000' long, extending 325' north of Citizens' Dock and a 400' extension of the inner harbor breakwater. (ELR Order No. 1251, 32 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 380-D) November 18.

Ventura Marina, Ventura County, California. Construction of offshore breakwater 1500 feet long, dredging of 800,000 cubic yards and construction of recreational facilities, parking areas etc. for year-round boating activity. (ELR Order No. 1221, 16 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 166-D) November 5.

Choctawhatchee River and Holmes Creek, Florida. Permit application for snagging of River from Ala. line to the mouth and of Creek from Vernon to its confluence with the River to provide safe navigation for small

pleasure craft. Will reduce aquatic habitat. (ELR No. 1136, 29 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 770-D) November 2.

Flood control at Muscatine, Iowa. Improvement of earthen levees, construction of new levees, concrete floodwalls, closure structures, ponding areas, pumping plant and partial realignment of Mad Creek. Will alter 5,500' of creek shoreline. (ELR Order No. 1280, 18 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 500-D) November 26.

Diked Disposal Area Program, Duluth-Superior Harbor, Minnesota and Wisconsin. Construction of sand dikes for polluted dredge spoil containment at Duluth in 21st Ave. west slip area and at Superior adjacent to sewage treatment plant. Will convert 35 surface acres of water to land at each site. (ELR Order No. 1263, 13 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 456-D) November 22.

Perry County Drainage and Levee Districts 1, 2, and 3, Perry County, Missouri and Randolph County, Illinois. Construction of four 60-130 cfs pumping stations and two drainage ditches totaling 13,900 feet. Will result in some loss of the 280 acres of brush and forest land, now wildlife habitat. (ELR Order No. 1133, 201 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 775-D) October 29.

Valcour Harbor, Lake Champlain, New York. Construction of a 700-foot long rubble-mound offshore breakwater to protect a 15.1 acre basin for recreational craft on the Lake about 5 miles south of Plattsburgh. (ELR Order No. 1202, 16 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 164-D) November 5.

Oswego Steam Station-Unit 5, Niagara Mohawk Power Corp., New York. Construction of a fifth oil-fueled electric generating unit with a maximum output of 890 Mw. Shoreline will be protected by a seawall. (ELR Order No. 1223, 192 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 155-D) November 15.

Supervision of the Harbor Permit Program for Waste Disposal in the Atlantic Ocean, New York. Continuation of issuance of permits for disposal of various types of wastes at designated dumping grounds in Outer New York Harbor. Contributes to pollution problems of New York Bight (over 13.5 million cubic yards disposed of in FY 1970). (ELR Order No. 1225, 32 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 264-D) November 17.

Vermillion Harbor, Erie County, Ohio. Construction of detached breakwater, 2 approach channels and a river channel extension of 2,275 feet to permit safe harbor entry and provide adequate depths in river channel. (ELR Order No. 1262, 17 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 461-D) November 19.

Legislative proposal (H.R. 2450) relating to Penn's Landing, Delaware River, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Downtown waterfront renewal project in 3 stages: stage I (40 acres) required 2.4 million cubic yards of fill; stages II and III (70 acres) will require twice the amount of fill. Involves permanent removal of 110 acres of navigable water and conversion to filled lands. Purpose of legislation is to declare a portion of the Delaware River (Penn's landing) non-navigable. (ELR Order No. 1144, 16 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 013-D) November 2.

Final

Title, Description and Date

Spring Creek Channel Improvement, Springdale, Arkansas (flood protection). Straightening and enlargement of 9,000 feet of Channel Creek through Springdale. Comments made by DOI, EPA, FHWA, Ark. Soil and Water Conservation Commission and Society for Environmental Stabilization. (ELR No. 1107, 33 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-198 744-F) October 28.

Price Branch of Little LaGrue Bayou, DeWitt, Arkansas. Cleaning out 17,500 ft. of channel, straightening, spreading and seed-

ing of soil along reaches within DeWitt, etc. Purpose: flood protection by providing continuous drainage. Comments made by USDA, DOI, EPA, 3 state agencies and Mayor of DeWitt. (ELR Order No. 1196, 26 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 898-F) November 12.

Kawaihae Harbor, Hawaii. Construction of a harbor to accommodate 300 light-draft vessels includes an access channel anchorage basin and a protective breakwater. Involves deepening 19.8 acres of submerged reef and converting 12.2 acres of shallow reef to protective structures. Comments made by EPA, DOI, DOT, Hawaii Dept. of Planning and Economic Development, University of Hawaii and Mayor of County of Hawaii. (ELR Order No. 1194, 44 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 288-F) November 12.

Mason J. Niblack Levee (Pumping Plants), Wabash River Basin, Indiana. Involves construction of pumping facilities, power lines, etc. for flood protection by removing interior ponding from the area protected by the Niblack Levee. Comments made by USDA, DOI, EPA, DOT, N.C. Dept. of Natural Resources, Ind. Planning and Development Clearinghouse and Area Planning Dept. for Vigo County. (ELR Order No. 1113, 16 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 655-F) October 28.

Flood Protection project, Waterloo, Iowa. Construction of 15 miles of earthen levees and 2 miles of concrete floodwalls, a small dam and detention reservoir, deepening and widening Cedar River channel, etc. Purpose: protection from flooding of Cedar River, Black Hawk Creek and Verden Creek. Comments made by EPA, HUD, DOI, Iowa Office for Planning and Programming and Mayor of Waterloo. (ELR Order No. 1197, 21 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 850-F) November 12.

Clinton Lake, Wakarusa River project, Kansas. Involves construction of a dam and lake. Inundation of 7,000 acres of wildlife habitat and farmland and 50 miles of free-flowing intermittent streams. Purpose: to provide increased water supply and quality control, flood control, fish and wildlife enhancement, recreation, etc. Comments made by USDA, DOC, DOI, EPA, and Kansas Water Resources Board. (ELR Order No. 1106, 29 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 761-F) October 29.

Longview Lake, Little Blue River, Missouri. Construction of dam and lake, inundating 930 acres of land to control run-off from a 50.3-square-mile drainage area, for recreation, etc. Comments made by USDA, EPA, DOI and 5 state agencies. (ELR Order No. 1187, 37 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-200 795-F) November 9.

Loup River flood control project, Columbus, Nebraska. Construction of a 28,480' levee averaging 8' height along the left bank. Comments made by USDA, HEW, DOI, 4 state agencies, the Governor and the Mayor of Columbus. (ELR Order No. 1260, 31 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-200 769-F) November 22.

Buffalo Creek Channel improvement project, Meadow Grove, Nebraska. Enlarging and straightening 5,700' of natural channel to provide flood protection to village of Meadow Grove. Comments made by USDA, EPA, DOI, Nebraska Game and Parks Commission, Neb. Wildlife Federation, Village of Meadow Grove and Chicago and Northwestern Rwy. Co. (ELR Order No. 1259, 27 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 081-F) November 22.

Valcour Harbor, Lake Champlain, New York. Construction of a 700-foot long rubble-mound offshore breakwater to protect a 15.1-acre basin for recreational craft on the lake about 5 miles south of Plattsburgh. Comments made by USDA, AEC, DOI, HUD, DOT and N.Y. Office of Parks and Recreation. (ELR Order No. 1228, 35 pages) (NTIS Order No. BP-204 256-F) November 19.

Navigation project at Atlantic Harbor of Refuge, Carteret County, North Carolina. Involves dredging channels 7' deep, 50-70' wide and converting a small marsh into a basin. Dredged material will be used to construct a

breakwater. Comments made by USDA, DOI, EPA, DOT, N.C. Board of Water and Air Resources, and Carteret Cy. Commissioners. (ELR Order No. 1118, 39 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-198 870-F) October 27.

San Antonio Channel Improvements, San Antonio River and Tributaries, Texas. Alterations on 33 miles of channel includes channel excavation, channel paving, deepening San Antonio River Lake section, etc. Purpose: flood control. Comments made by DOI, EPA, various State of Texas agencies and the San Antonio River Authority. (ELR Order No. 1179, 37 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 032-F) November 9.

Brownsville Small Boat Basin, Washington (on Puget Sound). Construction of a 1,530-foot breakwater, entrance channel, access channel and turning basin. Purpose: to provide a protected moorage for 334 recreational boats. Comments made by DOC, EPA, HEW, DOI, 5 state agencies, Kitsap County Commissioners, Bremerton-Kitsap Health Dept., Port of Brownsville and Puget Sound Governmental Council. (ELR Order No. 1201, 68 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-199 822-F) November 9.

Lower Granite Lock and Dam, Snake River, Washington and Idaho. Construction of a dam, powerhouse, and navigation lock to complete the Lower Snake River navigation system to Lewiston. About 44 miles of open river will be converted to a lake, and approximately 3,260 acres of land used for grazing and agriculture will be inundated. Also involves loss of residences and other buildings and of steelhead spawning areas. Comments made by DOC, EPA, FPC, DOI, 4 Washington agencies, 3 Idaho agencies, 1 Oregon agency, City of Lewiston, City of Clarkston and Assn. of Northwest Steelheaders. (ELR Order No. 1208, 163 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 169-F) November 9.

Stonewall Jackson Lake, West Fork River, West Virginia. Construction of concrete dam and lake for flood control, recreation, etc. Will inundate about 2,650 acres of wildlife habitat and result in loss of about 35 miles of free-flowing stream. Comments made by USDA, DOI, EPA, W. Va. Dept. of Natural Resources and Appalachian Regional Commission. (ELR Order No. 1207, 45 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 980-F) November 12.

Small Boat Harbor, Mississippi River, Pepin, Wisconsin. Involves an additional 434' sand-filled breakwater, a 60" pipe culvert. Purpose: protection from wave damage and maintainable aeration facility. Comments made by DOI, EPA, Wis. Dept. of Natural Resources, Mississippi R. Regional Planning Commission, and Village of Pepin. (ELR Order No. 1137, 29 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 763-F) October 29.

Department of Navy

Contact: Joseph A. Grimes, Jr., Special Civilian Assistant to the Secretary of Navy, Washington, D.C. 20350 (202) 697-0892.

Draft

Title, Description, and Date

Kahoolawe Island Target Complex, Hawaii. Continued use of Island as naval target complex. (ELR Order No. 1143, 92 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 876-D) November 2.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

Contact: Mr. George Marienthal, Acting Director of Environmental Impact Statements Office, 1750 K Street, N.W., Room 440, Washington, D.C. 20460 (202) 254-7420.

Final

Title, Description, and Date

Waste Treatment Facility, Project No. WPC Colo-261, Greeley, Colorado. Involves relocating a substantial portion of the present system capacity. Construction consists of 4 anaerobic lagoons, 2 aerated ponds, etc. Purpose: initial effort to centralize treatment facilities for the drainage basin. Comments made by Army COE, USDA, DOI,

HEW, HUD and Colo. State Planning Coordinator. (ELR Order No. 1142, 41 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 886-F) October 25.

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Contact: Rod Kreger, Deputy Administrator, GSA-AD, Washington, D.C. 20405, (202) 343-6077.

Alternate Contact: Aaron Woloshin, Director, Office of Environmental Affairs, GSA-AD, Washington, D.C. 20405, (202) 343-4161.

Draft

Title, Description, and Date

Disposal of a portion of Fort Custer Military Reservation, Battle Creek, Michigan. Plan for disposal is as follows: 96 acres with 100 frame buildings for conveyance to state for mental health purposes; 21 acres and existing sewer and water systems to HEW for conveyance to City for health purposes; railroad system to city by negotiated sale; and electrical and telephone system to Consumer Power Co. by negotiated sale. (ELR Order No. 1156, 4 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 884-D) November 4.

Disposal of Condon Air Force Station, Gilliam County, Oregon by competitive bid sale. Involves 66.3 acres, along with 69 buildings, etc. (ELR Order No. 1157, 10 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 885-D) November 4.

Disposal of Philadelphia Army Supply Base (D-PA-521) by negotiated sale to City of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania for port industrial use. (ELR Order No. 1158, 7 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 886-D) October 27.

Disposal of Lewiston Government Camp, Trinity County, California. Sewer and water systems and 6 acres to be assigned to HEW for conveyance to Lewiston Community Services District; gymnasium, 10 acres, and 5 houses to be assigned to HEW for conveyance to Lewiston School District, electric system to be sold by negotiated sale to Pacific Gas and Electric Co.; 85 housing units and 185 acres to be sold by auction; and 7 buildings to be assigned to HEW for conveyance to Shasta and Trinity County School Districts for offsite removal. (ELR Order No. 1166, 6 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 019-D) November 8.

Disposal of Birdsboro Army Tank—Automotive Steel Foundry, Berks County, Pennsylvania by negotiated sale to the Greater Berks Development Fund. (ELR Order No. 1190, 6 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 098-D) November 11.

Final

Title, Description, and Date

Disposal of 7.9 acres of land formerly owned by the Tennessee Central Rwy. Co., Nashville, Tennessee by negotiated sale to Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County, acting through the Nashville Thermal Transfer Corp. To be used for construction of a central heating and chilling plant that will burn solid waste primarily to produce heat. Comments made by Army COE, HEW, DOI, a Member of Congress and the Metropolitan Government of Nashville and Davidson County. (ELR Order No. 1186, 17 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 797-F) November 10.

Disposal of the Bakalar Air Force Base and Radio Annex, Columbus, Indiana by conveyance of 1,991 acres of land and the buildings to the City of Columbus for a public airport and by negotiated sale of electrical distribution system to the Bartholomew County Rural Electric Membership Corp. Comments made by EPA, DOT and Bartholomew County. (ELR Order No. 1199, 13 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 792-F) November 10.

Disposal of the Niagara Falls Army Chemicals Plant, Niagara Falls, New York by competitive bidding. Plant consists of 37 buildings and 5.7 acres. Comments made by Army COE, EPA, DOI, N.Y. Dept. of Environmental Conservation and Erie & Niagara Counties Regional Planning Board. (ELR Order No. 1237, 19 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-200 395-F) November 19.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Contact: Robert Lanza, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Health & Scientific Affairs, Room 4062 HEWN, Washington, D.C. 20202 (202) 962-2241.

Final

Title, Description, and Date

Indian Health Service Hospital, Tuba City, Arizona. Construction of 125-bed hospital adjacent to existing hospital to provide a comprehensive health program for 16,000 Navajo and Hopi Indians. Comments made by DOC, DOD, EPA, HUD, DOI, and Arizona Dept. of Economic Planning and Development. (ELR Order No. 1267, 40 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-200 199-F) November 24.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Contact: Richard H. Broun, Director, Environmental & Land Use Planning Division, Washington, D.C. 20410 (202) 755-6186.

Draft

Title, Description, and Date

Soul City, New Community, Warren County, North Carolina. Proposes loan guarantee of up to \$10 million for land acquisition and development of a new community under Title VII of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970. (ELR Order No. 1139, 63 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 773-D) October 29.

Portland Student Services, Inc., Portland, Oregon. Loan of \$3,193,000 to construct a 16-story apartment building to provide moderately priced student housing. Site is in the Goose Hollow district. (ELR Order No. 1147, 28 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 014-D) November 2.

Foss Reservoir, Custer County, Oklahoma. Construction of 5.0 mgd pretreatment and 3.0 mgd demineralization water treatment facilities. (ELR Order No. 1264, 36 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 460-D) November 22.

Final

Title, Description, and Date

New Community of Riverton, Monroe County, New York. Commitment to guarantee up to \$12 million for development over 16 years of 2,350 acres, with planned ultimate population of about 25,600 residents in 8,010 dwelling units; 170 acres of commercial and community space will be provided. Comments made by USDA, AEC, FPC, GSA, HEW, DOI, DOT, N.Y. Dept. of Environmental Conservation and Genesee Finger Lakes Regional Planning Board. (ELR Order No. 1271, 123 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 391-F) November 19.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR

Contact: Office of Communications, Room 7214, Washington, D.C. 20240 (202) 343-6416.

Bureau of Reclamation

Final

Title, Description, and Date

Archer-Weld transmission line: a 230 kv facility that will extend 57 miles from the Archer Substation east of Cheyenne, Wyoming to the proposed Weld Substation west of Greeley, Colorado. Purpose: to interconnect public and private transmission facilities which will help prevent blackouts. Comments made by Army COE, USDA, DOI, EPA, FPC and various State of Colorado and Wyoming agencies. (ELR Order No. 1150, 45 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 875-F) November 2.

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY AND WATER COMMISSION

(United States and Mexico)

Contact: T. R. Martin, ARA/Mex., Department of State, Room 3906A, Washington, D.C. 20520 (202) 632-1317.

Final

Title, Description, and Date

Modified Hackney Floodway and Closure of Mission Floodway, Lower Rio Grande Flood Control Project, Hidalgo County, Texas. U.S. extension and enlargement of Hackney floodway from Anzalduas Dam on Rio Grande to Main floodway and closure of Mission floodway to reduce flood damage. Comments made by Army, COE, USDA, HEW, DOI, 5 Texas agencies and Lower Rio Grande Development Council. (ELR Order No. 1206, 27 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 090-F) November 5.

U.S. Portion of Retamal International Diversion Dam and U.S. Dike. Lower Rio Grande Flood Control Project, Hidalgo County, Texas. Joint construction of international floodwater diversion dam and U.S. construction of 3-mile dike from dam to river levee system. Comments made by Army COE, USDA, HEW, DOI, 3 Texas agencies and Lower Rio Grande Development Council. (ELR Order No. 1226, 29 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-200 777-F) November 5.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

Contact: Martin Convisser,* Director, Office of Program Co-ordination, 400 7th Street, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20591 (202) 462-4355.

For the reader's convenience we have listed the numerous statements from DOT by State in alphabetical order.

Federal Aviation Administration

Draft

Title, Description, and Date

Big Bear City Airport, San Bernardino County, California. Realignment and construction of runway, 7 taxiways and apron and installation of lighting and safety operational facilities. Will require relocation of some residences. (ELR Order No. 1170, 25 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 023-D) November 8.

Albany County Airport, Colonie, New York. Extension of runway. Will displace 6 families and necessitate relocation of Old Niskayuna Rd. (ELR Order No. 1173, 100 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 026-D) November 9.

Lincolnton-Cherryville Airport, North Carolina. Construction of new airport south of juncture of N.C.-182 and SR-1187 adequate for 95% of propeller-driven aircraft of less than 12,500 pounds and some light twin engine propeller-driven aircraft. (ELR Order No. 1171, 19 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 024-D) November 8.

Rockingham County Airport, North Carolina. Construction of runway, taxiway, apron and lighting system with a VASI installed at each end of the runway. (ELR Order No. 1236, 18 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 259-D) November 18.

Ector County Airport, Odessa, Texas. Reconstruction or extension of 3 runways and 1 taxiway, modification of MIRL system and installation of VASI at each end of runway. (ELR Order No. 1181, 12 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 092-D) November 10.

Park Falls Municipal Airport, Price County, Wisconsin. Construction of paved runway, connecting taxiway, apron and private entrance road and installation of low-intensity lighting system. (ELR Order No. 1172, 13 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 025-D) November 5.

*Mr. Convisser's office will refer you to the correct regional office from which the statement originated. In the case of the Federal Highway Administration, a separate page is included in this Monitor giving the names of the Regional Administrators (see page 47).

Final

Title, Description, and Date

Fairhope Municipal Airport, Baldwin County, Alabama. Involves land acquisition, runway extension, power line relocation, etc. Comments made by Army COE, DOI, Ala. Development Office and South. Ala. Regional Planning Commission. (ELR Order No. 1131, 15 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 088-F) October 28.

Airport project, Klawock, Alaska. Development of a new airport, including landing strip, parking apron, taxiway, access road and segmented circle. Comments made by Army COE, USDA, DOC, EPA, HEW, DOI and Alaska Native Health Service. (ELR Order No. 1212, 29 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-200 363-F) October 15.

Indian Valley Airport, Crescent Mills, California. Involves right-of-way acquisition, runway embankment and site drainage, site fencing and power line clearance. Comments made by Army COE, USDA, DOC, DOI, EPA, HEW and HUD. (ELR Order No. 1135, 42 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-200 379-F) October 28.

Stapleton International Airport project, Denver, Colorado. Involves runway improvement, installation of a MIRL lighting system and blast protection, reconstruction of portions of the high-speed turnoffs, etc. to provide new runway for widebody jets, to prevent erosion and dusting conditions. Comments made by DOI, DOT, State Planning Agency, Denver Regional Council of Government and Adams Cy. Planning Commission. (ELR Order No. 1105, 46 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-199 604-F) October 27.

Liberty County Airport, Hinesville, Georgia. Involves extending and widening runway, installing medium-intensity lighting system, etc. Clearing 12 acres will be necessary. Purpose: accommodate 60% of the business jet fleet. Comments made by USDA, DOI, EPA, Ga. Historical Commission, Ga. Bureau of State Planning and Community Affairs, Coastal Area Planning and Development Commission and City of Hinesville. (ELR Order No. 1119, 26 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 691-F) October 28.

Monmouth Municipal Airport, Warren County, Illinois. Consists of obtaining reimbursement for land and an aviation easement. Action will make the airport a part of the Federal Aid System of Airports. Comments made by Army COE, USDA, DOC, EPA, HUD and Ill. A-95 agencies. (ELR Order No. 1116, 67 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 306-F) October 28.

Airport project at Healdton, Oklahoma. Construction of a new municipal airport and paved landing strip. Will also serve 3 nearby communities. Comments made by 1 State agency, City of Healdton, Southern Oklahoma Development Assn. and Ozarks Regional Development Commission. (ELR Order No. 1120, 28 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 768-F) October 28.

Federal Highway Administration

Draft

Title, Description, and Date

Alabama Hwys. 134 and 92: Coffee, Dale and Houston Counties, Alabama. Improvement from 2 to 4 lanes from US-84 bypass in Enterprise to Wicksburg Wye, a length of 13.2 miles. Highway project S-877-E and S-1004-E. (ELR Order No. 1115, 8 pages) (NTIS Order No. 203 753-D) October 27.

Highway project F-377(2): Mobile County, Alabama. Construction of new 2.5 mile route beginning on Ala. 163 approximately 16 miles south of Mobile and extending north along Range Line Rd. to a point on Island Rd. 1 mile west of Ala. 163. Will displace 14 residences and 4 businesses. (ELR Order No. 1163,

11 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 017-D) November 5.

Connecting highway between US-278 and SR-157: Cullman County, *Alabama*. Initial 2-lane construction with ultimate plans for a rural 4-lane divided facility. Will provide a bypass of the town of Cullman. Highway project S-184-D. (ELR Order No. 1177, 7 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 030-D) November 8.

US-431: Russell County, *Alabama*. Relocation and widening of road to 4-lanes from about 2.7 miles south of Seale to a point near Phenix City. Highway project S-50-E. (ELR Order No. 1178, 20 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 031-D) November 8.

Tudor and Muldoon Rds: Anchorage, *Alaska*. Upgrading to 4-lane, 2-way facility from junction of Seward Hwy. and Tudor Rd., east on Tudor Rd. and north on Muldoon Rd. to Glenn Hwy., a distance of 7.2 miles. Project F-044-1(5) and (6). (ELR Order No. 1249, 22 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 379-D) November 19.

Northern Lights Blvd. Couplet: Anchorage, *Alaska*. Construction of couplet pair of 1-way, 4-lane roadways for 2 miles between Lois Dr. and LaTouche St. and a 6-lane divided section from LaTouche St. east 0.75 mile to lake Otis Pkwy. Involves displacement of families, businesses and 2 churches. Project S-0547(12) (ELR Order No. 1282, 36 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 502-D) November 26.

SR-87: Mesa-Payson (Beeline) Hwy., Gila County, *Arizona*. Improvement of approximately 20 miles of highway, within the Tonto National Forest, from Maricopa County line to Payson. May involve channel changes in sections of State Creek. A 4(f) determination required. Project F-053-1-203. (ELR Order No. 1169), (NTIS Order No. PB-204 022-D) November 5.

I-40: Winslow, Navajo County, *Arizona*. Construction of bypass from US-66 three miles west of Winslow east for 8.4 miles. Revision of draft circulated 3/29. Project I-40-4(60), (61), (81) and (62). (ELR Order No. 1272, 24 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 465-D) November 24.

US-7: Wilton, Fairfield County, *Connecticut*. Relocation of 3-mile section of 4-lane, limited access expressway from Olmstead Hill Rd. to Wilton-Ridgefield town line. 4(f) statement regards use of Girl Scout campground. State highway project 161-87. (ELR Order No. 1153, 67 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 882-D) November 3.

I-75: Lee and Dade Counties, *Florida*. Construction of limited-access, multi-lane 135 mile highway and interchanges between Miami and Fort Myers. Requires displacement of 23 residences and 5 businesses and loss of wetlands. Directly or indirectly affects lands within a Conservation Area, Everglades National Park and Collier-Seminole State Park. 4(f) determination included. (ELR Order No. 1134, 123 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 769-D) October 28.

US-301 (SR-683): Sarasota and Manatee Counties, *Florida*. Improvement and relocation of 8-mile, multi-lane, limited access highway from county line into Bradenton. State job No. 17120-1503 and 13120-1506. (ELR Order No. 1146, 19 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 879-D) October 29.

SR-438: Silver Star Rd., Orange County, *Florida*. Improvement of a 4.2 mile segment beginning at SR-435 east to SR-500 (US-441), the first 2.5 miles to be additional lanes, the remaining a new 4-lane facility. Will involve relocation of homes and businesses. State job No. 75250-1505. (ELR Order No. 1138, 128 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 771-D) November 2.

SR-35 (US-17): Punta Gorda, Charlotte County, *Florida*. Construction of a 3.3 mile multi-lane facility from US-41 to SR-74. State job No. 01040-1504. (ELR Order No.

1155, 20 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 880-D) November 2.

SR-44: Leesburg, Lake County, *Florida*. Construction of 1.5 miles multi-lane facility from SR-44A east to SR-25 (US-27). Three alternatives involve displacement of homes, businesses, etc. (ELR No. 1159, 42 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 883-D) November 3.

SR-50: Lake County, *Florida*. Upgrading of 4.7-mile, 2-lane facility to a multi-lane highway from SR-33 in Groveland east to SR-561 in Clermont. Involves displacement of 67 persons, 18 residences, 10 businesses and 1 industrial building. State job 11070-1504; Federal job F-022-2(17). (ELR Order No. 1194, 40 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 097-D) November 11.

SR-415: Seminole and Volusia Counties, *Florida*. Construction of 2-lane highway and bridge across St. Johns River beginning at SR-46 in Seminole County for 1.61 miles to a point on SR-415 in Volusia County. State job 77161-1501, 79120-1501; Federal project S-716(1). (ELR Order No. 1195, 84 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 096D) November 12.

Supplement on 4(f) involvement—SR-115: Duval County, *Florida*. Improvement to 4-lane highway between Trout River and I-295. (See 102 Monitor, May, p. 62.) State project 72150-3509, 72150-3504; Federal project US-S-545(2). (ELR Order No. 1219, 90 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 243-D) November 16.

I-75 (SR-93); St. Petersburg, Pinellas County, *Florida*. Construction of 2-mile, multi-lane highway and related facilities beginning near Sunshine Skyway North Toll Plaza and ending at 39th Ave. South. Use of Maximo Park land requires 4(f) determination. State job 15190-3422, Federal job I-75-7(42) 448. (ELR Order No. 1242, 66 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 376-D) November 17.

Cobb County, *Georgia*. Three construction projects: a 4-lane facility beginning at I-75 south of Roberts Rd. interchange to Big Shanty, then northeast in the vicinity of Parkwood Dr.; a 6-lane section beginning at SR-5 near Sandy Plains Rd. and ending at Bells Ferry Rd.; and a multi-lane facility beginning at I-75 north to SR-5. Will displace 44 families and 16 businesses. Projects F-057-1(4), S-1378 and S-2556. (ELR Order No. 1268, 39 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 462-D) November 19.

SR-9 and SR-37: Huntington County, *Indiana*. Construction of 3.2-mile additional lanes from the north end of Mt. Etna bypass to south end of Huntington bypass. Will require removal of 4 homes, 3 barns, sheds and skating rink. Project F-101(12). (ELR Order No. 1183, 12 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 093-D) November 8.

US-20: Fort Dodge, Webster County, *Iowa*. Reconstruction of 1.7 mile, 4-lane facility beginning at intersection with US-169 and ending at 12th St. Involves dislocation of 5 houses and 2 businesses. (ELR Order No. 1154, 4 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 881-D) November 3.

US-30: Benton and Linn Counties, *Iowa*. Construction of 14.4 miles of expressway on relocation beginning near intersection with US-218 and ending near future interchange with Iowa 149. Will disturb some wildlife habitat and displace 1 family and 1 business. (ELR Order No. 1232, 10 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 263-D) November 16.

US-54: Wichita, Sedgewick County, *Kansas*. Improvement of 2.7 miles of highway to provide 2 lanes in each direction between Seville Lane and Hoover Rd. Requires relocation of residences and businesses. Project (SF) 54-87 U-038-3(35). (ELR Order No. 1279, 25 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 501-D) November 23.

US 190 (Chinchuba-Covington Highway): St. Tammany Parish, *Louisiana*. Construction of 2.4-mile, 4-lane divided highway and interchanges beginning at a point south of

LA-22 north to I-22. Will displace 13 homes, 7 businesses and 6 office buildings. State project 13-11-09. (ELR Order No. 1222, 10 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB 204 165-D) November 8.

US-171 and La-8: Leesville, Vernon Parish, *Louisiana*. Construction of south bound 2 lanes of a 1-way couplet through Leesville, a distance of 2.6 miles. Will displace 16 families and 1 shop. State project 24-06-16, 25-01-16, 25-01-19. Federal projects F-151 (6), (7) and (9). (ELR Order No. 1266, 17 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 459-D) November 24.

M-43: Kalamazoo and Van Buren Counties, *Michigan*. Reconstruction of 14.3 miles of M-43 from M-40 in Van Buren County east to Kalamazoo city limits. Requires removal of 31 homes and 1 business. Federal highway projects S 6() and S 6(102) (ELR Order No. 1132, 33 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 774-D) October 29.

Trunk Highway 52: Olmsted County, *Minnesota*. New routing to provide bypass of south Rochester in 3 segments, one completed and one under construction. Last segment runs from TH-63 junction to County Rd. junction. Will require use of 131 acres of agricultural land and will sever 13 farmsteads from remaining lands. Project S.P. 5507 (T.H. 52), F 020-1(). (ELR Order No. 1233, 20 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 262-D) October 29.

Trunk Highways 12, 23 and 71: Kandiyohi County, *Minnesota*. Involves rerouting above 3 highways to provide a bypass of Willmar (10 miles). Highway projects SP 3403-27, F 010-2(), SP 3405-20, F 023-2(), SP 3411-24, SP 3412-23, F 004-2(). (ELR Order No. 1176, 30 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 029-D) November 8.

County State Aid Highways 24 and 45: Courtland, *Minnesota*. Construction of a bridge, construction of roadway embankment and rerouting of Minnesota River channel between Courtland and SH-68. State project nos. SP 07-645-03, SP 52-624-03, ER 71(38) and bridge no. 52504. (ELR Order No. 1227, 24 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 265-D) November 11.

Rte. 63: Boone-Callaway Counties, *Missouri*. Construction of 5.9 miles of 4-lane highway from a point north of Callaway County line south to Rte. 54. Job 5-P-63-20. (ELR Order No. 1111, 7 pages) (NTIS Order No. 203 755-D) October 29.

Route 36: Marion-Ralls Counties, *Missouri*. Construction of 4.8 miles of 2-lane highway from a point west of Monroe City to a point west of Route J. Involves taking of approximately 170 acres of farmland, one farm unit, and one building. Job no. 3-F-36-33. (ELR Order No. 1110, 7 pages) (NTIS Order No. 203 754-D) October 29.

Route 71: Nodaway-Andrew Counties, *Missouri*. Construction of 23.8 miles of additional 2 lanes from a point south of Maryville south to Rte. 59. Job no. 1-P-71-1 (ELR Order No. 1112, 6 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 752-D) October 29.

I-435: Platte County, *Missouri*. Construction of 16-mile multi-lane facility from Missouri River north to I-29, then southeast to near Ferrilview. (ELR Order No. 1162, 20 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 016-D) November 5.

Route 13 (Kansas Trafficway): Green County, *Missouri*. Involves acquisition of right-of-way, grading and multilane paving of about 2.8 miles of Springfield, from Division St. south to Sunshine St. Job nos. 8-0-12-7 and 12. (ELR Order No. 1174, 14 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 027-D) November 8.

Route 67: Butler County, *Missouri*. Relocation and construction of 3.8 miles of road from just south of Wayne County line to 1.5 miles south of Route JJ. Job no. 10-P-67-20. (ELR Order No. 1175, 8 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 028-D) November 9.

Route 755: St. Louis, *Missouri*. Construction of 1.5 mile, 6-lane facility from Cole St. to I-55. Will displace 371 families, 90 businesses and 7 non-profit organizations. Project U-6-755-1(4); Job 6-U-755-23 (ELR Order 104-D) November 10.

Route 60: Wright County, *Missouri*. Construction of 17 miles of dual highway from 2.5 miles east of Mansfield to 3.6 miles west of Route 95(A). Removes approximately 410 acres of land from present use. Job No. 9-P-60-10 and 9-P-60-23, F-60-3(13). (ELR Order No. 1278, 7 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 502-D) November 16.

Missouri River Bridge and approaches: Great Falls, *Montana*. Relocation and construction of 4-lane bridge, with 4 alternatives under consideration. Park land is involved in each, and one crosses an island bird refuge. (ELR Order No. 1109, 28 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 756-D) October 28.

US 73 and 75: Omaha, Douglas County, *Nebraska*. Extension of Kennedy Freeway 0.8 mile from 27th and L Sts. to Railroad Ave. and W Sts. Will require taking of 42 single-family dwellings, 19 trailer homes, 7 multiple dwelling units, 2 churches and 29 businesses. Project QU-515(8) (ELR Order No. 1188, 10 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 100-D) November 12.

Route 208 Freeway: Bergen and Sussex Counties, *New Jersey*. Construction of 21.4-miles of freeway from Oakland Borough to N.Y. line. Will involve taking of 308 acres of watershed and recreational lands, 101 residences and 3 commercial structures. 4(f) determination required. (ELR Order No. 1235) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 260-D) November 19.

US-82: Eddy County, *New Mexico*. Upgrading to 2-lane divided highway for 25 miles from US 285 in Artesia east to west limits of Loco Hills. State project S-1216. (ELR Order No. 1218, 8 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB 204 156-D) November 10.

US-264: Wake, Nash and Wilson Counties, *North Carolina*. Relocation and improvement of 15.7 miles of highway beginning at NC 97 east of Zebulon and ending near the US-264-SR-1303 intersection. Would require acquisition of 250 acres of farmland and 700 acres of woodland, 14 families and 1 business would be relocated. Highway project 6.801778 (ELR Order No. 1128, 36 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 750-D) October 29.

I-85 and US-311: Davidson, Gullford and Randolph Counties, *North Carolina*. Construction of 20-mile segment of I-85 from Groomfield to Lexington and a 4.1 mile relocation of US-311 on west side of Archdale. Involves displacement of 189 families, 31 businesses, and 1 church and acquisition of a cemetery. State highway projects 8.15295, 8.15773, 8.15317 and 8.15774. (ELR Order No. 1167, 36 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 030-D) November 4.

NC 68: High Point, Gullford County, *North Carolina*. Widening of Westchester Drive from N. Main St. (US 311) to Elgin Ave. Will necessitate relocation of 11 families and 3 businesses. State project 9.8071026. (ELR Order No. 1215, 14 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 168-D) November 16.

Ward County Rd. No. 2: *North Dakota*. Highway improvement from Niobe north 2 miles to county line, west 1 mile to county line, and east 5 miles to Kenmore. Involves acquisition of 20 acres of land in Des Lacs National Wildlife Refuge, requiring a 4(f) determination. Highway project S-101(13) and S-676(2). (ELR Order No. 1161, 7 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 015-D) November 4.

SR-129: Hamilton and Fairfield, Butler County, *Ohio*. Relocation of 10-mile divided highway from I-75 to Hamilton. Will involve relocation of 19 families and 3 businesses. Project BUT-129-15.32. (ELR Order No. 1192, 28 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 103-D) November 8.

SR-56: Athens County, *Ohio*. Construction of 2.6-mile, 2-lane highway from 0.2 miles east of intersection of SR-56 with County Road 6 to 0.06 miles east of the intersection with County Road 9. Involves displacement of residences. (ELR Order No. 1213, 8 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 160-D) November 8.

SR-45: Columbiana County, *Ohio*. Construction of Lisbon bypass by overlapping SR-11 to West Point and ultimately for US-30. Will require taking of 7 residences, 1 church and 1 farm dwelling. Ohio highway project COL-45-15.90. (ELR Order No. 1182, 7 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 095-D) November 9.

US 250: Ashland County, *Ohio*. Widening and reconstruction of 1.2-mile roadway with new bridge over Jamison Creek. Will involve taking of 7 residences. Project ASD-250-15.82. (ELR Order No. 1191, 7 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 099-D) November 10.

US 35: Gallia County, *Ohio*. Construction of 12.7 miles of 4-lane limited access highway from its junction with SR-160 to Centerville. Will require taking of 3 residences and 2 churches. (ELR Order No. 1200, 10 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 102-D) November 11.

SR-4: Clark, Champaign and Union Counties, *Ohio*. Relocation of SR-4 from a point 1 mile southwest of the Clark-Champaign County line near its intersection with Baldwin Lane to the beginning of the Marysville bypass. Will require relocation of 19 families. (ELR Order No. 1214, 21 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 159-D) November 15.

SR-34: Bryan, Williams County, *Ohio*. Relocating and widening of 1 mile of roadway and construction of a new elevated structure over the Penn-Central RR. Will displace 3 residences. (ELR Order No. 1217, 11 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 157-D) November 16.

SR 619: (State St.) Barberton, Summit County, *Ohio*. Construction of grade separation over railroad tracks beginning near Highland Ave. and ending .56 mile northwest along State St. Will displace 17 families and 3 businesses. Project US-385 (7), SUM-619-0.63. (ELR Order No. 1248, 10 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 378-D) November 19.

CR-204: Lorain County, *Ohio*. Upgrading to 4 lanes of 1 mile of road beginning near Griswold Rd. intersection and ending near Elyria Ave. Will require taking of 4 residences and 4 business places. Project SU 1484(1) (ELR Order No. 1234, 6 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 261-D) November 19.

Jacksonville Hwy.: Grants Pass-New Hope Rd. section, Josephine County, *Oregon*. Widening of highway from its intersection with New Hope Rd., a distance of 1.4 miles, or developing a new route using .5 mile of Harbeck Rd. and the remaining 1 mile on a new location. (ELR Order No. 1130, 21 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 751-D) October 27.

Golden Strip Freeway: Greenville County, *South Carolina*. Construction of 6 miles of freeway from the interchange of I-85 and I-385 each of Greenville south to US-276 at the Standing Springs Rd. interchange at Simpsonville. Would displace 12 residences. (ELR Order No. 1117, 12 pages) (NTIS Order No. 203 757-D) October 29.

US-14: Brookings County, *South Dakota*. Construction of a 16-mile, 4-lane divided highway beginning southeast of Arlington and ending west of Brookings. Project F 030-6. (ELR Order No. 1281, 7 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 504-D) November 23.

SR-3: Tipton and Lauderdale Counties, *Tennessee*. Improvement of 6.7-mile section from junction with Main St. in Covington to a point 1.6 miles north of Tipton-Lauderdale County line. Will require displacement of 18 residences and 1 business. State project 84002-1229-04 (ELR Order No. 1185, 15 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 094-D) November 9.

SR-33: Monroe County, *Tennessee*. Construction of roadway from northeast of Madisonville at the Madisonville bypass to the Little Tennessee River east of Vonore. All three alternatives involve relocation of residences and businesses. State project 62004-0214-04, Federal project F-033-1(). (ELR Order No. 1265 25 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 458-D) November 19.

SH-35: San Patricio and Aransas Counties, *Texas*. Improvements to a 4-lane divided highway for approximately 22 miles from Gregory to the Copano Bay Causeway. Will use 475 acres of brushland, 95 acres of farmland, 163 undeveloped subdivided acres. Texas project F377. (ELR Order No. 1276, 21 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 464-D) November 29.

Groton-Marshfield State Highway: Groton, Caledonia County, *Vermont*. Reconstruction of 0.4 mile to eliminate 2 sharp curves and upgrade surface, approximately 200 ft. within boundary of Groton State Forest, requiring a 4(f) determination. Highway project S 0217. (ELR Order No. 1168, 47 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 021-D) November 4.

I-66: Fairfax and Arlington Counties, *Virginia*. Extension of facility for 9.66 miles from Francis Scott Key Memorial Bridge to I-495 (Beltway). Will involve loss of a part of Spout Run, acquisition of 9.6 acres of right of way from Bon Air Park and Westover Playground and displacement of 625 families and 51 business (473 families and 39 businesses have been relocated over the past 8 years). State project 0066-029-103, C-502, C-503, C-504; 0066-000-101, C-501, C-502; 0066-000-102, C-501, C-502, C-506, C-507. (ELR Order No. 1189, 85 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 101-D) November 11.

SR-18, Raging River Interchange: King County, *Washington*. Construction of interchange to permit closing of county road system through Seattle Cedar River Watershed. (ELR Order No. 1140, 22 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 772-D) October 29.

I-5: Longview Wye to Rocky Point, Cowlitz County, *Washington*. Widening of 4 to 6 lane freeway for 5.6 miles and updating interchanges. (ELR Order No. 1148, 15 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 878-D) November 2.

SR-90: King County, *Washington*. Construction of 4.1-mile 6-lane highway from the Lower Crossing of the Snoqualmie National Forest Boundary on a new alignment. (ELR Order No. 1220, 49 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 167-D) November 3.

SR-101: Thurston County, *Washington*. Construction of interchange west of Mottman Road intersection to replace and permit closure of that intersection and the on-ramp near 9th Ave. SR-101 runs along corporate limits of Olympia and Tumwater. (ELR Order No. 1224, 9 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 258-D) November 16.

US-250: Philippi, Barbour County, *West Virginia*. Construction of 4-lane bridge over Tygart Valley River and relocation of US-250 beginning on US-119 to a point near Anglin St., a length of 1.2 miles. Will involve acquisition of 43 homes, 7 businesses and 1 church. Project F-117(12). (ELR Order No. 1243, 34 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 381-D) November 18.

Milwaukee to Green Bay Interstate Highway (Saukville to Bellevue section): Ozaukee, Sheboygan, Manitowish and Brown Counties, *Wisconsin*. Construction of 82-mile freeway, 31 miles of which are now under construction as US 141. Will require relocation of homes, businesses and farm operations. Project I 57-1(1)0; I.D. 1220-0-00 (ELR Order No. 1184, 46 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 091-D) November 10.

Park and Lake Freeways: Milwaukee, *Wisconsin*. Construction of the eastern end of the Park Freeway, the Lake Park Interchange at Juneau Park and the Lake Freeway

south from that interchange across a high-level bridge (under construction) above Milwaukee Harbor entrance and south to Mitchell Field. Requires relocation of 500 families. 4(f) determinations required for use of public recreational lands. (ELR Order No. 1223, 158 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 257-D) November 17.

Final

Title, Description, and Date

US-98: Upgrading and widening highway beginning in Mobile, *Alabama* and continuing 5.3 miles toward Natchez, Mississippi. Highway Project F-210(), S-4914(). Comments made by Army, DOI, DOT, EPA, HUD, Ala. Development Office and South Ala. Regional Planning Commission. (ELR Order No. 1121, 28 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 759-F) November 2.

Nancy Lake Access Road: Willow, Alaska. Construction of a 2-lane road from the Anchorage-Fairbanks Highway to 1.5 miles to connection into the Nancy Lake Recreation Area. 4(f) determination attached. Highway project S-0581(1). Comments made by USDA, 3 State agencies and Borough Chairman. (ELR Order No. 1152, 15 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-199 149-F) November 3.

Arizona Forest Highway 3: Conconino National forest, Arizona. Construction of 6.1 miles of 2-lane facility, the final segment involving major realignment and reconstruction. Comments made by USDA, Army COE, EPA, FPC, DOT, HUD, DOI, Ariz. Dept. of Economic Planning and Development and Coconino County Highway Dept. (ELR Order No. 1275, 50 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 567-F) November 23.

South Wilmington Connector to I-95: Wilmington, Delaware. Construction of interchange connection and 4-lane divided highway along the Front St. corridor, beginning at Adams St. and running east along Front St. to Walnut St. Between French and Walnut Sts. the corridor turns north and continues to 4th St. Comments made by HUD, DRBC, 3 State offices, New Castle County and City of Wilmington. (ELR Order No. 1277, 55 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-200 766-F) November 23.

I-185: Muscogee County, Georgia. Construction of new highway from Double Churches Rd. south to the Columbus-Manchester Expressway, a portion of highway that will connect Atlanta and Columbus. Highway project I-185-1(). Comments made by EPA, HUD, Ga. Bureau of State Planning and Community Affairs, Ga. Dept. of Public Health, Lower Chattahoochee Valley Area Planning and Development Commission and Valley Council of Local Governments. (ELR Order No. 1129, 31 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-200 529-F) October 27.

State project APL 8009(001): Carroll County, Georgia (partly in Carrollton). Construction of a road from a point on S-835 (0.25 mile east of west city limit) northeast to SR-1, US-27 (about 1.25 miles from city limit). Will open area to industrial development. Comments made by Army COE, USDA, HUD and Bur. of State Planning and Community Affairs. (ELR Order No. 1123, 13 pages.) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 760-F) October 27.

Cherokee Rd. Extension (PR 700): Cobb County, Georgia. Construction of a 4-lane, free access facility linking Cherokee St. in Smyrna to Windy Hill Rd. at I-75 interchange. Highway project PR 700 (S-2565). Comments made by EPA, DOT, Navy, Ga. Bur. of State Planning and Community Affairs, Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission and City of Smyrna. (ELR Order No. 1141, 31 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 400-F) November 2.

FAS Route 613: relocation and improvement of route beginning near College and Johnson Sts. in Jacksonville, *Illinois* and

extending northeast for about 1 mile to connect with existing road. Highway project (S-613(103)). Comments made by USDA, DOC, DOI, EPA and FPC. (ELR Order No. 1124, 22 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-200 444-F) October 27.

Supplemental Freeway FAP Rte. 408: Sangamon and Morgan Counties, *Illinois*. Freeway construction with full access control from interchange with US-36-54 near Curran to an interchange with US-67 south of Jacksonville. Comments made by USDA, DOC, DOI, EPA, 8 State offices, Jacksonville Park Board, and Springfield-Sangamon Cy. Regional Planning Commission. (ELR Order No. 1102, 246 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 394-F) October 27.

US-90: Part of relocation of US-90 between Lafayette and New Orleans, *Louisiana*, extending south to junction with US-90 east of Wax Lake Bridge. Comments made by AEC, USDA, DOC, DOI, HEW, Office of State Planning, La. Wildlife and Fisheries Commission, and La. State University. (ELR Order No. 1103, 33 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 766-F) October 27.

I-94 Business Loop: Replacement of bridge over the St. Joseph River between Benton Harbor and St. Joseph, Berrien County, *Michigan* to accommodate auto traffic and to increase under-clearance to accommodate river traffic. 4(f) determination regards acquisition of 0.4 acre of river-front park owned by Benton Harbor. Project U-444(5) Item 812. Comments made by Army COE, USDA, DOC, DOI, EPA, HUD and DOT. (ELR Order No. 1210, 59 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-199 601-F) November 15.

Route 110: Jefferson County, *Missouri*. Improvement of 5.2 miles of road beginning at Rte. 110 near Desoto east to Rte. 67. Involves channel alignment of 2 creeks and taking of 3 houses and 1 church. Job no. 6-S-110-4 and 6-S-110-2, Projects S-140(1) and S-140(3). Comments made by USDA, DOI, EPA, DOT, Mo. Dept. of Community Affairs and East-West Gateway Coordinating Council (ELR Order No. 125, 24 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-198 721-F) October 26.

Route 54: Miller County, *Missouri*. Upgrading of present road to dual-lane, limited-access facility from 1 mile west of Rte. FF to Cole County. Project F-54-3(22). Comments made by HUD, USDA, DOT, EPA, Mo. Dept. of Community Affairs. (ELR Order No. 1127, 21 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 764-F) October 26.

Route 60: Butler-Stoddard Counties, *Missouri*. Upgrading to a dual-lane, limited access facility from Poplar Bluff urban limits to Rte. 51 east of Flisk and Rte. 67 east to Rte. T. Project's purpose is to locate Rte. 60 to relieve congestion. Highway project F-60-4 (13). Comments made by USDA, EPA, State Clearinghouse and Bootheel Regional Planning Commission. (ELR Order No. 1122, 14 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 758-F) October 27.

Route 54: Callaway County, *Missouri*. Improvement of 9.7 miles of divided highway between Fulton and Holt Summit. Will require taking 7 farm units. Highway project F-54-3(20)(27)(28). Comments made by USDA, DOI, EPA, and Mo. Dept. of Community Affairs. (ELR Order No. 1126, 17 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-200 367-F) October 27.

I-670: Kansas City, *Missouri*. Construction of 0.9 mile of 6-lane freeway, mainly elevated, from intersection of I-29 and 35 to I-670 in Kansas. Will require 1.1 acres of West Terrace Park; 4(f) determination attached. Comments made by USDA, EPA, DOI, DOT, Mo. Dept. of Community Affairs, Metropolitan Planning Commission—K.C. Region and K.C. Board of Park and Recreation Commissioners. Job No. 4-I-670-46; Project I-IG-670-1(52). (ELR Order No. 1229, 25 pages)

(NTIS Order No. PB-204 254-F) November 15.

North 72nd Street: Omaha, *Nebraska*. Upgrading of 1.4 miles between Ames Ave. and Redick Ave. 4(f) determination regards route through the Benson Golf Course. Project SU-147(13). Comments made by USDA, Army COE, EPA, DOI and Neb. Dept. of Health. (ELR Order No. 1211, 36 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-199 635-F) November 15.

SR-5 (Great Western Gateway Bridge): Schenectady County, *New York*. Replacement of bridge over the Mohawk River and Barge Canal between Scotia and Schenectady and reconstruction of approaches. 4(f) determination regards land from Collins Park and the Sanders' Mansion. Project PIN 1383.00. Comments made by USDA. (ELR Order No. 1209, 19 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-199 642-F) November 15.

US-183: Custer County, *Oklahoma*. Reconstruction (widening, resurfacing, etc.) beginning at the Washita River bridge north of Clinton and extending north through Arapaho to point just north of SH-33 (approximately 8 miles). Highway project F-332. Comments made by DOI and 3 State of Oklahoma offices. (ELR Order No. 1104, 21 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-199 585-F) October 27.

SH Spur 303: from F.M. 1382 in Grand Prairie, east to Loop in Dallas, Texas. Purpose: to provide a fast route between the Oak Cliff area of Dallas and Grand Prairie. Comments made by DOC, DOT, EPA, Cities of Dallas and Grand Prairie, Dallas County, and North Central Texas Council of Governments. (ELR Order No. 1101, 23 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 765-F) October 27.

SR-104: Hood Canal Bridge Viewpoint, Kitsap County, Washington. Includes construction of access road connecting to SR-3, parking areas, rest room building and viewpoint platform. Highway project F-001-1, CS 1442R. Comments made by USDA, DOI, EPA, HUD, 7 State of Washington offices, Kitsap County and Puget Sound Governmental Conference. (ELR Order No. 1100, 28 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 767-F) October 26.

FHWA 4(f) Statements:

The following are not 102 statements. They are explanations of the Secretary of Transportation's approval of projects to be implemented under Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act, 49, U.S.C. Section 1653(f). (Statements cannot be ordered through NTIS.)

I-77: Charlotte, North Carolina. Highway project requires use of approximately 5 of the 23 acres of Double Oaks Park. (Order through ELR by title, date and Department—5 pages) November 23.

I-64: East St. Louis, St. Clair County, Illinois. Requires use of 10.8 acres of Jones Park for highway project. (Order through ELR by title, date and Department—3 pages) November 23.

U.S. Coast Guard

Contact: D. B. Charter, Jr., Commander, U.S. Coast Guard; Chief, Environmental Coordination Branch, 400 7th Street SW., Washington, D.C. 20591, (202) 426-2012.

Draft

Title, Description, and Date

Construction of Loran-C Transmitting Station, Caribou-Presque Isle area of *Maine*. Project 01-83-71. (ELR Order No. 1205, 3 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 161-D) November 11.

U.S. Coast Guard Reserve Training Center, Yorktown, *Virginia*. Relocation of access road to Coast Guard facility and development of family housing for the facility. Land involved is a portion of the National Colonial Historic Park at Yorktown. (ELR Order No. 1204, 8 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 163-D) November 11.

Small Scale Explosive Icebreaker (REDSOD). Test of 12' x 15' scale model icebreaking technique utilizing high pressure exhaust at Muskegon, Michigan. Test project 721314. (ELR Order No. 1274, 8 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 463-D) November 23.

REGIONAL FEDERAL HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATORS

Region 1 (Conn., N.H., R.I., Mass., Puerto Rico, Me., N.J., Vt., N.Y.)

Administrator: Gerald D. Love, 4 Norman-skill Blvd., Delmar, N.Y. 12054. Tel.: (518) 472-6476.

Region 2 (Del., Ohio, Md., W.V., D.C., Penna., Va.)

Administrator: August Schofer, Rm. 1633, George H. Fallon Federal Office Bldg., 31

Hopkins Plaza, Baltimore, Md. 21201. Tel: (301) 962-2361.

Region 3 (Alabama, S.C., Georgia, N.C., Fla., Tenn., Miss.)

Administrator: Harry E. Stark, Suite 200, 1720 Peachtree Rd. N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30309. Tel: (404) 526-5078.

Region 4 (Ill., Wisc., Indiana, Mich.)

Administrator: Fred B. Farrell, 18209 Dixie Hwy., Homewood, Ill. 60430. Tel: (312) 799-6300.

Region 5 (Iowa, Neb., Minn., Mo., Ka., N.D., S.D.)

Administrator: John B. Kemp, P.O. Box 7186, Country Club Station, Kansas City, Missouri 64113. Tel: (816) 361-7563.

Region 6 (Ark., Oklahoma, La., Texas)
Administrator: James W. White, 819 Taylor St., Ft. Worth, Texas 76102. Tel: (817) 334-3232.

Region 7 (Arizona, Hawaii, Calif., Nevada)
Administrator: Sheridan E. Farin, 450 Golden Gate Ave., Box 36096, San Francisco, Calif. 94102. Tel: (415) 556-3951.

Region 8 (Alaska, Montana, Wash., Idaho, Oregon)

Administrator: Ralph M. Phillips, Rm. 412, Mohawk Bldg., 222 Southwest Morrison St., Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-3454.

Region 9 (Col., Utah, N.M., Wyoming)
Administrator: William H. Baugh, Bldg. 40, Denver Federal Center, Denver, Colorado 80225. Tel: (303) 233-6721.

SUMMARY OF 102 STATEMENTS FILED WITH THE CEQ THROUGH NOV. 30, 1971 (BY AGENCY)

Agency	Draft 102's for actions on which no final 102's have yet been received	Final 102's on legislation and actions	Total actions on which final or draft 102 statements for Federal actions have been received	Agency	Draft 102's for actions on which no final 102's have yet been received	Final 102's on legislation and actions	Total actions on which final or draft 102 statements for Federal actions have been received
Appalachian Regional Commission.....	1	0	1	Interior, Department of.....	47	35	82
Atomic Energy Commission.....	27	24	51	International Boundary and Water Commission—United States and Mexico.....	1	4	5
Commerce, Department of.....	1	7	8	National Aeronautics and Space Administration.....	16	6	22
Defense, Department of.....	3	2	5	Office of Science and Technology.....	2	0	2
Air Force.....	1	3	4	Tennessee Valley Authority.....	0	1	1
Army.....	6	5	11	Transportation, Department of.....	11	2	13
Army Corps of Engineers.....	149	265	414	Treasury, Department of.....	868	416	1,284
Navy.....	6	4	10	U.S. Water Resources Council.....	1	3	4
Delaware River Basin Commission.....	3	0	3		4	0	4
Environmental Protection Agency.....	3	9	12	Total.....	1,235	911	2,146
Federal Power Commission.....	14	5	19				
General Services Administration.....	16	19	35				
HEW, Department of.....	0	1	1				

*Separate 4(f) statements not incorporated in 102 statements received from DOT are not included.

SUMMARY OF 102 STATEMENTS FILED WITH THE CEQ THROUGH NOV. 30, 1971 (BY PROJECT TYPE)

Project Type	Draft statements for actions on which no final statements have yet been filed	Final statements on legislation and actions	Total actions on which final or draft statements for Federal actions have been taken	Project Type	Draft statements for actions on which no final statements have yet been filed	Final statements on legislation and actions	Total actions on which final or draft statements for Federal actions have been taken
Aircraft, ships, and vehicles.....	0	5	5	Roads.....	702	273	975
Airports.....	26	116	142	Plus roads through parks.....	119	20	139
Buildings.....	0	5	5	Space programs.....	6	2	8
Bridge permits.....	14	4	18	Waste disposal:			
Defense systems.....	2	2	4	Detoxification of toxic substances.....	4	1	5
Forestry.....	2	4	6	Munition disposal.....	2	3	5
Housing, urban problems, new communities.....	8	6	14	Radioactive waste disposal.....	1	1	2
International boundary.....	4	2	6	Sewage facilities.....	2	5	7
Land acquisition, disposal.....	12	24	36	Solid wastes.....	1	0	1
Mass transit.....	3	1	4	Water:			
Mining.....	5	1	6	Beach erosion, hurricane protection.....	2	20	22
Military installations.....	11	3	14	Irrigation.....	16	9	25
Natural gas and oil:				Navigation.....	39	94	133
Drilling and exploration.....	3	5	8	Municipal and industrial supply.....	4	1	5
Transportation, pipeline.....	3	3	6	Permit (Refuse Act, dredge and fill).....	7	0	7
Parks, wildlife refuges, recreation facilities.....	9	14	23	Watershed protection and flood control.....	115	221	336
Pesticides, herbicides.....	7	10	17	Weather modification.....	8	3	11
Power:				Research and development.....	13	6	19
Hydroelectric.....	18	4	22	Miscellaneous.....	14	12	26
Nuclear.....	24	16	40				
Other.....	15	1	16	Total.....	1,235	911	2,146
Transmission.....	6	6	12				

BUS SAFETY STANDARDS

HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, I am sure most of my colleagues, excepting those serving their first term here, will remember one of South Carolina's former Representatives and a close associate of many Members of Congress for several years, the Honorable William Cramer.

As former ranking minority member of the Committee on Public Works, Bill Cramer was known as one of the staunchest advocates of highway safety in the country.

Although no longer a Member, Bill Cramer has maintained an active interest in this issue, and I was recently privileged to insert a statement of Mr. Cramer in the RECORD of the bus safety standard hearings held by the Public Works Committee.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I insert the text of Mr. Cramer's statement in the

RECORD, so that my colleagues who serve on other committees may have the benefit of our former colleague's views on a most important subject:

STATEMENT BY HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

Mr. Chairman: As a staunch supporter of highway safety, I am very much in favor of the promulgation of strict safety standards of school buses. Therefore, I heartily approve efforts by the Department of Transportation to establish standards aimed at making those buses used to transport children to and from school as safe as we can possibly make them.

I don't have to tell you that highway

travel is increasing year in and year out. You see it and I see it, as we drive about our business each day.

Nor do I have to tell you, that the hazards associated with highway travel are increasing as well. As congestion rises, as vehicle miles grow, the chances of highway mishaps increase apace. This is a primary reason for my personal concern over the fact that so many American school children are now being bused each day to attend school.

While I reluctantly own to the necessity to busing children when necessary to transport them to the nearest educational institution, I have grave reservations over recent court rulings which require the mass busing of school children to achieve racial balance. From an educational standpoint, in my judgment, the wisdom of such decisions is open to serious doubt.

But, more pertinent to these proceedings, one would have to be either naive or unthinking to ignore the serious safety implications for those children, both black and white, affected by busing decrees. Each unnecessary passenger mile we require them to travel adds to the probability that sooner or later some will become accident victims.

In the last two months alone, two terrible incidents involving school children occurred. One happened near Liberty, New York, when a privately chartered bus carrying a group of teenagers and subteenagers experienced a mechanical failure. The crash that followed claimed six lives. An additional eight youngsters were seriously injured.

The second incident occurred in Greenview, Colorado, where a loss of brakes on a vehicle carrying school children claimed nine young lives and injured an additional fifteen children.

Proponents of mass busing of school children assert that the rate of accidents and injuries in school buses is low compared to that for the general driving public. While this may be true, such a statistic provides small comfort for those parents whose children are killed or maimed in busing accidents. Last year alone, for example, there were a total of 39,000 such accidents nationwide. 4,500 pupil injuries were sustained and 75 children lost their lives.

The death of any child is always an occasion for grief. But the death of a single child who is unnecessarily bused is a great tragedy.

Yet realistically, no matter what standards we set, no matter what degree of care we exercise in maintaining and operating school buses, an irreducible number of accidents and injuries and deaths will surely occur. And the number of such mishaps will be in direct proportion to the number of children bused and the mileage traveled by them. Thus, if we double the number of children requiring transport and double the mileage traveled by them, we can likely expect a doubling of the toll of accidents and fatalities.

We are already placing tremendous strains on our school transportation system. Such strains are a danger in themselves. Let me cite an example of what I mean. Not long ago a bus traveling on the overburdened school transportation system of Potomac, Maryland experienced a brake failure, necessitating the use of low gear and emergency brakes to stop the vehicle. Following this harrowing experience, the driver informed her dispatcher and the proper authorities of the unsafe condition of her vehicle. Despite her report, the bus was not repaired and the next morning she was assigned to the same faulty vehicle. When she balked at driving it, she was threatened with the loss of her job. So she continued to transport children in that dangerous vehicle, utilizing low gear and emergency brakes to stop it. That a serious crash did not occur was a minor miracle.

Such instances of negligence and worse deeply trouble me. I truly hope that school busing operations can be made so safe that incidents of this sort will seldom occur.

But, I also hope that we can reverse the recent trend of court decisions in order to keep to a minimum the busing of children, for mass busing cannot but lead to the needless sacrifice of young lives—a slaughter of the innocents.

In my book, even the loss of a single child in this manner will be too hard for the Nation to bear.

At this point in the record, I ask that a Fact Sheet prepared by the Department of Transportation on "Pupil Transportation in the United States" dated March 1971, be included in the record of these proceedings.

I thank Congressman Harsha and the Committee for permitting me to submit this statement of my concern.

FACT SHEET—PUPIL TRANSPORTATION IN THE UNITED STATES, MARCH 1971

Total vehicle.....	245,000
Publicly owned.....	172,000
Privately owned.....	73,000
School buses.....	225,000
Small vehicles, station wagons, cars.....	20,000
Total drivers.....	255,000
Male.....	200,000
Female.....	55,000
Over 21.....	235,000
Under 21.....	20,000
Average age.....	40
Total children.....	19,000,000
Total annual miles.....	2,100,000,000
Public expense.....	\$901,000,000
Including capital outlay.....	\$1,517,900,000
Total accidents.....	39,000
Pupil injuries.....	4,500
Pupil fatalities.....	75
On school bus.....	25
Approaching or leaving loading zone.....	50
Types of Collisions:	Percent
Front end.....	20
Rear end.....	13
Side.....	16
Roll over.....	8
Non-collision, struck.....	43
Pedestrian, not specified.....	100

Sources: National Safety Council; and School Bus Mfg. Institute.

Prepared by: David H. Soule, Pupil Transportation Specialist, National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.

FLORIDA SCHOOLS CITE UNSAFE BUS BRAKES

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Up to 452 school buses in 40 or more Florida counties are equipped with brakes that state school officials say are subject to sudden failure.

Among the counties that have reported temporary brake failures on school buses are Sarasota, Manatee, Polk and Gadsden. A three-year old boy was injured in Sarasota when the brakes on a school bus failed and the vehicle slammed into his grandmother's car.

"The brakes fade," said Sarasota County transportation supervisor James Hightower. "It seems like they're grabbing."

"It isn't too very often but it's enough to keep us worried," he said. "It happened twice in one week."

International Harvester, which manufactured the 1969 and 1970 model buses experi-

encing brake problems, sent representatives to Sarasota Oct. 5 and promised a report within a few days.

THE POLITICS OF ECOLOGY

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, I have great respect for Dr. Barry Commoner, and the environmental principles which he has so forcefully and so elegantly articulated. Yet, as he continues to expand and more completely develop his themes in the public forum—as he recently did both in his testimony before the Senate Commerce Committee and in his new book, "The Closing Circle"—I find more reason to distinguish between his environmental principles and his environmental politics.

It is often the case that politicians, such as myself, are hesitant to venture into the world of science, where some of us—at best—hold a "baccalaureate" in committee hearings "with honors" in floor debate. Yet, if Dr. Commoner is to express a world-view which is no less political than environmental, I should not hesitate to submit a few of my own thoughts on the politics of ecology.

If I correctly understand Dr. Commoner, he has set at odds the total economic system of the West, and the total economy of the ecosphere. The technology of the modern marketplace, he says, has come perilously close to imbalancing the ecology of the seas, thereby endangering all life, which draws sustenance from the ocean. The proposed solution is no less than a complete reallocation of economic priorities and a complete political reorientation toward environmental goals, a kind of all-or-nothing revolution which is so often posed as the solution to many of our social problems. Perhaps this kind of projection must be made and, if so, we are fortunate that it was made by a man who commands our highest respect. Yet, that done, someone else must say:

It will not happen. Congress will continue to reflect the environmental values of its constituents, but no total or even near-total transformation, reorganization or reallocation will occur. It never does.

I might add that it will not happen to the extent that Dr. Commoner's perfectly harmonious ecosphere does not exist. Just as with the immutable law which states that no legislative program will work to the perfection and expectations of its authors, so is it equally certain that the cycle of nature is a cycle of waste—one which survives by the margin of its surpluses and not by the perfect cooperation of its living and inorganic members. And, to the extent that one finds nature—or the ecosphere, if you will—to be imperfect, the revolutionary politics of ecology are imperfect.

We have not journeyed through two-and-a-half centuries of Western civiliza-

tion, with history's painful process of refinement of our political ideals and practices, to subsume all to an ecological tyranny. Man and his politics will react and adapt as they have in the past. They will do so not through sudden or violent transformation of the economic or political environment, but through the same process of innovation and adaptation that has supported man's existence thus far.

Still, because Dr. Commoner has challenged our thinking, as mine has been challenged, we owe him our gratitude. His ideas are most worthy of note and certainly demand our attention as we seek to find the right legislative solutions to our environmental problems. I am happy to insert in the RECORD two recent articles: one by Robert Cowen of the Christian Science Monitor, and the other by Stephen MacDonald of the Wall Street Journal, which may serve to introduce some of my colleagues to the recent ideas of Dr. Barry Commoner.

The articles follow:

POLLUTION AND FREE-ENTERPRISE ECONOMICS
(By Stephen MacDonald)

Who isn't fed up with ecology? Strangling in sulfur dioxide might be preferable to reading another book on the subject. But Barry Commoner's "The Closing Circle" (Knopf, 300 pages, \$6.95) isn't just another book, and if you have time for only one more, let this be the one.

Especially if you are a businessman. One of Mr. Commoner's major theses is that the emerging ecological crisis—and it's coming, even if people are tired of hearing about it—will create an equally devastating crisis for the free-enterprise economic system. He takes great care to avoid accusations, hysteria or sermonizing, but in a careful, measured way sets about tightening down his argument, forcing the reader along until at the end he is confronted with the realization that some extremely unpleasant realities—economic and environmental—will have to be faced within the next couple of decades.

Briefly, the situation is this: A great miracle that has made possible the stability of the ecosystem for millions of years is that it is self-renewing. Nothing is wasted. What one creature throws away another uses as raw material. A simple example is the relationship we all learned in school between plants and animals: Plants take in carbon dioxide and give off oxygen; animals take in oxygen and give off carbon dioxide. The ecosystem contains countless of these reciprocal processes, all acting as a continuous cycle—the closed circle of the book's title. It is easy to see how nicely man has fit into this arrangement for thousands of years.

But recently, specifically since the current technological boom began around the time of World War II, man has been tampering with some of these processes and interfering with their balance. For reasons that seemed to make perfectly good sense at the time, he began displacing natural, organic goods with technologically inspired, artificial, inorganic goods that are incapable of taking part in the cycles of renewal. The first result we are seeing now: pollution. In time, if this course continues, we will see the cycles break down, the circles open: environmental catastrophe.

Consider one of Mr. Commoner's many examples, the displacement of soap by detergents. Soap is made from animal or vegetable fat and alkalal, all of which are freely available and infinitely renewable and can be combined with negligible environmental impact. After use, soap is discharged to sewerage systems where it is attacked by the enzymes of decay and reduced to carbon dioxide and water. It has been used everywhere in the

world for thousands of years without known harm to the environment.

About 25 years ago man learned how to make detergents, which have since largely replaced soap. Detergents are made synthetically from petroleum products, among other substances, in a series of chemical reactions that causes three times the pollution caused by soap-making. Chlorine and mercury are also involved.

So much for detergents' production. What happens down the drain is even worse. First they bubbled, then they poisoned fish, and the effects of phosphates and their would-be successor, NTA, are widely known—and ignored, since people buy what is advertised. Yet, Mr. Commoner argues, soap cleans every bit as well as detergents. (Many detergents contain water-softening ingredients, but their function could easily be assumed by non-polluting alternatives.)

It is something of a comfort that Mr. Commoner does not consider the crucial issue to be either population or affluence, as has been widely assumed. Pollution has multiplied much faster than either the population or the per capita gross national product. The issue, he contends, is that in our mad worship of technology we have overlooked its environmental impact.

Thus in the past two or three decades we have seen the rise of inorganic fertilizers and pesticides on the farm, synthetic fibers in clothing and other fabrics, heavy cars using high-compression engines that run on leaded gasoline, aluminum and plastic in buildings—and the decline of the less polluting counterparts they replaced.

We swallowed all this out of belief in what has become a great American myth, that technology can solve any problem. And maybe it can, if we put the problem correctly. We said, "We want something that is cheaper and easier than soap." We should have added, "But only if it has no more effect on the ecosystem than soap."

Enter, the businessman. Since business is the middleman between technology and the consumer, it falls to business to pose the problems that technology solves. But the free-enterprise economy is founded on the quest for profit maximization—for good reason—and concern for the ecosystem is hard to justify in terms of productivity and profit. Quite the contrary. The profit on pure detergent sales is about twice that on pure soap sales, for example.

It's true that ignoring the environment will be disastrous for polluters in the long run, just as it will be disastrous for the non-polluters. But the very fact that the effects of pollution are dispersed means that the polluter isn't singled out in paying for his sins. This year's profits won't be affected; the trouble is down the road a comfortable distance.

Maybe not so comfortable. Mr. Commoner, after duly noting the folly of trying to make predictions about these things, suggests that we could begin experiencing the breakdown of major aquatic systems within 25 years. That means more than merely water unfit to drink. It means a water system that cannot support its role in the ecological cycle, which in turn means the breakdown of other environmental systems.

Well, what's to be done? What will it take to build an environmental factor into the economy? Mr. Commoner discusses the question at some length without offering any answers, although it's clear that he thinks nothing short of a revolutionary change will succeed. Yet he somehow remains optimistic, even utopian, in his belief in America's "greening." He seems to expect that mankind will suddenly see the folly of its ways and begin living harmoniously with nature—and incidentally eliminating war and poverty in the process.

It's easy to snicker at that, and hard to come up with anything much less unlikely

to succeed. Government regulation? A stroke of enlightenment in the executive suite? Perhaps some may still have faith in those possibilities.

More likely, the greatest hope lies not in our social institutions but in the individual, who as businessman or technocrat or consumer comes to see the piecemeal destruction of the world as a personal threat and simply refuses to patronize it. Pollution would not be profitable if we were not so blindly ignorant as to make it so.

This is hardly an encouraging hope, for it depends on the sudden and widespread accumulation of a rare sophistication: Man must come to see himself not as master of the universe but as a fellow animal in nature. A step toward gaining that kind of awareness might begin with the reading of Mr. Commoner's book.

[From the Christian Science Monitor,
Nov. 18, 1971]

**RADICAL ECONOMIC CHANGE CALLED ONLY CURE
FOR POLLUTION**

(By Robert C. Cowen)

WASHINGTON.—Trying to save the environment may pose a bigger challenge to the U.S. economy than the depression of the 1930's or the inflation of the 1970's.

In fact, if Washington University ecologist Barry Commoner is right, meeting that challenge will give the United States the biggest economic shock in its history.

In Dr. Commoner's analysis, the driving force of environmental decay is the technological transformation that has made the American economy prosperous since World War II. Only radical dislocation and reordering of that technology will save the environment, Dr. Commoner says.

He adds that you can say as much for every other industrialized economy on earth, be it labeled socialist, capitalist, or mixed.

Dr. Commoner gave his analysis at the second session of the "international conference on ocean pollution" held by the subcommittee on oceans and atmosphere of the U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce. So he keyed his remarks to the sea.

To him, the ocean is the link that integrates environmental problems. All pollution, whether of air, land, or fresh water, ends up eventually in the sea, Dr. Commoner observed. The ocean is the sink for all the poisons man produces. Hence pollution of the sea is synonymous with general environmental decay.

Also, mankind's ultimate dependence on the sea, whose plant life produces much of the world's oxygen, makes the ocean a critical element of earth's life-support system. If the sea dies, mankind perishes, Dr. Commoner explained, picking up a point many experts have been making.

Archaeologist Thor Heyerdahl made this same point in reporting extensive marine pollution he had observed during his two drifting voyages across the mid-Atlantic in the papyrus vessels Ra 1 and Ra 2.

He said men must change their viewpoint on the ocean. They must stop thinking of "the vast sea." They must recognize that it is merely the largest landlocked water body. And like lakes that have already succumbed to pollution, it has a finite capacity to absorb man's wastes.

THREAT ESTIMATED

That capacity could well be exceeded and ocean life effectively killed within the next three to four decades if present trends continue, Mr. Heyerdahl warned.

However, in underscoring that warning, Dr. Commoner focused on what he considers the root cause of the environmental challenge on land as well as at sea.

As examples, he cited the fourfold to fivefold increase in the use of nitrate fertilizers in farming. This has brought a rise in per-capita food production of only about 11 per-

cent, he said. The vastly increased fertilizer use largely contributes to pollution that ultimately goes into the sea.

Or consider nylon and other wonder fabrics. It takes chlorine to produce them. So American chlorine production has leaped ahead fifteenfold. Mercury plays a role in chlorine production. And this, Dr. Commoner said, is the major source of coastal mercury pollution.

Many of the new technologies are power hungry. This helps bring on the much publicized energy crisis. It stimulates air pollution and heat pollution of water bodies by demanding more power plants. It takes three times as much energy to produce the aluminum tops for flip-top beverage cans than to make the old steel tops, to take just one example.

These new technologies are more efficient and more profitable than the technologies they displace, Dr. Commoner explained. There's more money in nylon than cotton or wool. Soapmakers earn far more selling detergents than the old-fashioned, nonpolluting soaps.

GOOD SENSE OR FOLLY?

It has been economically sensible to switch to the new technologies. But it is also ecological folly, Dr. Commoner said, for all these technologies bear down hard on the environment.

No economic system that ruins the environment will survive, because men themselves can't live in that case. But, Dr. Commoner warned, to bring the present economic system in line with ecological needs means major dislocations. We can't switch from synthetic fibers back to wool and cotton or go back to using soap without severe economic hardship, he said.

The need today, he added, is to realize the magnitude of this challenge. The need is to begin now to plan for the kind of major economic overhaul required so as to minimize the hardships it could entail.

LOOSE WORDING IN LAW PROTECTS ILLEGAL ALIEN

HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the alien who is in this country illegally cannot be deported if he entered fraudulently and subsequently achieved family status.

In the case of Mexicans who cross the border as nonimmigrant visitors and then take a job, they can thumb their noses at the law if they marry an American citizen or another alien who is a legal resident or become a parent.

Thus, the Mexican who is caught working illegally and who agrees to "voluntary departure," can continue to work, legally now, and go husband-or-wife-hunting. If he or she makes it to the altar fast enough, there is no way on earth that deportation can be carried out.

This incredible state of affairs is the result of a ruling by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals on a section of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

This section, which was written either by a fool or a knave, is so loosely worded that it protects from deportation almost any illegal alien, provided he can pro-

duce a mate and claim he entered the country fraudulently.

The particular paragraph in question reads:

The provisions of this section relating to the deportation of aliens within the United States on the ground that they were excludable at the time of entry as aliens who have sought to procure, or have procured visas or other documentation, or entry into the United States by fraud or misrepresentation shall not apply to an alien otherwise admissible at the time of entry who is the spouse, parent, or a child of a United States citizen or of an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence.

The key words are "otherwise admissible," because the alien was admitted as a nonimmigrant.

This means that the alien who entered with the intention of going to work illegally cannot be deported if he or she marries.

TRADE RESTRICTIONS: PENNY-WISE AND DOLLAR FOOLISH

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, we are again hearing the laments of those who would hamstring U.S. trade and, in so doing, close off from our most productive industries the potential markets that they must reach if we are to again achieve full employment. I find it a cruel irony that those who advocate this course of action are using as their principal argument the claim that they seek to protect the jobs of American workers. The facts tell us that the net result of jobs won and lost through trade is positive if our level of trade is expanding. It follows from this that, if our trading volume is reduced as has been advocated in this Chamber, the net result will be a loss of jobs and more unemployment. A close look at data on U.S. trade volume and unemployment rate will bear this out.

This is not to deny, Mr. Speaker, that certain jobs are adversely affected by foreign imports. What I am arguing is that, if we restrict trade in order to protect these jobs, an even larger number of workers will become unemployed in other industries.

Our policy goals with respect to trade, employment, and balance of payments should be: First, to expand our volume of trade; second, to take the necessary steps to open markets in other countries now closed to our products; and third, to implement adjustment programs to assist those who are at a competitive disadvantage with imports and who need to make a transition to other industries. Such a policy is obviously more complex than that advocated by the trade restrictionists, who say that we should simply raise the tariff walls. Of course, Mr. Speaker, the simple solutions are almost never the most effective ones in the long run.

We are fortunate to have available the advice and observations of two distin-

guished economists in the field of international trade. Dr. Fred Bergsten and Dr. Edward Fried of the Brookings Institute have supplied to us their reaction to the arguments made by the trade restrictionists. Considering the frequency with which these arguments are heard in this Chamber, I think it worthwhile to submit Drs. Bergsten and Fried's observations for the RECORD.

These two gentlemen make as direct and convincing a rebuttal to the trade restrictionists as I have seen to date and I urge my colleagues in the House to carefully ponder their statements:

FOREIGN TRADE AND THE U.S. NATIONAL INTEREST

I. A LOOK AT CURRENT ARGUMENTS FOR PROTECTIONISM

A. Foreign trade is creating unemployment

1. In 1968 and 1969 the trade surplus went down, but so did unemployment. In these two years, unemployment reached its lowest level in 20 years, despite the lowest two-year trade surplus in the postwar period.

2. An equal reduction in US exports and imports, which would probably result from a trade war, would reduce US jobs and incomes. *The job content of a dollar of US exports is greater than the job content of a dollar of US imports.*

3. Even when the trade surplus is low there are more jobs in exports than in imports:

Year	Trade balance (billions)	Jobs (millions)	
		Exports	Imports
1966.....	\$3.8	2.5	1.8
1969.....	\$1.2	2.7	2.5

4. The US trade surplus went down in 1968-71 primarily because prices got out of hand domestically, which over-stimulated imports and led to overvaluation of the dollar. Present policy is aimed at both these problems: reducing inflation and achieving a realistic exchange rate for the dollar.

5. The employment effects of foreign trade are in any event small in relation to normal job requirements of US economy. US needs to create 1.5 million new job opportunities every year to employ normal additions to the labor force, whereas annual job effects from foreign trade (plus or minus) is on the order of 0.1 million. If we can regain 4-5% real growth a year—the average for the 1960s—full employment would be readily achieved.

6. The basic function of foreign trade is to increase productivity and income—not to create jobs. Achieving full employment depends primarily on domestic fiscal and monetary policy—not foreign trade policy.

B. U.S. is investing and licensing itself out of exports and out of jobs

1. There is no reliable evidence that foreign investment has on balance either reduced or increased exports. The mid-1960s were years of high US trade surpluses, high foreign investment, and declining unemployment.

2. Investment and licensing abroad can increase international specialization and contribute to investment in higher paying jobs at home.

C. Other countries are taking advantage of the U.S. because we have overplayed the benefactor role and sold out our economic interests to buy foreign policy goals

1. The US has legitimate complaints against:

Agricultural protectionism in Europe and Japan.

Government procurement policies and other non-tariff barriers in Western Europe and Japan.

Japanese administrative practices that restrict imports.

2. But these countries have legitimate complaints against the US. US quotas and voluntary restraints cover more trade than those of any other country, including Japan. The US has more high tariff categories (above 20%) than anyone else. And we have our own Buy American rules and other non-tariff barriers.

3. In aggregate terms—Post-Kennedy Round tariffs among the major countries are not far apart. Weighted average tariffs are:

EEC -----	6.0
US -----	7.1
UK -----	7.6
Japan -----	9.7

4. In sum, the US has received its share of trade benefits and committed its share of trade sins. Serious trade problems exist now and will arise over the future. They can only be managed through reciprocal multilateral bargains.

II. WHAT THESE ARGUMENTS IGNORE

A. *International economic cooperation pays off in economic terms.* Growth and prosperity in other countries contribute to US prosperity and jobs. If their economies now falter, our economy will suffer.

B. *Trade is an important weapon to combat domestic inflation.* Imports hold prices down and encourage efficiency in domestic industry.

C. *Protectionism would involve substantial US political losses* in Western Europe and Japan—with potentially significant adverse consequences for US security and higher US defense costs.

III. EXCHANGE RATES, TRADE, AND ALTERNATIVE POLICIES

Proper exchange rates affect trade and jobs positively, while protectionism affects trade and jobs negatively. The present international economic impasse provides an opportunity to move in either direction, with very different domestic and international consequences.

A. The US can seek a reasonable settlement on monetary issues, avoid a breakdown in international cooperation and a trade war, and move toward a reduction of trade barriers. This will mean higher incomes and more jobs in the US.

1. New exchange rates, which other industrial countries agree are necessary to restore equilibrium to the US balance of payments, would produce a US trade surplus of \$3-4 billion over the next two years or so. Exports would rise and US industries could better compete with imports here.

2. Such a turnaround would create 500,000 additional jobs in the US. Many would be in the high paying capital goods and chemical industries, where our export surplus has steadily increased. In 1969, machinery exports alone (e.g. machine tools, computers and business machines, aircraft, and construction and farm machinery) involved 700,000 jobs.

B. Or the US can move toward more quotas and trade restrictions. This would sacrifice the opportunity to set exchange rates right and to achieve reductions in foreign trade barriers. In addition, it would trigger retaliatory action by others and actually reduce levels of trade. The consequences would be:

1. Some gain in low income jobs but a much greater loss in high productivity jobs.

2. An increase in consumer costs and greater difficulty in regaining price stability. Present US tariffs and quotas cost the consumer an estimated \$10-15 billion—equivalent to about a 3% rise in the cost of living. Maintenance of the import surcharge and additional quotas would greatly increase these costs.

3. Adverse foreign policy consequences, which could dwarf the direct economic costs and ultimately add greatly to them.

IV. THE IMPACT OF CURRENT TRENDS IN THE WORLD ECONOMY

1. Rapidly accelerating wage rates in Western Europe and Japan are sharply narrowing the wage differential with the US.

2. Two-way investment is increasing, with foreign capital financing new US jobs.

3. There is increasing specialization within industries, rather than competition between whole industries, easing the adjustment to expanded international trade.

4. Economies are becoming increasingly oriented toward services rather than the production of goods, with jobs less affected by trade.

(60% of the US labor force is already engaged in services—health, education, trade, finance, transportation, etc.—and primarily interested in foreign trade as consumers. This proportion will rise to 70% by the end of this decade, and a similar trend is evident in Western Europe and Japan.)

5. These trends are all increasing the benefits of, and reducing the dislocations from, closer international economic cooperation.

V. POLICY DIRECTIONS

A. First priority is to achieve (a) a satisfactory realignment of exchange rates; and (b) international monetary reforms that will keep all countries, including the US, close to balance of payments equilibrium. The US gains immediately from these monetary improvements through a strengthening of its competitive position. But other countries will also gain from the assurance of continued world prosperity. US protectionist measures would be contrary to US interests because they would gravely jeopardize these prospects and would be self-defeating.

B. The US should move toward a renegotiation of GATT, as it is now renegotiating Bretton Woods.

1. The objective should be to build a framework of international rules and cooperation that meet the needs of the 1970s, and achieve for the future the same kind of benefits that the present GATT framework achieved in the past.

2. In this connection we should:

Explore the prospects of achieving a tariff-free world, both to maximize benefits from trade and to remove the trade effects of preferential areas on US exports.

Develop new provisions for agricultural trade and production, and for other non-tariff barriers.

Consider developing international rules for foreign investment.

3. This will be a lengthy process. If it is to be successful, the US must be prepared to make its share of concessions and adjustments.

C. We should seek a general approach to alleviate problems arising out of job dislocations from all forms of structural change in the US economy, including those from foreign trade.

1. A greatly improved adjustment assistance program is needed now to deal with job dislocations from foreign trade.

2. We should recognize, however, that adjustment assistance from foreign trade covers only a very small part of a more general problem. Even with full employment, sizeable job dislocations occur from changes in consumer taste, technological change, geographic shifts of industry, changes in government defense spending, and anti-pollution measures. These shifts dwarf those arising from foreign trade. Between 1968 and 1971 changes in defense spending alone reduced military and military-related employment by 2 million.

3. Providing new forms of income security and job retraining for workers who have a considerable job investment in threatened industries, and could not readily move to other industries, could ease the problems arising out of structural change. This would also facilitate policies in such fields as de-

fense and the environment that would benefit US society as a whole.

4. There are many difficulties in moving in this direction. However, a program of this kind may be essential to achieve full employment with price stability in the 1970's.

HON. PATSY T. MINK: ASIAN AMERICANS, ASIANS, AND RACIAL PREJUDICE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 8, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, most of us are indefatigable producers and consumers of political rhetoric. We qualify as expert judges of oratory and we are able to recognize a sound speech when we hear or read one.

Our colleague from Hawaii, Mrs. MINK, delivered one of the better speeches of this or any year on November 6 before the West Los Angeles Japanese American Citizens League at the Airport Marina Hotel, Los Angeles. Her remarks centered on the self-image of Asian Americans and the role they ought to play in the diversity we know as the United States. Mrs. MINK recalls for us the sorry record of our Nation toward our own citizens of Asian heritage and toward Asians generally.

Mr. Speaker, in the Friday, November 19, 1971, edition of Pacific Citizen, a weekly published by the Japanese American Citizens League, Editor Harry K. Honda devoted his column to Mrs. MINK's speech. His final sentence expresses why I decided to place Mrs. MINK's speech in the RECORD:

They [those present when it was delivered] sensed beyond the eloquence were ideas of historic merit that many others not present would have enjoyed hearing.

I agree. The complete text of Mrs. MINK's speech and Mr. Honda's column follow:

REMARKS BY REPRESENTATIVE PATSY T. MINK

I would like to thank President Kanegai and the other officers and members of the West Los Angeles Japanese-American Citizens League for this opportunity to be with you at your 30th anniversary banquet and installation. I am delighted to participate in this memorable occasion.

It must be difficult to look back, thirty years to 1941 and relive the pains and agonies that were inflicted upon you as citizens, unloved and unwanted in their own country of their birth. Loving this land as much as any other citizen, it is difficult to fathom the despair and fury which many must have felt, yet who fought back and within a few years had re-established their lives and their futures. Most of us remember these years vividly. Our faith in justice was tested many times over. Our patriotism was proven by blood of our sons upon the battlefields.

Yet today, thirty years later to many even in this room, it is only a part of our history. Our children, 30 years old and younger, cannot follow with us these memories of the forties. They tire of our stories of the past. Their life is now, today . . . tomorrow. Their youthful fervor was poured into the symbolism of the Repeal of Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950 portrayed by its title, "Emergency Detention Act". That Act became law nearly 10 years after the Japa-

nese were evacuated from the West Coast into "Relocation Camps". Yet, it stood as a reminder of what could happen again. Of course, despite the successful repeal, it could happen again, as it did indeed to the Japanese-Americans who were rounded up without any statutory authority whatsoever. It was not until 1950 that Title II became law.

It is quite evident that I am standing before an affluent group whose surface appearance does not reveal the years of struggle and doubt that have ridden behind you.

Sociologists have generally described the Japanese-Americans as an easily acculturated people who quickly assimilated the ways of their surroundings. This has always been in my view a friendly sort of jab at our cultural background, for what it has come to mean for me is a description of a conformist which I hope I am not!

I still dream that I shall be able to be a real participant in the changing scenario of opportunity for all of America. In this respect, I share the deep frustration and anguish of our youth as I see so much around us that cries out for our attention and that we continue to neglect.

Many factors have contributed towards a deepening sense of frustration about our inability to solve our problems of poverty and racial prejudice. Undoubtedly the prolonged, unending involvement in Vietnam has contributed to this sense of hopelessness. At least for our youth who must bear the ultimate burden of this war, it seems unfair that they should be asked to serve their country in this way when there are so many more important ways in which their youth and energy can be directed to meet the urgent needs at home. They view our government as impotent to deal with these basic issues.

It is true that Congress has passed a great many civil rights laws. The fact that new, extra laws were found necessary to make it easier for some of our people to realize their constitutional guarantees is a sad enough commentary on the American society, but what is even worse is the fact that the majority of our people are still unready, personally to extend these guarantees to all despite the Constitution and all the civil rights laws, and despite their protestations to the contrary.

Certainly, no one will admit his bigotry and prejudice—yet we always find ways to clothe such feelings in more presentable forms—and few will openly advocate suppression or oppression of other men, but nevertheless, it exists.

Although Congress has repealed the Emergency Detention Act, the fight for freedom is not over. We now see a new witch hunt proclaimed in which all government employees will be examined for their memberships and organizations. It seems that we have not yet succeeded in expunging the notion that "dangerous" persons can be identified by class or group relationships and punished accordingly.

I believe that nobody can find safety in numbers—by huddling with the larger mass in hopes of being overlooked. Those who seek to suppress will always find ways to single out others. Instead, we must change the basic attitude that all must conform or be classed as renegades and radicals. Our nation was founded on the idealistic belief in individualism and pioneering spirit, and it would be tragic for our own generation to forswear that ideal for the false security of instant assimilation.

It seems to me that our society is large enough to accept a wide diversity of types and opinions, and that no group should be forced to try to conform to the image of the population as a whole. I sometimes wonder if our goal as Japanese-Americans is to be so like the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant population as to be indistinguishable from it. If so, we will obviously never succeed!

There has been and continues to be prejudice in this country against Asians. The basis of this is the belief that the Oriental is "inscrutable." Having such base feelings, it is simple to stir up public outrage against the recognition of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, for instance, even though reasoned judgment dictates otherwise, unless of course a Yellow Communist is really worse than a Red one!

The World War II detention overnight reduced the entire population of one national origin to an enemy, stripped of property, rights of citizenship, human dignity, and due process of law, without so much as even a stifled voice of conscience among our leading scholars or civil libertarians. More recently, the Vietnam war has reinforced the view of Orientals as something less than fully human. All Vietnamese stooping in the rice fields are pictured as the enemy, sub-human without emotions and for whom life is less valuable than for us.

During the trial of Lieutenant Calley, we were told about "MGR," the "Mere Gook Rule" which was the underlying basis for Calley's mindless assertion that the slaughter of defenseless women and children, our prisoners of war, was "no big thing." The "Mere Gook Rule" holds that life is less important, less valuable to an Oriental.

Laws that protect other human beings do not apply to "Gooks". One reporter noted before the verdict became known that the essence of the Calley case was to determine the validity of this rule. He described it as the "unspoken issue" at the trial.

The issue was not as unspoken as most would prefer to believe. The indictment drawn up by the army against Lieutenant Calley stated in six separate charges that he did at My Lai murder four "Oriental human beings" . . . murder not less than 30 "Oriental human beings" . . . murder three "Oriental human beings" . . . murder an unknown number of "Oriental human beings" not less than seventy . . . and so on numbering 102. Thus, the army did not charge him with murder of human beings as presumably would have been the case had Caucasians been involved, but instead charged the apparently lesser offense of killing mere "Oriental human beings".

The army's definition of the crime is hardly surprising inasmuch as the army itself could have been construed as on trial along with Calley for directing a genocide against the Vietnamese. Indeed, the lieutenant pleaded he was only doing what he thought the army wanted. It seems clear to me that the army recognized the "Mere Gook Rule" officially by distinguishing between the murder of human beings and "Oriental human beings." When Calley was convicted, the resulting thunder of criticism verified that many in the public also went along with the concept of differing scales of humanity.

Somehow, we must put into perspective Dean Rusk's dread of the "yellow peril" expressed as justification for a massive antiballistic missile system on the one hand, and on the other, a quest for improved relations with Peking. This latter event could have a great meaning in our own lives as Japanese-Americans. We could help this country begin to deal with Asians as people. Just the other day in a beauty parlor, I heard a Congressional secretary discuss China and say, "An Asian is different, you can never figure out what he's really thinking. He has so little value for life!"

Instead of seeking refuge, we should seek to identify as Asians, and begin to serve America as the means by which she can come to understand the problems of the East. Our talents have not been used in American diplomacy, I suspect, largely because we are still not trusted enough.

We must teach our country that life is no less valuable, and human dignity no less

precious, in Asia than elsewhere. Our detractors point to the large-scale killings that have occurred in China, Vietnam, Pakistan, and elsewhere in Asia, but we hear remarkably few references to the mass-slaughter of six million Jews in Nazi gas chambers in World War II—that was done by Aryans, not Asians, and the total far exceeds the loss of life in the Orient that has been used to justify the debasement of "Mere Gooks". I am not trying to compare one group against another, but merely to point out that a lack of appreciation for the value of human life can occur wherever totalitarian government exists. This makes it more than vital for us to oppose such influences within our own country wherever they may occur. The war in Vietnam has lasted for seven years. If Americans believed there was the same worth in the life of an Asian, this war would have ended long ago. If Americans were willing to concede that the Asian mind was no different than his, a peace would have been forged in Paris long ago. I am convinced that racism is at the heart of this immoral policy.

I know that many of you are puzzled and even dismayed by actions of some of your sons and daughters who have insisted on a more aggressive role in combating the war and other evils that exist in our society. I plead with you for understanding of this "Third World" movement in which not only young Japanese-Americans but many minority groups are so deeply involved.

We are confronted with what seem to be many different revolutions taking place all over the world . . . the Black Revolution, the revolution of emerging nations, the youth revolution here and in other countries as well—and something that was even more unheard of, the priests challenging the Vatican on the most basic issues of celibacy and birth control. It is no accident that these things are all happening at the same time, for they all stem from the same great idea that has somehow been rekindled in the world, and that is the idea that the individual is important.

All of the systems of the world today have this in common: for they are mainly concerned with industrialization, efficiency, and gross national product; the value of Man is forgotten.

The children of some of you here tonight are involved in the great protests of today—are they chronic malcontents and subversives? I think not—I think they are probably fairly well educated, thoughtful people who see certain conditions they don't like and are trying to do something about it. I'm not sure they know exactly what they want to do. I do know they are clearly dissatisfied with the way their world has been run in the past.

So, the problem is not what to do about dissent among our young people—the problem is what to do about the causes of this dissent. The question is not "how to suppress the dissent" but how to make it meaningful . . . how to make it productive of a better society which truly places high value on individual human beings AS human beings and not merely as so many cogs in the great, cold and impersonal machinery of an industrialized society.

I, for one, believe that the grievances of our youth are real and that they are important. Merely because the majority of students are not involved . . . merely because the dissidents are few . . . should not minimize the need for serious efforts to effectuate change. Our 18-year-olds now have the right to vote. Whether we like it or not, we will have to take better account of their wishes. Their acceptance as adults will bring into policymaking 11 million new voters next year. Their cause for identity must be encouraged.

Our sons and daughters seek to establish a link with the past. They want to discover who they are, why they are here, and where

their destinies are to take them. So many of our children are growing up in complete isolation in a society that places a premium on conformity, in middle class homes where parents still want to play down their differences, and prefer to homogenize with society. Some of these children are rebelling and are seeking ways to preserve their uniqueness and their special heritage. I see pride and strength in this.

One of the most promising avenues for this renewed search for one's heritage is in our school systems—the logical place for instructing children in the knowledge they need. Programs of Ethnic Heritage Studies are needed in our schools. I feel that this would be particularly valuable in Hawaii, California and other areas where there are large numbers of children of Oriental descent.

It seems to me that we as Asians have a large stake in encouraging and promoting such a program. We cannot and must not presume knowledge about Asia merely because we are Asians. This requires concentrated study and dedicated determination. Of course, we do not need to become scholars cloistered in the ivy tower of some campus. We need to become aware of the enormous history of Asia and through our daily lives, regardless of what our profession, translate it to all the people with whom we deal. We have not fully met our responsibility to educate the public about Asia and its people.

I hope that all Japanese-American organizations and others with strong beliefs in the magnificent history and culture of the Orient will now help lead the way to a more enlightened America. We have an immense story to tell, for as I have said the public at large too often assumes that all civilization is western and no worth is given to the human values of the East. As long as this belief persists, we will have future Vietnams. The way to counteract it is to build public knowledge, through school courses, travel, and dedicated emphasis on increased communications, so that our people will know and appreciate all that is Asian.

Last Thursday night in a display of utter ignorance and contempt for diversity, the House of Representatives killed the Ethnic heritage studies program by a vote of 200 ayes to 159 noes. And so you see, I speak of an urgent matter. We are so few and they who do not care to understand us are so numerous.

It is fine for all citizens to pursue the good life and worldly goods on which our society places such emphasis, but there is increasing recognition that all will be ashes in our mouths unless our place as individuals is

preserved. This is what the young are seeking—and I am among those who would rejoice in their goals.

They need the guidance and support of their parents to succeed, but in any event with or without us, they are trying. It behooves us to do all we can to accept their aspirations, if not all of their actions, in the hope that this new generation will be able to find a special role for themselves in America, to help build her character to define her morality, to give her a depth in soul, and to make her realize the beauty of our diverse society with many races and cultures of which we are one small minority.

[From the Pacific Citizen, Nov. 19, 1971]

WHY DO NOT WE INTERRUPT?

(By Harry K. Honda)

If you triple-space your copy, average 12 words per line and run 15 pages of regular letterhead size paper, you have a solid 25-minute speech uninterrupted. We thought the other night at the West Los Angeles JACL installation there were several passages in Rep. Patsy Mink's discerning speech of anti-Oriental racism in America that should have been interrupted with applause. For instance—

"Sociologists have generally described the Japanese American as an easily acculturated people who quickly assimilated the ways of their surroundings. This has always been in my view a friendly sort of jab at our cultural background, for what it has come to mean for me is a description of a conformist which I hope I am not!" If we missed there, she came back with—

"It seems to me that our country is large enough to accept a wide diversity of types and opinions, and that no group should be forced to try to conform to the image of the population as a whole. I sometimes wonder if our goal as Japanese Americans is to be so like the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant population as to be indistinguishable from it. If so, we will obviously never succeed!"

You hear people say today anti-Oriental discrimination is more subtle (yes, when an individual is involved), but how imponderable is it, really, when Orientals as a class are the quarry? Said Patsy—

"There has been and continues to be prejudice in this country against Asians. The basis of this is the belief that the Oriental is 'inscrutable'. Having such base feelings, it is simple to stir up public outrage against the recognition of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, for instance, even though reasoned judgment dictates otherwise, unless of course a Yellow Communist is really worse than a Red one!"

And here's another example—

"We should seek to identify as Asians and begin to serve America as the means by which she can come to understand the problems of the East. Our talents have not been used in American diplomacy, I suspect, largely because we are still not trusted enough..." Or this—

"The war in Vietnam has lasted for seven years. If Americans believed there was the same worth in the life of an Asian, this war would have ended long ago. If Americans were willing to concede that the Asian mind was no different than his, a peace would have been forged in Paris long ago. I am convinced that racism is at the heart of this immoral policy."

And referring to the youth, the Congresswoman declared, "The problem is not what to do about dissent among our young people—the problem is what to do about the causes of this dissent." That has been said in the past by the youth in their own style.

After the speech, several people had the same regrets—that Patsy's address was not tape-recorded. They sensed beyond the eloquence were ideas of historic merit that many others not present would have enjoyed hearing.

CONGRESSMAN SURVEYS DISTRICT

HON. EDWIN B. FORSYTHE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. FORSYTHE. Mr. Speaker, recently I conducted a survey in my district, asking constituents their views on a wide variety of issues.

It was interesting to note that a substantial majority of Sixth District residents who responded said they favored establishment of controls on wages and prices to help combat inflation.

The question was not asked in relation to President Nixon's economic program. However, when asked what course should be followed, 60-percent recommended wage and price controls.

Following is a detailed breakdown of the response by county and age group. The "all" column indicates the response from the entire district.

FORSYTHE SURVEY RESULTS

	All	Burl.	Cam.	Ocean	18-20	21-35	36-45	46-55	55-64	65 and up
Southeast Asia. What is the best policy to follow?										
1. Achieve a military victory.....	8	10	5	8	13	8	9	11	6	6
2. Continue the policy of gradual withdrawal and Vietnamization.....	48	42	52	58	23	42	43	44	59	64
3. Announce a deadline for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops.....	22	22	24	18	31	24	27	20	20	15
4. Withdraw all troops immediately.....	20	25	18	15	31	25	19	22	14	13
Part II. If you favor (3) or (4), should the United States take this action if it means a Communist takeover of South Vietnam or jeopardizes our POW's?										
1. Yes.....	19	23	17	14	23	26	23	19	13	10
2. No.....	21	21	23	18	31	20	20	24	20	16
China-United States Relations. Which policy do you favor?										
1. Full and immediate diplomatic recognition.....	18	17	19	17	27	23	16	18	14	12
2. Proceed cautiously to establish relations including trade.....	70	68	70	74	63	65	74	69	74	72
3. Absolutely no recognition of Red China.....	12	14	10	8	10	12	10	13	12	14
China and the U.N. Which policy do you favor?										
1. Not admitting Red China to the U.N.....	15	17	12	12	16	14	14	12	16	18
2. Admitting Red China to the U.N. instead of Nationalist China.....	5	7	4	4	3	4	5	7	5	3
3. Admitting Red China in addition to Nationalist China.....	78	73	82	83	74	81	79	80	77	75
Middle East. To achieve peace in the Middle East, the U.S. should:										
1. Continue Nixon policy of seeking concessions from both sides to lead to direct peace negotiations.....	50	44	56	53	35	45	51	50	54	56
2. Urge Israel to return territories gained in the 1967 war.....	8	8	8	8	6	7	6	10	11	8
3. Increase aid to Israel.....	10	10	11	9	6	12	8	12	7	10
4. Assume a neutral position.....	31	37	22	28	50	36	32	26	27	24
Government reform. Do you favor President Nixon's proposal restructuring the executive branch, including merging several cabinet posts?										
1. Favor.....	74	69	81	75	63	71	76	63	78	88
2. Oppose.....	17	22	13	17	24	20	13	29	14	8

	All	Burl.	Cam.	Ocean	18-20	21-35	36-45	46-55	55-64	65 and up
Environment. To combat pollution would you be willing to:										
1. Pay higher prices and taxes.....	1	1	1	2	5	1	1	2	1	0
2. Adhere to stricter laws regulating pollution.....	65	65	67	64	55	55	64	68	71	72
3. Both.....	30	29	28	31	32	39	34	24	26	25
Health insurance. Which approach do you favor?										
1. Establish federally subsidized health insurance program for all citizens.....	42	41	39	39	40	42	36	47	45	38
2. Establish program for persons in need and for catastrophic illness.....	39	38	41	41	42	33	48	33	37	43
3. No subsidized health insurance.....	17	18	16	18	13	22	14	19	16	16
Elderly. Do you believe Congress should:										
1. Provide better retirement benefits.....	49	51	44	45	44	44	48	53	58	48
2. Improve medical benefits.....	21	19	19	28	11	16	18	19	24	32
3. Concentrate more on other domestic problems.....	26	25	34	22	35	33	30	26	15	18
Economy. To stimulate the economy and fight inflation, what should the President do?										
1. Establish controls on wages and prices.....	60	58	57	66	55	49	54	59	67	77
2. Urge voluntary guidelines.....	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	4	3
3. Balance the budget.....	15	16	20	11	18	18	17	17	14	10
4. Intervene in specific cases to discourage inflationary increases.....	15	18	13	14	18	19	20	17	11	8
Welfare. Should the Federal Government:										
1. Maintain the present welfare system.....	4	5	4	3	5	4	2	4	3	6
2. Federalize all welfare programs and standardize payments.....	24	22	20	29	18	19	25	22	28	30
3. Federalize the system, providing a minimum guaranteed income for every family, with job training and work requirement?.....	60	59	65	58	63	61	66	59	59	54
Draft. Should the Congress:										
1. Continue the draft.....	14	14	13	16	10	16	14	10	12	19
2. Eliminate the draft.....	8	9	8	6	21	7	8	9	9	4
3. Eliminate the draft and establish a volunteer army within 2 years.....	28	30	28	25	53	30	27	26	24	24
4. Require some form of military or public service for all men.....	48	44	49	50	15	45	49	54	53	50
Revenue sharing. Should the Federal Government:										
1. Continue its present system of providing grants to the States and localities for specific purposes.....	33	32	34	30	34	28	38	29	36	33
2. Establish a program of sending tax revenue back to the States and localities, allowing them to determine how to use the money.....	60	59	59	64	56	63	56	63	56	61

SEWELL COMMUNITY BAPTIST CHURCH TAKING GOD'S MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, the approach of Christmas will hopefully afford the opportunity for people everywhere to pause from their worldly occupations and activities and reflect on the spiritual significance of the season.

In this context, I thought it was a most thoughtful gesture for the Sewell Community Baptist Church in New Jersey to undertake to distribute to every home in that community a gift copy of the American Bible Society's "Good News For Modern Man," a contemporary translation of the New Testament. As you know, this version has been widely acclaimed and accepted by every denominational group and the number of copies printed has now gone well above the 40 million mark. Contemporary in vocabulary, yet accurate in translation, "Good News For Modern Man" has made a major impact in the United States and throughout the world.

"Believing that the scriptures are the answer to man's spiritual need," says Pastor Joseph J. Sastic, "the Sewell Church has entered enthusiastically into this project." The members and friends of the church, young and old, who will be distributing the copies door-to-door on Sunday, December 12, are taking the message of God to the people of the community. Surely, this is a most appropriate way to heighten the spiritual awareness of the Christmas season as well as providing a continuing source of spiritual fulfillment from which the entire Sewell community will generously benefit.

ON RALPH BUNCHE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as eulogies and praise pour forth following the death of Ralph Bunche, it should be remembered and our people reminded that Dr. Bunche is being honored for his international activities by the United Nations advocates—the Internationalists.

There are those who still remember other activities and associations of Dr. Bunche which seem to have been forgotten or suppressed by the public opinion-making machinery in our country.

In the interest of preserving history in its proper perspective, I insert a letter from Mr. Archibald B. Roosevelt, son of the late President Theodore Roosevelt, his documentary evidence regarding the late Ralph Bunche of the U.N., and excerpts from "The Biographical Dictionary of the Left," volume 1, by Francis X. Gannon:

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Mr. OSCAR S. STRAUS, President, Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association, New York, N.Y.

DEAR OSCAR: To say that I was horrified to read a news item in the New York Herald Tribune, dated September 16th, 1954, that the Theodore Roosevelt Association was presenting to Dr. Ralph Bunche The Theodore Roosevelt medal for distinguished service for the year 1954, as an award for his work in international affairs is putting it very mildly indeed.

It would seem to me that, if the Board of Trustees of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association considers these medals evidence of distinguished service, a very careful checkup of the recipient's record should be made.

Of course, I realize that to the average man in the street who reads the Times and the Tribune only, and hears such commentators on the radio as Edward R. Murrow, Barry Gray, or Elmer Davis, it would seem that Dr.

Bunche is a great and good man who has been persecuted without reason. But, when such an honor is being bestowed on him as the Theodore Roosevelt medal, I would think that the Trustees should not be satisfied with simply newspaper statements on the qualities of any man, particularly about such a controversial figure as Dr. Bunche. Any committee bestowing such an honor should have made it a point to find out that both in Congress and other places there is serious question as to whether Dr. Bunche should be a trusted servant of the Government of the United States.

Starting from this single fact, it is very easy in the case of as prominent a man as Dr. Bunche to trace his statements and his connections over the past years. I suppose it would be impossible for your committee to get a transcript of Dr. Bunche's testimony and the testimony of other people about Dr. Bunche in the Loyalty Board Hearings that occurred; but there is much other available testimony and much documentary evidence comparatively easy to obtain. Even if the Trustees are unaware as to the infiltration of left wing propaganda into our news media, press, and radio reports and editorial opinions unsupported by independent research, these should not be the sole basis for the award of any distinguished honor. The fact that the Daily Worker and the left-wing press were unanimous in stating that Dr. Bunche was entirely cleared should have put you on warning.

To give the excuse that since the Loyalty Board had cleared Dr. Bunche even if so be the case—does not excuse the Trustees of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association. The past decade has shown what type of people very often creep into the Loyalty Boards, and what pressure is put on those Loyalty Boards from mysterious sources.

As it is evident that the Trustees responsible for the presentation of this medal have made no careful study of this matter, I attach herewith some interesting documentary evidence regarding Dr. Bunche and some of the organizations with which he was connected:

I cannot understand why anyone who has had a past record of close affiliation with communism should be employed in a "sensitive spot" in our government, because such past connections would indicate, at the least, a certain instability, yet I can understand why people who have definitely repented and

have set themselves out at great sacrifice to right, insofar as it is possible for them to do so, the wrongs that they have committed, are perhaps, proper recipients of certain awards and medals. I can, however, find no record that Dr. Bunche has publicly stated his past connection or that he has ever repented on anything that he has said or done in regards to his left-wing activities, as have Mr. Louis Budenz, Mr. Joseph Kornfeder, Mr. Whittaker Chambers, Mr. Manning Johnson, and Mr. Benjamin Gitlow, to mention a few of those who have stood up and confessed openly "in the congregation".

You are the grandson of Mr. Oscar Straus, a distinguished patriot, who was in my father's cabinet. I am Theodore Roosevelt's son, and these awards are, therefore, connected both with Theodore Roosevelt and Oscar Straus. On account of our names it is our duty, insofar as our small ability lies, to protect the names that we bear. I know that when they were alive, both your grandfather and my father thought of America first, last and always, and although they are not here to consult with, I feel sure that they would be on the same platform to-day as they were in the past. We should be very careful not to let the names of those two men be connected with anything that is even doubtful.

The Trustees of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association are exactly what the name implies. They are Trustees, and as Trustees should exercise extreme vigilance whenever they give an honor in the name of Theodore Roosevelt. I do not know how much you were connected with the award of this medal, but presume that those who choose the names must consult with you, as president of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association.

I can perfectly understand and agree, that the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association, in view of Theodore Roosevelt's deep admiration for Booker T. Washington, and in view of his great interest in furthering the progress of the Negro in the United States, should always be on the lookout to find a Negro worthy of receiving the Theodore Roosevelt medal. In the present case, I cannot understand why the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association did not present a medal to Mr. George Schuyler, the New York editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, the largest Negro newspaper in the United States. At great personal sacrifice, and undergoing enormous vilification, Mr. George Schuyler has fought communists among the Negroes valiantly, when communism and all of the queer isms of the past two decades were very popular indeed, and while Dr. Bunche was connected with such leftist organizations as I have shown in my enclosure and was making marxist-communist statements in speeches not, to my knowledge, ever disavowed by him. Mr. Schuyler is still carrying on the fight most valiantly. He is a man of letters, and a crusader on the side of right. He is in every way qualified to receive a Theodore Roosevelt medal, due to his patriotism and courage.

In view of the facts that I have given you above, I think even at this late date that every effort should be made to rescind the medal that your Board of Trustees has voted to Dr. Bunche, and I suggest, as a substitute recipient, that you award it to Mr. George Schuyler—a man unlike Dr. Bunche, with a constant record of loyalty to our Republic.

I greatly regret that I have had to take this stand in opposition to so many good people and friends of mine, and friends of my father's, who are connected with the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association. But I feel it would be negligence of duty on my part if I did not point out what I consider to be carelessness, to say the least, on the part of the Board of Trustees of the

Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association. I do not want to see the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association Trustees to be the unwitting tools of the sinister influences that are now so powerful in the Country—influences responsible for the strange courses and actions taken by many hitherto splendid Foundations.

It was carelessness on the part of the Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation that brought about the hiring of Alger Hiss. It was carelessness on the part of the Trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations that brought about the long and reasonable record of that organization and the infiltration of such a bad element into it. Most, if not all, of the Trustees of the Carnegie Institute, and certainly most of the Trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations were estimable men, busy with their own affairs, who became careless when they were managing the affairs of others. The Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association should take care not to follow the same course.

Sincerely yours,

ARCHIBALD B. ROOSEVELT.

FOREWORD

This report intends to prove, without a shadow of a doubt, that Dr. Bunche for a number of years had expressed himself in writings, speeches, and organizational activity in a manner which paralleled the communist line in its major aspects. Further evidence is hereby presented to prove his expressions were of such a nature that they could only have been arrived at as a result of his going through a thorough indoctrination in communist methods and techniques. It will also be shown that his affiliations and activities were such as to fill the requirements necessary for a top level operative for the Kremlin apparatus.

It also presents authentic documentation to substantiate the following summation of Dr. Bunche's record of activities paralleling the communist line throughout the years which is so consistent that it seems impossible to interpret it as accidental—

1. Travels in Africa, which coincided with the Kremlin's planting of agents in that part of the world, in order to lay the basis for racial explosions of the future. Bunche wrote from there (Journal of Negro Education) denouncing "Imperialist Capitalism" and advocated the elimination of the current social order in the mother countries. The fruits of the Kremlin infiltration in Africa can be seen today in the bloody Mau-Mau massacres. (1935-1936)

2. Wrote a pamphlet which advocated a communistic program in respect to the Negro question and advocated class war throughout the world asking the non-white peoples to look to the Soviet Union for inspiration and leadership. (1936)

3. Wrote a clearly communistic line in respect to education. He voiced the red line that "American education" is "goose step education". And that "Capitalism owns the colleges and universities by right of purchase". Bunche denounced "red riders", and "oath clauses". He complained that "in America" "we are living in an economy of capitalism and our educational system consistently harmonizes with the dominant capitalistic pattern". (1936)

4. Bunche was praised in the official theoretical red organ, The Communist, published for upper echelon communists and supporters. One of the top communists, A. W. Berry, praised Bunche for "approaching the Marxist viewpoint" and "that Bunche realized the significance of the class struggle". Berry then described Bunche as an "active friend and supporter" of the working class, which in the communist aesopian manner means a friend of the Soviets, since they

claim exclusive franchise as representing the "working class". (1937)

5. Contributed an article to the Race magazine whereby he repeated the "class" position on the race question and considered those who called the National Negro Congress as "dominated by reds" and as "biased individuals". This magazine in its opening issue prominently announced that they are working for "a social upheaval which will plow up our institutions to their very roots and substitute a socialist order for the present capitalist imperialist order". (1936)

6. Was one of the small handful of persons who initiated and organized the National Negro Congress. This was a carefully planned maneuver of the Kremlin which was manipulated through the Communist International. A published account from the Communist International, before the National Negro Congress was organized, stated that "the development of a Negro people's front depends on a large measure upon the correct action of our revolutionary Negro cadres" and that "the programme of the National Negro Congress must be realized". Even though Bunche had expressed himself in clear cut communist terms and had agitated for the Kremlin line in Africa, this in itself would not have been enough to trust him in such an undertaking as spawning the National Negro Congress. As pointed out before, this was to be the vehicle to organize many millions of Negroes behind the Soviets throughout the world. To have been delegated the responsibility of organizing the N.N.C., Bunche must have had the complete confidence of the Kremlin masterminds who conceived of the maneuver some years before.

7. Bunche was part of the editorial apparatus of an openly communist magazine (Science and Society) for over four years. He contributed to this publication and added his name and prestige as a Professor of Howard University even after the communists in their publication (The Communist) openly stated that Science and Society magazine had as its function "to help Marxward moving students and intellectuals to come closer to Marxism-Leninism; to bring Communist thought into academic circles". (1935-40)

8. Dr. Bunche was appointed to his government job in the Office of Strategic Services at the recommendation of a person having a communist front record. If Bunche had conceivably been an ex-partisan of the communist cause and had then been an anti-communist, it is difficult to believe that a Government body like the OSS, which had been infiltrated by Red agents, would tolerate him, or that a man with a communist front background would recommend him for the position. In fact with communists controlling key posts in the OSS, Bunche was promoted steadily until he was chief of the African Section of that agency.

9. In a Senate probe by their Internal Security Sub-Committee it was brought out that Bunche had repeatedly pressured persons in charge of UN employment to hire a notorious communist agent, in spite of the fact that there was a derogatory report against the individual by a security agency of the Government.

10. Bunche was an official of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which has been definitely established as the top agency operated by communists to swing Soviet foreign policy into our government and to manipulate the betrayal of China to the Reds. (This resulted in tens of thousands of American boys losing their lives in Korea and in all probability will result in thousands more lives to be lost in the future.) It must be remembered that Bunche had participated in small closed meetings with individuals who have since been proven to be communist agents. With

Bunche's background and experience in communist philosophy and organization, it is hard to believe that he was an innocent bystander. Innocents are not allowed to lay down policy which the Kremlin is interested in nor are they entrusted to manipulate it. Innocents are only manipulated themselves. The names in the IPR reports as published in over 6,000 pages by the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee couple Bunche's activity along with such Communist agents as Alger Hiss, Owen Lattimore, Philip Jaffe, Frank Coe, Harry Dexter White, David Weintraub and scores of others.

Actually the evidence of communistic writings and communistic organizational activity by Ralph Bunche is greater overall than the combined evidence that government agencies had when they first began to get interested in red activities of Alger Hiss, Remington, Harry Dexter White and the Rosenbergs. Bunche's communistic utterances and connections are there as a public printed record and it is a great puzzle as to why our Government officials have not taken appropriate action. Instead it seems, that there is an effort to hush up the entire matter.

In 1948 when Alger Hiss was being charged with espionage against his country Bunche offered him a letter of support and vindication which included the observation that he (Bunche) was "stunned by this utterly shameless attempt to smear your good name. Though you have been grievously wronged, I have full confidence in your complete vindication . . ."—(Reference in your complete vindication . . .)—(Reference, article in the Freeman magazine by Victor Lasky page 134 October 1954).

It is true that some innocent dupes were drawn into the Hiss affair and there may be some excuse for them due to ignorance of communist techniques and trickery but in the case of Bunche, who has had long and extensive experience in the Marxist-Leninist school of activity and whose understanding of communism is both thorough and varied, there is no room for refuge behind the appellation of "innocent" or "dupe".

DEFINITIONS

In considering the record and activities of Ralph Bunche, or any other individual who has been active in Left-Wing circles, it is important and necessary that the political terms applied to such individuals be defined sharply and precisely. We hear such terms as "communist", "communist fellow-traveler", "communist sympathizer", "communist activist", a "dupe" of the communists, and "conscious" and "unconscious" carriers of either the whole or part of the "communist line." There is much misunderstanding as to what these designations mean. It is best to define these terms according to the classifications given them by the Kremlin chiefs themselves.

The term "communist activist" or "communist functionary", in the communist sense and among communists themselves, refers to an individual operating under the discipline of the communist machine and who is thoroughly schooled in communist techniques, in communist agitational and propaganda methods. The mere possession of a Communist Party membership book is not considered a significant criterion of an important communist, by the red leadership. The communist movement has long practiced the policy of maintaining a large portion of its membership without benefit of Communist Party membership books. There have been hundreds of communists without membership books operating under full Communist Party discipline, who have been considered more closely allied to the Communist Party machine than others who have carried such books.

A "communist" is defined by his superiors

as a political soldier, with or without a membership book, operating for the Kremlin and is considered an important member only if he faithfully follows the aims and purposes handed down to him, carrying out his tasks in keeping with directives given him. He must reflect these in his assigned field either through speeches or writings or organizing activity or all of these functions combined. He must demonstrate a knowledge of communist techniques and communist terminology. He must also shift his propaganda in accordance to the communist line of the day.

It is impossible for a person accidentally to coincide in his own personal independent views so as to match the communist line in all of its major features. It is quite possible that one may accidentally coincide in viewpoint with some one part of the communist program, but, in respect to the overall line it is a mathematical impossibility for anyone to independently match the total red line in its various ramifications. Such impossibility is further compounded if the language used is strictly Marxist-Leninist.

[Excerpts from early writings of
Dr. Ralph J. Bunche]

Journal of Negro Education

Our first printed record of Ralph Bunche's pro-communist utterances is in 1935 when he already displayed a knowledge of radical terminology which fits into what the communists call "the language of Marxism-Leninism". In reviewing a book in the *Journal of Negro Education*, a magazine issued by the Howard University in January 1935, Bunche wrote as follows:

"An appreciation of the moving forces behind modern imperialism as practiced by the capitalistic nations of the world does not seem to fall within the author's ken. One gathers, by broad implications that Mr. Mockerie feels that the African can get along well enough under the existing system if only some of the more burdensome and noxious restrictions are removed. This is, of course, a vain hope.

"My own belief is that there is little hope for the African now, or in the future, so long as finance capitalism, dominates the economic systems of the mother countries."—(The *Journal of Negro Education*, "Current Literature on Negro Education," Jan. 1935, Vol. IV No. 1, by R. J. Bunche.)

The broad implication that the social systems of the countries, which have African colonies, must first be overthrown as a prerequisite of establishing an anti-capitalist system in Africa is quite obvious in Bunche's remarks. This necessarily pre-supposes the overthrow of the existing systems of society in Britain, France, Italy, Portugal and the United States. (It was and is the position of communists and their followers that the U.S. is in effect the controlling force in Liberia and that this constitutes the possession by America of an African Colony.)

It is interesting to note that standard Marxist-Leninist language was employed by Bunche which included the terms: capitalistic nations, finance capitalism, imperialism, etc. The Marxist-Leninist objectives include not only the language but also sets the tone of communist social warfare which aims to overthrow the mother countries of these colonies.

In an article on Minority Groups Dr. Bunche carried out his concepts in keeping with the communist philosophy by mouching certain fundamental Marxist cliches as follows:

"Recent world history points out too clearly that modern democracy, conceived in the womb of middle-class revolutions, was early put out to work in support of those ruling middle-class interests of capitalistic

society which fathered it. It has remained their loyal child and has rendered profitable service for them. But when in modern European countries it came to be vigorously wooed by those mass interests of society whose lot under modern industrialism has been that of cruel oppression, democracy was quickly discredited and disowned, and fascism became the favored child of Big-Business-controlled governments. The significant fact is that democracy, while never offered in any large measure to the black populations of the world, has been extended to the great masses of the working-class population only so long as it was employed by them as a harmless device involving no real threat to the increasing control of the society by the ruling classes."—(The *Journal of Negro Education*, page 308, article by Ralph Bunche, "A Critical Analysis of the Tactics and Programs of Minority Groups," July 1935, Vol. 4, No. 3.)

This entire concept and phraseology is part and parcel of the standard communist propaganda. This line follows thus:

1. Modern democracy was born by the impetus and leadership of manufacturing and commercial elements in order to overthrow the restrictive feudal order.

2. That democracy was permitted in a limited way for the poorer population in order to delude them and deceive them into thinking that this was a government of all the people.

3. That the negro people as a whole were deprived of even those limited rights.

4. That exploitation was becoming so flagrant with the growth of big business that fantastic forms were substituted, in place of the illusion of democracy, in order to maintain the oppression.

In the above mentioned article, Bunche repeatedly states that alternatives of a peaceful nature cannot serve the negro people. Under the heading of "Violent Tactics" he does however present the communist position as follows—

"The Communist Party has seriously proselytized among the Negro group but with only indifferent success. The immediate task of such movements in this country is to develop radical class consciousness among the working class masses of both white and Negro populations, with a view to the ultimate recognition of an identity of interest and consequent black and white solidarity in a militant labor movement."—Page 312, J.N.E., July 1935.

In presenting the immediate program of the Communist Party as one striving for a class-conscious unity between white workers and Negroes, Bunche admits an expert knowledge precludes all possibility that his reflecting communist thought could be done through ignorance or innocence.

Dr. Bunche wrote in the *Journal of Negro Education*, in the capacity of Professor of Political Science and as such must have reflected his political beliefs to his students. He considered himself a radical teacher and as such took up the cudgels on behalf of all radical teachers and long ago began to denounce all "loyalty oaths", red-riders and other measures which required teachers to conduct themselves in a loyal manner.

The excerpts below show that Bunche displayed an open defiance against attempts to keep our teachers within the confines of conducting their classes in the interests of good Americanism. His writings on this subject sound exactly as the red teachers of today do in denouncing Congressional probes into subversion in our schools—

"In considering what may be done in the way of reorganizing any educational system, white or black, it must also be kept in mind that the dominant controls of the society are

exerted over the teacher. Educators, if they are frank, admit their circumscriptions under the present organization of the society. We are now witnessing an unusual era of academic repression, but the controls are always present, in good times or bad. The repressive measures, 'red-riders,' gag-laws and oath clauses of the present period of hysteria are merely forceful reminders of the fundamental bias of our educational system. It is more than significant that radical teachers have always been in jeopardy; that long before the depression teachers were forbidden to join teachers' unions, though it is difficult to find any instances of conservative teachers being dismissed for their points of view. The idea has always been widely current among the powers that be in education that the teacher does not have the same rights as other citizens to speak or publish his views on social questions. Moreover, it would seem valid to assume that where one teacher is known to have been dismissed from his job because his ideas were in conflict with the controlling interests of his educational institution, thousands of others are cowed and remain too timid to take the risk of venturing an opinion on any 'dangerous' subject, or even to protest against the restraint.—(The Journal of Negro Education, "Education in Black and White," pages 356-7, July 1936, Vol. V, No. 3, Bunche.)

Bunche continually railed against the free-profit-system and kept repeating over and over again, that capitalism is the main enemy and complained that our society taught its children a "bias in favor of the culture of capitalism"—

"Though there are some who would will it otherwise, in America today education is compelled to reflect the status quo. We are living in an economy of capitalism and our educational system consistently harmonizes with the dominant capitalistic pattern. Our schools are extremely sensitive to the fluctuations of capitalism. When capitalism prospers, the schools prosper. When capitalism suffers from depression, school budgets are drastically cut. When capitalism is hard-pressed with criticisms for its shortcomings, the schools are expected to provide its advocates, and if they demur, for reasons of educational ideals, capitalism tightens the economic screws until the schools surrender. Though the schools are non-profit enterprises themselves, they operate within the framework of a profit economy, and there are rigid limits to their activities. On relatively trivial matters they may exercise a modicum of freedom but in all really vital matters they must reflect the will of the groups which hold the reins of power in the state. The American educational system, in its control, financial support, faculty and students, manifests a definite bias in favor of the culture of capitalism.—(The Journal of Negro Education, "Education in Black and White," July 1936, Vol. V, No. 3, page 355, Bunche.)

Bunche re-inforced his comments by the purely communist concept that educational equality is impossible under our present system of society:—

"The fact is that under our present system it is impossible to achieve educational equality for all members of any group in the society. Public schools, for example, are supported by taxation. The revenue derived from taxation will depend largely upon the relative prosperity of the propertied interests in the particular locality. Since wealth is unequally distributed in the country the present glaring inequalities in the distribution of funds for the support of education will persist even for 'White Education.' The basic question for all schools is not one of copying the 'white man's education,' but one of developing a system of education which

will afford both white and black students a sound basis for understanding the society in which they live and for attacking the problems confronting them. White as well as Negro schools are woefully deficient in this respect.—(The Journal of Negro Education, "Education in Black and White," page 355, July 1936, Vol. V, No. 3, Bunche.)

The next quote shows that Bunche took the typically communist position that "capitalism owns the colleges and universities" and "nor can it (Ed.—American Education) teach the student the truth". His contention that our educational system pursues a policy of indoctrination of prejudices "in the capitalist culture" is a repetition of the Kremlin brand of slander carried on against our system of individual freedom—

"In truth, capitalism owns the colleges and universities by right of purchase. These institutions are supported either by taxation paid largely by corporations and large property owners, or else by direct endowments, gifts, and contributions by the commercial class. It is not unusual therefore that the schools should be expected to foster and cultivate capitalistic ideas. It is easy to imagine what would happen quickly to the University administration or school board which would attempt to give any other orientation to the educational process. The universities themselves have a vested interest in the profit economy because of their investments in all sorts of capitalistic enterprises. The returns of these investments determine the financial status of the institutions. Of necessity, American education thus becomes "goose-step" education. It can be only relatively free. It cannot vigorously devote itself to the task of inoculating the student with a burning desire for the pure truth. Nor can it fearlessly teach the student the truth. It is compelled to pursue a policy of indoctrination—with all of the attitudes, beliefs, stereotypes, and prejudices which have been cultivated in the capitalist culture and which are vital to it.—(The Journal of Negro Education, "Education in Black and White," pages 355-6, July 1936, Vol. V, No. 3, Bunche.)

Bunche's solution of the problems of education which he raises also parallels that of the Soviet propaganda line that special "labor schools" must be set up to give working people courses which Bunche states that if they were given in our "advanced educational institutions" then the business interests in every community would immediately put up a howl that the schools were "red and fostering revolutionary meetings on their campuses":—

"The white and black mill and factory workers in all sections of the country require the same type of education—an education which will give them a true understanding of their status in the industrial order and an insight in the nature of that order. Under present conditions this cannot be done in our schools; this sort of training is gotten by the workers themselves in their labor organizations and their labor schools, of these latter there are too few. It would, of course, be a splendid thing if our advanced educational institutions were in a position to offer extension courses in workers' education for the adult workers of the community, black and white. There is not much possibility of this being done, however, for the business interests in every community would immediately put up the howl that the schools were 'red' and fostering 'revolutionary' meetings on their campuses. Even the Federal Workers' Education projects have suffered from this sort of organized attack.—(The Journal of Negro Education, "Education in Black and White," page 358, July 1936, Vol. V, No. 3, Bunche.)

PAMPHLET—"A WORLD VIEW OF RACE"

In 1936 Ralph Bunche wrote a booklet called "A World View of Race". In this publication he advocated the classic position of the communists in respect to the Negro question.

Bunche lays the foundation in typically Marxist fashion by tying in the racial groups as a mere part of the class struggle in America. In parroting the communist position of pitting the workers against the capitalists, Bunche had the following to say—

"The 'Race Problem' Seen as a 'Class Problem'"

"One of the latest and soundest views of the American race problem, and, for that matter, the race problem throughout the world, regards it, then, as merely one aspect of the class struggle. That is to say that differences in 'race,' differences in skin color, hair texture, language, religion or culture traits, are employed as devices by the privileged, ruling classes of the society to rationalize and promote their continued domination over and exploitation of the great numbers of the population. Thus it can be pointed out that the American Negro, by force of economic circumstances, is principally identified with the American working class and peasant elements of the population. The development of Negro business enterprise is impossible at this late stage in our industrial process, if it ever was possible. Similarly, it follows that no separate black economy can be erected within the walls of the white economy, as the movement for Negro business presupposes. The Negro must develop, therefore, a consciousness of class interest and purpose, and must strive for an alliance with the white working classes in a common struggle for economic and political equality and justice. The Negro can make significant progress toward these objectives against the obstacles of private prejudice and public discrimination and injustice, only by uniting with the poor whites of the South and North. This objective is admittedly difficult of realization. Mutual suspicion and enmity between the white and black groups is an ever-present source of frustration. The minds of conscious.—("A World View of Race," By Ralph J. Bunche, page 89-90.)

There are encouraging signs, however, that the problem of the status of the Negro in the United States is losing its traditional purely racial nature and is being increasingly identified with the growing struggle of the white workers and small farmers against the white (and, for that matter, black) captains of industry, landlords and bankers. The depression, ably abetted by the policies of the New Deal, has made the American population, white and black, increasingly class-conscious.—("A World View of Race," By Ralph J. Bunche, pages 89-90.)

While laying the basis for the communist concept of irreconcilable struggle between the capitalists and the workers, Bunche then proceeds to describe how the "race" question will be solved after "capitalism" is done away with—

"If the fundamental ailments of the American economy are remedied, the 'race question' will loom less large. So long as the society endures an economy which demands and thrives on human exploitation, race will be employed as an effective device in the promotion of the process group exploitation, economic, political and cultural. In such a society and under such an economy attempts at solving the 'race problem' will be futile.—("A World View of Race," By Ralph J. Bunche, page 92.)

Bunche thus lays the basis of need for communist revolution by characterizing our way of life as "human exploitation—eco-

conomic, political and cultural." Since all of our social life comes in under the above three categories the obvious propaganda basis is laid for the aim for another social order which is fundamentally different.

The next excerpt shows the class-struggle process as inevitably leading to a showdown between the workers and capitalists and that the elimination of private property interests and rights is a necessary process before the race and class problems are resolved. It is interesting to note in view of his U.N. position that Dr. Bunche considered the elimination of capitalism as a necessary condition before a proper World Order can be established.

"The plain fact is that the contemporary international order, characterized by its capitalist-imperialist organization, has no possibility of effectively controlling the destiny of such peoples and areas. For the international order cannot override the existing vested capitalistic interests which muster the forces of the state for their protection. As the world is now organized these interests cannot be overcome, for they are intimately tied up with the class-relations of capitalist society. The same forces which protect them are the exact forces which protect and promote the interests of the capitalist within the capitalist state to which he claims allegiance. Just as the capitalist state in its internal affairs maintains a legal and constitutional system designed to protect absentee ownership and safeguard those property rights which make the capitalist supreme, just so, in the realm of external affairs, the state's authority, by the very nature of his relationship to it, must be employed to impose that type of supremacy over other peoples.

It is only when this supremacy and privilege are dissolved and when it is no longer within the power of the privileged property-holding class to determine the institutional life and habits of the modern state, that there can be hope for the development of an international order and community which will promise the subject peoples of the world genuine relief from the heavy colonial burdens of imperialist domination."—"A World View of Race," By R. J. Bunche, pages 64-65.)

As to where such groups (as the American Negro) can look to for leadership and inspiration Dr. Bunche gives the standard Bolshevik answer—to the Soviet Union, of course. In fact he considered it "both logical and likely":

"If the oppressed racial groups, as a result of desperation and increasing understanding, should be attracted by the principles of equality and humanitarianism advocated by the Soviet Union (and it is both logical and likely that they will) then racial conflict will become intensified. In such case, however, racial conflict will be more directly identified with class conflict, and the oppressed racial groups may win the support of oppressed, though previously prejudiced, working-class groups within the dominant population."—"A World View of Race," By R. J. Bunche, page 36.)

In concluding his pamphlet Ralph Bunche tied in the whole communist aim of merging racial dissidents into the class struggle for the possession of the whole world. He talks of "titanic" and "uncompromising struggles" between "the working and owning classes." The last sentence of the pamphlet talks of war. It is not of ordinary war that Bunche speaks of, for even as terrible a thing as race war is relegated to a mere "sideshow". The war that he describes is a "gigantic class war." And its locale? The same as the operations of the Kremlin forces. It will be "waged in the big tent we call the world."

"There will be sporadic outbreaks when subject peoples become restless under too

harsh measures of imperialistic oppression. But the signs throughout the world are unmistakable. Despite the frantic efforts of many of those who control national and world policy to conjure up international race issues, the lines are forming in a totally different manner. Race issues appear but tend to merge into class issues. Throughout the world the issue between working and owning classes is sharpening. The titanic conflicts of the future will be the product of the uncompromising struggles between those who have and those who have not. These conflicts now wage within all groups, racial and national. Insofar as the great masses of the black and yellow races are concerned, the status of economic and political inferiority which they have been compelled to accept results in their automatic identification with the working and 'have not' classes of the society. They are now beginning to understand the true nature of the issues confronting them. Moreover, they will eventually appreciate the great possibilities in their numerical strength as a weapon in their struggle for justice. This organized and directed support of the working class of the dominant populations of the world will bring an unchallengeable power to this class.

And so class will some day supplant race in world affairs. Race war then will be merely a side-show to the gigantic class war which will be waged in the big tent we call the world."—"A World View of Race," By R. J. Bunche, pages 95-6.)

Any further doubt as to whether the above pamphlet by Ralph Bunche carried the Communist position on the Negro question can be completely dispelled with the below quotation from the magazine called the "Communist" which was issued as "A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism Published Monthly by the Communist Party of the U.S.A." In the issue of the Communist October, 1937 Bunche's pamphlet is reviewed by Abner W. Berry, a high ranking communist for many years. The entire first page is here quoted to show the enthusiasm with which the official communist hierarchy greeted Bunche's pamphlet. When A. W. Berry states that "Significant in Dr. Bunche's analysis is his emphasis on the class conflict underlying so-called race issues" he gives Bunche full credit for echoing the basic communist credo of class struggle to overthrow our social order. (Ed. Note: Former high level communist leaders have testified that all book reviews in the Communist are first passed on by the Polit-Buro leaders of the Communist Party to make sure that the review is important enough for the communist Cause and make certain that it is in keeping with the Party doctrine.)

"A STEP TOWARD NEGRO LIBERATION"

("A World View of Race," by Ralph J. Bunche, Ph.D., Associate in Negro Education, Washington, D.C., 98 pp. Twenty-five cents.)

A fresh breeze is blowing through the class rooms of American colleges, carrying with it elements of Marxist and progressive thought. One of the welcome fruits of this renaissance is a world-embracing study of race attitudes by Dr. Bunche, professor of political science at Howard University.

The brochure begins with the discussion of world race theories, in which the author shows that the basis for racialistic theories is mythical rather than scientific. He properly estimates the dangers inherent in the propagation and spread of such theories, as, for example, the attempt to merge race and nation in Nazi Germany. Significant in Dr. Bunche's analysis is his emphasis on the class conflict underlying so-called race issues. A starting point toward a solution of the problem is his conclusion:

"Group antagonisms are social, political and economic conflicts, not racial, though they are frequently given a racial label and seek racial justification" (p. 23).

This point is further developed and elaborated in the second chapter. Discussing the historical basis for present-day prejudices, Dr. Bunche points out:

"The historic origin of racial prejudices and conflicts is to be found in migration of human groups and the invasions by conquering peoples of territory inhabited by other peoples. These conflicts did not result from any innate aversion of one racial group toward another, however. . . . The true historical explanation is that the conquering peoples constituted themselves the ruling class and relegated the conquered group to an inferior status. Thus race became a badge of social superiority and in time the dominant race assumed for itself qualities of moral, intellectual and political superiority as well as economic privilege" (p. 26).

Approaching the Marxist viewpoint, the author follows up this statement by analyzing the class antagonisms within the dominant races, inferring an alliance of the subject people with the workers of both races.

The main areas of racial conflict where 'racial relations of today are pregnant with a danger for the future peace and development of the world' are Africa, West Indies, the Orient, Germany and the United States, according to Dr. Bunche. He discusses the issues in each area. In writing of the conflict in America, the author notes that even within the 'solid white front' against the threat of "Negro domination" during the Civil War there were differences as between slave-holders and the poor whites.

That Dr. Bunche realizes the significance of the class struggle is clear. He reasons that with trade union policies based upon "the inevitable realization that workers of the two groups (Negro and white) arrayed against each other in racial conflict have more in common than workers of the dominant group have in common with employers of the dominant group . . . racial conflict tends to be lessened, but class conflict . . . is intensified" (pp. 31-32). The solution of the "race" problem according to the author lies along the road of working class freedom:

"The Negro must develop, therefore, a consciousness of class interest and purpose, and must strive for an alliance with the white working class in the common struggle for economic and political equality and justice. The Negro can make significant progress toward these objectives against the obstacles of private prejudice and public discrimination and injustice only by uniting with the poor whites of the South and North" (p. 90).

The working class can recognize, unmistakably, in this statement the voice of an active friend and supporter. It is a wholesome and hopeful sign that this statement represents also the social credo of an increasing number of Negro intellectuals—Book Review by A. W. Berry, page 965 of "A World View of Race" by Ralph J. Bunche, The Communist, October 1937, Vol. XVI, No. 10.)

Before passing on to the next phase, it is of interest to present the official point of view of the Communist Party as enunciated by its leader in the United States, Earl Browder, on the question of the Negroes in relation to the class struggle and the march toward revolution. The two excerpts below sound like an echo of Bunche's words on the same subject. The following position was presented during the same period that Bunche wrote on the identical subject—

"The purpose of our work on the Negro question is to establish unity of white and black proletariat in a common struggle to overthrow capitalism, and the leadership of the proletariat over the Negro masses in

the struggle for their national liberation."—"Communism in the United States," a book by Earl Browder, page 292—1935.)

"We live and fight within the world fortress of capitalism, of imperialism, which finds one of its main instruments of rule in the division between white and Negro workers. But this division also represents one of the weakest spots of American imperialism, where we can strike quickest and hardest, it represents a pre-capitalist survival, a relic of slavery and feudalism, a crying anachronism, embodying all the contradictions of the decaying imperialist world. In this discussion we have more effectively armed ourselves with the Leninist theory, whereby we can call forth for struggle all the revolutionary forces generated by this national oppression of the Negroes, link them up with the rising forces of the proletarian class struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party, and thus with multiplied capacity for effective battle against the oppressors, the imperialist bourgeoisie, we will 'sail into the face of the storm' of the revolutionary mass struggles that are being prepared in America on a gigantic scale."—"Communism in the United States," by Earl Browder, page 303—1935. For National Liberation of the Negroes! War Against White Chauvinism!

Race Magazine

In a magazine called "Race", which was organized and completely controlled by well known communists (including one who had been a several times delegate to the Communist International in Moscow from the Communist Party of the U.S.), Dr. Bunche wrote an article reiterating the orthodox communist position that the race problem is a part of the class struggle and that The National Negro Congress, which was formed in 1936, reflected "the ideology of organized labor was dominant". In communist nomenclature the ideology of organized labor is Marxism, since Labor, as such, has no particular ideology separate and apart from the rest of the population:

"Biased individuals saw the Congress inspired and dominated by the 'reds'. A more sober appraisal is perhaps in order."

Alert and Alive (Dr. Bunche's Sub-Title)

"Quite the most significant feature of the Negro Congress was the fact that it constituted the first sincere effort to bring together on an equal plane Negro leaders, professional and white collar workers with Negro manual workers and their leaders and organizers. The result was gratifying to the latter. It was, to say the least, an educational experience for the Negro leaders and professional and white collar groups. In no other general Negro gathering has the note of labor been so popularly received. The ideology of organized labor was dominant."—(Race magazine, Vol. I, No. 2, Summer 1936, page 93, article by Ralph J. Bunche, "Triumph? or Fiasco?")

It is quite significant, as will be shown later, that Bunche declares that those who called the National Negro Congress as "dominated by reds" are "biased".

What is particularly important is the fact that Bunche was associated with a Magazine that was not only run by known reds but openly proclaimed in its first issue that its object was to "plow up our institutions to their very roots and substitute a socialist order for the present capitalist imperialist order."

"That the special system of discrimination against the Negro in America is so deeply rooted in the very foundations of the present social order and the vested interests of dominant capitalism that there is no complete 'solution' of this basic problem of American life short of a fundamental reconstruction of society, a social upheaval which will plow

up our institutions to their very roots and substitute a socialist order for the present capitalist-imperialist order."—(Race, Vol. I, No. 1, Winter 1935—1936, page 3, Article on opening page.)

(Note: The magazine Race did not appear after Vol. I No. 2.)

The National Negro Congress and Dr. Bunche

The story of The National Negro Congress is one whereby the Kremlin leaders managed to get a grip on the influential section of the Negro people in this country which they had not been able to accomplish until this Congress was put into action. Previous to 1936 the Communist Party of the U.S.A., upon instructions from the Kremlin, began to send in its small negro membership into existing non-communist Negro organizations. When this infiltration job was completed, the Moscow leaders through the Communist International instructed the communists in America to organize a Negro Congress which would pretend to be a representative body for all the Negroes in the United States, but actually be under the firm control of the Kremlin.

The purpose of this maneuver was obvious. Hitherto the communists had been operating feverishly to get a grip upon the mass of American Negroes and had been very unsuccessful in their attempts. The Kremlin had decided many years previously that the millions of Negroes in this country would be ideal political fodder which could be used in revolutionary activity against our form of government. They had failed in this way to unite the Negroes under the open banner of communism. Other subterfuges were needed. In preparation for this day, scores of Negro communists were trained in the advanced schools of revolutionary tactics in Moscow.

In the organization of the National Negro Congress, however, the Red bosses did not trust the Negro communists to do the job. Previous experience had shown that the freedom loving American negroes rebelled against communist discipline and the turnover of negroes in the Communist Party was higher than that of any other group. Therefore, even in the National Negro Congress, organizations of white membership were allowed to send delegates. Needless to say, most of these white organizations were either communist fronts or were other organizations which had been previously infiltrated.

The failures that the communists had among the negroes had taught them that this operation must be carefully and thoughtfully carried out. Only the most trusted and most thoroughly indoctrinated negro communists were to be entrusted with the task of organizing and launching this new endeavor.

A number of ex-communists, who had been in on the plot in high places, have testified to the extent of this operation and that only the most trusted red agents were given the task of launching the National Negro Congress.

In 1940, while writing about the National Negro Congress in the Gunnar Myrdal-Carnegie studies on the Negro question, Bunche boasted that the original meetings which initiated the National Negro Congress were made by him and his associates in Howard University and in his home in Washington, D.C. in 1935.

In fact, the official communist publications gave him full credit as one of the initiators in their own publications as follows—

"Among other outstanding participants were Dr. Ralph J. Bunche of Howard University; Lester Granger of the Workers Council of the National Urban League; A. W. McPherson, of the Steel and Metal Workers Union; and Olive M. Stone, of the North Carolina Institute of Social Science."—"The

Negro and the Democratic Front". Book, Publisher—International Publishers, N.Y., copyright, 1938, P. 69.)

James Ford, the writer of the above, was the leading Negro member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States and was involved in meetings with Ralph Bunche on the question of the National Negro Congress (according to testimony of leading ex-communists.)

The next quote, from a recent communist book, written by W. Z. Foster, the current head of the Communist Party, confirms Bunche's role in connection with the National Negro Congress—

"Among those present were such notables as Ralph Bunche, W. E. B. DuBois, A. Phillip Randolph, R. A. Carter, John P. Davis, James W. Ford, and others."—(Book, "History of the Communist Party by W. Z. Foster," International Publishers, 1952, p. 309.)

Foster and Ford also confirm Bunche's contention that Howard University (where he worked as a professor of Political Science) was the locale of the Negro Congress planning in May, 1935, one year before the Negro Congress was convened—

"The rising spirit of struggle among the Negro people during these years reflected itself in the National Negro Congress, organized in Chicago, February 14—16, 1936. The N.N.C. grew out of a conference held previously under the auspices of Howard University and the Joint Committee on National Recovery."—(Book, "History of the Communist Party of the U.S.," W. Z. Foster, International Publishers, 1952, p. 308.)

"There were other speakers who made valuable contributions on the plight of the Negro at the May Conference at Washington. Space will not permit us to quote from all of them. Among these were: Dr. Ralph Bunche, of Howard University; Lester Granger, of the Workers Council of the National Urban League; A. W. McPherson, of the Steel and Metal Workers Union; John McKinney, of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union; Olive M. Stone, of the North Carolina Institute of Social Science."—(The Communist, April 1936, Vol. XV, No. 4, page 322. Article: "The National Negro Congress," by James W. Ford.)

However, it should not be construed that the process which started the National Negro Congress originated with the May, 1935 conference, between Bunche and his cohorts. Actually the order to start the Congress, as is shown in the following quote, came from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., as enunciated by its leading Negro member, James W. Ford, in 1934—

"It may be remembered that the National Negro Congress was proposed last May at a national conference held in Washington. Earlier in January, 1934, at a symposium held in New York between Frank R. Crosswath, Oscar De Priest, and myself, I made a suggestion for the calling of a National Negro Congress."—(The Communist, April 1936, Page 318, James W. Ford.)

The method in which the whole process of building the Negro Congress was frankly and clearly laid out a few months before the Howard University conference (mentioned by Bunche) by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to its members at a special plenary session of the National Committee of the Communist Party to give instructions as to how the entire matter was to be carried out among the Negro people. In reading this excerpt, it must be kept in mind that this was issued to members of the Communist Party more than a year before the National Negro Congress was convened—

"In connection with the question of the united front on the Negro question—if we work properly now and see that we must

penetrate these organizations, there is the possibility of building up a National Negro Congress on a broad united front basis. We had a discussion about this conference in the N.Y. District in which we discussed the Negro question, and the possibility of a National Negro Congress. If we make the proper orientation, we will be able to build the biggest Congress of Negro people ever held. It means patient work in Negro organizations."—(Party Organizer, March 1935, Vol. VIII, No. 3, issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Article: "How to Penetrate the Negro Organizations" (Excerpts from Report to Plenum). Page 21.)

This instructive to organize a Negro Congress was issued to all communists, whether secret or open, in the following directive—"In the development of this work it shall be our aim to lay a firm basis for the realization on a local scale of our major political task in Negro work nationally, namely:

1. The promotion of the movement for the National Congress on Negro Rights, tying up our local campaign with the general issues around which this Congress will be convened, such as the campaign for the enactment of the L.S.N.R. Bill for Civil Rights, for the freedom of the Scottsboro Boys and Herndon, against lynching, etc."—(The Communist, June, 1935, Vol. XIV, No. 6, page 575, "The Development of Struggle for Negro Rights".)

After the National Negro Congress was organized, the Communist Party took full and public credit for the creation of the Congress. It was understood by all and sundry that this was a child of the Kremlin. Ralph Bunche, incidentally, was elected to the National Committee of the Negro Congress. The process of getting control of the minds of the Negro leadership was well on its way. The goal set for the Communist Party of the U.S. by the Kremlin through the Communist International in its World Congress in Moscow in 1935, on the question of the American Negroes, was gathering full steam. The boast by American Communists of their handiwork in this respect and the report on how the Communist International instructives were the guiding light is illustrated in the next two quotations—

"It is equally beyond dispute that the pioneering and trail-blazing work of the Communists has played a great part in opening the road towards the now developing broad people's movement. Our Party as a whole can justly take pride—not to rest in self satisfaction—in the role it played and is playing in awakening the Negro people, in helping to organize them, in bringing forth such Negro leaders as Ford and Herndon, and in promoting that United and people's front for Negro rights which resulted in the creation of the National Negro Congress."—(The Communist, March, 1936, Vol. XV, No. 3, page 202. "Review of the Month".)

"I would say that the main feature of the past year has been that in the field of work among the Negro people, as in most of the other fields of our work, we have begun to realize on a mass scale the results of the line of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. We have begun to emerge from sectarian isolation and become a mass influence, a mass power. As in our Party work generally, this has been accompanied by a sharpening of all the problems involved in our work. All of our weaknesses and inadequacies come out most sharply now, precisely because we have made some tremendous gains and thereby face responsibilities which politically we feel equipped to meet."—(Book, "The Negro and the Democratic Front," by James W. Ford, International Publishers, page 95.)

It is necessary to present the following list of excerpts to emphasize the fact that

the National Negro Congress was a Kremlin operation which could, and was, carried out by Kremlin agents, working consciously towards that goal—

"Comrades: This convention, in my opinion, emphasized repeatedly the importance of the Negro question. I want to take the few minutes disposed to me to propose the concrete work of the Negro field.

Comrades, as the menace of fascism threatens the Negro people with double ferocity, we find at this moment the very sincere desire for both black and white to unite in a concrete form in the struggle against fascism. When we do this we carry out the tradition of Lenin and Stalin. Lenin told us years ago that we did not pretend to be pure Communists, at all times to be practical people. While we do not negate the slogan of self-determination for the Negro people in the United States, we are today seeking the most practical means to develop the struggle of the Negro people toward this ultimate slogan known as the right of self-determination. And this practical weapon is the National Negro Congress."

"The question of securing these National Negro Congress sponsors should be one of the essential points of all of our discussions from now on. Comrades in trade unions should consult the educational committee of their unions and arrange to include in their educational program discussion on the National Negro Congress. Meetings should be covered by people with folders, leaflets, sponsor buttons. Even at this convention we have given sponsor buttons to many of the comrades. There is nothing to hide. We openly declare we are responsible for bringing 1,000 sponsors in the New York State apparatus of the Communist Party.

"The Communist Party will continue to see the Negro question as a special question of approach. The Communist Party precisely by assisting the building of the N.N.C. refutes the theories of the Socialists in their recent resolution that attempts to put the Negro people on the same par with the conditions of the white and other people in the United States. We recognize this as a special question. We bring this out at this convention in order that the comrades will see the necessity of using the building of N.N.C. as a practical question and concrete means of approaching the Negro question in a special manner."—(Book, "Proceedings 10th Convention," Communist Party New York State, May 20-23, 1938, pp. 253-254-255.)

"We Communist must organize all our forces to render great assistance to the National Negro Congress in carrying out its program. We should organize all our factions and guide them in their work in the various organizations in which there may be Party members. If we develop systematic work on the basis of our concentration policies in the various Negro communities and carry on a fight against sectarian methods of work, we shall be able very soon to fulfill the task of developing a broad people's front among the Negro people in the United States against fascism and war and for the liberation of the Negro people."—(The Communist, June 1936, Vol. XV No. 6, Page 561. Article: "Build the National Negro Congress Movement," by James W. Ford.)

"We Communists were never doubtful about the significance or the outcome of the National Negro Congress. We were not deterred by the charges of 'Communist domination'. We were guided by what we knew of the desire of the Negro masses for united action."

"The National Negro Congress recorded progress made by Communist and the many delegates who supported our program, in the increasing work we are carrying on in the various organizations of the Negro people.

Our modest successes are, however, just beginnings. We must now undertake to profit from our experiences, mistakes, shortcomings and successes, by showing what changes are necessary in our methods of work to build the National Negro Congress."

"We Communists must organize all our forces to render great assistance to the National Negro Congress in carrying out its program."—(Book, "The Negro and the Democratic Front," by James W. Ford, Page 69, 76, 85.)

"Some people think because we do not insist that the issue of the right to self-determination be adopted now by the Negro Congress, our Party is abandoning its revolutionary demand for the right to self-determination in the Black Belt in the South. Nothing is further from the truth. Never was it more clear than it is today that the complete liberation of the people in the Black Belt will be accomplished only by the revolutionary overthrow of the white landlords and capitalists, the destruction of the semi-slave agricultural relations and the realization of the right to self-determination. But there is a problem which we must face. And how must we face it? The problem is how to link up the daily struggles of the Negro Masses in the Black Belt today for their partial economic and political demands with our revolutionary slogan for the right to self-determination. It is clear that the Negro masses are not yet ready to carry through the revolution which would make possible the right to self-determination. But they are ready to fight against jim-crowism and oppression, for democratic rights and other partial economic and political demands. Our task, therefore, is not to stand passively by and wait until the Negro toilers become ready for the revolution. No! Our task is to join with them in the organization for their immediate struggle and strengthen their position economically and politically, strengthen the bonds between the white and Negro toilers, and in this way create the transition to the revolutionary struggle which will make possible the realization of the right of the Negro masses in the Black Belt to self-determination."—(The Communist, December 1935, Vol. XIV, No. 12, Page 1120-21, "The United Front—The Key to Our New Tactical Orientation," by Earl Browder.)

The top leadership took official cognizance of the communist success through the National Negro Congress and published an account of the role of that organization in the process of communist revolution. This was published in the International Press Correspondence, a publication which was the official organ of the Communist International and was published in every major language in the world.

"The work of the Communist vanguard within the Negro group is of the most profound importance. Success in the struggle for unity at the National Negro Congress, the development of a Negro people's front depends in a large measure upon the correct action of our revolutionary Negro cadres. The development of tried and true revolutionary cadres and the strengthening of our revolutionary organizations among the Negro people, is now of the most profound importance. The development of the Negro people's front is dependent upon this. In turn, the development of tried and true revolutionary cadres among the Negro toilers is dependent upon the development of the broadest possible united front of struggle among the Negro people. The programme of the National Negro Congress must be realized."—Int'l. Press Corresp. Vol. 16 No. 7 Feb. 1st, 1936, "The Negro Movement—A National Negro Cong. in America," pp. 195.

(The article quoted above was published before the N.N.C. was held.)

The National Negro Congress was to be only one part of a Kremlin plotted world wide organization of negroes which was to have followed the formation of the N.N.C. Negro communist agents were sent throughout the world to inflame negroes (particularly in Africa) and to weld them into an international force serving the Soviet purposes. During the same year that the N.N.C. was formed and the call was issued through the Negroes Congress for a "class conscious" organization to be called the "International Congress of Negroes", Ralph Bunche went to Africa and toured large areas of that continent. An investigation should be made to determine if Bunche had contact with some of the Negro agitators who are stirring up trouble and bloodshed in Africa today.

Hence, the National Negro Congress in the United States occupies an important place in the life and struggles of Negroes everywhere. That is why the Congress adopted a resolution on an International Congress of Negroes, as follows:

Whereas, the exploitation and subjugation of the Negro masses is general, and worldwide in scope, and Negro toilers in one nation are not free so long as their brother toilers elsewhere are subjected to the degrading horrors of exploitation, and

Whereas, a deeper sympathy and class-consciousness of all Negroes throughout the world can best be developed by an International Congress of Negroes, be it

Resolved, that immediately upon the establishment of this Congress upon a permanent basis, it work for the fulfillment of such an International Congress of Negroes.—(The Communist, May 1936, Vol. XV, No. 5, Page 461, "Political Highlights of the National Negro Congress," by James W. Ford.)

The following message to the leadership of the National Negro Congress demonstrates beyond any doubt that the function of that organization is to follow in the footsteps of the Soviet Revolution. This quote incidentally is from the International Press Correspondence which only prints that which was cleared by top Soviet Leaders—

"The history of the Soviet Union from the day of its birth is replete with lessons of utmost value to the National Negro Congress. These lessons can be an invaluable aid in the solution of every problem confronting the Congress, for the peoples of the Soviet Union have passed through just such struggles and have solved them."—(Inprecorr, February 1st, 1936, Vol. 16, No. 7, page 195, "The Negro Movement—A National Negro Congress in America".)

The nature of the National Negro Congress has been thoroughly probed by various governmental investigating agencies and they all have recognized its subversive character. The following taken from the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1951 "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" page 86, sums up the investigations and testimony on the National Negro Congress—

"National Negro Congress

"1. Cited as subversive and Communist.—(Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).

"2. A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Congress since its inception in 1936, refused to run again in April 1940 on the ground that it was 'deliberately packed with Communists and Congress of Industrial Organizations members who were either Communists or Sympathizers with Communists.'

"Commencing with its formation in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and 'fellow travelers' have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the Congress * * *

according to A. Phillip Randolph, John P. Davis, secretary of the congress has admitted that the Communist Party contributed \$100 a month to its support.

"From the record of its activities and the composition of its governing bodies, there can be little doubt that it has served as what James W. Ford, Communist Vice Presidential candidate elected to the executive committee in 1937, predicted: 'An important sector of the democratic front,' sponsored and supported by the Communist Party."—(Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688.)

"3. The Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. * * * The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright communists."—(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, January 3, 1939, p. 81; also cited, Reports, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 20; and March 29, 1944, p. 180.)

"4. A 'Communist-dominated mass organization.'—(California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1947, p. 230.)

"5. William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A. stated that the role of his party was 'one of central importance in the organization of the great united front National Negro Congress in Chicago, February 1936.'—(Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 298.)

"(Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications May 14, 1951.)"

The reason for the lengthy analysis of the Negro Congress and the role of Dr. Bunche should be obvious by this time. Here is a man who has dealt in terms of a class conscious struggle of the workers allied with the Negro population against our system of society. At the same time he has pointed towards the Soviet Union as the example for the American Negroes to follow. He advocates a class war against our social order (on a world basis) and inveighs against the system of private ownership and free enterprise. During this exact same period (1935-36) he is a leader in a Soviet directed move to organize the National Negro Congress.

At the same time there was a manifestation from openly communist sources praising Bunche for his views and activities. First, there was the high praise by official red sources of his pamphlet "The World View of Race" and then there were several tributes given him for his "outstanding participation" as one of the "notables" who gave birth to the Negro Congress. His election to the governing national body of the National Negro Congress, where Bunche served with some of the most prominent communists of the day, ties in the accepted rule of the Kremlin that only the most trusted lieutenants of World communism can be allowed to plot out such of its vital activities as an organization which is to serve as the wedge to turn twelve million negroes against its own government.

A Communist Publication (Science and Society and Dr. Bunche)

During the winter of 1935 there appeared a magazine called "Science and Society—A Marxian Quarterly". (Vol. I No. 1 Winter of 1935-36.)

This publication appeared stating that it intended to influence members of the academic world and those in the technical fields as well. The fact that this magazine announced on its front cover that it was a Marxian publication was an open admission to the world that it was dedicated to the Marxian principles of class struggle and revolution against existing society.

Ralph J. Bunche was listed in the first issue of Science and Society as a contributing editor and his name continued on the covers of that magazine until 1940.

Dr. Bunche had an interesting accompaniment of Marxist revolutionaries on the editorial listing of the magazine. They included such communist luminaries as follows—

J. D. Bernal, a publicly known British communist from Cambridge University.

Paul Langevin, a top level member of the French Communist Party who upon his death was publicly lauded for his "dedication to communism."

Joseph Needham, a British professor who has led in the Soviet charge accusing the United States of germ warfare in Korea.

W. P. Parry, he was managing editor of Science and Society when Bunche first appeared as contributing editor. Parry was director of the communist progressive labor school in Boston. Appearing before the Un-American Activities Committee he refused to answer whether he was or has been a communist.

Vladimir D. Kazakevich, when about to be arrested for deportation as a communist he fled this country and returned to his native Russia. In testimony before the McCarran committee, probing the communist connections of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Elizabeth Bentley said that Kazakevich handed over information to Jacob Golos, Soviet spy chief, with the knowledge that this was going to Soviet Russia.

There are a score of other names which include known members of the Communist Party or those who refused to answer questions as to such membership before investigating committees.

In the issue of Summer 1939 (Vol. 3, No. 3) the statement of ownership bears the name of A. A. Heller as Business Manager of Science and Society.

Alexander Trachtenberg, well known communist leader, testified in September 1939 before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that A. A. Heller was the President and listed owner of International Publishers, the publishing organization of the Communist Party. This firm was required by the Government to register as a foreign agency representing the Soviet Union in the publishing field in the United States.

Trachtenberg also admitted that right after the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin gave Heller the oxygen concession in the Soviet Union and that Heller introduced the acetylene industry into Russia. Trachtenberg also stated that Heller was a member of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

In the excellently documented Lusk Committee Reports of Red Activities in New York State in 1920 A. A. Heller is listed as an official of the Soviet Government in the United States.

A listing and analysis of the Communist articles and the Soviet propaganda in Science and Society would take up a prohibitive amount of space in this report. The fact that this is a communist magazine is obvious even on a superficial perusal of the publication.

After Science and Society was in existence for one year the top Marxist-Leninist theoretician in the top levels of the Communist Party made an evaluation of the work of that magazine in the pages of the chief publication of the Communist Party known as "The Communist!"

V. J. Jerome, the communist writer of this article wanted to make certain that the use of the word Marxist by this magazine would not be confused with other claimants to Marxism who did not adhere to the interpretations of those principles by the Kremlin. Jerome clarified the position of Science and

Society in this respect by pointing out that its function was to interpret Marxism in accordance with "The Party of Marxism, The Communist Party, inheritor of the proletarian party which Marx and Engels founded in their day". The following quote also makes plain the fact that this magazine is an instrument for communism in educational circles both for students and instructors—

"Indeed, these constant rude interruptions by the proletariat interfere with the efforts of these philosophers to accommodate Marxism, groomed and respectabilized, to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories, such as the instrumentalism of Dewey, latest crusader in the cause of Trotskyism, or to the equally fashionable psycho-analysis of Freud.

"Then, of course, there are the super-ultra Marxists of Socialism *now or never*, a cloak for counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. Their poison infects certain petty-bourgeois elements whose 'impatience' with the Soviet Union and the world proletariat is but a protective mask to cover their indisposition to toil for the revolution as the workers toil, by meeting practical problems in daily struggle.

"Naturally, such brands of 'Marxism,' ideologies of reaction, leave out of reckoning—except for slander—the Party of Marxism, the Communist Party, inheritor of the proletarian Party which Marx and Engels founded in their day, political leader of the proletarian class which is the historic carrier of the Marxian objective—socialism.

"These anti-Communist 'Marxists' seem to say of the Communists: Let them occupy themselves with the unemployed, with strikes and demonstrations, with united fronts and other such mundane things; we will take care of the Absolute Idea of Marxism.

"With such factors as these to contend with, the Marxist magazine *Science and Society*, was launched a little over a year ago. It entered the arena with an important and complex task to perform: to help Marxward moving students and intellectuals to come closer to Marxism-Leninism; to bring Communist thought into academic circles and to develop contributors from these circles; to stimulate the study of Marxism-Leninism by demonstrating the integration of Communist theory and practice with American social life; to apply the dialectic-materialist analysis to the natural and social sciences, and to cultural processes as a whole."—The Communist, December 1937, Vol. XVI, No. 12, Pages 1148-9, "Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science," by V. J. Jerome.

Jerome further stresses the fact that the purpose of *Science and Society* is to proceed on the premise that Marxism is "revolutionary Marxism", and impartiality is unthinkable because they are out to "realize their full role in the movement to achieve the Marxist-Leninist objectives". These objectives, as the whole world knows, is to capture all of society for the Soviet Masters—

"The editors of such a magazine, however, have the important task of Marxist-Leninist study, in order to deepen their own understanding and provide leadership. Proceeding from the principle that Marxism is *revolutionary Marxism*, that it must continue to affirm its scientific theory and practice through unceasing struggle against open opponents and subtle perverters, their task is to help their readers overcome college-fostered misconceptions of Communism; depart from idealistic notions of history and from stultifying mechanical materialism; give up, in the face of objective truth, all remaining traces of the liberalistic 'both-sides-of-the-question' attitude; throw over-

board the treacherous bourgeois instrumentalism; and realize their full role in the movement to achieve the Marxist-Leninist objectives."—(The Communist December 1937, Vol. XVI No. 12, Page 1149, "Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science," by V. J. Jerome.)

That this was no mere academic journal but a means towards bringing about a revolution is clearly pointed out in the next excerpt. The concluding phrase which declares that "Science and Society" can be a "revolutionary weapon to fight a war and win it" demonstrates the motives and impelling character of the publication—

"This magazine of Marxian scholarship can refute the notion that theory may in any way be scientific apart from practice; it can fuse learning with the vital flow of action. It can present the proletarian revolution and the Soviet socialist system, not as an 'experiment' . . . 'purely Russian,' but as the inevitable outcome of the class struggle with international significance and application. It can demonstrate that Marxism for academic circles is in no way academic Marxism; that it is not a pacific, scholastic affair, but a scientific, revolutionary weapon to fight a war and win it."—(The Communist, December 1937, Vol. XVI, No. 12, page 1149, "Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science," by V. J. Jerome.)

In the next issue of the Communist (January 1937) Jerome devotes a second article reflecting directives in respect to *Science and Society*. Here he expresses in communist language the instruction that this magazine is required reading for all communists and their followers—

"We have stated earlier, and we wish to reaffirm at the conclusion, the considerable achievements of the magazine, its auspicious beginnings, and the hopeful prospects for its realization of the purposes the editors have set for it. On the basis of its efforts and of its realizations to date, *Science and Society* is deserving of the fullest support of the Communist Party and of all progressives."—(The Communist, January 1938, Vol. XVII, No. 1, page 90, "Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science," by V. J. Jerome.)

In the following quote, which concludes Jerome's article the frank admission that *Science and Society* is designed to perform the work in the United States "of the similarly-purposed Soviet periodical, *Under the Banner of Marxism*," which followed the dictates of no other than Lenin—

"But the very emergence of *Science and Society* implies a conscious purpose to transform science into an instrument for refashioning society. So it is fitting to remember Lenin's counsel to the editors of the similarly-purposed Soviet periodical, *Under the Banner of Marxism*; that 'a magazine that desires to be an organ of militant materialism must be a militant organ.'"—(The Communist, January 1938, Vol. XVII, No. 1, page 90, "Marxism-Leninism for Society and Science," by V. J. Jerome.)

In considering Bunche's serving as contributing editor of *Science and Society* it must be remembered that he appeared in that capacity in the very first issue. The same rule applies to communist publications that it does to communistic organizations i.e. only the most trusted and reliable partisans are to be placed in positions of responsibility, especially at the beginning. Today there is no doubt that *Science and Society* was and is a Soviet inspired publication. Naturally during its origin only the most trusted hard-core adherents of communism were assigned to its editorship.

In the issue of Summer 1936, Bunche wrote a review of a printed work on minority problems and criticized it for not stressing the class nature of the status and problems of

minority groups. Here again Bunche repeats the standard communist line that all minority groups should be fit into the class-struggle pattern.

During the hearings on the loyalty of Dr. Bunche, during May, 1954, before the International Organization Loyalty Board, it has been reported that Bunche read a letter that he had sent to the Editors of *Science and Society* explaining that other duties prevented him from further serving and wishing them success in their future endeavors.

In concluding the section on *Science and Society* and the activities of Bunche in that publication, herewith is the evaluation of it by official investigative bodies—

- Science and Society:*
1. Cited as a Communist publication. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 96.)
 2. Among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled, or so strongly influenced as to be in the Stalin solar system." (California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1948, p. 225).
 3. Cited as a Marxian quarterly distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Mass. William T. Parry, director of the Communist Progressive Labor School in Boston, is the managing editor. (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, 1938, p. 281 and 284). (Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications—May 14, 1951. Issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities page 149.)

Dr. Bunche's Activities Since 1940

During 1939-1940 many Jewish and Negro persons defected from the Communist Party because of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Negroes in the Communist Party found it hard to swallow the Nazis as new found friends, especially in view of Molotov's remark that "fascism was a matter of taste." Hitler's categorizing the Negro race in a slanderous manner—relegating them into a sub-human classification—made the new line of friendship with the Nazis hard for communist Negroes to reconcile with the previous communist position. As a result many Negroes left the Communist Party. Most of them gravitated back after Russia was invaded and the entire Stalin-Nazi Alliance was explained away as just another clever Soviet maneuver to gain time to prepare for the onslaught.

Bunche was one of those who defected. In the Gunnar-Myrdal Carnegie studies in 1940, Bunche criticized the Communist Party and particularly laid stress on those communist policies which came about as a result of the pact with Hitler.

However within 90 days after Hitler invaded Soviet Russia, Bunche was appointed to the Colonial Division of the Office of Strategic Services. He states in an autobiographical article that he received this appointment as the result of a recommendation by Professor Charles McIlwain, who was professor Emeritus of Harvard and one of Bunche's former instructors. Professor McIlwain has a communist front record. (Reference: Appendix IX House Un-American Activities Committee Report, March 1944, page 380.) If Bunche had continued his separation from the communist movement it is hard to see why a person with communist front connections would interest himself to suggest Bunche for the position. Secondly there is the fact that the O.S.S. was a highly infiltrated government agency by the communists and their followers. A great deal of public and secret testimony has proven this to be an incontrovertible fact as illustrated by the following Senate Report—

"Network in National Defense—In its decision of April 20, 1953, the Subversive Activi-

ties Control Board found that the Communist Party, USA, had as its objective "the overthrow of the United States Government" and the effectuation of policies "for the purposes of defending and protecting the Soviet Union." Toward this end, the penetration of key agencies engaged in national defense was paramount. With the limited resources and data available to the subcommittee, we have been able to indicate only the pattern of such infiltration by those who have invoked their privilege against incrimination when asked about the subcommittee's evidence of their Communist Party membership.

"The subcommittee was in no position to make any overall investigation of the agencies mentioned. The following data, therefore, was purely incidental and does not depict the full situation.

"The Office of Strategic Services, the United States intelligence agency operating abroad during World War II, and discussed previously, included within its ranks the following such individuals: Leo M. Drozoff, Irving Fa-jans, Maurice Halperin (Chief of the Latin American Division), Jack Sargeant Harris (in charge of military intelligence of South Africa), Julius J. Joseph, Paul V. Martineau, Carl Aldo Marzani (Deputy Chief of the Presentation Branch), Leonard E. Mins, Helen B. Tenney, Milton Wolff, and George S. Wuchinich."—(Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments, Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security, July 30, 1953, pages 35-36.)

The Jack Sargeant Harris mentioned in the above Senate report as being in charge of military intelligence of the South African Section of OSS (Bunche was the Chief of the African Section) later figured in a probe of his activity on behalf of the Soviets and the fact that Bunche had recommended him for the job.

In spite of the high degree of communist influence in the O.S.S. Bunche was promoted and in 1942 he was elevated to chief of the O.S.S. African Section. (It must be remembered that a few years previously Bunche had toured Africa and had written articles on the basis of his travels against "Imperialist Capitalism, Class Struggle," etc.)

In 1943 Bunche was transferred to the State Department during the heyday of the Alger Hiss influence. Again it is inconceivable that one remaining anti-communist, having been in the communist camp previously, could have received such a job when the communist agents were riding hard on even those who had been entrenched in the State Department for years.

Bunche stayed in the State Department for three years working on his old specialty "Colonial questions". Bunche was an advisor at the Dunbarton Oaks conference and at the first U.N. session at San Francisco and was an advisor at both the Council of Foreign Ministers and the U.N. General Assembly. These movements as to locale followed closely that of Alger Hiss.

Early in 1946 Bunche went to work at the United Nations, first on loan from the State Department and later permanently as director of the UN Trusteeship Division.

It is a fact that those who had been through the communist movement and have remained opponents of their former "comrades" are generally castigated and vilified by the red apparatus without let up. It is also a fact that such defectors can easily recognize or spot another communist. There is no truce between former partisans of the communist cause and the official communist machine. It is a matter of official record that Bunche sponsored a communist to a key post in the UN. In fact this communist had received an award of \$40,000 in lieu of reinstatement from the UN after he had refused to answer as to whether or not he had been

and was a communist. The pertinent testimony on this question before the Jenner Committee of the United States Senate is as follows—

"Mr. MORRIS. Now later, on December 11, 1945 did you state to the State Department official that you had applied for this position at the suggestion of Mr. Ralph Bunche?"

"Mr. HARRIS. My answer remains the same, Mr. Morris, I decline to reply.

"Mr. MORRIS. And did you state to the State Department official that Ralph Bunche and Mr. John Ross, of the Special Political Affairs Committee, had told you that you were the best man for the job?"

"Mr. HARRIS. I must decline to answer that on the grounds stated, Mr. Morris. (Activities of United States Citizens Employed by the United Nations, page 654, October 2, 1953.)

"Mr. MORRIS. On December 11, 1945, did you again write defending your record and complaining that you had not been told of the charges against you, and stating again that you had been invited to apply by Dr. Ralph Bunche in the first place?"

"Mr. HARRIS. The same reply." (Activities of United States Citizens employed by the United Nations, page 655, October 2, 1953.)

"Mr. MORRIS. Do you know, Mr. Harris, that after your clearance with personnel for this P-6 appointment that the Security Office in the State Department disapproved of your appointment?"

"Mr. HARRIS. I also decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

"Mr. MORRIS. Do you know there was a memorandum prepared by the security official pointing out that there was strong evidence that you had been a Communist at least up to 1938?"

"Mr. HARRIS. I must decline to answer that question also, Mr. Morris.

"Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that Mr. John Ross was notified on November 1, 1945, about the decision of the security people in the State Department who again urged your appointment on the ground that Dr. Ralph Bunche knew you well and had cabled to that effect from London?"

"Mr. HARRIS. The same reply. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

"Mr. MORRIS. What ground?"

"Mr. HARRIS. On all the grounds mentioned.

"Mr. MORRIS. And among others, the fifth amendment?"

(Activities of United States citizens employed by the United Nations, page 655, October 2, 1953.)

"Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I have a copy here of the administrative tribunal's decision, and it does read that the tribunal did award \$40,000 in lieu of reinstatement to Mr. Harris.

"One of the factors they mentioned here, Mr. Chairman, is item (c), the fact that he joined the United Nations at the special request of Mr. Ralph Bunche, Director of the Trusteeship Division, thereby terminating his previous career.

"Now, Mr. Harris, did you, as a matter of fact, join the United Nations at the special request of Mr. Ralph Bunche?"

"Mr. HARRIS. The answer, Mr. Morris, as I stated previously in the executive session is "Yes".

"Mr. MORRIS. Will you give us the circumstances of your joining the United Nations at the special request of Mr. Ralph Bunche?"

"Mr. BOUDIN. May the witness be permitted to state several objections to this question, and then may it be deemed that the objections now stated will be applied to any other questions he wishes to decline to answer, without repeating them?"

"Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

"Mr. HARRIS. Sir, I decline to answer the question on the ground that: . . ."

(Activities of United States citizens employed by the United Nations October 2, 29, and December 22, 1953. Page 647.)

Institute of Pacific Relations and Bunche

One of the main channels of Soviet espionage and communist betrayal of China into the hands of the Reds has been the Institute of Pacific Relations. The American Council of the I.P.R. is studded with the names of Soviet agents red partisans and sympathizers who managed to secure a grip on various government departments which included our State Department, the White House, the Treasury Department, the Office of Strategic Services, and who have been variously charged with stealing Government documents, spying for Soviet Russia, and for perverting American Foreign and domestic policy to fit the Soviet aims to prepare the ground to seize control of the whole world.

Ralph Bunche was a high official of the Institute of Pacific Relations. More than this, he rubbed elbows and entered into close and private conference in respect to matters involving our National Policy with subsequently know Soviet agents and convicted communist operatives.

In respect to the I.P.R. and its communist manipulations, Alfred Kohlberg, a member of that organization for almost 20 years, presented evidence before the Jenner subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, the United States Senate, and swore to the following facts—

"Since 1944 I have learned much more about the IPR; its apparently completely Communist or pro-Communist staff; that all articles on Far Eastern politics are written by Communists or pro-Communists (some articles on economic, scientific, geographic questions are not); and that it has ties through interlocking directorates or staff with various Communist or pro-Communist organizations.

"Through its influence in the staffing of the State Department, Army and Navy Intelligence, and Far Eastern Divisions of UNRRA, of OWI, and even General MacArthur's staff, our Institute has put considerable numbers of Communists and pro-Communists where they could and have done the most possible harm and spread the most confusion.

"It would be my intention to present first to this Investigating Committee witnesses, and by witnesses I mean more than one, who would testify that the Institute of Pacific Relations is considered by the National Committee of the Communist Party to be one of its organizations and that certain of the Executive Committee of the American Institute are members of the Communist Party.

"Since that time numerous qualified witnesses have testified under oath before the McCarran Committee that:

"1. Your organization constantly and deliberately followed the Communist line in its publications.

"2. Some espionage activities were carried on.

"3. More than forty of your staff, Trustees and writers were actual Communists, or espionage agents, or both, and others learned that way.

"4. That activities in infiltrating our government by such people were carried on both officially and unofficially in your name."

(Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate. Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session, on The Institute of Pacific Relations, Part 14, May 2 and June 20, 1952. Page 4940-4942-4944.)

Mr. Kohlberg also brought out the fact that the I.P.R. was involved in the gigantic

espionage scandal of pilfered State Department documents which were seized by government agents in the offices of the "Amerasia" magazine and for which the editor of that magazine Philip Jaffe (well known Soviet agent) was convicted. Mr. Kohlberg swore that—

"Four of the six persons arrested in the Amerasia case were connected with the IPR."

A former official of the Soviet Government in testifying before the McCarran Senate Committee stated that—

"In 1933 Soviet Military Intelligence officers used the 'Institute' (meaning the IPR-Ed.) as 'cover' for obtaining secret military intelligence".

The extent of Bunche's importance to the pro-Soviet group in the IPR is demonstrated in the following communication from the head of the American group, E. C. Carter, to W. W. Lockwood as to possible delegates to the International IPR conference in Mont Tremblant, Canada.

"In response to your request I have hastily jotted down a number of suggestions for the American group at the conference. It's a long list, of course, but I believe we should add to it considerably and then get competent advice—say that of Currie, Barnes, and Jessup—on elimination. This list runs too much in the regular groove as regards non-government people. So far as Washington is concerned, we need more intimate knowledge as to who really are in the key positions."— (Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-Second Congress, Part 14, May 2 and June 20, 1952. Page 4973.)

In the long list which followed the communication there were included the following—

Ralph Bunche.

Joseph Davies (Mission to Moscow).

Alger Hiss (Soviet Spy).

Laughlin Currie (Named by Elizabeth Bentley as connected with Soviet spy ring).

Frederick Vanderbilt Field (convicted communist agent).

Philip Jessup (accused of following communist line).

Harry Dexter White (Spy exposed by the Attorney General of U.S. and Edgar Hoover of FBI).

Henry A. Wallace (Former head of Communist led Progressive Party).

Joseph Barnes (Identified as a member of the Communist Party).

Benjamin Kizer (Identified as a member of the Communist Party).

The final list of delegates as sifted through by Laughlin Currie (accused as spy for Soviets), Joseph Barnes (identified as communist) and listed above along with Bunche were—

Frank Coe (Cited as Soviet spy).

Len DeCaux (identified as an important communist).

Harriet L. Moore (E. Bentley testified that spy chief Golos told her Miss Moore was one of their people).

There were a number of other delegates like Mrs. Ogden Reid, who were picked either as window dressing or were so surrounded by the communist agents that they could not effectively make their opinions prevail. It was a completely staged communist show.

At the end of the IPR Canadian conference E. C. Carter, the head of the American IPR, wrote to Jessup as follows—

Dr. PHILIP C. JESSUP,
Columbia University,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR PHIL: Here are the rapporteurs' reports for the last group of Round Tables. I think you will be particularly interested in

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the reports of Harriet Moore, Fred Field, and Ralph Bunche.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD C. CARTER.

(Institute of Pacific Relations, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session, on the Institute of Pacific Relations, Part 14—May 2 and June 20, 1952. Page 5210.)

The official government records of the above mentioned persons are as follows—

Moore, Harriet L. (Gelfan), research associate; acting executive secretary (exhibit 801); chairman; nominating committee (p. 3858, 3859):

Identified as a member of the Communist Party by one or more duly sworn witnesses.

Refused to answer on the ground of self-incrimination.

Made one or more trips to Communist territory.

Writer for official publications of the Communist Party or the Communist International or for a Communist government or for pro-Communist press services.—(Internal Security Subcommittee Report of U.S. Congress, June 1952, p. 156.)

(Field, Frederick V., Secretary, American Council (p. 995); executive (Exhibit 801); trustee p. 264.)

Identified as a member of the Communist Party by one or more duly sworn witnesses.

Collaborated with agents of the Soviet intelligence apparatus as shown by sworn testimony.

Refused to answer on the ground of self-incrimination.

Made one or more trips to Communist territory.

Writer for official publications of the Communist Party or the Communist International or for a Communist government or for pro-Communist press services.

Subject of action by agency of American Government or a foreign non-Communist government on grounds involving loyalty or national security.—(Internal Security Subcommittee Report of U.S. Congress, June 1952, p. 153-154.)

Carter, Edward C., Secretary American Council; secretary-general IPR; trustee; executive vice chairman (exhibit 801):

Made one or more trips to Communist territory

Affiliated with: Amerasia (exhibit 1355); American Russian Institute (p. 296); Russian War Relief (p. 295).

(Internal Security Subcommittee, U.S. Congress, June 20, 1952, p. 152.)

The linking up by the head of the I.P.R. of a report by Bunche along with Harriet Moore and F. V. Field (exposed as Soviet agents) is significant in itself. It is obvious that the three reports mentioned above are recommended as a distillation of this communist dominated conference.

In a 1943 communication of the IPR, Bunche is listed as a member of a private discussion group which included the usual pro-Soviet stalwarts such as Frank Coe, Len DeCaux and David Weintraub (there were 43 derogatory FBI reports on Weintraub as to red activity and he resigned under fire from the U.N.)

At the 1945 International conference of the IPR, Bunche was accompanied as delegate by the usual names of Frank Coe, Len DeCaux, Frederick Vanderbilt Field and Philip Jessup and by the additional names of John Carter Vincent (who was accused of aiding in the sell out of China to the Reds) and Owen Lattimore who is now under indictment.

At the end of 1944 it became obvious to the Kremlin leaders that Japan was on the verge of surrender. Therefore orders were

issued to communist agents all over the world to concentrate on preparing the groundwork for the seizure of China by the reds. The preliminary phase was to create the condition whereby the Chiang Kai-shek Government was to be criticized for the internal situation in China. Almost continuous war in Chinese territory since 1937 had naturally created havoc with the internal life of the country. Therefore by harping on demands for reforms and conditions which were impossible of realization, the reds managed to create and channel dissatisfaction against the Chinese government.

In the United States the Communist agents were to influence official government bodies, especially the State Department, to force the Chinese Government to adopt reform measures and make concessions to the reds which would pave the way for seizure of China by Soviet forces.

The IPR was the major instrument used by the Kremlin to do this job. The following official conclusions by a Senate committee were published on this matter as follows—

"It was the continued practice of IPR to seek to place in Government posts both persons associated with IPR and other persons selected by the effective leadership of IPR."

"The effective leadership of the IPR used IPR prestige to promote the interests of the Soviet Union in the United States."

"The IPR was a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American far eastern policies toward Communist objectives."

(Resolution relating to the Internal Security of the United States by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate, June 20, 1952, pp. 223-4.)

On October 28, 1944 there was held a preliminary conference of the American Delegates of the IPR in preparing to drag the internal situation of China into a forthcoming international IPR conference where Chinese delegates from the Chinese Government would be present. This small meeting was made up of persons who were predominantly Soviet agents and communist partisans as listed previously in this report. There was only one person present who fought the communist line at this conference in respect to the Chinese question. This was Admiral Yarnell. The testimony and documents on this meeting before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security was as follows—

"Mr. MORRIS. Who else gave their opinions at this conference?"

"Mr. MANDEL. We have here a digest of the opinion of Mr. Dennett, Admiral Yarnell, Mr. Chase, and Mr. Field.

"Mr. DENNETT. I don't recall. He wasn't in the delegation. I don't think. I don't know who Mr. Chase was.

"Mr. MORRIS. Who was Mr. Field?"

"Mr. DENNETT. Frederick Vanderbilt Field.

"Mr. MANDEL. Mr. Coe.

"Mr. MORRIS. Who was Mr. Coe?"

"Mr. MANDEL. Mr. Coe.

"Mr. MANDEL. Miss Farley.

"Mr. MORRIS. Who is Miss Farley?"

"Mr. DENNETT. Miriam Farley.

"Mr. MANDEL. Mr. Johnstone.

"Mr. MORRIS. Who is Mr. Johnstone?"

"Mr. DENNETT. William C. Johnstone.

"Mr. MANDEL. Mr. Bunche.

"Mr. DENNETT. That is Ralph Bunche.

"Mr. MANDEL. Mr. DeCaux.

"Mr. MORRIS. Is that Len DeCaux?"

"Mr. DENNETT. Yes.

"Mr. MORRIS. As far as you can recall, what was the purpose of that advance session?"

"Mr. DENNETT. I think it is well described by the statement of the chairman; that is, to

see what the attitudes of the members of the delegation were, many of them strangers to each other, and to discuss particularly at this session the degree to which it would be possible to examine as part of the discussions the internal developments in China.

"Mr. MORRIS. Have you read this through completely?"

"Mr. DENNETT. I have read this through. There are a lot of others I have not read, however."

"Mr. MORRIS. With the exception of Admiral Yarnell, would you not agree there was uniformity of opinion there?"

"Mr. DENNETT. I think that is a fair statement; yes."

"Mr. MORRIS. What was the underlying expression of this majority of people there with the exception of Admiral Yarnell, with respect to the Chinese question?"

"Mr. DENNETT. The underlying agreement was that we certainly should discuss the internal situation in China as it bore very definitely upon postwar situations in China."

Admiral Yarnell's position is, I think, best summarized in one statement, and I am quoting:

"But if criticism leads to the overthrow of the Chungking Government, what will take its place? No other party is strong enough at present to assume control."

"Mr. MORRIS. Nobody agreed with him?"

"Mr. DENNETT. They seemed not to."—Page 990.

The above testimony was based upon an official IPR minutes of this meeting which was as follows—

"The main point under discussion during this period of the morning's meeting was what the American attitude should be in regard to the discussion of the internal problems of China, at the Hot Springs conference. Mr. Jessup felt that if the American delegation could decide what slant to take in bringing forth a discussion of China's domestic difficulties, it would facilitate a free discussion of this problem at the conference. He pointed out that the Chinese delegates have not wished and will not wish to discuss the internal situation in China. The domestic Chinese situation is covered in an indirect way in the agenda of the conference, as a diplomatic concession. He then asked Mr. Lattimore what factors in the Chinese internal situation were likely to come under discussion at the conference."—Page 991.

"Mr. Lattimore: He thought that the method of including India as well as China in the topic on the agenda might cushion the Chinese discussion. He said that the Chinese delegation at Hot Springs may occupy the position formerly held by the Japanese delegation at IPR conferences. The Chinese will present the party line, well cloaked in fog, and individual members of the Chinese party will hew to the party line although they may differ from it as individuals. They won't care to speak of their differences of opinion. Owing to the scarcity of information about Chinese internal affairs, the discussion at Hot Springs is likely to boil down to a discussion of the Kuomintang and the Communists, although the actual situation is far more complex; there are many smaller groups who are playing active parts in the political picture whose roles will be ignored. Developments in China today will have important political consequences. One example: the developments in southeast China, with the United States getting closer and closer to the Chinese coast. China's military leaders may decide to break through the Japanese lines to commandeer United States equipment when we land. The political affiliation of the Chinese commander who might make this

move would influence the whole political set-up. The Chinese delegation will present no real data on China's internal situation, even though this situation is of military as well as political importance in the whole international picture."—Page 991.

"Admiral Yarnell: But if criticism leads to the overthrow of the Chungking government, what will take its place? No other party is strong enough at present to assume control."—Page 992.

Mr. Bunche: How can we divorce national policies from domestic conditions? We cannot avoid discussing internal conditions in China in relation to her future foreign policy, and all other countries as well."—Page 993.

"Mr. Bunche thought that under section C-I of the agenda, Dumbarton Oaks should play an important part. And also he brought out the fact that a United Nations conference might take place before the Hot Springs meeting, and that too should be included in the agenda."—Page 993.

Dr. Bunche, as the above remarks indicate, proposed the line which the Kremlin wanted, to prepare the ground work for the seizure of China by red forces. Thus the IPR was used to swing U.S. foreign policy behind Soviet objectives. The preliminary move was to trick the Chiang Kai-shek government, through our State Department pressure, to allow the reds more lee-way in the internal affairs of China. In a weakened war-torn country this was all the foothold the Moscow trained reds needed.

It is interesting to note that in his last statement Bunche asked that the IPR forces be injected in helping shape the future of the United Nations.

It is hard to believe that one who has been trained and experienced in advanced communist propaganda and theory (as indicated in Dr. Bunche's earlier writings and associations) could do these things in the company of Soviet Agents and oppose Admiral Yarnell's pro-American position, without realizing the serious traitorous consequences of the preparations for betrayal of China to Moscow.

After sifting through thousands of seized IPR documents and hearing the testimony of numerous witnesses on the activities of this organization, a Senate sub-Committee arrived at the following conclusions as to the nature of its pro-Soviet character—

"The IPR has been considered by the American Communist Party and by Soviet Officials as an instrument of Communist policy, propaganda and military intelligence."

"The IPR disseminated and sought to popularize false information including information originating from Soviet and Communist sources."

"Members of the small core of officials and staff members who controlled IPR were either Communist or pro-Communist."

"Effective leadership of the IPR had by the end of 1934, established and implemented an official connection with G. N. Voitinski, Chief of the Far Eastern Division of the Communist International."

"A group of persons associated with the IPR attempted, between 1941 and 1945, to change United States policy so as to accommodate Communist ends and to set the stage for a major United States policy change, favorable to Soviet interests, in 1945."

"During the period 1945-49, persons associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations were instrumental in keeping United States policy on a course favorable to Communist objectives in China."

"The net effect of IPR activities on United States public opinion has been such as to serve international Communist interests and to affect adversely the interests of the United States."

(Report of the Committee on the Judiciary, Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session, pursuant to S. Res. 366 (82nd Congress) a resolution relating to the internal security of the United States. Hearings held July 25, 1951-June 20, 1952 by the Internal Security Subcommittee, pages 233-4-5.)

Stockholm Peace Appeal

The main Soviet line during the last few years has been to set up a barrage of activity to disarm the non-communist world by a so-called "peace" drive. The main instrument in this endeavor has been the self-styled "Stockholm Peace" drive with which the Kremlin intends to build up pressure to disarm their opponents throughout the rest of the world, while the red drive towards subversion and conquest is to go right on without a letup.

In a Soviet organized movement, called the "Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace", (which in turn was promoted by an organization called the "World Peace Council", which is located behind the Iron Curtain in Warsaw, Poland) there is published a well known Soviet publication called World Review in Defense of Peace. The acknowledged head of this enterprise is M. Frederick Joliot-Curie, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.

In this magazine, Dr. Bunche is referred to in the most complimentary terms and his speeches are quoted as reflecting the line which fits into the propaganda issued by the Soviet organized "Stockholm Peace" Appeal. The following quote of the complete text amply illustrates this:

"Dr. Bunche's Warning"

"The Stockholm appeal continued to progress. The banning of the atom bomb and control of that ban appear more and more as an imperative necessity. Dr. Ralph Bunche, head of the United Nations Trusteeship Division and winner of the 1950 Nobel Prize for Peace, warned listeners at Western University where he received an honorary degree last month that:

"If the United Nations cannot keep peace, there will be war—catastrophic, final, atomic war. A war, perhaps the final war, in which there may be survivors but none who dare boast of themselves as victors."

"Dr. Bunche repeated his warning to a meeting of the Canadian United Nations Association in Toronto:

"The road ahead is not inviting . . . it will not be easily traversed. But, it will be more easily undertaken if the peoples of the West and the East come to believe that in the atomic weapons they have a common enemy."

"Dr. Bunche warned against the idea of reorganizing the United Nations with Russia excluded. He said:

"This idea misses the fundamental concept of the U.N. We do not propose to choose up sides for an ultimate fight but to have all nations in . . . particularly those who have differences among themselves."

"He criticized the slogan 'cold war' and said emphasis should be on winning peace, and expressed his opinion that a peaceful means of settling major disputes is possible."

(World Review of Peace Magazine—official

organ of the Bureau of the Committee for the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace. President M. Frederic Joliot-Curie, November 15, 1950. Published twice monthly in Chinese, English, French, German, Hungarian, Rumanian, Russian and Spanish. Page 65.)

An official Congressional evaluation of this communist peace organization lists it as—World Peace Council (See also Second World Peace Congress).

1. Cited as having been formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw and which was heralded by the Moscow radio as "the expression of the determination of the peoples to take into their own hands the struggle for peace."—(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report No. 378 on the Communist "peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, original date April 1, 1951, p. 38.)

The Daily Worker

Finally, the Official Communist newspaper, The Daily Worker, gave full support to Dr. Bunche, during the obviously inadequate "quickie" hearing held before the Government Loyalty Board during May of 1954.

In an editorial on the Bunche case, this communist newspaper was almost hysterical in support of him. (It is a long established fact, supported by expert testimony, that the top polit-buro of the Communist Party must pass on the text of all editorials of The Daily Worker)—

"Dr. Bunche's Case"

"The UN was getting ready to appoint Dr. Ralph J. Bunche to a new high post when certain racist 'anti-Communist' forces moved fast to stop this.

"This is the obvious explanation of the fact that two sordid characters making a profession of 'fingering Communists' were quickly dragged out of the cellar to knife Bunche.

"And so Dr. Bunche again had to solemnly prove his 'loyalty'—meaning that he had to prove he is innocent of the 'crime' of Marxism and is a reliable supporter of the 'anti-Communist' policy.

"The plans of the 'anti-Communists' who could not stomach the idea of a Negro in top UN posts couldn't be carried through. The same enormous anti-racist pressure which in the U.S.A. and throughout the world, compelled the Supreme Court to declare segregated schools and housing un-Constitutional also blocked this scheme.

"But what was revealed again was the un-American machinery of the 'anti-Communist' frameup mill. Bunche, thanks to the new anti-racist upsurge, escaped but the same McCarthyite machine hounds and jails hundreds of innocent Americans. Two stool pigeons not only lied about Dr. Bunche—this type of FBI 'anti-Communist' stoolie has been lying to courts and juries for more than five years; their lies have served as the basis for the 'red menace', Smith Act jailings and McCarthy's '20 years of treason' forgeries.

"It is good that the attempted political knifing of Dr. Bunche was balked; but America's safety requires that the Big Lie about Communism which the political assassins tried to use against him be discarded for the forgery it is."—(Daily Worker, editorial, Monday, May 31, 1954. P. 5.)

There is one certain criterion by which one can determine the position of any official by reading the Daily Worker. It is axiomatic that never, under any circumstances, is that newspaper known to praise or support sincere and effective anti-communists, especially editorially. In fact, communist publications have been known even to publish slight slaps on the wrists of actual Soviet agents in order to divert suspicion. Alger Hiss

is one example. When praise and support is detected in communist papers of a high UN official as Ralph Bunche, it should appear conclusive that the communists consider him important enough to their cause to defend him.

EXCERPT FROM "BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF THE LEFT," VOLUME 1, PAGE 261
(by Francis X. Gannon)

In 1954, at the time when Bunche was made Under Secretary for the United Nations, a United States Civil Service special loyalty board for international organizations passed judgment on Bunche's qualifications. In the back-ground, aside from Bunche's long-time proclivity for leftwing organizations, were his close connections with Alger Hiss. Bunche had rushed to Hiss' defense almost as soon as Hiss had been identified as a Communist by Whittaker Chambers. And when Bunche had first applied for a position in the UN, he had listed Hiss as a reference. Bunche had been Hiss' assistant secretary at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference of 1944, when the framework of the United Nations was established. And in 1945, Bunche went to San Francisco with Hiss, who was secretary general of the UN's organizing conference.

At the loyalty board hearing, two former high-ranking Communists, Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson—both Negroes, swore under oath that they had known Bunche within the Communist Party. In an editorial on May 31, 1954, the Communists' Daily Worker, while rushing to the defense of Bunche, excoriated Johnson and Patterson as "two stool pigeons."

TRIBUTE TO JAMES G. FULTON

HON. CHARLES A. MOSHER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. MOSHER. Mr. Speaker, our Science and Astronautics Committee acted unanimously to instruct the staff to prepare a memorial resolution honoring James G. Fulton, whose loss is keenly felt by all of us on the committee. He was from the committee's very beginning one of its most active, loyal and stimulating members. Especially, he was a leading spirit and vigorous proponent for our Nation's exploration of space. His positive contributions to the success of our space efforts to date, and for years to come, are indelible.

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, the committee will not meet again until next year, so final approval of the proposed resolution cannot be voted officially until then. But I suggest it is important that our statement of respect and sorrow should be part of the RECORD of this first session of the 92d Congress, the final session in which our colleague, Jim Fulton, lived and worked among us.

Therefore, I now read into the RECORD the proposed resolution as prepared by Richard Hines, an esteemed member of our committee staff with whom Congressman Fulton worked closely for many years. It is as follows:

Whereas, James G. Fulton devoted almost all of his adult career to the service and to the welfare of his fellow citizens in

Pennsylvania and throughout the country; and

Whereas, he made major contributions to the achievements of the House over the past twenty-nine years and over the past fourteen years to the progress and brilliant success of our national space program and to its wholehearted support in the U.S. House of Representatives; and

Whereas, his moral, ethical and professional integrity was the basis of his unflinching efforts, often applied at great personal sacrifice, to expand the scientific and technical strength of our country; and

Whereas, he continued to discharge his duties as a Representative of Pennsylvania in the U.S. House of Representatives throughout the period of his illness; Therefore be it

Resolved that the Committee on Science and Astronautics of the U.S. House of Representatives extend to his bereaved family its profound sympathy, that this resolution to spread upon the minutes of the Committee, and that a copy be engrossed and forwarded to Representative Fulton's family.

Mr. Speaker, I also believe it is appropriate that I read into the RECORD at this point several significant communications which were received by the Fulton family immediately following Congressman Fulton's untimely death.

James C. Fletcher, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, on October 7, 1971, wrote to Mr. Robert D. Fulton, the following:

All of us at NASA were deeply saddened by the news of your brother's death. We have lost a good friend and an imaginative leader.

The Congressional support NASA has enjoyed throughout its history is due in large part to Congressman Jim Fulton's tireless efforts. He will be missed by all of his friends in the space program.

Charles F. Ducander, staff director of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, sent this telegram on October 9:

Congressman George Miller, Chairman, Committee Science and Astronautics, telephoned from Italy where he is attending scientific conferences expressing sorrow at your loss. He asked me to convey his condolences and explain his inability to attend funeral. Chairman Miller and your brother were fast friends, came to Congress together and worked in tandem on the Committee for many years. His loss will be sorely felt by Committee, the Congress and nation.

Robert C. Seamans, Jr., Secretary of the Air Force, in a letter dated October 8, to Mr. R. D. Fulton, said:

It is with a great deal of personal regret that we learned of the untimely passing of your brother. As you may know, Jim and I saw a great deal of each other when I was an administrator of NASA. Since then we have kept in touch, and I chatted with him only last week at the signing of the U.S.-Soviet nuclear agreements at the State Department. His death is a great loss, not only to those of us who knew him well but also to our nation.

Your family has our deepest sympathy. If there is anything we can possibly do, please let us know.

Michael Collins, Director of the Smithsonian Institution's Air and Space Museum, sent this telegram from Washington on October 8:

The United States has lost a great leader and the National Air and Space Museum a good friend. Our thoughts are with you.

Kurt H. Debus, Director of NASA's Kennedy Space Center in Florida, sent this telegram on October 7:

News of the passing of Congressman James Fulton, our friend of many years, came as a shock to the personnel of this center.

We are saddened by his loss and extend heartfelt condolences to you and members of his family. We knew his valuable contribution to the national space program from its very beginning. He brought to this challenging undertaking his informed judgment, leadership and stalwart support. He understood total the complex interrelationships of government, science, technology and industrial which are involved in the exploration of space and applied that knowledge with consummate skill in the best interests of the nation. His unselfish devotion to the common good will be a lasting inspiration to all of us.

H. E. Hoelscher, dean of the School of Engineering, University of Pittsburgh, expressing to Mr. Robert Fulton his own personal distress and sadness on learning of the death of his great friend, Jim Fulton, "a great friend of this school and to this university—a stimulating and excellent guide to our efforts here as a member of our board of visitors," also transmitted the following memorial minute:

The deans and department chairmen of the School of Engineering, University of Pittsburgh, are saddened at the death of our friend and adviser the Honorable James G. Fulton. We are grateful for his counsel and guidance as a member of our Board of Visitors in a period of intensive development and for his efforts in the Congress of the United States in support of engineering and scientific education and research. The University and especially the School of Engineering will miss him, as will all those who knew him.

Mr. Speaker, by vote of the House Republican conference, it is my privilege and responsibility to succeed Congressman Fulton as the ranking minority member of the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

I submit it is utterly impossible for me to even attempt to duplicate his personal role on our committee.

Jim Fulton was absolutely unique. For years I had the fascinating experience of working at his side in the committee sessions. No one else I have worked with, or ever will, can be quite like him.

Not in any derogatory sense at all, it should be entered in the RECORD that Jim Fulton could be very abrasive. That was part of his genius as an exceptionally stimulating, provocative person, a "mover and shaker." He occasionally could infuriate others, but they almost always wound up amazed and respectful of his intellectual acumen, his imaginative foresight concerning our Nation's needs and opportunities in the sciences, in space activities, in international relationships.

Jim Fulton was preeminently independent and courageous, stubbornly loyal to those great causes for which he fought.

Mr. Speaker, there was also another side to Jim Fulton that colleagues who worked with him invariably came to know and respect. Beneath his intellectual crustiness was a remarkably humane, generous, sympathetic spirit that was translated into his genuine personal helpfulness to a great variety of

friends and acquaintances—and strangers, too.

Literally thousands of people now sorely miss Jim Fulton's uniquely valuable, creative ways of service, both public and private.

THE TRUTH ABOUT PRAYER IN SCHOOLS

HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I submit the text of my most recent newsletter in the RECORD in order that it may be available to those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The text is as follows:

NEWSLETTER OF REPRESENTATIVE FLETCHER THOMPSON

THE TRUTH ABOUT PRAYER IN SCHOOLS

The United States Constitution states:

Amendment I. (1791)

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

The Federal courts rules this prohibits a school-prescribed prayer and scheduling of a time or place for voluntary prayer. To me this is absurd. A voluntary prayer in school is not "The Congress making a law respecting an establishment of religion." In plain words, the courts stretched the Constitution to ban prayer in schools.

No Chapels: If the courts extend their ruling, there will be no chapels on Army bases and no chaplains. Did our founders intend for the federal courts to ban voluntary prayer? Of course not, but it takes a Constitutional Amendment to overrule the courts.

November 8, 1971: Your U.S. House of Representatives defeated a proposed Constitutional Amendment which would have overturned the Supreme and lower court decisions and allowed voluntary prayer in schools. It stated:

VOLUNTARY PRAYER AMENDMENT

"Nothing contained in this Constitution shall abridge the right of persons lawfully assembled, in any public building which is supported in whole or in part through the expenditure of public funds, to participate in voluntary prayer or meditation."

Why the defeat? Some Congressmen said by voting against voluntary prayer, they were protecting the Constitution from "tampering." But hasn't the Court already tampered with the First Amendment? Some just do not want any mention of God in a religious sense in our schools.

Earlier it was proposed a non-denominational prayer be allowed. Few agreed on the form; thus we voted on allowing voluntary prayer instead. However, many feel the following is non-denominational:

THE LORD'S PRAYER

"Our Father, Who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom and power and the glory forever."

It is good to know about others' faith. While my family is Methodist, I want my children to hear Catholic, Jewish, Episcopal, Mormon and other prayers voluntarily given.

This is part of growing up. It reinforces their own faith. Freedom of speech, even through prayer, does no harm to the First Amendment.

It is important that we learn to respect and understand others' religions.

No student should be prevented from or forced to pray, nor should a school board write a required prayer, but a prayer to open an assembly, even given by someone not of your religion, violates no one's rights. To hear others' views, even in prayer, does not force one to adopt them.

It's difficult to understand why the federal courts have said the First Amendment allows filthy books, speech and dirty pictures in schools, but prohibits a voluntary prayer or the setting aside of a time or place for prayer.

It's difficult to understand how Congress and even the Supreme Court can open their sessions with prayer and then refuse school children the right to open an assembly with prayer.

It's difficult to understand why the National Council of Churches and so many ministers led the lobbying effort that helped defeat voluntary prayer.

It's difficult to understand how we can proclaim to be "One Nation Under God" in our pledge and put "In God We Trust" on our money and then deny school children the right to pray voluntarily in school.

It's difficult to understand how 162 Congressmen, including 3 Georgia Congressmen, can vote to deny school children the right to pray voluntarily in school.

LOOKING AHEAD

With 1971 coming to a conclusion, not only do we try to assess what has happened during the past year, but our thoughts also turn to what kind of year '72 will be. Higher unemployment? Just not in the cards. With the controls on price increases and bank and mortgage rates coming down, 1972 will be a year of improvement in the general economy and more jobs, but it will also be a year of confrontation in the international economic sphere. Because of controls, inflation will be slowed.

Vietnam . . . look for all U.S. ground combat troops to come home in 1972.

Environment . . . will continue to be an active issue. Implementation will be more responsible in 1972.

Taxes . . . local taxes will continue to rise; look for more cuts in federal taxes.

Forced busing . . . look for Emanuel Celler, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, to hold hearings on this question . . . more support from the North as President Nixon insists they be treated the same as the South on school matters.

Supreme Court, '72 . . . Nixon's appointed Justices will begin to swing the Court to a more conservative stance.

Social Security . . . look for benefits to increase in 1972.

Your opinion, please: Congress is considering using taxes to pay for political campaigns. Republicans and Democrats would get about \$20 million each, American Independents, \$6 million. You would be asked to check your income tax form for a dollar of your tax money to be used. Let me know what you think. Address: Fletcher Thompson, U.S. Congress, Washington, D.C. 20515

IN MEMORIAM: E. L. "BOB" BARTLETT

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 9, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, 3 years ago tomorrow, Alaska lost a leader and a friend in the death of Senator E. L.

"Bob" Bartlett. On the anniversary of his death, December 11, I know that thousands of Alaskans join me in remembering his life and the profound effect this man had on the vast territory which became the largest State in the Union. The achievement of Alaskan statehood was, in a large sense, due to the work of Bob Bartlett and for that his place in history is secure.

There are other reasons for remembering this magnificent man, however. His was a special personality which over the years, as a reporter, gold miner, delegate to Congress, and finally, as the senior Senator from Alaska, was to be etched into the very fabric of Alaska's character. He was known, simply, as Bob and in that familiarity he touched the lives of countless people.

This week I had the pleasure of seeing a research proposal recently submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities by Dr. Claus-M. Naske of the University of Alaska. It is a timely proposal for the documentation and study of the career of Senator Bartlett. In a letter to Chairman Berman of the National Endowment, I told him how very few men have had the opportunity to shape events as did Bob Bartlett. He was a man who merits close study and I hope that the National Endowment for the Humanities is assured now of my deep interest and support of Dr. Naske's proposal, E. L. Bartlett: Architect of Statehood and Humanist.

HOUSE RESOLUTION 630

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I was wondering if, at this late date, any Member of Congress or any member of the executive branch would care to say he or she is willing, from this day forward, to give his or her life, limb, sanity or freedom—POW even for another day—further to prop up the Saigon dictatorship.

Other Americans are being ordered to do so today.

Following is the language of House Resolution 630, which I introduced on September 30, 1971:

Whereas the President of the United States on March 4, 1971, stated that his policy is that: "as long as there are American POW's in North Vietnam we will have to maintain a residual force in South Vietnam. That is the least we can negotiate for."

Whereas Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, chief delegate of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam stated on July 1, 1971, that the policy of her government is: "If the United States Government sets a terminal date for the withdrawal from South Vietnam in 1971 of the totality of United States forces and those of the other foreign countries in the United States camp, the parties will at the same time agree on the modalities:

"A. Of the withdrawal in safety from South Vietnam of the totality of United States forces and those of the other foreign countries in the United States camp;

"B. Of the release of the totality of mili-

tary men of all parties and the civilians captured in the war (including American pilots captured in North Vietnam), so that they may all rapidly return to their homes.

"These two operations will begin on the same date and will end on the same date.

"A cease-fire will be observed between the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces and the Armed Forces of the other foreign countries in the United States camp, as soon as the parties reach agreement on the withdrawal from South Vietnam of the totality of United States forces and those of the other foreign countries in the United States camp."

Resolved, That the United States shall forthwith propose at the Paris peace talks that in return for the return of all American prisoners held in Indochina, the United States shall withdraw all its Armed Forces from South Vietnam within sixty days following the signing of the agreement: Provided, That the agreement shall contain guarantee by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam of safe conduct out of Vietnam for all American prisoners and all American Armed Forces simultaneously.

SUPREME COURT IGNORES STATE'S PLEA FOR TAX JUSTICE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in the October 1971 term of the Supreme Court of the United States, the State of Alabama, by and through the Honorable George C. Wallace as its Governor, moved for leave to file a complaint under the Court's original jurisdiction of the Constitution to enjoin the Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for relief of the people of that State from the action of the Treasurer and IRS in granting tax-free status by exempting the income of religious foundations and similar organizations from the Federal tax on income.

Despite the fact that this was a suit brought by a State seeking original jurisdiction in the U.S. Supreme Court as is provided in article 3, section 2, clause 2, the Supreme Court law clerks voted to deny any hearings or proceedings and the Supreme Court, without reason, dismissed the complaint.

The Supreme Court obviously feels that justice does not extend to equal taxation on all incomes or those Justices presently occupying the Supreme Court seats did not want to hear the evidence that they feared would be presented by Governor Wallace and the State of Alabama.

I, too, recognize the evils which have befallen the tax collection system of our Government by giving special privileges and exemptions to dubious organizations of highly controversial purpose. During this session, I introduced legislation which would help reform these ever growing inequities before they soar into a taxpayers' rebellion. My bills are H.R. 405 to provide for a loss of tax exemption for failure to file an annual return showing sources of income; H.R. 425 to provide for loss of tax exemption for engaging in litigation for the benefit of

third parties; and H.R. 8298 to provide that tax exempt organizations which engage in activities of carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation shall lose their exemption from tax.

Because of the blatant refusal of the U.S. Supreme Court to grant a hearing in matters which are clearly within its original jurisdiction and because the object of the complaint is of great importance to the American taxpayers, I insert the Motion for Leave to File a Complaint, the Complaint, and the Brief in support of the motion in the RECORD at this point:

[In the Supreme Court of the United States, October term, 1971]

MOTION FOR LEAVE TO FILE COMPLAINT

(State of Alabama, One of the States of the United States, by and Through George C. Wallace, as Its Governor, Plaintiff, v. John B. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and Randolph W. Thrower, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue of the United States, Defendants)

The State of Alabama, one of the States of the United States, by and through George C. Wallace, as its Governor, asks leave of the Court to file its complaint against John B. Connally, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and Randolph W. Thrower, Commissioner of Internal Revenue of the United States, submitted herewith, pursuant to Rule 9, Supreme Court Rules.

J. EDWARD THORNTON,

JOHN O. HARRIS,

Counsel for Plaintiff.

This the 20 day of July, 1971.

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF MOTION

This is an action by the State of Alabama, by and through its Governor, George C. Wallace, against John B. Connally, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and Randolph W. Thrower, Commissioner of Internal Revenue of the United States, proposed to be instituted in this Court under the authority of Article III, Section 2, Clause 2, of the Constitution of the United States. The purpose of the proposed action is to enjoin John B. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury, and Randolph W. Thrower, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and each of them, from assessing and collecting federal income taxes from the citizens of the State of Alabama, and, in the alternative, to enjoin John B. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury, and Randolph W. Thrower, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and each of them, from exempting the income of religious foundations, and similar organizations, from the federal tax on income.

Secretary Connally and Commissioner Thrower claim that the income of religious, charitable and educational foundations, and similar organizations, is exempt from the federal income tax by virtue of the provisions of Section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code (26 U.S.C. Sec. 501). While the State of Alabama is cognizant of the benefits afforded society and the American public by organizations organized and operated solely for the purpose or purposes of holding religious services, maintaining places of worship, and engaging in truly public and charitable activities for the alleviation of human suffering and misery (such as the Red Cross, Salvation Army, March of Dimes Foundation, Heart Fund, and Cancer Societies), the State of Alabama contends that the said Section 501, by exempting the income of certain other organizations and foundations which are only superficially charitable, religious, educational or scientific in their operation, and which, in actuality, merely provide a tax shelter for the wealthy few, and by assessing and collecting taxes on the income of other individuals and organizations pursuant to the said Internal Revenue Code of 1954, ef-

fects an unjustifiable and discriminatory classification of persons for federal income tax purposes that is so gross as to render the collection of federal income taxes from non-exempt persons a confiscation of private property in violation of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The State of Alabama also contends that inasmuch as the said Section 501 exempts from the federal income tax the income, including unrelated business income, of religious foundations, it thereby subsidizes religion and effects an establishment of religion in contravention of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and that the said Section 501 is therefore a nullity and cannot be lawfully enforced by Secretary Connally and Commissioner Thrower.

J. EDWARD THORNTON,
JOHN O. HARRIS,
Counsel for Plaintiff.

This the 20th day of July, 1971.

[In the Supreme Court of the United States,
October term, 1971]

COMPLAINT

(State of Alabama, One of the States of the United States, by and Through George C. Wallace, as Its Governor, Plaintiff, v. John B. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and Randolph W. Thrower, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue of the United States, Defendants.)

The State of Alabama, one of the States of the United States, by and through George C. Wallace, as its Governor, brings this suit in equity against the defendants, John B. Connally, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and Randolph W. Thrower, Commissioner of Internal Revenue of the United States, and for its cause of action states:

Count one

I

The jurisdiction of this Court is invoked under Article III, Section 2, Clause 2 of the Constitution of the United States.

II

The plaintiff, the State of Alabama, brings this action as the direction of its Governor, George C. Wallace, a citizen and resident of the State of Alabama. The defendant John B. Connally is the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States and is a citizen of the State of Texas and a resident of Washington in the District of Columbia. The defendant Randolph W. Thrower is the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and is a citizen of the State of Georgia and a resident of Washington in the District of Columbia.

The said defendant John B. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, is charged with the supervision, administration and enforcement of the federal internal revenue laws pursuant to the provisions of Section 7801 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (26 U.S.C., Sec. 7801). Randolph W. Thrower, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, has such duties and powers in enforcement, administration and supervision of the federal internal revenue laws as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, pursuant to Section 7802 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (26 U.S.C., Sec. 7802).

III

Section 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (26 U.S.C., Sec. 1) imposes a tax upon the income of every individual, trust, and estate, and Section 11 thereof (26 U.S.C., Sec. 11) imposes a tax upon the income of every corporation. Section 501 thereof (26 U.S.C., Sec. 501), however, exempts certain organizations from the taxes imposed by Section 1 and Section 11; Section 501 provides, in pertinent part, as follows:

(a) Exemption from taxation.—An organization described in subsection (c) or (d)

of Section 401(a) shall be exempt from taxation under the sub-title unless such exemption is denied under Section 502 or 503.

(c) List of Exempt Organizations.—The following organizations are referred to in subsection (a):

(3) Corporations, and any community chest, fund or foundation organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary, or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, and which does not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

IV

The defendants, John B. Connally and Randolph W. Thrower, pursuant to their duties as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States and Commissioner of Internal Revenue, respectively, have enforced, are presently enforcing, and intend to enforce in the future, unless restrained by the Court, all provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (26 U.S.C., Sec. 1 *et seq.*), including the aforementioned Sections 1, 11, and 501, with the result that the organization described in subsection (c) of the said Section 501 have avoided, are presently avoiding and will avoid payment of their proportionate share of the federal income tax burden, while other individuals, estates, trusts, and corporations, including those resident in, domiciled in, or otherwise located in the State of Alabama, have been, are, and will be forced to pay a disproportionate share of such federal income tax burden.

V

The exemption from federal income taxation provided for by subsection (c) of the said Section 501 and enforced by the defendants in their official capacities effects a classification of persons for federal income tax purposes that is so arbitrary, unjustifiable, and discriminatory as to constitute the assessment of federal income taxes against and collection of federal income taxes from nonexempt individuals, estates, trusts, and corporations a confiscation of private property in violation of the requirement of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States that "No person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property without the due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

VI

The State of Alabama is directly interested in preventing any unlawful confiscation of the private property of its citizens, which unlawful confiscation is provided for by the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 as aforesaid; and the State of Alabama is also interested in protecting its citizens against risk of prosecution for failure to comply with those provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 designed to provide the machinery for the confiscatory taking of private property thereby purportedly authorized.

VII

The actions of the defendants, in assessing and collecting taxes pursuant to the aforesaid provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, have caused and will continue to cause irreparable injury to the citizens of the State of Alabama, for which there is no adequate remedy at law.

VIII

Wherefore, the State of Alabama prays that a decree be entered enjoining and restraining the defendants, John B. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury of the United

States, and Randolph W. Thrower, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and each of them, their servants, agents, and employees, from proceeding to assess against or collect from the citizens of the State of Alabama the taxes sought to be imposed by Subtitle A of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, and from requiring returns from such citizens, preparatory to the assessment and collection of such taxes, and from taking any and all other steps related to the enforcement of the said Subtitle A of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

Count two

IX

The State of Alabama adopts, asserts, and realleges all of the allegations in paragraphs numbered I through III as fully and to the same extent as if each of said paragraphs were set forth here anew.

X

The defendants, John B. Connally and Randolph W. Thrower, pursuant to their duties as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States and Commissioner of Internal Revenue, respectively, have enforced, are presently enforcing, and intend to enforce in the future, unless restrained by this Court, all provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (26 U.S.C. 1 *et seq.*), including the aforementioned Section 501, with the result that numerous religious organizations, institutions, foundations, and similar associations located both within and without the State of Alabama, have avoided, are presently avoiding, and will avoid payment of their proportionate share of the federal income tax burden.

XI

To the extent that subsection (c) of the said Section 501 exempts religious institutions, organizations, foundations, and similar associations from payment of the federal tax on income assessed against and collected from other individuals, estates, trusts, and corporations, the said subsection (c) of the said Section 501 constitutes a subsidy to, and establishment of, such religious organizations, institutions, foundations, and similar associations by law made by the Congress in contravention of the requirement of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion . . ."

XII

The State of Alabama has a direct interest in protecting its citizens against the subsidizing and establishment of religion by law made by Congress.

XIII

The acts of the defendants, John B. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and Randolph W. Thrower, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, in exempting the income of religious institutions, organizations, foundations, and similar associations located in the State of Alabama, and elsewhere, pursuant to the provisions of Section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, and thereby subsidizing religious activities and establishing religion both within the State of Alabama and elsewhere have caused and will continue to cause irreparable injury to the citizens of the State of Alabama, for which there is no adequate remedy at law.

XIV

Wherefore, the State of Alabama prays that the said defendants, John B. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and Randolph W. Thrower, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and each of them, be restrained and enjoined from exempting the income of religious institutions, foundations, organizations, and similar associations, whether located within or without the State of Alabama, from the federal tax

on income pursuant to the provisions of the said Section 501.

J. EDWARD THORNTON,
JOHN O. HARRIS,
Counsel for Plaintiff.

This the 20th day of July, 1971.

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on this the 19th day of July, 1971, copies of this Motion for Leave to File Complaint and Complaint were mailed, postage prepaid, to Messrs. John B. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and Randolph W. Thrower, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, by addressing and mailing copies to the Solicitor General, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530. I further certify that all parties required to be served have been served.

J. EDWARD THORNTON,
JOHN O. HARRIS,
Counsel for Plaintiff.

[In the Supreme Court of the United States,
October Term, 1971]

(State of Alabama, One of the States of the United States, by and Through George C. Wallace, as Its Governor, Plaintiff, v. John B. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and Randolph W. Thrower, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue of the United States, Defendants)

BRIEF IN SUPPORT OF MOTION FOR LEAVE TO FILE COMPLAINT

JURISDICTION

The Jurisdiction is set forth in Article III, Section 2, Clause 2 of the Constitution of the United States.

"In all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make." (*Emphasis added.*)

STATEMENT OF THE CASE

The State of Alabama is seeking leave to file an original action in this Court to test the legality of income tax exemptions accorded private foundations and religious organizations under Section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (26 U.S.C. Sec. 501).

PROPOSITIONS OF LAW

Proposition I

Where the State is a party, plaintiff, or defendant, the Governor represents the State; and the suit may be, in form, a suit by him as Governor in behalf of the State.

Ex parte Kentucky v. Denniston, 24 How. 66, 16 L. Ed. 717;

State of Alabama, by and through George C. Wallace as its Governor v. United States of America et al., 373 U.S. 545, 10 L. Ed. 2d 540.

Proposition II

The provisions of Article III of the Federal Constitution, limiting jurisdiction of federal courts to cases or controversies, impose no absolute bar to suits by federal taxpayers challenging allegedly unconstitutional federal taxing and spending programs.

Flast v. Cohen, 393 N.S. 83, 20 L. Ed. 2d 947.

Proposition III

No church may be financially supported or preferred by the federal government over any other, and no religious activities may be subsidized.

Protestants and other Americans United for Separation of Church and State v. O'Brien, 272 F. Supp. 712.

ARGUMENT

I

Where the State is a party, plaintiff or defendant, the Governor represents the State;

and the suit may be, form, a suit by him as Governor in behalf of the State, where the State is a plaintiff; and he must be summoned or notified as the officer representing the State, where the State is defendant. Ex parte Kentucky v. Denniston, 24 How. 66, 16 L. Ed. 717; State of Alabama, by and through George C. Wallace as its Governor v. United States of America et al., 373 U.S. 545, 10 L. Ed. 2d 540.

Under the above authorities, there can be no question but that this Court has jurisdiction to entertain this case and to grant the relief sought in the Complaint.

II

The provisions of Article III of the Federal Constitution, limiting jurisdiction of federal courts to cases or controversies, impose no absolute bar to suits by federal taxpayers challenging allegedly unconstitutional federal taxing and spending programs, Flast v. Cohen, 393 N.S. 83, 20 L. Ed. 2d 947.

Since this Court has sanctioned actions by individual taxpayers to question the taxing and spending programs of Congress, certainly a sovereign state has standing to attack the granting of exemptions to private foundations and churches who have departed from the very basis on which the exemptions were granted in the first place and are so conducting themselves in such a manner that they are no longer entitled to the exemptions.

When private foundations use tax exempt income to espouse the cause of Communists in America; to promote revolution in the streets of our cities; to participate in registration drives among blacks to elect radical mayors of certain cities; and bankroll the pro-Viet Cong American Friends Service Committee; grant funds to organizations which preach revolution and racial hatred; financing of Communists and radicals to run school "decentralization" in New York City, producing the bitterest sort of racial antagonisms; and making grants to the Leftist Urban League—are they not engaged in propaganda activities, attempting to influence legislation, and aiding and abetting political campaigns on behalf of candidates for public office?

These activities and these grants are not clothed with the protection accorded exempt organizations or foundation(s) "organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary or educational purposes—no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda . . ." They are not "charitable" foundations in the common law sense,¹ and to this extent, at least, they should no longer enjoy a tax exempt status.

There is a precedent for declaring unconstitutional Sections 170 and 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 in their application.

In the case of William H. Green et al. v. David M. Kennedy (Connally), Secretary of the Treasury of the United States of America, and Randolph W. Thrower, Commissioner of Internal Revenue the United States District Court for the District of Columbia filed on June 30, 1971, Civil Action No. 1355-69, held unconstitutional sections 170 and 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 as applied to private schools in Mississippi which exclude Negro students on the basis of race or color.

The plaintiffs, Negro Federal taxpayers and their minor children attending public schools in Mississippi, brought a class action seeking to enjoin the Secretary of the Treasury and Commissioner of Revenue from according tax exempt status to such schools. "They sought a declaration that granting

¹The new interpretation of the IRS as expressed in Green et al. v. Kennedy, etc. and Thrower, etc., District Court for District of Columbia, Civil Action No. 1355-69, filed June 30, 1971.

tax exempt status to such schools is violative of the provisions of the Revenue Code governing charities and charitable contributions, and that if granting such status was authorized, then to that extent Sections 170 and 501 are unconstitutional."

In a 50 page opinion, a three-judge court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs holding that the IRS had changed its interpretation of the exemptions permitted by the Code and that now private schools which practice racial discrimination are not "charitable" in the common law sense.

It logically follows that private foundations and churches that engage in activities wholly at war with the purposes for which exemptions were granted them are no longer "charitable" in the common law sense, and to that extent Sections 170 and 501 of the Revenue Code of 1954 are unconstitutional.

III

No church may be subsidized and preferred by the federal government over any other, and no religious activities may be subsidized. Protestants and other Americans United for Separation of Church and State v. O'Brien, 272 F. Supp. 712.

The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides, in pertinent part, as follows:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; . . ."

Under the "establishment clause of this Amendment, it is well-settled that the federal government cannot pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. Emerson v. Board of Education of the Township of Ewing, et al., 330 U.S. 1, 91 L. Ed. 711; Illinois v. Board of Education of School District No. 71, 333 U.S. 203, 92 L. Ed. 648.

When some church organizations use tax exempt income as a contribution to the defense fund (which is also tax exempt) of avowed Black Panther and Communist, Angela Davis, have they not forfeited their right to continue to be exempt as an organization operated exclusively for religious purposes?

It is earnestly insisted that such church organizations making contributions to such defense funds are no longer engaged in charitable activities and should no longer be accorded a tax exempt status. It certainly cannot be claimed that it is "organized and operated exclusively for religious purposes," and to that extent, Sections 170 and 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is unconstitutional.

It is arguable that exemption of religious institutions from taxation constitutes an indirect subsidy which is as invalid under the First Amendment as would be a tax levied directly to support such institutions. See, e.g., Murray v. Comptroller of Treasury, 216 A.2d 897 (Md. 1966). In his concurring opinion in Engel v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421, 8 L. Ed. 2d 601 (1962), Mr. Justice Douglas stated:

"The point for discussion is whether the Government can constitutionally finance a religious exercise. Our system at the federal and state levels is presently honeycombed with such financing. Nevertheless, I think it is an unconstitutional undertaking whatever form it takes."

CONCLUSION

The State of Alabama respectfully urges this Honorable Court to grant its Motion for Leave to File Complaint in the Court, and grant its prayer restraining and enjoining the defendants, John B. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and Randolph W. Thrower, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, from exempting the income of religious institutions, foundations, organizations, and similar associations, whether located within or without the State of Alabama, from the federal tax on income pursuant to the provisions of Section 501

of the Internal Revenue Code (26 U.S.C., Sec. 501).

Alabama earnestly insists that these financial giants should bear their proportionate share of the staggering income tax burden that now rests upon her citizens, and citizens throughout the Nation, who do not enjoy tax exempt status and are forced to pay a disproportionate share of federal income tax.

Respectfully submitted

J. EDWARD THORNTON,
JOHN O. HARRIS,
Counsel for Plaintiff.

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that on this 20 day of July, 1971, copies of this Brief in support of Motion for Leave to File Complaint were mailed, postage prepaid, to Messrs. John B. Connally, as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and Randolph W. Throver, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, by addressing and mailing copies to the Solicitor General, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., 20530. I further certify that all parties required to be served have been served.

JOHN O. HARRIS,
Of Counsel for Plaintiff.

CYPRUS: NEAR FLASH POINT

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, among the world's many trouble spots that threaten international peace and receives too little attention perhaps is that of Cyprus.

An insight into the varied facets of this festering problem in the Eastern Mediterranean was provided recently in an article by Dr. T. W. Adams which appeared in the Washington Sunday Star of November 28, 1971.

Dr. Adams, a consultant on foreign affairs and specialist on the national security aspects of the Cyprus problem, is the author of a recent book on the subject—"Akel: The Communist Party of Cyprus" published by the Hoover Institution Press.

In order to share with my colleagues Dr. Adams' understanding of this question I am placing his article in the RECORD at this point and commend it to their attention:

CYPRUS IS CONTINUING NEAR THE FLASH POINT

(By T. W. Adams)

NICOSIA.—"The name is death! The name is terror! The name is bloodshed! The name of General Grivas is connected with intercommunal strife in Cyprus—all in the name of *enosis* (union)."

Dr. Fazil Kuchuk, vice president of the republic and leader of the Turkish community on the island, made this dire assessment after a leaflet was circulated at the end of October calling for a renewed armed struggle for union of Cyprus with Greece. Nothing could upset the Turks of Cyprus or the mainland more than the mention of *enosis*, which has been barred along with partition in the treaties which brought Cyprus independence.

General Grivas, 74-year-old fighter, had not been heard from since he secretly left involuntary exile in Athens and landed here by small boat on the first of September.

While the pamphlet bore the typed signature of his code name, Digenis, there is strong evidence to believe that it did not come directly from the general. Rather it may have been written by a right-wing armed group known as the National Front, which has been carrying out a semi-violent campaign for over two years against the leadership of Archbishop Makarios.

GRIVAS MAGNETISM

Still the presence of Grivas—hero of the 1955-59 EOKA guerrilla effort which led to independence—remains a mystery. Grivas, who has been termed "a professional bomb-thrower," does have the personal magnetism to organize at least a small group of his die-hard supporters. In Cyprus, this means trouble. Such a spark could set off this tinderbox situation, since tens of thousands of Cypriots are currently under arms.

Whatever the Grivas intentions turn out to be, they will conflict with those of President Makarios and the existence of his independent republic. Perhaps the Grivas adventure could well unfold as one observer put it recently: "In 1954 he came to kill British, in 1964 to kill Turks, and now he has come to kill Greeks." If that is the Grivas aim now, Makarios has pledged that he will not tolerate it.

Speculation about this latest development is currently one of the favorite pastimes in Cyprus. But this is to be expected. The island floats on a sea of rumor and gossip, which makes it difficult for the casual observer to understand all of the domestic and international dynamics of the situation. Yet, certain factors have remained unchanged since violence broke out eight years ago between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish community, which comprises 20 percent of the island's population.

U.N. ACHIEVEMENT

First, the 3,000-man United Nations peace-keeping force has done a miraculous job cooling down temperatures.

Second, the mainland powers of Greece and Turkey find it impossible to cut the strings which tie them to their respective ethnic brothers on the island.

Third, as long as the problem remains unsettled the two communities on the island are growing further and further apart.

Fourth, the threat of Cyprus erupting once again into violence hangs like an ominous cloud over every political event in the island.

And fifth, the major powers have found that their various initiatives toward solving the problem have worked to no avail.

The United Nations' Role—When the U.N. forces in Cyprus (UNFICYP) landed in March 1964 they were thrown directly into an open warfare between the Greeks and Turks. The blue-beret "soldiers without enemies," made up of five different nations, including Great Britain (the first major power ever to serve on such a mission), finally managed to separate the two sides. UNFICYP has served as the pacifier of innumerable scrapes ever since. Still, peacekeeping is not peacemaking and attempts to settle the dispute have been frustrated.

OPINIONS DIVIDED

Makarios now feels that in getting the suspended 3-year-old intercommunal talks going again on the island, the U.N. must take some future initiative which will give the world organization a more positive role. The Turks on the other hand feel that any further action should be undertaken by the two mother countries, with the blessing of the United States government.

The involvement of Athens and Ankara—the creation of the independent Republic of Cyprus came about only after war-weary Greece and Turkey agreed on terms during an historic meeting in Zurich in 1959. These

terms, signed into treaties by all the principal parties in London, included the provisions that the mainland powers could legally intervene to guarantee that the treaties were upheld by all the parties.

When Makarios attempted to amend some of the basic parts of the constitution in 1963, this led to the outbreak of fighting between the island's Greeks and Turks. Had it not been for a strong letter from President Johnson in 1964, Turkey would have surely landed in Cyprus and war between herself and a NATO ally, Greece, would have ensued.

Turkey has consistently felt that all the provisions of the Zurich-London treaties are binding until they are formally changed by all the signatories. But both Greece and Makarios feel that significant changes have already been made by faits accomplis in the status of Cyprus.

It may seem incredible, but one of the key unresolved issues today is the relevance of the Zurich-London agreements. Prime Minister Erim of Turkey told me that the U.S. is "afraid to say publicly that the agreements are still binding," so as not to upset its policy of neutrality between Greece and Turkey. The Turkish prime minister feels that the non-involvement posture of the U.S. in actuality is a backing of Makarios' majority government. Furthermore, Erim does not believe that the U.S. has used enough of its influence toward softening the hard line of the Greek Cypriot leader.

While the Turks have willfully made Cyprus into Turkey's "national cause," it seems unlikely that they will ever try another military intervention unless seriously provoked by such a person as General Grivas, whose hatred of the Turks is second only to his fanatical anti-communism. Meanwhile, the Turks continue to contribute \$20 million of scarce foreign exchange a year to support its surrounded community in Cyprus.

Greece on the other hand seems to be backing off from its traditional policy of aspiring for *enosis*. Not only does the military government in Athens find it difficult to deal with Makarios, but they also are enjoying the best relations with Turkey in a decade.

The Separation of the Communities—"An eight-year-old Turkish Cypriot boy has never seen a real, live Greek," observed the republic's first minister of defense, Osman Orek. He, along with the other Turkish members of the government, had to leave their posts in 1963 and have since maintained a separate existence behind barricades and armed guards in some eight major areas of concentration.

While the Greeks have for the past two years allowed the Turks to move freely from their various quarters, no Greek is unofficially allowed to pass a Turkish checkpoint. This is especially embarrassing to the Greeks who must go through the Turkish quarter of Nicosia by U.N. convoy twice a day in order to take the short route to the seaside resort of Kyrenia. Other than that, the Greeks avoid the issue and continue along their amazingly prosperous economic course, while the Turks must live in a virtual welfare state on the subsidy from Ankara.

The Turks have been criticized by some foreign officials for not staying in the government and trying to work out the intercommunal difficulties through the parliamentary process, "even if they would have been killed at their desks." The Turks retort that they would have surely met such a fate at the hands of the Greeks and their survival has only been made possible by physical separation. What has come about are two militarily prepared camps which are waiting for the day when war again might break out. On October 28th the Greek side used the occasion of a mainland national holiday to parade its military strength. The following day the Turks observed a similar event to display their weapons of defense.

The main tragedy in this de facto partition is what is happening to the harmony which existed before the mid-1950s between the island's Greeks and Turks. Even though many people in their forties and fifties will secretly admit to having good friends "on the other side," the same cannot be said about the younger people who took part in fighting one another. Continued separation can only lead to the reinforcing of myths and stereotypes of what the other community is like, particularly among the 17,000 Turkish displaced persons. Undoubtedly this will result in fears and could prevent the two groups from ever living in an intermingled environment.

Nobody ever claimed that a Cypriot nation was formed at independence, but the existence of a Cypriot state can only come about with the cooperation of the two communities. As long as the separation continues, some Cypriots feel that partition or a "double enosis" with Greece and Turkey is the only answer to the Cyprus problem.

This may well be acceptable to the mainland powers, particularly Turkey, whose leaders have often stated that they must get something tangible from any final solution to the problem.

The Continual Threat of Violence—"Cyprus has more guns than people," commented a leading Greek Cypriot official. That may not be surprising, if one recalls that warfare started in Cyprus in 1955 and in reality has never stopped since. One of the essential features of Greek-Cypriot politics is the existence of armed gangs of *trambucos*, which seem to congregate around various leaders. Some of these private armies took part in the 1963-64 fighting and have not disbanded. Later proenosis supporters took matters into their own hands by starting an anti-government campaign in 1969 claiming that they were acting in behalf of the former EOKA leader, General Grivas. These secret groups were probably behind the attempted assassination of Makarios in March, 1970. Though some people were brought to justice for the attempt on the archbishop, a vendetta murder remains officially unsolved and clandestine activities continue.

ZEALOTS POSE DANGER

General Grivas, thought to be in control of a sizeable organization of *pistolarios*, is supposedly waiting for the opportune time to turn them loose on first the anti-enosis government officials, then the communists and finally the Turks. On Cyprus it does not take too many zealots to begin serious trouble. General Grivas had only about 200 hard core gunmen when he carried out his EOKA terrorist struggle against the British. And at one time over 20,000 regular troops were tied up in the unsuccessful effort to capture them.

Regarding Communist activities, a parliamentary leader says, "The Communist party in Cyprus follows the policy of the government on the Cyprus problem. On domestic issues they endorse many of the government measures and although they have declared their own policy on certain domestic issues, they have not attempted by stirring up trouble or otherwise to force the government to accept their policies."

Major Power Initiatives—One point of agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union is that Cyprus should not be a cause of war between any countries, particularly themselves. Still, the major powers have definite limitations when it comes to acting in ways to prevent the possibility of war. Both Russia and America want to keep up good relations with Greece, Turkey and the Makarios government. Any initiative which might have some teeth would surely be interpreted by one of the parties to be against its national interests. Consequently,

both major powers have been reluctant to move in positive ways to help solve the conflict.

This posture of neutrality is not welcomed by the principals and various devices have been employed to call the hand of the U.S. and the USSR. Archbishop Makarios, for example, went to Moscow in June to ask for Soviet aid in the event that the NATO powers tried to impose a solution in Cyprus which would bypass his existing government. The communique which followed the visit did not guarantee that the Russians would support Makarios. Still, the Turkish Foreign Ministry was sufficiently concerned that it asked for and received a clarification of the neutral Soviet position.

RUSSIAN VESSELS

While not openly backing Makarios, Russian ships have been sighted often off the Cypriot coast and three ships were anchored outside of Cypriot territorial waters on Sept. 29, when the Turkish military contingent was being rotated. The question of trading off support for Cyprus has not yet been raised openly in any bilateral relations the U.S. has had with either Greece or Turkey, but this possibility could present itself in the future.

In the eastern Mediterranean, NATO considerations and the strategic balance are the chief interests of American foreign policy. But the United States also realizes that it must tread softly with the Cypriot government if it is to keep the important communications facilities in the island, which the non-aligned Makarios government has not tried to alter since independence.

Prospects—Greece and Turkey no longer talk about deadlines for the solution to the Cyprus problem, but it is apparent that both governments are becoming increasingly bothered—as in 1959—by the nagging nature of the conflict. This is perhaps why there have been continual rumors that Greece and Turkey have come to an agreement over Cyprus but this time Makarios (not the British) is the obstacle.

Maintaining sound relations between the two governments is presently the main concern of Athens and Ankara. Both have approached their internal problems in similar ways: The military has taken strong positions in the government opposing corruption, communism and anti-Americanism. Also both governments are anchoring their defense policies on NATO and the preservation of the alliance. There has even been talk of a possible federation between Greece and Turkey, which could even be a precursor to the reviving of the Balkan Pact that existed in the 1930s, with Yugoslavia participating.

NO SOLUTION NEAR

Despite all the favorable indications of the reestablishing of the Greek-Turkish equilibrium as it existed at the time of Ataturk and Venezelos, the existence of the Cyprus problem is an unfortunate reality recognized by both sides. Some of the misunderstanding has arisen simply over the definition of such terms as "local autonomy," "functional federalism" and the "unitary state." It was these differences which caused the inter-communal talks to become deadlocked in September. Until these terms are defined, the debate over Cyprus will apparently continue to be a semantic exercise.

The Eastern Mediterranean has been aflame on and off for centuries and quite possibly conflict has become a way of life for the inhabitants of the area. It would be a welcome relief for the diplomats if Cyprus could be stricken from the State Department's gazetteer of hot spots, but short-term prospects for solving the problem are not promising. In fact, the island today is un-

usually tense, considering the Grivas presence, and Cyprus may now be entering one of its most critical phases with little hope of coming out of it without once again spilling somebody's blood.

HEALTH CITY

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, in recent years San Diego has emerged as a "health city" through the establishment and growth of a number of outstanding medical and health science activities. These include hospitals, research organizations, universities, and clinics which, though separate institutions, are working closely together to improve the quality of health care available to all of us. I am pleased to share with my House colleagues the following article from the San Diego Executive which outlines the activities of several of the major health science facilities in the San Diego area:

HEALTH SCIENCE: A MAJOR INDUSTRY EMERGES IN SAN DIEGO

When most people get around to talking about the subject of health, it's about dollars . . . how much a stay in the hospital costs today . . . the high price of medicine! And although they may not be aware of it, the fact is that since 1960, the average daily cost of hospitalization has risen from \$56 to \$144. In the same period, the nation's total health bill has climbed to \$70 billion—or \$324 a person a year.

Until recently, very few in San Diego have been aware that an industry was emerging right in their own backyards that is very much concerned with them and their problems in the field of health. Although its immediate and long-range objectives are the control and elimination of disease, a possible side effect is a reduction in the cost of medical care.

Involvement of local organizations in the field of "health science" or "biomedicine" is not new in San Diego. What has erupted, however, is a grouping or "complex" of organizations having common identifiable interests in health science, in the "life sciences." They have reached such a proportion today that their activities may accurately be termed an "industry" . . . inclusive of hospitals, research organizations, universities, clinics. Each a separate entity; but together, working in collaboration toward a common objective.

The U.S. Bureau of the Census reports an increase in employment in San Diego for this industry between 1965-1969 as 52%. This compares with an increase nationally of only 36%. Payrolls for the like period in the health science field in San Diego soared 101% as compared to 88% nationwide.

Four major health science and biomedical organizations—each a familiar name in life science circles throughout the world—comprise the nucleus of this research oriented community: The Salk Institute for Biological Studies, Scripps Clinic and Research Foundation, The University of California at San Diego School of Medicine, the new Veterans' Administration Hospital, due for completion in early 1972. Among the factors that characterize this complex is a close physical proximity to each other, affording an integration of personnel and facilities. With the

move of Scripps to a 12-acre site recently donated by Dow Chemical, each will be within walking distance of the other.

It should be emphasized that research type activities in San Diego are not confined to these four institutions. As many as 21 other firms and/or institutions are engaged in some type of medical research and are an integral and important part of San Diego's health science complex. Estimates are that 28,000 people are employed here in some phase of the life sciences. Today these have emerged into an industrial complex—one which, in time, may very well become a blueprint for the nation.

These research-type organizations continuously make substantial contributions to the local economy. In 1970, it is estimated that the total payroll of those organizations concerned with health science or biomedicine amounted to \$30 million. Moreover, the products and services they export from San Diego have a far reaching effect outside their immediate locale.

The Salk Institute, established here in 1964, continues to expand both its physical plant and services. At capacity, 500-600 employees will be on staff there. More than 100,000 square feet of space are already devoted entirely to laboratory use. The purpose of this renowned institution has always been "the preservation and extension of man's health and well being."

The University of California at San Diego Medical School has, in its few years of operation, already gained national recognition as an outstanding medical facility. 150 full time and 390 part time salaried professors will instruct a student body of 400. Many of these professors will do a tour of duty at both Scripps and the Veterans' Administration Hospital. The University Hospital, formerly County Hospital, provides additional beds and staff for the community.

The new Veterans' Administration Hospital, due for completion early in 1972, will employ a staff of 1,600. In dollar value, its plant has an estimated worth of \$35 million with another \$9 million tagged for equipment. Between 80-90 staff physicians at the hospital will be given faculty assignments at UCSD.

Scripps Clinic and Research Foundation is universally recognized as one of the foremost medical research institutions. Its objectives are clearly defined: contribute to scientific medical knowledge; train medical scientists; provide high quality "specialized" medical services. To a large degree, Scripps is responsible for interesting other science-oriented institutions locating in San Diego.

Among those on the staff of SCRIF are internationally recognized scientists in such fields as biochemistry, pathology and microbiology. Founder of Scripps and its chief benefactor is Ellen Browning Scripps whose efforts and philanthropy were responsible for the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, now a part of UCSD.

The planning of San Diego's health science and biomedical complex did not just happen. It reflects concerted effort by many to obtain an effective integration of all facilities related to the life sciences. Torrey Pines Science Park, a 100-acre site close by the other medical facilities, has been designated by the City of San Diego as a site for the location of new research centers. The Chamber of Commerce has recently organized a Health Sciences Council to formulate and implement a long-range program aimed at establishing San Diego as the nation's leading health center.

Indications are that it is just a question of time before this objective becomes a reality.

DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, Ralph Bunche personified the best in the United Nations.

In a sense he was one of the first citizens of the world.

Truly, it has been said that blessed are the peacemakers. Few down through the ages have deserved that accolade. Ralph Bunche personified it.

I had the privilege of working with him both as an editor of the *Herald Tribune* and as U.S. Ambassador to Israel. His grasp of the subtleties of diplomacy were matched by his quiet firmness and the vision and the patience to always see the road ahead.

Ralph Bunche more than any man brought an uneasy peace to the Near East with the several armistice agreements worked out on the island of Rhodes. He was the author of the Rhodes Formula which may yet be the process by which an interim or final peace agreement may be worked out in today's troubled Near East. His peacekeeping missions in other parts of the world, including the Congo and Kashmir, are a part of today's historical record.

His vision of a United Nations was always clear but never fully realized. No greater tribute could be paid to Ralph Bunche than for the statesmen of the world to fulfill his dream of the U.N. as the peacekeeper of the world, with a moral position that would be unassailable, "standing steadfastly always for the right."

Ralph Bunche had great capacities for friendship, and the successes of the successive Secretaries General, particularly Dag Hammarskjöld and U Thant, were not infrequently the efforts of his unassuming and highly effective diplomacy. It fell his lot to serve the last years of his life in the U.N. at a time when the United States often turned away from it, and at times even failed to see how the U.N. could serve a cause of peace. While this troubled Ralph Bunche, it never caused him to lessen his belief in what the U.N. could stand for and what his country might become.

He was in the forefront of the fight for civil rights and freedom for all men, not alone throughout the world, but equally and sometimes pointedly in the United States as well. I remember his sense of humor, his deep loyalty to his friends and particularly the nobility of spirit of a truly humble, compassionate and great man.

Mrs. Reid joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Bunche, to his son Ralph Jr., his daughter Joan and his three grandchildren, which I am sure all Members of this House share.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing several editorials from the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* on the life of Ralph Bunche:

[From the *New York Times*, Dec. 10, 1971]

DR. BUNCHE OF U.N., NOBEL WINNER, DIES

(By Robert D. McFadden)

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, former United Nations Under Secretary General for Special Political Affairs and winner of the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize, died early yesterday in New York Hospital. He was 67 years old.

Dr. Bunche, who suffered from a kidney malfunction, diabetes, heart disease and near blindness, was frequently hospitalized in recent months. He entered the hospital for the final time last Tuesday and died at 12:40 A.M. yesterday.

Dr. Bunche, who had been with the United Nations since its founding, lived in a world of diplomacy that was racked with belligerence yet capable of great harmony. It ultimate poles were war and peace, and between these he sought the balance of justice.

Like his world, Dr. Bunche was a man of many faces and talents, full of paradox and struggle. By training and temperament, he was an ideal international civil servant, a black man of learning and experience open to men and ideas of all shades.

At the United Nations, he had been a key diplomat for more than two decades since his triumphal success in negotiating the difficult 1949 armistice between the new state of Israel and the Arab states.

As the architect of the Palestine accord, he won the Nobel Peace Prize of 1950. And many of his associates at the Secretariat and in governments around the world could cite his accomplishments and accolades, mentioning their contacts with him proudly.

But in spite of his stature and reputation, Dr. Bunche was essentially a private man, eschewing personal publicity and disclaiming political ambition.

Few people, save those closest to him, knew the details of his middle-class adolescence in Detroit, his youth as an orphan in the care of a grandmother, his adventures as a young stowaway and seaman, his toil in menial jobs in working his way through college and his real ambition as a young man—to be a teacher.

Nor could many recount his confrontations with racism, including his close escape from a lynch mob in Alabama, where he and Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist, were gathering material in 1938 for "An American Dilemma," the book that forecast many developments in race relations in this country.

It was indeed difficult to say how the color barriers he encountered at hotels and restaurants—even as a high official in the nation's capital—laced themselves into the fabric of his personality and skills as a mediator.

At a negotiating conference table, he usually gave the outward appearance of being calm, soft-spoken, unflappable. But there were signs, for those who would note them, of the deeper turmoil in the man: the chain-smoked cigarettes, the darkening circles under his grave eyes, the hoarseness in his baritone voice.

ENERGY AND TIMING

He could haggle, bicker, hairsplit and browbeat, if necessary, and occasionally it was. But the art of his compromise lay in his seemingly boundless energy and the order and timing of his moves.

His diplomatic skills—a masterwork in the practical application of psychology—became legendary at the United Nations, for which he directed peace-keeping efforts in the Suez area in 1956, the Congo in 1960 and Cyprus in 1964.

At his unannounced retirement last June, he was Under-Secretary General for Special Political Affairs—Secretary General U Thant's most influential political adviser.

As such, he was the highest American fig-

ure in the world organization and, incidentally, the most prominent black man of his era whose stature did not derive chiefly from racial militance or endeavors specifically in behalf of his race.

He was deeply sensitive to racial problems, and often spoke bluntly about them. But his perspective was above the day-to-day trials of discrimination; indeed, he recognized that emphasizing his light-skinned blackness could have damaged his roles as a mediator and neutral peace-keeper—roles in which he found more often than not an advantage in his blackness.

THRUST INTO ROLE

The apex of his diplomatic career—and, perhaps, the best example of his negotiating psychology—came during the Palestinian talks on the island of Rhodes in 1948 and 1949. He had been thrust into the role of chief mediator after the assassination of the original appointee, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden, who was cut down by a terrorist fusillade in Jerusalem.

The negotiating problems were vastly complex, centuries old, rife with racial and religious prejudices and overlaid with combustible economic and political frictions.

A truce demanded by the Security Council had broken down. Large-scale fighting was under way. Thousands of lives in the Middle East lay in the balance, and so did the very life of the fledgling United Nations, whose peace-keeping capacities were on the line.

The Israeli and Arab delegations from the start were cautious, aloof and occasionally hostile. Dr. Bunche met with both sides separately to determine what kind of agenda to draw up, then called the delegations together to approve the agenda. These preliminary moves seemed simple and straightforward, but there was more to them than met the eye.

"There was a double purpose," Dr. Bunche later explained. "Primarily, it was to get both sides to meet—but also, I wanted them both to get accustomed to taking formal action, and to signing something." It didn't matter what—just anything that looked official, he explained.

"Whenever they got together," Dr. Bunche recalled, "you'd always find that there was a gap between them. It was always a matter of timing, always a matter of finding out when it would be appropriate to reduce a discussion to a formal, written draft of one point. We never would throw a whole draft at them at the beginning—that would have scared them to death."

At one exasperating point in the 81-day negotiating marathon, an impatient Israeli delegate hurled a pencil on the table, and it bounced up and hit an Arab delegate. The talks almost blew up. But Dr. Bunche privately reprimanded the Israeli and got him to apologize.

It was always touch-and-go. On another occasion, an Arab delegate refused to shake hands with an Israeli leader. This nearly wrecked the negotiations too. But Dr. Bunche, after much talk that smacked of foreign intrigue, arranged what amounted to a secret rendezvous between the two men who, it turned out, were grateful for the opportunity.

"This time they acted like long-lost brothers," Dr. Bunche recalled. "Pretty soon they started to speak Arabic—and then they apologized to me because they knew I didn't speak the language. I said, 'Hell, speak your Arabic—don't bother—about me.'"

Eventually, the force of Dr. Bunche's personality melted the frigid atmosphere of the talks. There were thousands of pages of documents, drafts and counterdrafts, hundreds of compromises and ultimatums. But ultimately, an armistice was signed.

"He drove himself and his staff night and day," an aide said afterward. "He plunged into every problem as though his life depended on getting it solved. He had an uncanny ability for grasping a situation and sizing it up completely."

When it was all over, Col. Mohammed Ibrahim Seif elDine, of Egypt, called Dr. Bunche "one of the greatest men in the world." Dr. Walter Eytan, of Israel, said the mediator's efforts had been "superhuman."

PEACEKEEPING SATISFYING

Dr. Bunche gave full credit to the two delegations and to his staff. The Nobel Prize Committee thought otherwise, in making its first peace toward a black man.

In a 1969 interview, Dr. Bunche said: "The Peace Prize attracted all the attention, but I've had more satisfaction in the work I've done since, I have been in charge of the U.N. peace-keeping operations in various parts of the world—the Congo, the Middle East, Kashmir." The Suez operation he called "the single most satisfying work I've ever done," primarily because "for the first time we have found a way to use military men for peace instead of war."

BIAS AGAINST BIGOTRY

Dr. Bunche made friends easily and was a good conversationalist of an evening, mixing stories with a few whiskies. But his most serious words were not reserved for friends. In a speech at the Waldorf-Astoria, he once said a great deal about himself and his convictions:

"I have a number of very strong biases. I have a deep-seated bias against hate and intolerance. I have a bias against racial and religious bigotry.

"I have a bias against war, a bias for peace. I have a bias which leads me to believe in the essential goodness of my fellow man, which leads me to believe that no problem of human relations is ever insoluble. And I have a strong bias in favor of the United Nations and its ability to maintain a peaceful world."

For the author of these convictions, the road to greatness had been steep and rutted with obstacles. Ralph Johnson Bunche was born in Detroit on Aug. 7, 1904, the son of Fred Bunche, a barber, and Olive Agnes Johnson Bunche, a musically inclined woman who contributed much to what her son called a household "bubbling over with ideas and opinions."

In 1915, after the birth of Ralph's sister, Grace, his mother developed rheumatic fever and the family moved to Albuquerque, N.M., for the hot, dry air and sunshine. But Mrs. Bunche died in a short time, and three months later her husband died. At the age of 13, Ralph was an orphan.

He and his sister were left in the care of their maternal grandmother, Mrs. Lucy Taylor Johnson, a tiny woman with a towering will and what Ralph considered the wisdom of a sage. She took the children to Los Angeles, where they lived in a bungalow in a mostly white neighborhood, and enrolled them in local public schools.

At the 30th Street intermediary school, the principal advised that Ralph be enrolled in a commercial training course. But Mrs. Johnson wouldn't have it. "My grandson is going to college," she told the principal.

The youth was a brilliant student. He was valedictorian of the class of '22 at Jefferson High School, whose academic honor society denied him admission at the time and tried to correct the matter, to Dr. Bunche's amusement, 30 years later.

COLLEGE ON SCHOLARSHIP

After high school, he continued working as a janitor and carpet-layer, jobs he had obtained to help support the family. But at the insistence of his grandmother, he ac-

cepted an academic scholarship and enrolled at the University of California at Los Angeles.

As in high school, he was a star in football and basketball at U.C.L.A., but sustained a knee injury that bothered him for the rest of his life. Nevertheless, he always carried three little gold basketballs, reminders of three championship years on the varsity, and a United Nations associate said he thought they were Dr. Bunche's proudest possessions.

His passion for baseball and football also remained with him. Some United Nations officials never guessed that a few of the scribbled messages handed to him by security guards during meetings contained the scores of ball games.

To support himself in college, the young man spent his summers working on ships. The job began in 1923 when he stowed away on a ship to save the cost of railroad fare to a Reserve Officers Training Corps summer camp.

He was caught and put to work to earn his passage, but he liked the job so much that he worked ships for the next three summers.

He received his Bachelor of Arts degree with Phi Beta Kappa honors in 1927, and went on to Harvard to take a Master of Arts in 1928 and his doctorate in government and international relations in 1934. He later did advanced work in anthropology at Northwestern University, the London School of Economics and the University of Capetown.

MARRIED HIS STUDENT

Dr. Bunche joined the faculty of Howard University in Washington in 1928, and there, a year later, he met Ruth Harris of Montgomery, Ala., one of his students, who also was teaching in an elementary school. They were married on June 23, 1930, and moved to Harvard, where he was beginning his doctoral studies.

From 1938 to 1940, Dr. Bunche collaborated with Gunnar Myrdal in his researches on "An American Dilemma." Their questions about interracial sex relations aroused a mob of angry whites who chased them across Alabama one night.

When the United States entered World War II, Dr. Bunche was rejected for military service because of his damaged knee and hearing impaired by a mastoid operation. But he joined the War Department as an analyst of African and Far Eastern affairs and quickly rose through the ranks of Strategic Services. In 1944, he moved to the State Department and became head of the Division of Dependent Area Affairs, dealing with colonial problems. By the war's end, he was in the mainstream of planning for the organization that was to become the United Nations.

In 1944, he was at Dumbarton Oaks, laying the groundwork. In 1945, he was at San Francisco, drawing up the trusteeship sections of the United Nations Charter. In 1946, he was in the United Nations delegation to the first General Assembly in London.

AT LIE'S REQUEST

Later that year, he went on loan to the United Nations at the request of Secretary General Trygve Lie, and in 1947 he quit the State Department to join the permanent Secretariat of the new world body.

In the Secretariat, he directed the operations of the Trusteeship Division and set up the guiding principles under which numerous territories achieved statehood. His expertise on African affairs and the problems of the emerging African nations was broad and acquired first-hand.

The year after his stunning success in the negotiations at Rhodes, he was offered—but rejected—the post of Assistant Secretary

of State. "Frankly," he said at the time, "there's too much Jim Crow in Washington for me—I wouldn't take my kids back there."

By 1955, Dr. Bunche held the title of Under Secretary and two years later Under Secretary for Special Political Affairs. During those years, he was the principal trouble-shooter for Dag Hammarskjöld.

Among his tasks were the United Nations program on the peaceful uses of atomic energy and research on the effects of radiation.

When the United Nations managed to halt the British-French-Israeli invasion of the Suez area in November, 1956, Dr. Bunche organized and directed the deployment of a 6,000-man neutral force that acted as a buffer between the belligerents. This force was his special responsibility until 1967, when President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic demanded its withdrawal.

In 1960, he directed another peace-keeping force in the Congo, preventing the new republic's total collapse after the secession of Katanga province.

When the United Nations force in Cyprus was set up in March, 1964, Secretary General Thant put Dr. Bunche in charge of the 6,000 troops that stood between Cypriotes of Greek and of Turkish origin.

In all these efforts, Dr. Bunche viewed the use of troops as part of the larger work of bringing warring peoples to the conference table and hatreds under control.

For his work, there were awards—scores of them, a torrent of medals, prizes and more than 50 honorary doctorates. He became a trustee of Oberlin College in 1950, a member of the Harvard board of overseers from 1959 to 1965, president of the American Political Science Association in 1953-54 and a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1955. In 1963, President John F. Kennedy gave him the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian award.

The Bunches have lived since 1953 in a Tudor-style home in Kew Gardens, Queens. Until his eyesight began failing, Dr. Bunche drove his own car to work daily.

He loved the theater and the opera, and on occasion the stars he admired visited his 38th-floor office in the Secretariat building.

TENNIS CLUB REBUFF

In 1959, he was involved in a much-publicized incident in which he and his son, Ralph Jr., were refused membership in the West Side Tennis Club at Forest Hills. Dr. Bunche took up the cudgels and received an apology, and the club official responsible for the rebuff resigned. Dr. Bunche then declined an offer of membership.

He was angered because the change appeared to be based on his personal prestige, and not on any principle of racial equality. "No Negro American can be free from the disabilities of race in this country until the lowliest Negro in Mississippi is no longer disadvantaged because of his race," he said.

There were other occasions on which he was moved to protest racial discrimination. He first walked a picket line for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Washington in 1937. In 1965, though not in the best of health, he participated in marches on Selma and Montgomery, Ala. He served as an active member of the N.A.A.C.P. board of directors for 22 years until his death.

In the last year Dr. Bunche became seriously ill. In June, a month after being hospitalized, he retired from his United Nations post. The retirement was not announced until later because Mr. Thant had hoped Dr. Bunche would recover and be able to return to his duties. But this was not to be.

Dr. Bunche is survived by his widow; son, Ralph Jr.; daughter, Joan, and three grandchildren. Another daughter, Mrs. Burton Pierce, died in 1966.

Dr. Bunche's body may be viewed by the public at Frank E. Campbells, Madison Avenue, and 81st Street starting at 7 tonight. The Rev. Ernest T. Campbell will conduct the funeral services at the Riverside Church at noon Saturday. Private burial services will follow at the Woodlawn Cemetery.

TRIBUTES ARE LED BY THANT AND NIXON (By Thomas A. Johnson)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., December 9.—Shaken by the loss of "an incomparable friend and colleague," United Nations Secretary General U Thant, described Dr. Ralph J. Bunche today as "an international institution in his own right, transcending both nationality and race in a way that is achieved by very few."

Opening the General Assembly session this afternoon, Mr. Thant gave the first of scores of tributes at the session to his former Under Secretary, Dr. Bunche, who died early today.

Seated, and looking up only now and then, Mr. Thant said:

"He was the most effective and best known of international civil servants, and his record of achievement as an individual member of the Secretariat's was unsurpassed."

Praising Dr. Bunche for his "integrity," "insight," "kindness, humor and deep compassion," Mr. Thant said that "he was an outstanding example of that new 20th-century breed of international officials who devote all of their gifts and their very lives to the service of the community of mankind."

The news of Dr. Bunche's death brought tributes and expressions of sorrow from around the world.

PRESIDENT'S TRIBUTE

President Nixon said: "Dr. Bunche never relented in his persistence to advance the cause of brotherhood and cooperation among men and nations. America is deeply proud of this distinguished son and profoundly saddened by his death."

Secretary of State William P. Rogers said: "No American has worked more faithfully, more persistently, or more effectively in the cause of peace in our generation."

The United States Ambassador to the United Nations, George Bush, said: "Though we Americans take pride in the fact that he was an American, he was truly a citizen of the world."

Premier Golda Meir of Israel, currently in New York, said: "There is hardly anybody outside of Israel who was so intimately connected with the state of Israel from its very emergence. . . . His wisdom, objectivity and ability are sadly needed in the troubled world of today."

Several civil rights groups also paid tribute to Dr. Bunche.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, noted that Dr. Bunche had served for 22 years as a board member of the N.A.A.C.P., "never failing us as a source of wise and understanding counsel and support. It will remain for the historians and biographers to set forth the Ralph Bunche record in the full richness of its dedication, wisdom and service to humanity."

The executive director of the National Urban League, Vernon E. Jordan Jr., said: "His name has been an inspirational beacon to young black people for decades. As an educator, scholar and activist, he was in the forefront of those building a great, new black consciousness in the thirties and forties."

[From the New York Times, Dec. 10, 1971]

THE FAITH OF RALPH BUNCHE

For Americans and many others, Ralph J. Bunche was a personification of the United Nations, which he served capably and selflessly for nearly a quarter-century. The decisive role he played in some of the U.N.'s more spectacular political successes had made of him almost a symbol of the United Nations at its best.

His life was a striking fulfillment of the American dream: the poor Negro boy, orphaned early, who overcame both poverty and racial prejudice, reaching the highest academic level through brilliance and hard work, spending his talents prodigally for a generation in the service not just of his own country but of all countries and the cause of world peace.

Dr. Bunche undoubtedly will be remembered longest for stepping into the breach left by the assassination of Count Bernadotte and painfully, relentlessly hammering out the armistice between Israel and the Arab states in 1949. This was the achievement that won him the Nobel Peace Prize and a host of other honors; but it revealed something of his practical side as a diplomat and his vision as a statesman that he took even greater satisfaction from organizing the United Nations peace force that acted successfully as a buffer in the Middle East for more than a decade.

"For the first time," he said in explanation, "we have found a way to use military men for peace instead of war." For many who came in contact with him the most impressive thing about Dr. Bunche was not his skill as a mediator and conciliator, great as that was, but a faith in the United Nations that never flagged despite its failures and disappointments.

It was this faith that Lord Caradon underscored in a memorable tribute to Dr. Bunche as "one of the greatest Americans." For more than two decades, said Lord Caradon, "in spite of all kinds of difficulties and discouragements, he has set an example to us all, an example of courage and indefatigable effort."

Through his long and debilitating recent illness, which forced his retirement from the U.N. a few weeks ago, Dr. Bunche maintained that courage and kept that faith. His memory should be an inspiration to the peacemakers, but it is sadly ironic that his death should occur just as the U.N. stands helplessly by at the outbreak of a new and savage war in Asia.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 10, 1971]

RALPH J. BUNCHE

There can hardly be a land in which the death of Ralph Bunche will not be mourned as though he were one of their own. He rose beyond nationality until in a true sense he was a citizen of the world, with all mankind his constituency. His was the noblest service to which a man could be committed—the service of peace. All his life, it seemed, was a preparation for that service, an education in the arts of conciliation and rapprochement and the promotion of understanding, the essential stuff of diplomacy.

He learned as an American how to moderate the implacable mistrusts of racial antagonism. And he learned as an international civil servant, rising to the summit of the United Nations hierarchy, how to assuage inveterate rivalries and hostilities between nations. It seems quite fair to say that the U.N. achieved its highest usefulness and effectiveness in the time when Ralph Bunche painstakingly worked out an Arab-Israeli agreement on the island of Rhodes that preserved an uneasy peace in the Middle East for the better part of two decades and when

he headed the U.N.'s successful effort to prevent the spread of civil war in the liberated Belgian Congo. Like another great leader of his race, he had a dream—of a United Nations capable of keeping the peace—and he spoke eloquently of it accepting his Nobel Peace prize in 1950. An excerpt from that address, reprinted *For the Record* elsewhere on this page today is a sad reminder—made all the sadder by the warfare now raging unabashed in the Asian subcontinent, of how little the world has learned from his wise counsel.

Though he was a man of peace and a man of reason, Ralph Bunche was also a man capable of boiling indignation at the injustices and discriminations inflicted upon Negroes in America. He was, in the best meaning of the term, a militant champion of human equality. He served that cause most conspicuously and perhaps most effectively when he declined an offer by President Truman to make him an assistant secretary of state. He declined the offer, he said quietly and articulately, because he did not wish to subject his wife and children to the indignities of segregation that then prevailed in Washington. His statement stung the conscience of the country and roused it as no amount of ranting or violence could have done.

Ralph Bunche was a gentle, learned man of action. He achieved much in the long years of his service to peace. And he left a legacy of hope in the depth of his belief in the perfectability of man.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 10, 1971]

**RALPH BUNCHE'S DREAM OF U.N. AS
PEACEKEEPER**

(What follows is an excerpt from Ralph Bunche's Nobel lecture delivered at Oslo on Dec. 11, 1950.)

To make peace in the world secure, the United Nations must have readily at its disposal, as a result of firm commitments undertaken by all of its members, military strength of sufficient dimensions to make it certain that it can meet aggressive military force with international military force, speedily and conclusively.

If that kind of strength is made available to the United Nations—and under action taken by the General Assembly this fall it can be made available—in my view that strength will never again be challenged in war, and therefore need never be employed.

But military strength will not be enough. The moral position of the United Nations must ever be strong and unassailable; it must stand steadfastly, always, for the right.

The international problems with which the United Nations is concerned are the problems of the inter-relationships of the peoples of the world. They are human problems. The United Nations is entitled to believe, and it does believe, that there are no insoluble problems of human relations, and that there is none which cannot be solved by peaceful means. The United Nations—in Indonesia, Palestine and Kashmir—has demonstrated convincingly that parties to the most severe conflict may be induced to abandon war as the method of settlement in favor of mediation and conciliation, at a merciful saving of untold lives and acute suffering.

Unfortunately, there may yet be some in the world who have not learned that today war can settle nothing, that aggressive force can never be enough, nor will it be tolerated. If this should be so, the pitiless wrath of the organized world must fall upon those who would endanger the peace for selfish ends. For in this advanced day, there is no excuse, no justification for nations resorting to force except to repel armed attack.

A WAR THAT CANNOT BE WON

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the tragic developments between India and Pakistan will create new problems and leave scars that may never heal and, in my judgment, no one will emerge a winner in this unfortunate conflict.

One of the most objective editorial commentaries on this crisis which I have read is the Chicago Tribune's of December 7 which properly makes the point of U.S. impartiality in efforts to produce an end to the fighting and the complications which produced it.

The editorial follows:

A WAR THAT CAN'T BE WON

We're proud of the impartial effort the United States has made to end the war between India and Pakistan despite the blatantly partial obstructionism of the Soviet Union on India's side and Red China on Pakistan's. The saying that it is no longer possible to win a war is especially true of this one.

The original meaning of this saying was that in a war like World War II, the victors are left in almost as bad shape as the vanquished. It picked up new meaning with the discovery that the world can no longer afford to allow one side to win, even in localized wars, if a one-sided victory would upset the delicate balance between east and west.

But even in the simple, old fashioned sense, there can be no real victor in the present war. Oh, India may think it can win—and in an immediate and military sense it may be right. It has superiority in the air, on the ground, and at sea. And with the Soviet Union running interference for it in the United Nations, India obviously hopes to forestall any effective U.N. action, whatever the General Assembly may do, while it finishes off a blitz war designed to set up East Pakistan [otherwise known as East Bengal or Bangla Desh] as an independent Bengal state while at the same time keeping Pakistan from occupying Kashmir.

India could then present the world with a fait accompli, as Israel did in 1967, and the U.N. would be left talking largely to itself. True, India has denounced Israel for doing just what India seems to be doing now, but then consistency never was one of India's strong points.

But assuming this happens, what then? There will still be 10 million starving refugees in India, and countless others as well will be left homeless or jobless by the war. The problem won't go away simply because India is able to install a puppet government in East Bengal.

And if the 75 million predominantly Moslem Bengalis of East Bengal become independent, what will India do about the inevitable desire of perhaps 40 million predominantly Hindu Bengalis in West Bengal to separate from India and join their brethren in a new Bengal state which would then be the sixth most populous country in the world, roughly equal to Pakistan in population and economic strength?

After all, most Bengalis regard themselves as Bengalis first and Hindus or Moslems second. Once this crisis is over, India can't count on their abiding allegiance. West Bengal has been a hotbed of opposition to the New Delhi government and is a stronghold of the Maoist Communist Party even tho the Chinese have

supported Pakistan in the suppression of the East Bengalis.

Would India be willing to restore to East Bengal its prewar share of the world jute market even tho this profitable business is now being diverted to Indian jute mills?

In short, an Indian victory would solve little and would leave India bordered by a vengeful Pakistan and a Red China eager to make up for its loss of face.

The Nixon administration has been accused of favoring Pakistan by pointing out that India, too, must share the blame for the war. But in the view of these liberal critics, impartiality means taking India's [and the Soviet Union's] side and thus encouraging precisely the sort of military solution which they profess to abhor when it doesn't suit their purposes.

Our impartial efforts in the U. N. have the support of a majority of the members [an unaccustomed pleasure for us]. If the U. N. can be prevailed upon to stop the fighting, we shall have performed a worthy humanitarian service. If not, it will be because of the stubbornness of those "peace-loving" countries, the Soviet Union and China, which are so ready with sanctimonious advice when somebody else's fingers are in the fire. In the history books of the future, if nowhere else, we should rate an "A" for effort.

**THE FOREIGN AID APPROPRIATIONS
VOTE**

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, I am reluctantly voting against final passage of the foreign aid appropriations bill. I do not come to this decision easily, but I do so as one who genuinely believes in the necessity for a constructive program of international assistance. My vote, therefore, is not a "farewell to foreign aid," but a vote which seeks to encourage a recognition by both the Executive and Congress that foreign aid has little value if it represents merely the lowest common denominator of tolerance and support.

Some small improvements were reached during the course of the debate today such as in the provision of \$150 million for the Inter-American Development Bank. However, the changes which were voted fell considerably short both of the intentions we had in the authorizing legislation, and of the real requirements of our national interest.

The departure from the normal procedures of voting appropriations only subsequent to final approval by the full Congress of authorizing legislation lacked justification. Furthermore, I do not feel the action taken by the House is likely to break the legislative impasse which exists on the foreign aid bill.

Among the principal deficiencies in the appropriations legislation is the failure to even compromise on a sum for the United Nations development program; the imbalance which exists between economic aid which is developmental and humanistic as against aid which is primarily military in its character; the low

level of funding for most of the multi-lateral and international aid agencies; and the very tight budget for the Peace Corps.

In addition, this bill is too much a receptacle of extraneous, and in some cases, hasty policy judgments. It does little to set foreign aid on a newer and firmer course as both the President and many Members of Congress have espoused.

Under these circumstances, I feel the wisest and more honest course is to vote against this bill on final passage.

DOCK STRIKES COSTING AMERICAN AGRICULTURE SEVERE ECONOMIC LOSSES

HON. MARK ANDREWS

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, current dock strikes are costing American agriculture severe economic losses. Farmers and farm commodity exports are forced to suffer even though the contracts in dispute do not pertain to grain and oil seed stevedoring. During Senate subcommittee hearings November 5 of this year, private efforts to separate grain handling from other reoccurring dock strike issues were described by an executive of a major exporting company, H. Robert Diercks. The proposal outlined in his testimony would not interfere with labor and management attempts to work out differences, but it does present an alternative that could have averted farm export losses estimated upwards of \$500 million this year alone.

In order that my colleagues will be able to share these remarks, I am inserting Mr. Diercks' statement in the RECORD:

TESTIMONY OF H. ROBERT DIERCKS

My name is H. Robert Diercks. I am Vice Chairman of the Board of Cargill, Incorporated, Minneapolis. I am appearing here today as chairman of an informal association of firms operating all of the grain, soybean and soybean product export facilities from Maine to Texas. The purpose of my testimony today is to describe the efforts this association has made to avoid or to minimize the impact on farm exports of dock strikes.

In the past quarter century our facilities have been closed by strikes of longshoremen on the expiration of labor contracts eight consecutive times. Although Taft-Hartley injunctions have been issued in each case except the present one, losses to producers and handlers of grains and oilseeds have been enormous. When bulk loading facilities are closed in these Atlantic Gulf ports, surpluses back up in the pipe line, depressing farm prices, tying up storage and transportation facilities and forcing layoffs of workers throughout the system. Most important in the longer term, foreign buyers who otherwise might rely on the United States as their principal supplier, must seek other arrangements to fill immediate needs and to protect against such interruptions in the future.

There is little justification for tying up grain and oilseed handling facilities in these

strikes. The issues involved in stevedoring these commodities are seldom difficult to resolve. The issues mainly responsible for prolonged dock strikes in recent years—the handling of containerized cargo and the guaranteed annual wage—have not been serious problems in our industry. Grain and related bulk commodities have never been handled in containers. The principal issue in the current strike—the guaranteed annual wage in the Port of New York—does not apply to us at all. Grain has not been handled in the Port of New York for many years.

Despite the absence of serious issues, we have been forced to take costly strikes (1) because we have little voice in the maritime associations and their negotiating committees and (2) the real parties in interest—the steamship companies and general cargo handlers who dominate these associations and the longshoremen who work the docks—do have serious differences and neither is as vulnerable to the damage produced by strikes.

Thus, even though few serious issues have existed between longshoremen and stevedores who handle grains and related bulk commodities, we have been forced to take strikes that inflict great damage on a broad segment of the nation's economy because the decisions on which the strikes have hinged have been controlled by others who do have serious problems and who are less damaged by the effects of strikes.

The strike of longshoremen three years ago was the most costly in our history.

Shortly after the strike ended, my company resolved to try to avoid a similar experience when the newly formed contract expired this year. We entered into discussions with other firms who shared our interests—those firms which comprise the association for whom I am appearing today—and found broad agreement that something should be done to break the pattern of the past. Being the conduit by which these commodities reach foreign markets, this group felt a deep responsibility to the farm community to be able to perform this service. We concluded that this might be accomplished in either one of two ways:

First, we could insist in each of the employer associations that stevedoring firms handling grain and related bulk commodities be permitted to negotiate separately the issues that applied only to the handling of these commodities. Once these issues were resolved, work could continue even though general cargo operations were struck. Firms handling these commodities would agree to be bound on a retroactive basis by the more general terms ultimately negotiated by the committee representing the employer association.

Or, secondly, firms operating facilities for the export of grains and other related bulk commodities could form their own stevedoring companies whose sole activity would be restricted to stevedoring those commodities. These firms would form their own employer association in each port and negotiate a separate contract with the union.

Under either arrangement, these operations could continue or resume even though the more general issues in the broader negotiation remained unresolved.

In July, 1970 an informal organization of these firms was formed and a steering committee appointed to explore these and other alternatives with the International Longshoreman's Association and with the employer associations in Atlantic and Gulf ports. On September 30, 1970, the steering committee met with the president of the International Longshoreman's Association. They were assured that separate negotiations were acceptable but that all coasts (which was interpreted to mean the Atlantic and Gulf coasts) must be negotiated together

though the negotiations could take account of local conditions. Subsequently, meetings were arranged with the leaders of key employer associations in Atlantic and Gulf ports to explore the possibility of new arrangements which would permit separate negotiation of issues applying only to the handling of grain and other related bulk commodities. The employer associations flatly rejected any such arrangements.

At a meeting of our association on June 4, 1971 it was agreed that members would form their own stevedoring companies to handle only grains and other related bulk commodities and that these new stevedoring firms would organize their own associations in each Atlantic and Gulf port to negotiate separate contracts for the handling of these commodities.

On June 22, 1971, as chairman of the association, I wrote to the president of the International Longshoreman's Association asking for another meeting "to make sure we are in a position when the present contract expires to negotiate successfully a separate contract on behalf of our members if it is necessary to avoid a strike. . . ." Receiving no response, on July 15, 1971 I telephoned him restating our request for a meeting. At that time he said he was preoccupied with a meeting of his association but would call to arrange a meeting with us after July 26. No such call was received.

On September 30, 1971, the day the then current agreement was to expire, Mr. Jerry Jenks, then chairman of our negotiating committee, wired the president of the International Longshoreman's Association expressing our urgent desire to meet and requesting that he name a negotiating committee and set a time and a place for negotiations. No response to that wire has been received.

The following day the International Longshoreman's Association struck Atlantic and East Gulf ports. Subsequently, we urged the President to invoke Taft-Hartley to reopen Atlantic and East Gulf ports or alternatively, to invoke the Act selectively to reopen facilities handling grain and other related bulk products in these ports during the critical harvest months.

As you know, the President has not responded to these requests.

On October 14, 1971, I addressed a letter to the president of the International Longshoreman's Association reviewing our past discussion. I reminded him that we were prepared to discuss the three areas of major concern to him—namely, a contract covering ports from Maine to Texas, a guaranteed annual wage and wage rates and related benefits.

We are still hopeful that the ILA will agree to proceed with negotiations with stevedores handling only grains and other related bulk commodities, despite the discouraging lack of response to our repeated requests that a committee representing the ILA be named and a date for discussions set. For the moment, at least, the issue is clouded by the injunction granted in the Port of New Orleans, the decision of longshoremen in at least one other port to follow New Orleans and the decision of other maritime unions to picket on a selective basis the loading of certain vessels of foreign registry. However, if our efforts fail, a legislative solution to the problems I have described seems essential. At peak loading periods no more than 500 to 700 longshoremen are employed in the handling of grains and related bulk commodities at Atlantic and Gulf ports. The interests of these few workers, most of whom derive their principal income from other sources, cannot justify prolonged strikes at regular intervals that inflict heavy damage on a broad sector of the nation's economy.

Thank you.

**EDGAR POE ELECTED PRESIDENT
OF THE GRIDIRON CLUB OF
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, it was a great pleasure for me to learn recently that my longtime friend, Edgar Poe, the Washington correspondent of the New Orleans Times-Picayune, has been elected president of the Gridiron Club of Washington, D.C.

The Gridiron Club, as we all know, is an organization of veteran Washington journalists which brings together annually representatives of the Press Corps and of Government for the purpose of spoofing public officials.

Ed Poe's election comes as good news to his many friends and especially to those of us who hold public office. I can recommend him to you as a man of unusual fairness and objectivity, whose credentials as a reporter make him eminently qualified to stoke the gridiron griddle.

Let me tell you about this distinguished reporter who has been my good friend for almost 30 years:

Ed Poe was born in Jasper, Ala., and has been a reporter just about ever since. He joined the Times-Picayune in the spring of 1930, and mastered the art of political reporting by covering the politics of Louisiana and Mississippi. After a stint as a war correspondent in the South Pacific—which must have seemed tame by comparison—he joined the Washington Bureau of the Times-Picayune and he has been here ever since.

In addition to his membership in the Gridiron Club, he is vice president of the White House Correspondents Association, treasurer of the Overseas Writer, and a member and former president of the Washington Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, the honorary journalism fraternity.

All of this tells us about Ed Poe the professional, but I will advise you that he is more than an outstanding reporter: He is a fine person, and I am proud to number myself among his many friends.

His election as president of the Gridiron Club is, of course, a great honor, but it is only a small measure of the esteem and admiration he enjoys from all of us.

To Ed Poe and his wonderful family, I express my warmest congratulations on this happy honor.

Mr. Speaker, I am inserting an article from the Times-Picayune of Sunday, December 5, and calling it to the attention of my colleagues:

**TIMES-PICAYUNE'S POE NEW PRESIDENT OF
NATIONAL GRIDIRON CLUB—DISTRICT OF
COLUMBIA CORRESPONDENT IS ELECTED BY
UNIT**

(By James Free)

WASHINGTON.—Edgar A. Poe, The Times-Picayune Washington correspondent, Saturday was elected President of the Gridiron

Club, an institution unique in American journalism.

Since 1885 this country's biggest wheels have been spoofed in skits and songs and sizzled on the verbal griddle by the Gridiron Club, the active membership of which is limited to 50 Washington-based newspaper correspondents and editors.

All Presidents of the United States, in the club's 86 years, with the sole exception of Grover Cleveland, have attended one or more of the club's annual white tie dinners.

Poe succeeds Jack Bell of the Gannett News Service. Other officers elected were Robert Roth, on The Philadelphia Bulletin, vice president; Jack Steele, Scripps-Howard newspapers, secretary; Richard L. Wilson, Des Moines Register and Tribune, treasurer; and Jerald Terhorst, Detroit News, historian.

EXECUTIVE PANEL

Elected to the executive committee were: Rudolph Kauffman II, Washington Evening Star; Julius Frandson, United Press International; and Lucian C. Warren, Buffalo News. Poe, who has been a Washington correspondent for The Times-Picayune since March, 1947, was nominated for the presidency by Newbold Noyes, Washington Evening Star, and the seconding speech was by Philip Potter, Baltimore Sun.

Following the club's annual business meeting earlier in the day, Poe delivered his acceptance address at the annual "closed" black tie dinner at the Statler Hilton Hotel.

A native of Jasper, Ala., Poe was a reporter on the Birmingham Age-Herald for a short time before joining The Times-Picayune staff on Easter Sunday in 1930. He covered Louisiana politics during the Huey Long era, reported activities of the Louisiana and Mississippi Legislature, served as Mississippi correspondent for The Times-Picayune and was a war correspondent in the Pacific.

ASSIGNED IN 1947

He was assigned to the Washington Bureau of The Times-Picayune in 1947, working with Paul Wooton until Wooton's death on Feb. 16, 1961. Poe is vice-president of the White House Correspondents Association, treasurer of the Overseas Writers, a former president of the Washington chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, a former member of the standing committee of correspondents (at the U.S. Capitol.)

In 1967, Poe was cited for "distinguished Washington correspondence" by the University of Alabama alumni National capital charter.

With Treasury Secretary John B. Connally, Jr., the ranking guest at the little "closed" dinner Saturday, the gridiron chorus, under the direction of Col. Albert F. Schoepper of the U.S. Marine Band, sang the "Edgar Allen Poe Song" to the tune of "Way Down Yonder in New Orleans." The dinner followed the business session earlier in the day.

The lyrics to the song follow:

Look who's made it from New Orleans

Just as southern as turnip greens

He's a Dixieland dandy

A good ol' boy.

Gridiron Clubbers all yell hurrah!

Every meetin's a Mardi Gras Stop!

A handy man, a corn pone knight,

When we rehearse

Stop!

(He'll loosen up all that is tight

(And vice-e verse

(Chorus)

(Gestures chairman to pres-i-dent

(How is that for extremes?

(That's our Ed-die from New Orleans.

That's our Ed-die from New Orleans.

Poe in his five-minute acceptance speech following the song, told fellow Gridironers and the cabinet officers:

"I don't expect to go to Peking with President Nixon in February, but things look favorable for me to go with him to New Orleans in January for the Super Bowl. And that's not Picayune."

There were numerous other quips.

During the evening retiring president Bell passed the Gridiron gavel to his successor with warm congratulations.

**HOW MANY CHILDREN ARE GOING
TO DIE TODAY?**

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, on December 30, 1970, President Nixon signed into law the Poison Prevention Packaging Act. It had been passed by the Congress in response to an appalling situation which to this day continues to exist.

Each year, 600,000 American children under age 5 are poisoned by ingestion of hazardous substances. This comes to approximately 6,000 daily, or about one every 30 seconds. At least one such child dies every day of the year, because of this kind of poisoning. For each one that dies, at least one other is crippled for life.

What poisons them? Everyday household products sold in most stores across the Nation. All are marketed by industry with a fine disregard for safety. Lye, oil of wintergreen, aspirin, prescription drugs, furniture polishes, antifreeze, pesticides, mothballs, Drano, gasoline, and cosmetics are only a few such products. Any detergent, particularly those with caustic substances will annihilate a young child if enough is swallowed. This situation is widely known, and has been discussed ad infinitum, ad nauseum.

What might the answer be? Safety closures costing a fraction of a cent each, which are technically feasible and patented by the dozen. All are easily available to industry, if it seeks to utilize them.

This is exactly what the 1970 law sought. It simply requires that all hazardous, commercially available substances be labeled as such for the purpose of being equipped by industry with safety closures. It also requires standards of effectiveness for such safety closures to insure that they will resist efforts of the overwhelming majority of children to open them.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is charged with responsibility for enforcing this measure. Its subsidiary, the Food and Drug Administration, is the immediate organization charged with consumer well being. Specifically, the Product Safety Division of FDA is supposed to lead the way in alleviating this intolerable situation the law was passed to correct. Sad to say, none of the Government organizations mentioned have seen fit to even partially live up to their responsibilities. The public and Congress should be made aware

of what is going on. In microcosm, what has happened to the Poison Prevention Packaging Act sums up what is wrong with our National Government's administrative apparatus.

In March, when the President proclaimed National Poison Prevention Week, Mr. Secretary Richardson, charged with overall supervision of the law, was off in Utah on a skiing vacation.

After months of prodding by concerned citizens, the media and Ralph Nader, FDA finally got around to appointing a Technical Advisory Committee. This group was supposed to meet in Washington, determine which products were dangerous enough to young children to require safety closures, and set standards of efficacy for them. Only two such gatherings have taken place since the measure became law.

A testing protocol was supposed to be set up, finalized, and published in the Federal Register. Under its terms, selected groups of children under age 5 were to be assembled and used to test different safety closures. From such tests, FDA could lay down standards which closures had to live up to, and inform all involved manufacturers what their responsibilities under the law were. For example, aspirin, which is responsible for approximately one-quarter of all poisonings, would have to be sold with closures 85 percent effective against the efforts of these groups of children to open containers. After being shown how to open the closures, it would have to be proof against the efforts of 80 percent of the test group to open them. Ninety percent of all adults had to be able to open the same containers.

Under persistent prodding, FDA published in the Federal Register standards for aspirin, oil of wintergreen, oil-based furniture polishes, and prescription drugs. Each was to conform to 85 percent standards of efficacy in safety closures. A 30-day period was set aside for comments by the affected manufacturers.

Meanwhile, the final form and publication of the testing protocol has been unconscionably delayed. Because the eventual ground rules for testing have been so delayed, manufacturers have been able to obtain one delay after another on specific action on closures themselves. Meanwhile, children die and are poisoned daily by the thousands.

Ten and one-half months have elapsed since we passed this law. The general public still operates under the delusion that somewhere, somehow, Government is protecting them against such menaces. In this case, such is not the case.

Mr. Speaker, I look upon the Food and Drug Administration as something of a shrieking disgrace. The daily papers are replete with one horror story after another involving this agency and its non-performance of its most vital responsibilities. When one agency or another fails to perform up to par, we can rightly bemoan it. But when FDA falls down, as it does constantly nowadays, people are killed or crippled for life; in this case, small children.

A cursory inspection of any compart-

ment under a sink or any medicine cabinet yields a frightening harvest. Dozens of daily products, available in any drug store or market, are lethal when ingested by a young child. The law is plain, and FDA's responsibility is fixed. How, then, can this agency so blatantly abdicate its charge by the public?

In mid-July, Dr. Edwards, head of FDA, appeared before the Senate Commerce Committee. At the time he pledged that a series of standards requiring safety closures for hazardous products would be forthcoming at a rate of one a week for 10 weeks. This has not taken place.

Industry, loathe to spend even a pittance for child safety willingly, has been actively lobbying against strict enforcement of the law. Are we to conclude that FDA listens more attentively to such voices than to the mandate of the Congress? Do small children's lives mean so little to them.

A holiday season is almost upon us once again. Many young children will die and be crippled for life, because of further inaction on this measure. Such a situation is to me utterly intolerable. Further delays are inexcusable. Further extensions for those products already under notice are just as inexcusable.

Twenty-four hours from now, another 6,000 youngsters will have been poisoned by poisonous substances. What will the administration do to enforce this law? Or will we continue to allow the slaughter of innocents?

MY FRIEND TURNER ROBERTSON

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 9, 1971

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to my friend, Turner N. Robertson, majority Chief Page of the House of Representatives.

Always a cheerful, humble, dedicated employee of the House of Representatives, and a true friend of all of the Representatives. Honor, ability, and integrity have always been the hallmarks of Turner Robertson's long career in the House of Representatives. With his ability, kindness, and understanding, he handled every assignment with dignity and honor. He has been a commanding figure throughout his long tenure in the House. He has always been a loyal defender of the legislative branch of the Government, and no one ever served in the House of Representatives Chamber who loved the House more than Turner Robertson. History will record the fact that he was recognized by everyone as the outstanding Chief Page of the House of Representatives.

I was sorry to hear that Turner had decided to retire. He will be missed by every Member of the House and all of his associates and employees in the legislative branch of the Government. I want to wish him and the members of his family all the very best in the future.

AN L.B.J. LEGACY

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, a man's background—his family, his home, his experiences, the educational institutions which have him as a pupil—all contribute to his destiny.

One educational institution which helped shaped the destiny of former President Lyndon B. Johnson was Southwest Texas State Teachers College at San Marcos, now named Southwest Texas State University.

The professors at Southwest Texas State, who had Lyndon Johnson as a student, likely never dreamed that one day he would be President of the United States. Perhaps the perception of some of them was such that they expected he had a potential for greatness, but even then they had little inkling just how large a role he would play in shaping and directing history.

However, lack of expectation for this Texas youth, did not prevent Southwest Texas State to invest time and effort in Lyndon Johnson. He had, after all, invested in education, and the college tried to give him all that he expected from that investment.

The Southwest Texas State College did what it should as an institution of higher learning for Lyndon B. Johnson, and has consequently reaped many benefits for fulfilling its mission.

Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of an editorial which appeared in the San Antonio Light, one of the newspapers in my hometown, just following the dedication of the "L.B.J. at San Marcos" exhibition—another good reason why visitors from afar visit the college from which L.B.J. graduated.

The editorial follows:

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Light, Nov. 13, 1971]

AN L. B. J. LEGACY

The College that helped Lyndon B. Johnson to develop his exceptional intellect was casting bread upon the waters and has been reaping its reward.

It is now named Southwest Texas State University. Its reputation has been greatly enhanced by association with the former President. It draws visitors from afar.

The "LBJ at San Marcos" exhibition is the latest attraction. Thousands attended the dedication to get a glimpse of Mr. and Mrs. Johnson and to inspect the physical evidence of the Johnson influence on the nation's educational system.

They saw the desk and chair used by LBJ when he signed the Higher Education Act of 1965. Also on view are copies of the 60 bills dealing with education which bear the signature of President Johnson.

LBJ took the opportunity to give a talk on the importance of education, including passages from his newly published book, "The Vantage Point."

Students of all ages formed the bulk of the audience, and many of them got the LBJ autograph as a souvenir.

INDIVIDUAL SPORTSMAN IS UNJUSTLY CRITICIZED

HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, in our continuing effort to conserve our natural resources, our mountains, our seas, our rivers, our woods, and our wildlife, no single individual is more unjustly criticized than the sportsman who enjoys hunting or fishing or camping in the open air.

He is an outdoorsman and, like his predecessors who hunted for his family's food, respects the out-of-doors and wishes to see it preserved and protected.

His contributions to the cause of ecology have seldom been so well-explained as in the attached article by Mr. Henry Stowers, outdoors editor of the Dallas Morning News.

It is well for those who advance the cause of ecology to look at the other side of the picture before concentrating their fire on those who give and who have given them so much of the financial aid upon which their protectionist campaign depends.

The article follows:

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, Nov. 19, 1971]

HENRY STOWERS—ON AND ON . . . ON AND ON

The newly-spawned crop of econuts, those neophytes in environment and ecology who nevertheless have set themselves up as instant experts, have been giving the hunter a rough time.

Self-appointed critics have the irrational view that hunters threaten wildlife with extinction through legalized hunting. And, unfortunately, their emotional tirades make the kind of sensational headlines preferred by the news media.

First off, one must consider that the econuts have nothing to offer and have never offered any more than a lot of words. Facts hardly stand a chance, and certainly have no place in their quack solutions to environmental problems.

A good example is the hue and cry they have raised against the Alaskan oil pipeline, claiming it's spillage will ruin fine fishing streams and that big animals will go down the drain from oil pollution. A more recent example is the suit aimed to stop the Trinity Navigation Canal. Another is the super-sonic transport ban. Then there was the screams against the recent nuclear test shot.

Old-time Alaskans, particularly those familiar with the great outdoors of that state, look with amazement at the controversy about the pipeline while at the same time something far more damaging is causing not even a small voice raised in protest. This is the bold movement of Japanese and Russian cannery ships right into the mouth of Alaskan rivers and bays and with ten-mile nets hauling in millions of tons of migrating salmon and tuna.

This kind of information, available to anyone, is hugely ignored by the news media and by the neophyte ecologists. But here are some of them anyway. Perhaps just one arm-chair expert will have an open mind.

Last year hunters paid a record \$101,607,879 in license fees which came from 15,370,481 hunters.

The fees from 24,434,680 fishermen's licenses brought in a whopping \$90,864,154. These are official Department of the Interior statistics.

Add those together and for last year you can see that hunters and fishermen through their licenses alone shelled out \$198 million-plus dollars that all went into conservation and game and fish management. And it also adds up to the fact that no game or fish species that ever legally pursued by the outdoorsman has ever become extinct. Protected species by the dozens, on the other hand have disappeared while the hunted species continues to thrive.

Hunters and fishermen asked for and got a special excise tax on just about every item connected with their sport. And in addition to the hunting and fishing licenses this tax brought in a total of \$43,905,000 last year which was returned to states for research and game and fish conservation projects.

We can see the American sportsmen furnished over \$235 million last year alone for protection management and research of the natural resources they harvest. They've been doing it for years, long before the word ecology was ever heard of. The econuts have contributed, so far as the record shows, nothing but words and harassment.

The facts boil down to the answer that hunting is a functional tool of conservation in its truly practical form. Hunters harvest the surplus but they replenish the supply. This is a surplus that would partly be removed anyway by predators, sickness, age, starvation and many other built-in controls nature has provided.

The econuts could possibly do some good with their millions of words against the hunter if they would aim them at destroyers of wildlife habitat and polluters of forests and streams. For habitat destruction is the real threat to wildlife, not hunting.

ADMINISTRATION SUPPORT FOR PRESCRIPTION DRUGS UNDER MEDICARE

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Wire column in today's Wall Street Journal carries an item of special interest to me and the 113 Members cosponsoring my bill to provide outpatient prescription drug coverage under medicare. The item reads:

New aid to the aged? HEW Secretary Richardson, on a cue from Nixon, pushes hard for Medicare payment for drugs needed by nonhospital patients. Any administration proposal would likely cover only drugs used to treat chronic illness. Old folks might have to pay part. Even so, the government's cost could reach \$1 billion a year.

Without accepting the \$1 billion estimate for a program limited to those who are chronically ill, I am pleased nonetheless to learn that the administration will be supporting the concept embodied in this bill (H.R. 2355), of which the chief features are:

First, coverage of prescription drugs and certain nonprescription drugs of special life-sustaining value;

Second, financing under the part A—payroll tax—portion of medicare—un-

like most other proposals, which would finance drug insurance through higher monthly premiums under the part B portion;

Third, selection by a formulary committee of the drugs to be covered;

Fourth, \$1 copayment by the purchaser for each prescription.

Clearly, administration support enhances the chances that this bill can be enacted in the second session of this Congress.

MONTHLY LIST OF GAO REPORTS

HON. JACK BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, the Comptroller General's monthly list of his reports is proving to be a valuable and time-saving device for members and their staffs. Requests to the General Accounting Office for copies of its reports have increased sharply since the first monthly list was issued to the Congress on February 5, 1971.

The list was a requirement of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970, and I am pleased that it obviously has stimulated more interest in the work of that Office which, as you know, is an arm of the Congress.

The list of reports issued during the month of November 1971 follows:

LIST OF REPORTS

I. REPORTS TO CONGRESS, COMMITTEES, OR MEMBERS

Commerce and Transportation

Site selection and contract awards for construction and mechanization of the New York Bulk and Foreign Mail Facility, United States Postal Service. B-171594 of October 29, 1971, released by Representative H. R. Gross, November 10.

The cost of the facility will substantially exceed the initial cost estimates because of problems in site selection and preparation, selection of contractors for architect and engineering services, contract award and evaluation, and a sole-source procurement of parcel-sorting machines.

Savings available by consolidating certain reserve fleet activities. Departments of Commerce and Defense. B-168700 of November 18.

The Maritime Administration, the Navy, and—to a lesser extent—the Army maintain inactive vessels at reserve fleet sites on the east, west, and Gulf coasts. They have a common mission of preserving the reserve fleets in the best condition possible with available funds in case they are needed for commercial or national defense purposes.

Because the reserve fleet activities of these agencies are similar and fleet sites are close to each other, GAO reviewed the situation to see if it would be practicable to consolidate the management of Maritime, Navy, and Army fleet sites in the Beaumont, Texas, and San Francisco, California, areas. It would be.

Maritime was receptive to the idea of working with the Navy and the Army to achieve the proposed consolidation of reserve fleet functions and advised GAO that it would be appropriate to make a concurrent study of the feasibility of consolidating other reserve fleets.

Audit of financial statements of St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, calendar year 1970. Department of Transportation. B-125007 of November 18.

In the opinion of the General Accounting Office, the financial statements of the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation present fairly the financial position of the Corporation at December 31, 1970, and the results of its operations and the source and application of its funds for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year and with applicable Federal laws. This report contains no recommendations or suggestions requiring action by the Congress.

Progress and problems of Urban and Transportation Planning. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Department of Transportation. B-174182 of November 19.

Urban and transportation planning is being carried on, with Federal support, in every major metropolitan area. This review concentrates on urban and transportation planning for the Detroit metropolitan area because of its size and advanced planning process. To gain a broader perspective of urban planning, GAO also made limited inquiries into the planning structures of 15 other metropolitan areas.

Detroit has a continuing planning process which has made, and should continue to make, some contribution to urban growth by developing plans for land use and transportation systems. GAO found that the situation in Detroit was similar to that of many other metropolitan areas. The Congress has under consideration several legislative proposals relating to urban and transportation planning. In view of the character and magnitude of urban planning problems, this report contains information which may be useful.

Growth and use of Washington area airports. Federal Aviation Agency, Department of Transportation. B-159719 of August 18, 1971, released by Senator William B. Spong, Jr., October 7, 1971.

The majority of jet service to the Washington area is furnished at its National Airport, near the center of the city. National is used at virtually maximum allowable levels, whereas the use of Dulles International Airport, near Leesburg, Virginia, continues to be at a minimum much of the time.

Air carriers' schedules have resulted in a high use of Dulles during certain peak hours and virtually no use at other times and uniform use of National throughout the working day.

Because the use of Dulles has declined significantly since late 1969 and because FAA has tended to overestimate growth in the use of Dulles, the planned expansion of the Dulles terminal facilities seems to be questionable. Expansion would serve to accommodate the air carriers in their practice of scheduling most of their service during a limited peak period of the day.

Although a 1969 study found that FAA could take action to create a better balance in the use of the two airports, GAO found no indication that such action had been planned.

Education and manpower

Follow-up review of selected areas of financial and property administration of Federal City College, District of Columbia Government. B-167006 of March 15, 1971, released by Senator William B. Spong, Jr., November 4.

In GAO's prior report (August 1969), deficiencies were found in the administration of certain funds, tuition collection, accountability over supplies and equipment, and the college's control over allotted funds. The follow-up disclosed these types of improvements are still needed.

Opportunity to reduce federal costs under the Law Enforcement Education Program.

Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Department of Justice. B-171019 of November 3.

Under the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration grants are made to institutions of higher learning to improve the educational levels of those employed, or preparing for employment, in police, courts and correction services.

Funds advanced in fiscal years 1969 and 1970 were, respectively, \$6.5 million to 485 institutions and \$17.9 million to 735 institutions. In 1971, \$21 million was appropriated for the program. Because the institutions overestimated their needs, they accumulated large amounts of the unexpended funds for use in the succeeding fiscal year. This resulted in increased and unnecessary Federal interest costs of about \$440,000 from January 1969 through August 1970.

The Department of Justice is taking action to delay issuing funds to schools until the last possible moment and provide for the funding of institutional needs on a school-term basis.

General Government

Fees not charged for processing applications for new drugs. Food and Drug Administration; Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. B-164031(2) of November 4.

Under general Government policy, Federal agencies charge fees for services provided when these services result in special benefits beyond those which accrue to the public at large.

The Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act contains no specific requirement that FDA charge fees for processing applications for new drugs. FDA's costs of providing these services averaged \$3.9 million annually for fiscal years 1968-70, or about 5 percent of its total operating costs.

GAO recommends that the Secretary, HEW, establish fees for the services rendered by FDA unless the results of a study by HEW convincingly demonstrate that such fees should not be established.

Fees allowed nonsponsored not-for-profit organizations by various Government Agencies. B-146810 of November 26.

In February 1969, GAO reported a need to improve Federal agencies' guidelines for contracting research work with Government-sponsored, nonprofit contractors. These are organizations sponsored by an agency which has assumed responsibility for providing sufficient work and revenues to ensure retention of capabilities needed by the Government.

In addition to contracting with sponsored nonprofit organizations, Government agencies during fiscal year 1969 obligated about \$260 million for basic and applied research to be performed by unsponsored, not-for-profit institutions (other than colleges and universities).

In this review, GAO examined agency policies and practices in the allowance of fees to unsponsored organizations. Most Federal agencies, GAO believes, have not given adequate recognition to the tax-exempt status of nonprofit organizations nor to the need for an appropriate adjustment of fees to place them on an equitable basis with commercial competitors. Accordingly, they may have a competitive advantage when dealing with Government agencies.

Health

Alcoholism among military personnel. B-164031(2) of November 2.

This review, made at the request of the Chairman, Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Narcotics, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, shows that although the incidence of alcoholism in the military population may be no greater than that of the civilian, it could be a more serious problem because of the dangerous and critical duties frequently required of servicemen.

Humanitarian benefits, as well as substantial savings, can be realized from the estab-

lishment of a comprehensive alcoholism control program for military personnel, which GAO recommended. Alcoholism rehabilitation programs have been formally established at some military installations, and DOD has recently established a task force to study all aspects of alcohol abuse among military personnel.

Consumer and marketing service's enforcement of Federal Sanitation Standards at poultry plants continues to be weak. Department of Agriculture. B-163450 of November 16.

This is a follow-up review of poultry plants reported on by GAO two years ago to determine if the Consumer and Marketing Service had improved the enforcement of sanitation standards.

Actions taken by the Consumer and Marketing Service have not been successful in achieving adequate enforcement at the 68 plants GAO visited. For each of the plants, supervisory inspectors, who accompanied GAO and evaluated each plant for compliance with the agency's standards, reported deficiencies. These varied from plant to plant.

Many of the sanitation deficiencies appeared to have existed over a long period. GAO considers the situation indicative of a lack of strong, day-to-day enforcement by the agency's plant inspectors and of a lack of effective supervisory review. Weaknesses in the agency's enforcement of sanitation standards may be widespread.

The Congress may wish to consider the matters discussed in this and earlier reports in connection with a number of measures now before the Congress. These measures include bills to establish a separate Department of Consumer Affairs and the President's Reorganization Plan which would transfer the agency's poultry and meat inspection activities to a proposed Department of Human Resources.

Problems in paying for services of supervisory and teaching physicians in hospitals under medicare. Social Security Administration; Department of Health, Education and Welfare. B-164031(4) of November 17.

GAO has reported on Medicare payments to supervisory and teaching physicians for their services at six hospitals having graduate medical education programs. This report summarizes problems discussed in the six individual reports.

Problems existed in the administration of the fee-for-service method of making Medicare payments for the services of supervisory and teaching physicians. The problems do not concern the quality of medical care provided—described authoritatively as excellent—but raise questions as to whether the traditional fee-for-service method of payment is suitable in many teaching hospitals under the program.

Legislation being considered by the Congress would change the basis of reimbursement for supervisory and teaching physicians from a fee-for-service basis to a cost-reimbursement basis, with certain exceptions. The proposed legislation, if enacted, should help resolve the major problems noted during its reviews.

International Affairs and Finance

Opportunities for increasing effectiveness of overseas trade exhibitions. Department of Commerce and State. B-135239 of November 4.

The Department of Commerce, for many years, had organized and administered a variety of trade promotion programs to expand U.S. exports. This report focuses on two—trade center shows and trade and industrial exhibitions—and should be of timely interest to the Congress because of the recent erosion of the U.S. trade surplus and its effect on the U.S. balance of payments.

National defense

Summary of estimated costs of major weapons, June 30, 1971. Department of De-

fense, B-163058 of November 3; released by the Chairman, Subcommittee on Priorities and Economy in Government, Joint Economic Committee, November 8.

Information provided by the Department shows that the estimated cost to complete 45 individual weapon systems has decreased \$3,711 million during the preceding 12 months. However, this net decrease consists of an increase of \$1,349 million for Army weapons, a decrease of \$7,485 million for the Navy, and an increase of \$2,425 million for the Air Force. The report discusses individually those weapons accounting for the major changes.

Opportunity for savings in providing war risk insurance for contractor property and employees. Departments of Defense, State, and Commerce. B-172699 of November 9.

The Department of Defense and the Agency for International Development generally reimbursed Government contractors for the cost of insurance purchased to provide protection against war hazards to their property and employees.

However, the cost of war risk insurance to the Government has substantially exceeded the losses experienced by its contractors. This is true for insurance purchased for contractor-owned vessels, contractor employees, and third-country nationals.

The report includes several recommendations to correct practices followed by the agencies concerned.

Audit of payments from special fund to Lockheed Aircraft program during the quarter ended September 30. Department of Defense. B-162578 of November 17.

This is the second GAO report on the audit of payments from the special fund to Lockheed Aircraft Corporation for the C-5A aircraft program, covering the quarter ended September 30, 1971.

The audit was made pursuant to section 504, Public Law 91-441, which authorized \$200 million of interim funding for the C-5A aircraft program to be paid through a special bank account. These funds may be expended for reasonable and allocable direct and indirect costs.

The review revealed no payments to Lockheed from the special bank account during the quarter ended September 30, 1971, that were contrary to Public Law 91-441. However, GAO is giving increased attention to the reasonableness of the labor costs.

II. REPORTS TO HEADS OF DEPARTMENT AND AGENCIES

Need to detect and correct military pay errors prior to member's separation from the service, Department of the Army. (To the Secretary of Defense.) B-125037 of November 3.

The Army continues to separate thousands of servicemen each month who are either overpaid or underpaid, at an annual cost of millions.

More timely and realistic evaluation needed for Capital Development Projects in Pakistan. (To the Administrator, Agency for International Development.) B-158613 of November 10.

The economic development of Pakistan could have been greater if AID and the Government of Pakistan had given more attention to finding solutions to problems as they developed.

Greater coordination needed in the management of career programs for civilian trainees. (To the Secretary of Defense.) B-164682 of November 12.

While definitive directives were issued by the Department as far back as 1955, there is considerable difference in the progress made by each of the military services.

Utilization of aid-financed fertilizer to increase agricultural production in India. (To the Administrator, Agency for International Development.) B-161854 of November 16.

Because India was unable to handle the quantity of fertilizer available under the program, and because of favorable weather that decreased demand, fertilizer worth \$70 million was unused.

Observations on the management of Department of Defense periodicals. (To the Secretary of Defense.) B-160146 of November 18.

GAO identified several areas where improvements might be made in the approval and distribution of DoD periodicals.

Relocation of public roads caused by construction of water resources projects. (To the Secretary of the Interior.) B-169174 of November 19.

This report informs the Bureau of Reclamation of a recent decision of the Comptroller General which requires substitute roads be constructed to match current, not projected, traffic loads.

Need for improved controls in the automated central payroll system of the Department of Agriculture. (To the Secretary of Agriculture.) B-146951 of November 29.

Management controls over certain manual aspects of the system need to be strengthened to increase its efficiency and effectiveness, and to minimize the potential for irregularities.

III. COMPTROLLER GENERAL DECISIONS

A decision by the Comptroller General rendered to the Secretary of the Army recommended that a contract awarded to Optic Electronics Corporation be terminated for the convenience of the Government since the record established that award was made to other than the low responsive bidder. GAO further recommended that award of the procurement be made to Thompson Optical Engineering Corporation if its low bid is still available for acceptance and it is otherwise eligible for award under the invitation. B-173563 of November 12.

DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, on December 9, 1971, the Nation suffered a great loss, the death of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche.

Dr. Bunche was known and respected by all. He was a man who dedicated his entire life to peace and the recognition that all men are truly brothers.

Dr. Bunche who held the title as Under Secretary General of Special Political Affairs, was the top American in the United Nations until his recent retirement on October 1.

He initiated the formula for indirect negotiations that led to the Arab Israeli agreement on the island of Rhodes, and in 1950 received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. He played a key role in the 1956 negotiations that led to the stationing of a U.N. emergency force in Palestine after the Suez crisis. Dr. Bunche's most important contribution was his capacity for objective analysis and he will not soon be forgotten for his undying integrity. I know my colleagues join me in expressing my deep regret at the death of this great statesman and disciple of peace.

THE PRESIDENT'S OEO VETO

HON. EDWIN B. FORSYTHE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. FORSYTHE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday evening President Nixon vetoed legislation extending the Office of Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, creating a new National Legal Services Corporation and establishing a comprehensive child development program.

On Tuesday of this week, this House approved this very far-reaching legislation. I reluctantly cast my vote in the negative in the hopes that unworkable provisions could be improved by conferees so that the veto could have been avoided.

Fortunately, we have been able to continue OEO and its important existing programs, such as Headstart and Job Corps, by attaching these provisions to a supplementary appropriations bill.

However, this does not revive the Legal Services Corporation program, which I strongly favored and would have supported had we been able to vote on it separately from the OEO Extension Act.

I was an early cosponsor of legal services legislation when it was introduced in the opening months of this session. I will continue to support and seek the reforms that are needed in this program to remove politics and to make it more accountable to the American people.

However, I could not support this comprehensive legislation in view of the absolute mess that was created from originally responsible child development legislation.

The conference report which I opposed, and which the President vetoed, contained provisions that would have made it impossible for this Government to fulfill the promise of comprehensive child assistance that was contained in the bill.

The conferees' proposal would have cost at least \$2 billion—and the President has projected up to \$20 billion—per year. And, there was no guarantee that the program, because of the bureaucratic mish-mash that would have resulted, could have been at all successful.

Last April 7 I joined a bipartisan group of my colleagues in cosponsoring a workable child development program. But by the time this bill was reported from the conference, the word "workable" could no longer be used to describe it.

Instead of establishing a logical system of having large communities, counties, and the States operate as prime sponsors, the legislation was changed to give this responsibility to towns with as few as 5,000 population.

Any smalltown mayor who has ever worked with a Federal program—even with State assistance—knows the problems of redtape, the stacks of paperwork, that are involved. These communities just do not have the people on the payroll to operate their own child development program.

There is absolutely no logical reason why States, larger cities, and counties

should not be prime sponsors, and at the same time, allow smaller communities to operate their own programs. Local people would still be involved. Parents would still be involved, as is so desirable with a child development program. However, the small community would not be faced with the horrendous task of fending for himself with the Federal bureaucracy. And, the Federal Government would not be faced with receiving mountains of applications for funding which would have to be processed before programs could commence.

It has been estimated that as many as 40,000 applications for funds could flood HEW offices in Washington as a result of this 5,000 population provision. It has been estimated that it would take up to 6 months just to draw the guidelines for the program, had the President given it top priority.

I still favor enacting a responsible program to help the children of this country. I do not favor any concept that would result in Government control of children, and under our original bill, this would not have been the case.

The Congress should make it a matter of high priority in the new session beginning next month to enact a workable child care program—one that continues the concept of getting mothers off the welfare roles and of helping to provide care to youngsters who need this assistance.

The Congress should also make it a matter of priority to approve the Legal Services Corporation proposal, and the President should sign it. This is a sound and realistic program that is badly needed to help the poor.

There is no reason why these programs should die. And, we should not allow this to occur. But, our actions must be responsible.

BIRMINGHAM PLAYERS: OUTSTANDING ON AND OFF THE FIELD

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, the city of Birmingham produces football players outstanding not only on the playing field, but in the classroom as well.

This week, four young men from Birmingham, which I am privileged to represent in the Congress, were named to the Academic All-Southeastern Conference football team, earning grade averages of "B" or better.

These players who were so able to combine an outstanding football record with an equally exceptional academic record include tackle Jimmy Rosser and running back Johnny Musso of the University of Alabama and linebacker Mike Neel and quarterback Pat Sullivan of Auburn University.

As you know, Pat is the Heisman Trophy winner for this year and Johnny is a National Football Foundation scholar. They will be named Southeastern Conference Players of the year next week.

Mike, who is a junior this year, was

chosen the ODK outstanding sophomore on campus in 1970 and was recently elected the "A" club president for 1971-72. Jimmy, an all-American while playing high school football in Birmingham, was the highest grading offensive lineman on his team during his junior year.

We in Birmingham are proud of these young men, Mr. Speaker, and know they will be successful in whatever fields they pursue upon graduation from college.

HON. NATHANIEL DAVIS APPOINTED AMBASSADOR TO CHILE

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, recently the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed the Honorable Nathaniel Davis Ambassador to Chile.

Ambassador Davis is a native of Hoboken, N.J., which I have the great privilege of representing. The residents of Hoboken are extremely proud of Ambassador Davis, whose honor and tremendous achievement reflect upon his home town. I would add that the citizens of Hoboken and Ambassador Davis' family go back a long way, Ambassador Davis' father having served as president of Stevens Institute of Technology for 7 years.

Mr. Speaker, the members of the Hoboken Chapter of UNICO National resolved to honor Ambassador Davis with "sincere public acclaim." I am inserting their resolution in the RECORD.

RESOLUTION

Be it resolved by the Hoboken Chapter, UNICO National, that sincere public acclaim be extended to Hon. Nathaniel Davis of Hoboken, who was recently appointed Ambassador to Chile by President Richard Nixon; and

Be it further resolved that suitable public recognition be extended to Ambassador Davis at the earliest date such as can be arranged with the Ambassador upon his return to the United States from said new Ambassadorial Post; and

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Mayor and Council of the City of Hoboken, to request their participation in an event to memorialize the occasion of world-wide fame achieved by one of its citizens and products of the local environs.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

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

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

How long?

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF TANZANIA

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, exactly one decade ago Tanganyika proudly joined the ranks of independent nations. Throughout this exciting period of history Tanzania, as it was renamed following the union with Zanzibar in 1964, has attracted the attention of developing and developed nations alike. The President of Tanzania, "Mwalimu" Julius K. Nyerere, has developed a political system that has won broad popular support for national goals while encouraging public participation in the country's political and economic development. The system which President Nyerere and Tanzania have constructed is firmly rooted in African tradition.

Tanzania, under the leadership of President Nyerere, has emphasized self-reliance in building a better life for its people.

It has also worked to assist the struggle for self-determination in Southern Africa. Its sponsorship with Zambia of a railroad from Lusaka to Dar es Salaam will open new possibilities for development and progress in the central and southern African region. As well, the railroad will help independent African countries to resist the expansion of South African power. For these reasons, we wish for its successful completion.

On this, the 10th anniversary of their independence, I wish to salute President Nyerere and the people of Tanzania.

EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF KENYA

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, December 12 is the eighth anniversary of Kenya's independence. Its multiracial policies have been in marked contrast to the repressive racist policies of the minority white regimes of southern Africa.

I visited Kenya this year along with Congressmen J. IRVING WHEALLEY, J. HERBERT BURKE, and EDWARD J. DERWINSKI. We witnessed the political stability, economic growth, and progress Kenya is making under the leadership of their President, Jomo Kenyatta. The Kenyan people in their day-to-day activities do, indeed, respond to their country's well-known Swahili motto "Harambee"—all pulling together in the common interest. Many of my other colleagues have visited this beautiful country. The Kenya Government is currently concentrating on the expansion of education, the development of agriculture and livestock resources, and the absorption of greater numbers of subsistence farmers into the wage economy.

Kenya is an active member of the world community of states.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is fitting that as the Kenyan people conclude their eighth year of independence we should take note of the occasion. Therefore, I wish to congratulate President Kenyatta and the people of the Republic of Kenya and wish them prosperity and good fortune in the years ahead.

DEDICATED NURSES

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, the Alaska Nurses Association of Alaska is one of the most active and respected professional organizations in the State. The growth and vitality of this group in Alaska demonstrates the dedication to service and people throughout the State.

One of the best ways I know to familiarize ourselves with the type of work and service the Alaska Nurses Association performs is to familiarize ourselves with the philosophy they espouse. Their admirable goals were explained recently in their organization's publication.

MINIMUM EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS FOR REGISTERED NURSES IN ALASKA

We, the registered nurses of Alaska, believe that good employment practices contribute to effective nursing service and to the job satisfaction and security of the nurse.

To recruit qualified individuals for the essential services performed, employment practices, salaries and working conditions must be in keeping with the education preparation required. This is accomplished through recognized representation and clearly enunciated democratic means which result in a written contractual agreement.

Personnel policies in the employing agency should provide opportunities for advancement to positions as highly skilled clinicians as well as administrators.

Continuing education is essential to maintenance of the high quality of nursing service. Therefore, it is a joint responsibility of the nurse and employer.

The profession of nursing is responsible for the development and maintenance of high standards for nursing. Through our organization, the Alaska Nurses Association, we accept this responsibility.

As you can well see, Mr. Speaker, their aspirations and goals reflect the interests of good health care for Alaskans.

At a recent convention of the Alaska State Nurses Association, the organization passed several resolutions which I believe my colleagues in the Congress will find most interesting:

RESOLUTION REGARDING THE ASSOCIATE DEGREE PROGRAM TO PREPARE REGISTERED NURSES

Whereas Anchorage Community College of the University of Alaska has established a new Associate Degree Program to prepare registered nurses; and

Whereas the Alaska Board of Nursing has given this program tentative approval; therefore,

Be it resolved that the Alaska Nurses Association support this program; and

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to Dr. William R. Wood, President, University of Alaska; Dr. Lewis E. Haines, Provost, SCR, University of Alaska;

Mrs. LoRaine Carlson, Coordinator, AD Nursing Program, Anchorage Community College of the University of Alaska; and the Alaska Board of Nursing.

RESOLUTION REGARDING NURSING EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Whereas Alaskan registered professional nurses have few opportunities to secure nursing education courses with academic credit; and

Whereas continuing education is being considered as a possible requirement for renewal of licensure; and

Whereas nurses must keep pace with a rapidly changing and advancing profession to promote the delivery of quality health care; therefore

Be it resolved that the Alaska Nurses Association request Alaska Methodist University, in conjunction with the University of Alaska, to consider providing nursing education programs to encourage Alaskan registered professional nurses to advance their education and earn baccalaureate and/or masters degrees in nursing; and

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to Dr. William Davis, Acting President, Alaska Methodist University; Dr. Beaulah Miller, Dean, College of Nursing, Alaska Methodist University; Dr. William R. Wood, President, University of Alaska; Dr. Lewis E. Haines, Provost, South Central Region, University of Alaska; Mrs. LoRaine Carlson, Coordinator, Associate Degree Nursing Program, Anchorage Community College; Alaska Board of Nursing; Dr. Frederick McGinnis, Commissioner, Alaska Department of Health and Social Services.

RESOLUTION REGARDING THE PRIVILEGED CHARACTER OF THE NURSE-PATIENT RELATIONSHIP

Whereas, the precedent has been widely established by law in the United States, that the information disclosed in the relationship between a physician and the patient is protected from disclosure in legal proceedings; and

Whereas, the protection is based upon public policy designed to protect the interests that create such relationships and upon the assumption that the information provided by the patient is necessary for the rendition of services required in a particular medical situation; and

Whereas with the exception of four states, the nurse-patient relationship is not privileged by statute or court precedent; and

Whereas court precedent has construed the statutes creating a privileged relationship between a physician and the patient to include the nurse who received information while acting for the physician; therefore,

Be it resolved that the Alaska Nurses Association endorses the ethical principle of comparable confidentiality in the relationship between a nurse and a patient; and

Be it further resolved, that the Alaska Nurses Association strongly endorse the principle that a licensed professional nurse should not be compelled to disclose information from a patient, which has been acquired in a professional capacity; and

Be it further resolved that every effort be directed by the Alaska Nurses Association to effect the enactment of state statutes which establish the privileged character of the information disclosed by a patient to a licensed professional nurse in the course of her activities as a responsible health professional.

RESOLUTION REGARDING CONTINUING EDUCATION

Whereas nurses have a professional responsibility for continuous learning but need help to ensure that the individual has opportunity and time to carry out that responsibility; therefore

Be it resolved that the Alaska Nurses Association supports the need for continuing

education for practicing nurses and encourages employers of nurses to provide support for administrative leave to attend educational programs and expand and strengthen interdisciplinary in-service education.

RESOLUTION REGARDING THE EXTENDED ROLE OF THE NURSE

Whereas, the traditional roles of the physician and the nurse have become blurred and less circumscribed as the demands of people for a multiplicity of health care services have burgeoned; and

Whereas, the acute critical shortage of health professionals will continue for some time to come; and

Whereas, a variety of health careers, supportive to medicine and nursing, continue to evolve in response to health manpower needs; and

Whereas, the supervisory controls essential to quality health care of people are needed; and

Whereas, the appropriate roles and functions of these emerging health careerists are ill-defined and tend to infringe upon the practice of medicine and of nursing; therefore

Be it resolved that the Alaska Nurses Association continue efforts and intensify dialogue with members of the Alaska State Medical Association and other professional and para-professional societies to examine the respective roles of physicians and nurses and those of the supportive health careerists, in order to utilize all health personnel more safely, effectively, productively and economically in meeting the total health needs of people; and that similar dialogue be initiated in Alaska communities on an informal basis, with discussions summarized and submitted to AaNA.

RESOLUTION REGARDING FAMILY PLANNING

Whereas the Alaska Nurses Association believes that family planning is a means to insure that children are planned and wanted; and

Whereas there is a growing worldwide concern that overpopulation contributes to man's social and economic problems; and

Whereas there is a general recognition by the United States Government that family planning is a concern of public health; and

Whereas not all families can afford such services through private resources; therefore

Be it resolved that the Alaska Nurses Association recommends that the Alaska Department of Health and Social Services, in cooperation with the Alaska State Medical Association act to provide family planning services to all Alaskans regardless of financial status; and

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the Alaska Department of Health and Social Services, the Alaska State Medical Association, Governor William Egan and the members of the State Senate and House Health, Education and Welfare Committees.

PERSONAL ANNOUNCEMENT

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, I rise at this time to commend my distinguished colleague, the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, for his announcement on the floor of this House Wednesday that his committee will hold hearings early in the second session on school busing.

Perhaps no issue in recent memory has generated more heat and less light. I join the distinguished chairman in his feeling that the hearing process will furnish all of us a reasoned and thorough appraisal of the legal and social considerations involved.

I might go a step further and say such hearings are overdue. Most of us have been deluged with mail on this subject, and we owe it to the concerned parents writing us to learn the answers they need. I have every confidence that the hearings will give us those answers.

TRIBUTE TO TURNER N. ROBERTSON

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 9, 1971

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in paying a well-deserved tribute to Turner Robertson upon his retirement as majority chief page.

Turner has been around the House

much longer than I; in fact, he has been working here longer than all but eight of the current Members. During his 32 years on the Hill, Turner has accumulated a wealth of knowledge of the legislative process. Both junior and senior Members will miss his infallible guidance on procedures and the lore of the House.

We all wish Turner Robertson many happy years in retirement. I, personally, would like to take this opportunity to thank Turner sincerely for his unflinching courtesy and helpful assistance during the years I have been in the House.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Alaska Native Association of Alaska is one of its most active and respected professional organizations in the State. The group is made up of individuals who are concerned with the welfare of the Alaska Native people and who are committed to the improvement of their lives. The group has been successful in many areas, including the establishment of the Alaska Native College and the Alaska Native Medical Center.

It is my hope that the Alaska Native Association will continue to be successful in its efforts to improve the lives of the Alaska Native people. I am sure that the group will continue to be a valuable asset to the State of Alaska.

The Alaska Native Association is a non-profit organization that is dedicated to the improvement of the lives of the Alaska Native people. The group has been successful in many areas, including the establishment of the Alaska Native College and the Alaska Native Medical Center.

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