

By Mr. TERRY (for himself, Mrs. ABZUG, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. HOSMER, Mr. MCCOLLISTER, Mr. McDADE, Mr. ROY, Mr. RUPPE, and Mr. WILLIAMS):

H.R. 12356. A bill to amend the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 to authorize design standards for schoolbuses, and to require the establishment of certain standards for schoolbuses; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. YOUNG of Florida:

H.R. 12357. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to establish orderly procedures for the consideration of applications for renewal of broadcast licenses, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ZWACH:

H.R. 12358. A bill to amend the act providing an exemption from the antitrust laws with respect to agreements between persons engaging in certain professional sports for the purpose of certain television contracts in order to terminate such exemption when a home game is sold out; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRADEMAMAS:

H.R. 12359. A bill to designate the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare South Building in Washington, D.C., as the "Mary Switzer Memorial Building"; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. DANIEL of Virginia:

H.R. 12360. A bill to amend the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 to exempt nonmanufacturing businesses, in States having laws regulating safety in such businesses, from the Federal standards created under such act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. McCORMACK (for himself, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. BEGICH, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. BERGLAND, and Mr. MEEDS):

H.R. 12361. A bill to establish the Cougar Lakes Recreational Area, to provide for a study of the potential of Mount Aix and surrounding lands within the Snoqualmie and Gifford Pinchot National Forests in the State of Washington for inclusion in the national wilderness preservation system, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 12362. A bill to protect the public health, safety, and welfare from the deteriorating effects of prolonged cessation or disruption of the normal flow of maritime interstate commerce between the State of Hawaii and the continental United States as the results of strikes, lockouts, or other forms of labor strife or discord in either the maritime or longshore industry; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. NIX:
H.R. 12363. A bill to provide for the control of sickle cell anemia; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 12364. A bill to amend the Urban Transportation Act of 1964 to authorize certain emergency grants to assure adequate rapid transit and commuter railroad service in urban areas, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. SCHEUER:

H.R. 12365. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide for the payment of tuition, subsistence, and education assistance allowances on behalf of or to certain eligible veterans pursuing programs of education under chapter 34 of said title; to apply automatic cost-of-living increases to subsistence allowances; to authorize advance education assistance allowance payments to eligible veterans, and establish an optional work-study program for repayment; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. DELLUMS:

H.J. Res. 1014. Joint resolution to assure continued eligibility of recipients of food stamp benefits and to maintain present levels of bonuses for these recipients; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. PRICE of Texas:

H.J. Res. 1015. Joint resolution to establish a Joint Committee on Aging; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. QUIE (for himself, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. PRYOR of Arkansas, Mr. PREYER of North Carolina, Mr. BETTS, and Mr. HICKS of Washington):

H.J. Res. 1016. Joint resolution to establish a Joint Committee on Aging; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. DENT (for himself, Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts, Mr. JONAS, Mr. KEMP, Mr. MANN, Mr. NIX, Mr. RARICK, Mr. ROY, Mr. SANDMAN, Mr. SAYLOR, Mr. SCHMITZ, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. SNYDER, Mr. WAGGONER, Mr. WOLFF, and Mr. YATRON):

H. Con. Res. 493. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress respecting Federal expenditures; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. DENT (for himself, Mr. BARING, Mr. BIAGGI, Mr. BLACKBURN, Mr. BRINKLEY, Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania, Mr. CARNEY, Mr. COLLIER, Mr. DANIEL of Virginia, Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey, Mr. DENHOLM, Mr. DERWINSKI, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. GAYDOS, Mr. HALPERN, and Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia):

H. Con. Res. 494. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress respecting Federal expenditures; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. ANDERSON of California:

H. Res. 750. Resolution to express the sense of the House of Representatives that U.S. fishing industry representatives be included in the U.S. delegation to the 1973 United Nations Law of the Sea Conference; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FRASER (for himself, Mr. HUNGATE, Mr. MIKVA, and Mr. FAUNTBOY):

H. Res. 751. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House to create a Select Committee on the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI (for himself, Mrs. ABZUG, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. ELBERG, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. MITCHELL, and Mr. REES):

H. Res. 752. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives relative to the crisis in South Asia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ROE:

H. Res. 753. Resolution calling for peace in northern Ireland and the establishment of united Ireland; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of the rule XXII,

290. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Assembly of the State of California, relative to the national transportation planning study, which was referred to the Committee on a Banking and Currency.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mrs. ABZUG:

H. Con. Res. 495. Concurrent resolution relating to the status of Sylva Yosifovna Zalmanson Kuznetsov, a citizen of the Soviet Union; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HORTON:

H. Con. Res. 496. Concurrent resolution relating to the status of Sylva Yosifovna Zalmanson Kuznetsov, a citizen of the Soviet Union; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. KOCH:

H. Con. Res. 497. Concurrent resolution relating to the status of Sylva Yosifovna Zalmanson Kuznetsov, a citizen of the Soviet Union; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

MRS. KREMER'S KITCHEN MAGIC

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, the first issue of a new quarterly magazine called Missouri Today contains an article about an interesting place and some interesting people in my district.

The article follows:

Mrs. KREMER'S KITCHEN MAGIC

(By Muffie Wheeler)

Mrs. Theresa Kremer lives alone in a small, white, two-story house in Westphalia, Mo. But almost every evening she has about 70

dinner guests—and she does all the cooking.

Her day begins like many homemakers. She sweeps and dusts, washes and waxes, undisturbed except by an occasional phone call. But rather than an old friend wanting to chat, her callers usually are asking for dinner reservations at Kremer's Place.

Many of the guests will travel miles to sample her country cooking. And while they're getting ready for the drive to Westphalia, Mrs. Kremer is scurrying around her kitchen getting ready for them.

"After I finish my chores I go right to the kitchen," she smiles. "My light and dark bread takes a while to make." And with two large dining rooms, each seating 35 people, she has a lot of table-setting to do.

But Mrs. Kremer doesn't cook anything except the side dishes until her guests actually arrive. "Food is much better hot—right off the stove," she explains.

After her guests arrive and give their orders to one of the three waitresses, Mrs. Kremer starts frying country ham and chicken, using "nothing but good old lard."

In a short time, waitresses are piling the tables with large bowls of mashed potatoes and steamy vegetables, heavy platters of fried chicken and ham, and plates with tall stacks of homemade bread.

If she's not too busy, Mrs. Kremer slips out of the kitchen about halfway through the meal to welcome her guests.

"I used to greet all my guests at the door," she says. "I just can't get good cooks anymore, though, so when I do it all myself, I can only come out to see everybody when things aren't too busy."

If the idea of "doing it all herself" boggles the mind, understand that Mrs. Kremer's been cooking since she was 13. She developed her knack for country cooking by watching

and helping in the kitchen of her family's Westphalia farmhouse. Later she married "Buddy" Kremer. He bought the hotel in Westphalia, and she started cooking three meals a day for hotel guests.

In 1935 she began her business in the house she has now. People have been coming for dinner ever since.

"About 10 years ago I was having one of my busiest nights," she remembers. "A man had called for reservations and I told him I just couldn't take any more people. He came anyway, and brought Stan Musial and Joe Garagiola, too. I was so nervous!"

"I guess everything worked out, though . . . they said they had a nice time." Now a picture of Musial hangs with others in Mrs. Kremer's house.

Another satisfied customer was John M. Santi, executive chef of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York.

After he finished his meal, Santi asked a waitress to give Mrs. Kremer his calling card. On the back he had written, "Your food is the best I have had in a long time. I will remember it for a long time, Santi!"

Mrs. Kremer keeps the card and many other memories in the top drawer of a large mahogany chest in one of the dining rooms. She calls the drawer her "lost and found." In it are the remnants of many forgetful folks; baby bottle nipples, golf balls, playing cards, old newspaper clippings, gloves with no mates.

Looking at the odd assortment of leftovers, Mrs. Kremer remembers names, dates, faces and how much she likes her customers. Apparently her customers like her too, because they keep coming back and sending their friends, and that drawer of memories keeps filling up.

JAMES FULTON

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, it is with sorrow and profound respect that I speak of the loss of our esteemed colleague, Jim Fulton. His loss to this country, to the people of Pennsylvania, and to his colleagues in the House of Representatives is a great one. His dedication and unswerving devotion to his duties and responsibilities to the people of his district and to the larger interests of this country made him a most vital and concerned legislator.

Jim Fulton was the ranking Republican on the Science and Astronautics Committee and it was there that I had the honor of serving with him and experiencing first-hand his enthusiasm and interest in the growth of space age knowledge and technology. Our association was a most valuable and worthwhile one for me. His expertise and concern over the space program and the development of the sciences in this country communicated itself to all of us on the committee.

Jim Fulton was a most unusual man. His interests ranged over a broad spectrum of questions which confront our society today. He was seldom what one might call orthodox. He examined and probed every issue and never accepted the simple or easy answer. He was never afraid to voice his thoughts or to pro-

pose solutions which he thought just and right.

Jim Fulton had a great asset in his sense of humor. It helped to brighten the darkest hours and to lighten the easy ones. This combination of humor and diligence, perception and dedication served his district and his colleagues in the House.

Jim Fulton served his country well. His deep appreciation of the importance of scientific development, his interest in journalism which earned him several awards for scientific writings, his tireless concern for the people of his district, and his dedication to this country have earned him a place of high standing in our Nation's history. He served his people well and his loss will be a great one for us all.

NURSES' HOME AT BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL NAMED IN HONOR OF HARRIET JOYCE McCORMACK

HON. LOUISE DAY HICKS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, all Bostonians grieve over the death of the late Harriet Joyce McCormack, beloved wife of Speaker Emeritus John W. McCormack, and in many ways, attempt to express their respect and admiration for a great lady.

The Boston City Council on December 6, 1971, adopted the following resolution:

CITY OF BOSTON IN CITY COUNCIL

Whereas, the Boston City Council observes with profound sorrow the passing of Harriet Joyce McCormack, the beloved wife of the Hon. John W. McCormack, former Speaker of the House of Representatives; and

Whereas, Harriet Joyce McCormack for fifty years was the constant companion and devoted wife of John W. McCormack; and

Whereas, Harriet Joyce McCormack was always at his side with words of cheer and encouragement and was a constant source of inspiration to him during the many dark and troubled moments that men in public life suffer and endure; and

Whereas, the married life of John W. and Harriet McCormack was an exemplar of what constitutes an idyllic marriage; and

Whereas, the memory of Harriet Joyce McCormack will ever remain green to those who knew and loved her; now, therefore, be it

Resolved: That the Boston City Council in meeting assembled this day does extend to the Hon. John W. McCormack, his loved ones and his legion of friends and admirers, its sincere condolences on the death of a charming, gracious lady, a devoted helpmate and a loving wife, and prays that Almighty God will grant him solace and comfort in this hour of bereavement.

And, with the knowledge that the prime concern of both Congressman and Mrs. John W. McCormack is the welfare of all mankind, the city council most appropriately adopted on December 8, 1971, the following resolution:

CITY OF BOSTON, IN CITY COUNCIL

Whereas, the Department of Health and Hospitals of the City of Boston is now engaged in the construction of a home for nurses at the Boston City Hospital complex; and

Whereas, this long-awaited, much-needed structure will be a tremendous asset to the City of Boston in the recruitment of the vitally needed nurses to staff the patient facilities at Boston City Hospital; and

Whereas, the construction of this beautiful building was in no small way due to the instrumentality of the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives, United States Congress; and

Whereas, for many years, the Honorable John W. McCormack has been concerned with the needs of the poor and unfortunate, more especially in the area of medical services; now, therefore, be it

Resolved: That the Board of Health and Hospitals be requested through his Honor the Mayor to name the new nurses' home presently under construction at Boston City Hospital, the Harriet Joyce McCormack Memorial Home for Nurses in honor of the late wife of the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives.

I commend the members of the Boston City Council for their actions and endorse these resolutions.

No more fitting a tribute to Mrs. McCormack would be the naming of the nurses' home presently under construction at the Boston City Hospital, in the honor of Harriet Joyce McCormack.

MRS. RUBY COOLEY, REGIONAL "TEACHER OF THE YEAR"

HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this time to pay tribute to a very special person from my district. Mrs. Ruby Cooley, mathematics instructor at Dyersburg High School, has officially been named the Regional "Teacher of the Year." Mrs. Cooley has an exceptional reputation throughout the State of Tennessee. Her classroom expertise and devotion to her students are near legend in Dyer County and west Tennessee.

The Dyersburg Mirror carried the following article which I insert at this point in the RECORD:

Mrs. RUBY COOLEY

Mrs. Cooley, who teaches Algebra II, Geometry and Advanced Mathematics at DHS, has been an instructor there for the past 14 years. Before coming to Dyersburg, Mrs. Cooley taught in Newbern, as well as at other Dyer County schools and in Dyess, Ark.

Even as a child, Mrs. Cooley wanted to be a teacher. When only an eighth grader, she began "teaching" by gathering the younger children of her neighborhood in her front yard and forming a "class"—not a "play school." She taught the children facts and concepts that "placed them far ahead of the other first graders when they began attending regular school."

Although Mrs. Cooley's education was interrupted at various times by her marriage and the arrival of her four children, she never lost her desire for completing her studies and her intense desire for teaching. Following her husband's death, she began taking summer courses at Memphis State University, planning to major in English. At that time, she was already teaching during the regular school year.

During World War II, Mrs. Cooley was asked to teach mathematics and found that she

liked the subject so much that she began taking math during her summer session courses at MSU. She received her BS degree in 1947 with majors in both mathematics and English and a minor in history.

Her desire to keep on learning and to prepare herself to do the best possible job impelled her to enter graduate school at Memphis State for more summer sessions to earn her master's degree in education, and to take fifteen additional semester hours in mathematics.

When singer Johnny Cash, known as "J. R." to her, was asked by an interviewer, "who is your favorite teacher?" he named Mrs. Ruby Cooley. She appeared on national television last spring on "This Is Your Life: Johnny Cash." Students and former students all over Dyer County and parts of Arkansas watched their television sets and beamed. They loved her.

Even Mrs. Cooley's "extra-curricular" activities are related to her teaching. Mrs. Cooley is a member of the United Methodist Church and has taught Sunday School classes for many years. She belongs to the Women's Society of Christian Service in her church and takes an active part in the work of this organization. She belongs to Alpha Delta Kappa, International Sorority of Women Educators. She supports our educational organizations, and is a member of DEA, WTEA, TEA, AND NEA. She belongs to both the regional and the national Association of Mathematics Instructors. She encourages her students to enter mathematics contests and spends extra time preparing them for participation in these contests, where their performance is consistently a credit to the Dyersburg School System. In spite of a busy schedule, she is faculty sponsor of the Dyersburg High School Math Club, and she is never too busy to stay after school to help any student who needs help.

As Mrs. Cooley looks back over her years of service, she says, "If I had my life to live over, I would still want to be a teacher."

TRIBUTE TO TURNER ROBERTSON

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, it is a genuine pleasure for me to take this opportunity to comment on one who has served this body long and well: my friend, Turner Robertson.

Turner has given years of steadfast, capable, and selfless service to this body as an institution and to its Members as individuals. As he enters a well deserved retirement, it is fitting and appropriate that those of us who have known him well recognize his extraordinary contributions to this House.

Turner came to Washington in April of 1939 beginning his career as an elevator operator. Later, he joined the Capitol Police Force and left that position to become a doorman. From that he stepped up to become Assistant Librarian and then Librarian of the House.

On June 1, 1949, Turner was appointed Chief Page of the House and has held that position with great distinction until the present. He has brought an unusual native ability and sense of integrity to that work and, above all, has been the available source of information to Mem-

bers with regard to the schedule and program of the House.

I have frequently said that Turner is the most useful floor employee of the House.

More importantly, though, Turner gave stable leadership and firm guidance to every young man who has had the honor to serve under him as a Page. Supervising this large group of high-spirited young men is certainly a task requiring great patience and good sense and Turner has consistently met this challenge with competence and grace. The House, its Members and the young men have benefited from it.

We will miss Turner. There never were many men of his integrity and loyalty and they are few and far between.

Perhaps the greatest tribute we can pay him is to admit that we can find a successor but not a replacement.

Good luck and God's blessings to you Turner.

THE CRUEL PROBLEMS OF AMERICA'S AGING

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I had hoped that the White House Conference on Aging concluded on December 2, 1971, would have brought much more extensive commitments by this administration and by our Nation to the more than 20 million Americans who are over the age of 65.

Because of my disappointment in the failure of this administration to face up to the tremendous problems of our senior citizens I reproduce here an address which I gave just before the White House Conference to the American Association of Retired Persons and the National Retired Teachers Association. I have the hope that the Congress of the United States will bring to the aging of America that commitment which the White House Conference has failed to fulfill. I hope in short that the Congress will no longer allow every 10th American who is old to remain as the last, the lowest and the least in American society.

The address follows:

THE CRUEL PROBLEMS OF AMERICA'S AGING

Almost every day brings to us revelations of the shocking, scandalous and almost desperate state of the more than 20 million Americans who are retired simply because they are over the age of 65.

The most incredible and the cruelest thing which happens to older persons is that, for the first time in their lives, they enter the ranks of the poor. Almost five million or over a quarter of the elderly live below the official poverty line. Most of these aged poor became poor only upon reaching retirement age.

In 1969 the median income for older persons living alone was the unbelievably low sum of \$1,865!

The incredible poverty of the aged is, even more unbelievably, virtually unknown to most Americans. Most people who dwell in the United States probably think that older Americans probably constitute, as they did in 1900, some three million individuals or about 4% of the population at that time.

Even if, however, Americans do appreciate the fact that every tenth American is over the age of 65 they do not realize that 20% of all of the poor people in America are 65 or over!

It is seldom realized, moreover, that Americans who are now at the age of 65 have an average life expectancy of 15 more years. All of us therefore must recognize that the problems of the 10% of Americans who are the oldest, poorest and most disadvantaged of any group in the United States must be given the highest possible priority.

A NEW MORAL COMMITMENT FOR THE AGING

When events converge to induce the United States to make a moral commitment to a particular objective or to a class of citizens the results are almost spectacular. The United States made, for instance, a commitment of this nature to the veterans of America's wars. Generous programs of education and retraining as well as a chain of veterans' hospitals across the land are the tangible evidences of a solid commitment.

During the 1930's the Congress of the United States made a commitment to the farmers of America. The many Federal programs which eventuated from that commitment now cost at least 4 billion dollars a year in subsidies and can to some extent be open to legitimate criticism. After World War II the United States made a commitment to have adequate hospitals for its citizens; there resulted the Hill-Burton Act which, along with supporting legislation, has made hospital care reasonably available to most Americans.

The Federal government is now at various stages of fulfilling similar commitments to the improvement of the environment, the increase of the availability of nurses and the financing of medical schools. It is to be hoped also that the Federal government is about to make a moral commitment to deal with the pervasive problem of drug abuse.

Any moral commitment of this nature requires leadership of an extraordinary nature. I have the hope that the White House Conference on Aging scheduled for November 28-December 2, 1971 will furnish the occasion at which the entire executive and legislative branches of our Federal government will make an unparalleled and unique moral commitment that the problems of the aging will, during the years of the 1970's, be given a priority above and beyond anything given to any other social problem in this country!

That commitment will not be credible and indeed it may not really exist unless it is accompanied by a dramatic and extraordinary generous act which symbolizes and signifies that America at long last has committed itself to treat its Senior Citizens as its first citizens.

I would suggest that a very meaningful commitment could be made to the aging if this nation sought to alleviate its enormous problems of inflation and unemployment by giving purchasing power to the Senior Citizens of this nation with the right to buy at prices that would not be inflationary.

At this time the administration in Washington proposed to diminish unemployment by giving a "handout" of some \$200 to the 8 million Americans who will be wealthy enough this year to purchase a new car. The repeal of the 7% Excise Tax on new automobiles has been proposed as a device by which industry could be stimulated and employment in the automotive and related industries could be increased.

This proposed repeal of a 7% Excise Tax will in general give a benefit to the most prosperous persons in America and those least in need of a savings of \$200 in taxes. At the same time the proposed repeal will mean that the Federal government will lose at least \$1.6 billion in taxes.

Could not the Federal government propose the repeal of excise and other taxes of up to \$200 per year which the aging in America now

pay at great sacrifice. The repeal of the 5% excise tax on telephone use would benefit all of us. The repeal of Federal taxes for the aging on such items as travel, gasoline or car tires would bring new income into the hands of Senior Citizens and would presumably stimulate the economy just as much as new income in the hands of the most affluent people in the nation would do.

The Federal government might, moreover, consider the undeniable fact that unemployment in the past has caused the benefits of countless recipients of Social Security to have lower dividends now than they would have had if full employment had been available during all of their working lives. The Federal government could, for example, extend to those whose benefits are lower because of substantial unemployment in the past, credit for quarters of years during which the person could not secure employment. The Federal government might also think of alleviating unemployment by extending educational and cultural services to Senior Citizens and thereby employing poor persons who are out of work. The offer of such services would be most useful to all aging Americans but particularly those ten million people over 65 who never completed elementary school.

Another way of alleviating unemployment while simultaneously benefiting Senior Citizens would be to provide for positions for jobless persons, both skilled and unskilled, doing tasks for the 5% of Senior Citizens, or more than one million Americans, who live in institutions. Aside from furnishing employment and doing constructive work for the disabled aged a national plan to bring Federally subsidized employees into nursing homes and other institutions might have a salutary effect in informing all of America about the sometimes appalling conditions which too often exist at institutions for the elderly.

The Federal government could initiate a very creative program for the economic conversion of unemployed scientists and engineers, now out of work because of the cut-back in funds for aerospace and defense spending, in planning and implementing the best possible scientific and technical services for the aged during the remaining three decades of this century. The length of the period of retirement continues to grow. It seems self-evident that the highly trained persons, so skilled in space and satellite programs, could and should divert their many talents to prepare a national program which would meet the total needs of the aged including medical, residential, social, economic and psychological services.

The economic crisis of the nation could also be turned to the benefit of the elderly if some of the energy and resources of unemployed individuals and corporations seeking to convert to new fields could be utilized to develop a new program of housing for the elderly.

Since the aging of America constitute at least 20% of the nation's poor they need from 120,000 to 162,000 housing units per year. Sections 231 and 202 are the only two programs designed exclusively for the elderly. Despite the progress made under these programs older Americans continue to have very limited opportunities to change their housing to suit their needs. The avenue of home purchases in later life is virtually impossible with the small exception of mobile homes and sometimes with a purchase under Section 235 of the Federal Housing Act.

The vast resources of underemployed individuals and underutilized companies could profitably be turned to housing research on which part during 1970 this nation spent only 30 million dollars. This small sum was allocated at a time when the government is attempting to implement what it describes as the most impressive and significant housing program in its history called "Operation Breakthrough".

I would therefore strongly urge all older Americans, both individually and collectively, to insist that this administration and this Congress utilize the present economic crises in America for the benefit of that group of Americans who, because they have given their lives and their families to this country, deserve more than any other class immediate remedies for the many rights which have been denied to them. I would hope that the White House Conference on Aging of 1971 would formulate a milestone principle to the effect that all governmental measures in the future designed to alleviate unemployment caused by economic recessions be required to furnish programs for the elderly as one of the fundamental ways of relieving unemployment and stimulating business.

I feel ever more strongly that the aging in America should demand a pledge from their elected leaders that every governmental program designed to regulate the economy in some way should be carefully investigated prior to its implementation as to the direct or indirect impact which this particular program may have on the elderly. This provision would be similar to the requirement now imposed on every Federal agency of checking through and protecting against the environmental hazards of any program under the jurisdiction of this particular agency.

I think also that the time has come for the Federal government to enact a uniform and comprehensive law by which every worker would know what rights he would have under an existing or a contemplated pension plan carried out by any private firm. The aging of America today—and indeed all of those approaching retirement—are all too often the victims of a pension plan which leaves them without adequate benefits because no state or Federal law has ever made it necessary for a company to disclose to its employees the nature and amount of accrued benefits whether vested or not.

I could continue with examples of services which could be offered to Senior Citizens as a part of a national program of economic stabilization. I want to state vigorously, however, that in my judgment the present initiation of a multi-faceted program to correct the worst inflation in our history and to provide employment for the more than six million Americans out of work could have and should have included in that program relief and remedies for the aged. The absence of such measures is but another manifestation of the fact that the Federal government is content to allow every tenth American who is old to remain as the last, the lowest and the least in American society.

ALLIANCES WHICH SENIOR CITIZENS SHOULD FORM

I recognize that it is not always easy for Senior Citizens to make alliances with other groups of voters. At the same time the aging in America should recognize that in 1970 they cast 17% of all the votes registered in America. I like to dream that the 20 million Americans over 65 would form an alliance with the 25 million young people who will be voting for the first time on November 7, 1972. If anyone in America would sympathize with the grievances of the elderly it is the idealistic young people of this country who believe in true equality with a passion unrivaled by any previous generation. If Senior Citizens feel powerless the young people feel even more so. If both groups recognize that the phenomenon which has brought the elderly in America to poverty and brought the young in America to alienation from government it is the continued spending over the past several years of some 80 billion dollars on the military. This astronomical spending has been one of the major causes of the inflationary spiral which has cheated the elderly of the real value of the benefits to which they contributed over 35 or more years of their working lives.

I spoke recently with a woman now 65 and retired whose father fought in the First World War, whose husband fought in the Second World War and whose grandson is now in Vietnam. This woman recognized that the fantastic expenditures of these three wars had not merely brought untold suffering into her life but had also turned her into practically a pauper as she approached what we like to call "The Golden Years".

I would urge all Senior Citizens therefore to form alliances with the young, the poor and with every group that will listen to the tale of shame and horror by which America has so mismanaged its economy and so squandered its resources that now every tenth American who at the age of 65 looks forward to 15 more years of life not with the high expectation that could be his but rather with apprehension, misgiving and sheer naked fear.

I exhort and entreat older Americans to become the most active and militant force and voice in America. Older Americans have more credibility than any other group of American citizens. This nation will listen to its fathers and mothers, its grandfathers and its grandmothers. But right now the nation has succeeded in isolating the aged from the mainstream of existence just as America has banished the retarded, the mentally ill and the racial minorities.

Older Americans must rise in revolt against the unconstitutional requirement that they may not earn any more than \$1,680 a year. The elderly of America must cry out that it is unconscionable to require that they pay out of their meager benefits for prescription drugs and for some 50% of all of their medical benefits. The elderly must also insist that adequate transportation is a basic need of which they cannot and should not as Americans be deprived. Similarly the many nutritional needs of the elderly must be provided for.

At this particular moment of crisis in America when the President and the Congress will be searching for ways to stabilize the economy and diminish radically the massive unemployment which plagues the land the elderly of America must insist that their needs be given paramount concern in all plans and programs to bring about a healthy economy and a stable monetary situation.

The aging of America have an overwhelmingly powerful case. They have been locked out of the labor market by an anachronistic law. They are required to maintain themselves as retirees on benefits which continually diminish in real value. They are daily being cheated of benefits which should be theirs in housing, medical care and even in food.

Yet the long series of broken promises should not induce in the elderly of America a feeling of powerlessness. If any minority will be listened to in America surely the minority of every tenth American over the age of 65 possesses the voice that will at last arouse the conscience of America to remember, recognize and reward those over 65 in the manner which they rightfully and richly deserve.

TRIBUTE TO ELLEN SUGGS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the following memorial to a dear friend and rare individual aptly describes the dedication and the warmth conveyed to those who knew her and those who had the privi-

lege of being touched by her selfless dedication and generosity.

[From the Verona-Cedar Grove Times (N.J.),
Oct. 27, 1971]

ELLEN SUGGS
(By Philip Sosis)

I knew her as an antagonist
I knew her as a friend
I came to know her
As a warm human being

A lovely lady
With a love for people
All kinds of people but
Especially working people.

She had a way,
A political skill
For organization,
A drive to build.

She was a builder
Of political promise
Of better tomorrows
In the traditions

Of the Democratic Party
Whose heritage
She leaves with us
To carry on . . .

Now she is gone
Rising above those odds
That took her breath
Leaving a void . . .

We are her memorial
To build and expand
To seek and grow
On her foundation . . .

SUPPORT FOR PROPOSED BOYCOTT OF FRENCH PRODUCTS

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, our growing heroin epidemic is of acute concern to all citizens, particularly to parents whose children are confronted with easy access to this drug with all its tragic consequences. The fact that addiction is the greatest single cause of death among the 15 to 35 age group in New York points up the enormity of the traffic, most of it from France.

Nonetheless, the French Government arrogantly refuses to assume any responsibility for ending this infamous traffic although it entered into an agreement to cooperate with the United States on February 26, 1971. Since the French Government obviously places financial considerations above moral obligations, it is time for the American people to take meaningful retaliation by boycotting French goods. The United States imported nearly \$1 billion worth of goods from France and American tourists spent \$160 million there in 1970. When the cost of a boycott exceeds the benefits France derives from the drug traffic, the French Government will finally live up to its pledges.

I am pleased that my resolution for a boycott has received the endorsement of the Board of Chosen Freeholders of Essex County, representing more than 930,000 residents of the State of New Jersey. The resolution on the issue adopted by the board on December 3, 1971, follows:

SUPPORT PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL BOYCOTT OF FRENCH PRODUCTS

Resolved, that the Board of Chosen Freeholders of the County of Essex of the State of New Jersey, hereby endorses the action of Congressman Joseph G. Minish in introducing House Concurrent Resolution No. 453 calling upon the American public to boycott all French made products until such time as the President of the United States determines that the Government of France has taken successful steps to stop the process of heroin within its borders and to stop the illicit transport of heroin to the United States.

SHEPHERD LEADING SHEEP TO SLAUGHTER

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD today a speech by Prof. Hugh H. Iltis, professor of botany at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Mr. Iltis' speech, delivered before the annual meeting of the National Association of Biology Teachers, is a thought provoking piece.

In it Mr. Iltis discusses both environmental crises we face in general and also has some specific insights on the Alaska pipeline question. While I do not agree with everything Mr. Iltis says, I find this an interesting and challenging speech which my colleagues may find of interest. It follows:

SHEPHERD LEADING SHEEP TO SLAUGHTER: THE BIOLOGY TEACHER AND THE MAD AND FINAL WAR ON NATURE

Ladies and Gentlemen: Botanist that I am, walking the streets of Chicago this morning I wished for a few more flowers, and a few less people. For after all, my topic today—and one of the main concerns of your Association—is the mankind-environmental equation. And there is no better place to perceive the staggering imbalance so typical of modern civilization, than in downtown Chicago.

I was reminded of Marston Bates' witty comment, that "Human population growth is like cancer. The yearly annual increase is now about 70 million a year, 6 million a month—the equivalent of the population of Chicago. And whatever one may think of Chicago, a new one every month seems a little excessive."

Excessive, too, is the general unawareness of the significance of all the environmental turmoil, the popular view that man can, in fact, adapt to pollution and crowding.

There is a cartoon in *The New Yorker* of two business men walking down 5th Ave. Says one to the other:

"I guess we have to pay for the higher standard of living by a lower quality of life".

The irony may not be lost on you, but it seems to have all but missed the sociologists. Indeed, even the famous Prof. Hauser of the University of Chicago sees nothing incongruous about giving up a biologically rich and decent environment for one with more high rise apartments and shiny new cars.

Says Prof. Hauser (and I quote an interview): (International Wildlife, March-April 1971, 15-17):

"The romantic nostalgia that some town and country planners have espoused is utter nonsense. Ferdinand the Bull sitting under the trees and smelling the pretty flowers just won't work in the modern world of the

present or the future. This could be accomplished only at the expense of lower productivity and lower levels of living."

But the problem of nature cannot be so callously and cavalierly dismissed as it is done by Dr. Hauser, who shows an unfortunate misunderstanding of the human biological condition. It is this kind of misunderstanding that allows the construction, here in Chicago, of a 9 story high school for 3000 students, and without any windows. It is this kind of misunderstanding which points up the modern problem of man's inescapable genetic needs, frustrated to madness in the giant city, and of man's optimum environment, being destroyed before his very eyes.

Let me quote to you the French Theologian Jaques Ellul, who put it well in his masterpiece, the *Technological Revolution*:

"The milieu in which (man) now lives is no longer his. He must adapt himself, as though the world were new, into a universe for which he was not created".

"He was made to have contact with living things, and he lives in a world of stone". p. 325.

It is the population explosion and the inevitable environmental crisis that has thrust you, the biology teacher, into a position of crucial responsibility and fateful power. Who among you would have dreamt, 10, 20 or 30 years ago, when you were catching your first frog, or collecting your first flower, that the very survival of beast and flower, and of man, would depend on the biology teachers the world over. For no chemist or physicist, no historian or sociologist should understand biology as well as you, or defend the living world as effectively.

Look at it as you may, no technological fix, no political panacea will extricate us from the environmental crisis—

But your biological insights, the acceptance of evolution and ecology by your students, and by the population at large, just possibly might.

Indeed it is the biologists that fate seems to have selected to lead a sick, confused and insane world back to health.

Take just one example, the training of medical doctors. . . . You biologists are the ones who will teach evolution and ecology to medical students, the very people who, for better or for worse, will be the acting human ecologists all over the world. Not only that, but in medical school, your presentations will be the only ones in which these future MD's will ever hear of evolution, of diversity, yes, I hope, of beauty and wonder as well, and of the long and tortuous winnowing and sifting of natural selection, which produced man and mouse alike.

I must say I like the spirit of the NABT—you are my friends, and allies in these difficult times. Your articles in your journal are stimulating, from the brilliant essays of Bentley Glass to the shortest book reviews.

Yet, in all your concern for environmental teaching, two topics are covered by thunderous silence: Politics and extinction. To these I would like to address my remarks this morning.

Let me first talk about politics and environment.

Two things must be obvious to anyone with environmental sensitivity:

(1) The first is that continued development and economic growth are one thing, preservation of the environment and steady-state ecology are another. It should be quite clear that for the most part development and preservation are two mutually exclusive concepts. You can't have your cake and eat it too. You cannot get something for nothing. These are two cliches, to be sure, but they represent the most fundamental of ecological laws. Prudence dictates that choices today be immediately redirected towards long-range aims: more outright preservation and strictest restraint in using

resources. This is what Earth Day was all about. This is what ecologists must expect from intelligent and responsible leaders.

(2) My second point is this: The present leadership of the United States refuses to accept this ecological law. Lip service notwithstanding, the power-structure, political, financial, and military, including the present administration, is primarily committed to those exploitive industrial interests that wish to make big money at all costs, and not to those that wish to protect the environment and its ecosystems.

We are still at war, 80 billion dollars worth, and not at peace.

We are still waiting for the 5-year birth control program demanded of HEW by Congress.

We are still dragging our feet on pollution, and the 20 billion dollars a year it will take each of the next 5 years to clean up past messes is not forthcoming.

We are still squandering resources as if they had no end, and are destroying large parts of the earth to get them.

The anti-environmental mood in the administration is becoming stronger, and was most clearly reflected by the president in his appearance before the Economic Club of Detroit (on Sept. 23, 1971), when he promised the industrialists, in brazen sincerity, that "We are not going to allow the environmental issue to be used in a demagogic way to destroy the industrial system that made this country great".

No wonder they applauded wildly! Free license to continue to exploit, to develop, how nice for them! But how bad for us!

Nixon's comments are only too typical of a dangerous movement gaining momentum: the current counter revolution against the environmental movement, the cynical denigration of the ecologist, the continual bombardment of the public by misleading ads in magazines and newspapers, the deliberate circumvention of laws by managers and officials, and the naive cornucopic pronouncements of the technological bamboozlers such as Buckminster Fuller or Doxiadis and of many innocent, well-meaning scientific experts, all contribute towards a simplistic assessment of the crisis. They all are pushing "progress", "growth" and money and the sweet nonsense that we can have both unlimited development and preservation. For how long, ladies and gentlemen? For how long can we afford to be this innocent? What if the diversity of life gets to be less and less, and the options for sound eco-management become fewer?

What if the experts are wrong? It is no accident that experts are the butt of jokes: they are so wrong so often.

You know what an expert is?

(1) He is a man from out-of-town with slides;

(2) He is a man whose ignorance is superbly organized; and finally

(3) He is, and this is Marshall McLuhan's definition, he is a man who does not make the slightest error on the road to the grand delusion.

Yes, what if we stumble, what if we make a mistake?

What if the grand delusions of unlimited energy, unlimited wealth, unlimited growth and development and unlimited human adaptability prove to be wrong, as every ecologist knows. What then?

There are only 2 things that are unlimited, said Einstein, the universe, and human stupidity!

What if we stumble and make a mistake? What if Nixon is wrong? And what if, in fact, the environment should come first, and the economists second?

There are a few exceptions in government, like the Environmental Protection Agency, Russell Train, Bill Ruckelshaus and Lee Talbot have attempted to do a fine job, but

more often than not they are being sabotaged in the White House, and elsewhere. These men in the present administration are almost an accidental anomaly. And where they have succeeded, it was only because of public backing, your backing, and not because of the administration, but in spite of it. This is to these men's great credit.

It is well also that we have the courts, where citizens and organizations alike now are suing in ever-increasing numbers, ("suing the bastards", to quote Victor Yannacone), to insure that their government does the environmentally right, the humanly moral thing. Judge Wright's decision in Calvert Cliffs vs. the AEC, where he shook that blindly powermad organization to its very foundation, and demanded that it behave responsibly towards the environment, restores one's faith and gives one hope.

But it is, nevertheless, crucial for biology teachers to explain and for their students to know, why the environment is continuing to go to pot, why we continue to permit short-term profit and long-term disaster, and why solutions are not forthcoming. *The powers that be don't want to lose money. And the powers that be are not very bright.*

There are thus other factors as well, such as the men that lead us. *Alice in Wonderland* might be easier to explain to students than Mr. Nixon's cabinet.

Thus as biologists we should be concerned that our Secretary of Commerce, Maurice Stans, is a great white hunter in Africa, who gets himself photographed with dead leopards, and other species close to extinction, such as Sable Antelopes.

Our Secretary of the Treasury, likewise, is a great hunter. His African Safari just after he left the Texas governorship was well-illustrated in all the Texas newspapers—photographs of mountains of dead bleeding meat and the rest of it, including Mr. Connally.

Is this appropriate in 1970? Should people with environmentally destructive hang-ups run the economy of this great country? We could barely put up with this butchery in Teddy Roosevelt's day, when there was much game and few people. But today it reflects a moral callousness, an elegant corruptness, at best, a blind foolishness, which is not lost on our students. Hunting, yes! But nearly extinct species, which others say need rigid protection? Should such people run the government of the United States? Should such men, which lack any environmental or social commitment except to their own power, be our leaders?

Leaders should lead by good example!

Small wonder, then, that our leaders in government are still talking about putting "economic impact" ahead of "ecological impact", including the president and the Secretary of Commerce.

Says Mr. Stans: "Isn't it time for someone to say 'Wait a minute'?" He chides the "vocal" and "impatient" eco-alarms that jobs are at stake, that plants will be shut down if we enforce the laws. He says we need a slowdown on banning of DDT, of phosphate detergent, of polluting automobile emissions, on banning new power plants and off-shore oil drilling. Should anyone, who knows of Mr. Stans' propensities in Africa, be surprised at these and similar sentiments? But again, should this type of man have the power that he has?

The one ray of hope in Nixon's cabinet was Walter Hickel, a tough, outspoken and honest man, who got fired, ostensibly for writing a letter, a thoughtful, courageous letter defending today's disenfranchised college students. Hickel is a self-made Alaskan, who grew in his job almost from the day he arrived in Washington, and who threatened to become one of the best Secretaries of the Interior since Harold Ickes, a defender of the public trust. And that fact alone was intolerable to the president, and especially

to the oil industry. Hickel had to go for exploitation to stay.

I wish to publicly apologize to Mr. Hickel, whose new book, "Who Owns America?" ought to be required reading in our schools. I fought his appointment with letters and phone calls, for he looked like a typical environmental exploiter. But most of his actions as Secretary of Interior were courageous and honest, and reflected a deep concern for nature, a love for the land and its people. When a man can say, as in the case of the California Condor controversy, "It was a choice between rare birds and pumping oil, and I chose the birds"—that is quite something!

He is not perfect. Both he, and now Mr. Morton, support the Alaskan oil pipeline—clearly an environmental monstrosity that must not be built. May I here suggest to both of these gentlemen and to the President, who are all so anxious to have the oil come out, that there is a simple alternate solution to the Alaskan oil problem, a solution which is both ecologically sound and economically prudent: And that is, Let Us Nationalize the Alaskan Oilfields and lock them up for 100 years.

(1) Nationalization will solve many problems. We do not need the oil now, but given our chemical, especially plastic industries, which are so dependent on oil, in 100 years they will be desperately oil-hungry, and glad to have this rich field available.

(2) Nationalization will prevent the pollution of the Arctic Ocean, or of Alaska, which, with our present insufficient technology, is sure to follow. But in 100 years we might have the technology to get the oil out without harm to the Alaskan ecosystem.

(3) Nationalization will prevent us from sending the oil to Japan, for which most of Alaska's oil is slated, which in turn might slow down their insane, yet deliberate economic growth, and avoid the collision course with the United States on which it is set, and the spectre of World War III.

Finally, it is time to defend ecological right over financial might. To use the title of Mr. Hickel's book—"Who Owns America?"—Indeed, who owns Alaska's oil? This arctic oil is on publicly owned land,—a public resource on public domain—why then not under public ownership and administration for long-range public benefit and use. Surely, the oil can wait, safe in the ground. Nationalization, a national oil resource park, is the answer that today makes ecological sense.

Nevertheless, despite his misguided stand on Alaskan oil, Mr. Hickel is a decent man that has shown great capacity to learn. I wish Mr. Hickel well in all sincerity. I hope that he will learn all the ecology and biology that he must. For his is a very important voice. He has given both students, and biologists, as well as the public, faith that even this government might possibly work or might change, given an honest and remarkable man. Abraham Lincoln was made of similar rough stuff, and he became a great and honest president.

We will never get at the root of our environmental crisis by picking up tin cans. Only by changing the very institutions that have allowed our crisis to develop, by placing men into high government office that have an honest ecological concern, is there hope for our plants and animals, and us, to survive.

Let the National Association of Biology Teachers become politically active. Let it join with the Sierra Club and EDF and others to fight the smoke screen of the anti-environmental campaign.

The NABT must speak out. It should hire representatives in Washington, eco-lobbyists who would represent your voice. The issues are not only questions of politics or biology, but of simple human decency. Ladies and gentlemen, you are the ones, more than any other group, who have the answers. You must not remain silent.

THE EXTINCTION OF SPECIES—THE DESTRUCTION OF ECOSYSTEMS: MAN STRIDES ACROSS THE LANDSCAPE AND DESERTS FOLLOW IN HIS FOOTSTEPS

The second concern I wish to bring to you is the widespread and catastrophic extinction of species and ecosystems occurring on all continents, but especially in those areas previously untouched by technology: the tropics, the developing nations, the oceans. To stop this biotic destruction has today acquired an urgency absolutely beyond belief. If you pick up Vincenz Ziswiler's *Extinct and Vanishing Animals* (Rev. English Editor, Springer, 1967), Fisher, Simon and Vincent's *The Red Book of Wildlife in Danger* (Collins, 1969), or any of the many similar studies, you will find pages on pages listing major animal species close to extinction, with many of the major mammals or birds listed there down to very few individuals: Blue Whales 500; Mountain gorilla 1000-5000? The Philippine Tamarau 200; Florida Key Deer 235; Giant Sable Antelope 500; Sumatran Rhinoceros 150; Indian Rhinoceros 600; Indian Tiger 1700; and so on into the night of everlasting extinction. Plants are equally vulnerable, and, as a new book edited by R. Melville of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources shows, there is no time to lose!

Not only are individual species by the thousands threatened with an extinction as irrevocable as that of that marvelous bird, the Dodo, but whole major ecosystems of great ecological and economic value and interest are being "developed"—a euphemism for exploitation with hardly a thought to the future.

One can just shudder at the destruction of western Australia and Africa, and especially of the vast Amazonian Rain forests recently written up in *Time* magazine (Sept. 13, 1971 p. 36-39). Here, in Transamazonia, is Brazil's last frontier, as well as the richest ecosystem the world has ever seen: 30,000 species of flowering plants, of which 5000 are trees (!), ca. 200,000 insects, and a diversity that staggers the imagination. (A very large number, in some animal groups 80%, of species are yet to be described!) Yet, Peru, Venezuela, Colombia and Brazil are all at it.

Says a Brazilian minister "We have to conquer Brazil completely and (building road and cutting the forest) will do it." With U.S. support, and no doubt much industrial interest from U.S. Steel (the world's largest deposit of iron ore is here) Amazonia may cease to exist. Unbelievable? Read what Wm. Denevan, a University of Wisconsin geographer, recently wrote in a paper entitled "Development and the Imminent Demise of the Amazon Rain Forest".

"Within one hundred years, probably less, the Amazon rain forest will have ceased to exist. It will have been replaced, for the most part, by grassland and scrub savanna, with some second growth forest. The prospect seems inconceivable to those of us who have flown over the endless vastness of Amazonia, but I believe it is just a matter of time given current and projected trends in Amazonian development".

No matter if a Brazilian geographer warns that "a disaster of enormous proportions" is imminent; no matter if the lateritic soils are poor and will lose nearly all their fertility in a few years (as has been shown again and again in the tropics of both the Old and the New Worlds); no matter if mankind will lose an incalculable biological resource—there has been no voice raised in protest in the biological establishment, nor in the NATB, or AAAS. (The politics discussed in part I make objection quite difficult!).

But surely, man may need butterflies and wild flowers, mountain lions and caribou, blue whales and pelicans, and prairies and deserts, and Amazonian forests with parrots, monkeys and morpho butterflies, all that

blooms and flies and crawls, to be happy, and to have some perspective . . . Our grandchildren will need them too. Surely, preservation of nature must be the prime concern of mankind, and especially of biology teachers,—from now until the end of all time—to make sure that Nature's diversity survives and that its protection and preservation is sanctified and codified into law.

"FREEZING" THE GENETIC LANDSCAPE—THE PRESERVATION OF DIVERSITY IN CULTIVATED PLANTS AS AN URGENT SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PLANT TAXONOMIST

Another extinction, of great importance to man, is the subtle disappearance of diversity in cultigens and their relatives, both wild and weedy.

Natural selection, and thus the continuation of evolution, is dependent on the amount of variability present in a population. Variability in cultivated plants allows selection for valuable goals, such as disease resistance or high yield, and, considering man's absolute dependence on his food plants, needs absolute protection.

In a cultigen, variability is usually greatest in its evolutionary "cradle region", where wild, weedy, and primitive cultivated forms tend to mingle in highly heterozygous hybridizing populations. These have irreplaceable scientific and practical value. In primitive societies, these nodes of variability persisted unimpaired for millennia, even after a crop became highly evolved elsewhere. Today, "progress-oriented" agriculture, the "Green Revolution", and massive technology, often blindly conspiring with greed, hunger, population pressures and ignorance, deliberately replace this low-yielding primitive diversity with high-yielding inbred uniformity. The corn blight of 1970 is but an omen of the disasters such crop uniformity may bring to man in the future.

Biologists must counteract these ill-advised trends, by not only doing sound work, but by explaining the biological issues to the scientific and lay public and by urging drastically new approaches to the preservation of genetic variability. The widely supported "freezing" of diversity in cold-storage gene banks, as in the government seed collection at Ft. Collins, Colorado, has short-term utility for research but is easily susceptible to accidents such as power failures and to loss of seed viability. The only way we can save the dynamic evolutionary potential of a crop is to protect the diversity of its "ancestral" genotypes in its cradle region from modern agricultural interference. In the case of truly wild "ancestral" species, we can preserve them by protecting, and in some cases, manipulating their habitats as in a wildlife preserve. Only by such deliberate and permanent local preservation, i.e. by "freezing" selected genetic landscapes, is there any hope for long-range success of continuing the evolution of our crops.

This clearly is scientifically justified, politically negotiable, and should be internationally subsidized. By placing specific geographic regions "off limits" to agricultural aid, one to several for each crop, the slow processes of primitive cultigen evolution would be allowed to continue without marked loss of variability.

"The introduction of modern potato varieties and clean cultivation methods to the Andean potato fields may someday have a deleterious effect upon the future development of our own varieties. If the primitive Andean potato stocks are lost, our modern artificially produced varieties will become completely isolated from their ancestral base, and it may then require extraordinary efforts to keep our higher-yielding but more inbred clones free from extinction. Although it is inevitable perhaps that some native potato populations will be lost in future years, it is vital that we at least preserve the more critical or ancient centers of potato variability, and guard these against the encroachment of

the modern varieties" (Don Ugent, *Science* 170: 1165, 1970).

Thus in the case of potatoes, one could set aside the whole Lago Titicaca basin of Peru and Bolivia as an International Potato Diversity Preserve, protecting here not only the potato fields of the Indians, with their 500 named cultivars, but their adjoining weedy and wild potato populations from agricultural experts who "push" the introduction of uniform strains. That does not mean that one is condemning the local population to poverty. It simply means, that only this one crop will here be retained in primitive condition.

In the case of corn, there is need to protect several local regions of high diversity in Mexico and Peru from improvement and hybrid corn. There is in addition the urgent need to protect also the 5 major races of Zea (*Euchlaena*) may mexicana sensu lato, one or several of which once gave rise to cultivated Zea mays. Here as can be shown, erroneous taxonomic doctrine produced a veritable maize "mystique" which so confused evolutionary understanding that the highly valuable ancestral taxa were considered nothing but inconsequential weedy hybrids, and are still being treated as such. Many local populations are close to extinction, none are now under protection, and in fact these wild grasses are considered weeds to be gotten rid of. Yet we cannot even measure their eventual and probably immense value, for their genetic potential may well be the key to successful corn breeding of the future.

Whether corn or rice, potato or wheat, it is clear that a neglect of the genetic gold mine which these unassuming wild plants represent would be a great mistake. Here, again, we must change our values and our ways, especially as to our well-intentioned, but short-sighted foreign aid programs.

The protection of specific regional genetic landscapes (or World Genetic Resource Areas) (cf. G. W. Wilkes, *Science* 171:955, 1971), should get top priority in international agricultural planning. Only then will man be able to preserve the vast array of potentially valuable genotypes and phenotypes and give crop breeding a solid future. The biology teacher has here indeed a crucial and indispensable role.

Let us end with a quote from your eminent president, Dr. Glass, who in his book *Science and Ethical Values* (p. 33-34) pleads for our concern:

"In the second and third chapters of Genesis is the story of the Garden of Eden and the Fall of Man.

"Too much dust has already been stirred by debates about its historical origin, for in such controversy the deeper moral truths the story reveals usually lie forgotten.

"The tree whose fruit Man was forbidden to eat was not the Tree of Life . . . It was the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. For indeed, in his ignorance, man was once innocent.

"Yet 'when, in the age-long evolutionary ascent, man came to foresee the consequences of at least some of his actions, when he could distinguish the good from the evil and the better from the worse, then it became to him sin to choose the evil, to do the worse'."

"One thing is certain. We cannot turn the clock back. We cannot regain the Garden of Eden or recapture our lost innocence. From now on we are responsible for the welfare of all living things, and what we do will mold or shatter our own heart's desire."

You, who are teachers of biology, who love your plants and animals; you, who care for your students, have a tremendous responsibility of leading a sick and insane world back to health. The watershed is here, now. And it is now or never! And the problem is yours, because it is so largely biological. It is yours also because you care for nature, this love affair of yours that led most of you into Biology in the first place. By

making students instruments of your love and your wisdom, by teaching them the implications of evolution; by showing them the evil and greed, as well as the good of technological power, and its political and biological implications, you will give them the judgment they will need to preserve diversity and beauty on this earth.

But I say to you clearly and loudly: If you and your organization insist on being pollyannas, if you continue to ignore the touchy subjects of politics, of war and the anonymous monster of the technological corporate state; if you neglect to inform your students, the very students who care and who are our only hope, of the price we pay for our affluence, and of the price the rest of mankind pays for our greed; then may all the fates help us and you. Because then you will be guilty, guilty of being but careless shepherds leading innocent sheep to slaughter.

O'HARA TESTIFIES BEFORE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION COMMISSION

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, it has long been my pleasure to be closely associated with my colleague, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. O'HARA) in a great many legislative efforts. He has served with, I may say, distinction on the subcommittee I now have the honor to chair—the Special Subcommittee on Labor.

But through the inexorable workings of the seniority system, the gentleman from Michigan now has his own subcommittee, of which I happen to be a member.

Mr. O'HARA's subcommittee has recently concluded hearings on the proposal that farmworkers might legitimately be compensated for the injuries and illnesses that befall them as they labor in their very hazardous working environment. Our State and Federal system of workmen's compensation laws benefit Federal civil servants, movie, stage and television actors, steelworkers and carpenters for injuries received in the course of their employment.

But with farmworkers, as usual, they seem to have been forgotten—or something—when most workmen's compensation laws were being written. And so, in an industry where they are exposed to dangerous machinery, extremes of climate and long hours, highly lethal pesticides and the hundred and one other dangers that make farmwork idyllic only for those who do not do it, the farmworker is almost nowhere adequately protected. Mr. O'HARA believes, and I share his belief, that this should not continue to be the case. Hence the hearings on legislation which we have both introduced to cure this defect.

But my colleague from Michigan has not put all his hopes in one remedy. He has now twice testified before the National Commission on State Workmen's Compensation Laws—the second time at

the unsolicited invitation of the Commission. He has vigorously urged that the National Commission—which was mandated by the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1971 to review and make recommendations for improving our State laws in this field—push strong and effective action to bring farmworkers under the protection and coverage of State workmen's compensation laws. I am proud to have the opportunity to insert the statement of my chairman before the Commission at this point in the RECORD:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE JAMES G. O'HARA BEFORE THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON STATE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS, DECEMBER 13, 1971

Thank you very much for this opportunity to present views to the Commission.

My own limited experience with workmen's compensation stems in some part from having been floor manager for the last general revision of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, which, incidentally, I earnestly commend to your attention as a model for workmen's compensation legislation.

But today I come to ask your careful consideration of a different aspect of the workmen's compensation field—one which will, I believe, require the earnest and urgent efforts of both Federal and State authorities if we are to wipe out a basic injustice from the statute books.

The problem to which I refer is the almost total exclusion of farm workers from the benefits of workmen's compensation programs in the states in spite of the fact that these workers are part of an industry with an extremely high accident rate—and an industry whose industrial health situation is equally appalling.

Exclusion from the benefits of workmen's compensation, is not, of course, an unusual or unique deprivation for the people who put our food on our tables and our clothes on our backs.

They are systematically excluded from almost all of the social benefits which workers in other industries have come to take for granted as part of a civilized industrial society.

The farm worker—only recently given any minimum wage coverage at all—is only entitled to a lower minimum wage than other workers and he is entitled even to that only under conditions which differ from those which entitle his fellow worker in other fields—and the enforcement of what restricted second-class coverage the law gives him is a bad joke.

The farm workers' children are not kept out of the fields even though those fields are more hazardous than the factories and mills other children have been kept out of for decades—in no small part because of the hazardous conditions that prevail there.

The farm worker is wholly denied unemployment compensation in most states, and the nation's labor-management relations statutes have excluded him from coverage for years—although now that employers are discovering they can use those laws to prevent farm workers from organizing, they are suddenly reversing their field and demanding the coverage they bitterly opposed for so long.

So, as I say, the farm workers exclusion from workmen's compensation is only part of the dismal picture in which the farm worker continues to be left behind as legislatures, State and Federal, improve the conditions of other working men and women.

So I come before this Commission, not to suggest that workmen's compensation is the major area of injustice where farm workers are concerned, but merely because it is the one injustice to which you have a mandate to address yourself.

Hearings by the Agricultural Labor Subcommittee of the House have served to sharpen our awareness of the misery experienced by farm workers hapless enough to be disabled by injury or disease in a State where provisions for compensating them are inadequate or where there are no such provisions at all.

These hearings have also served to confirm my conviction that workmen's compensation protection for agricultural employees that is nationwide in application is needed now.

It very soon became apparent in the hearings that statements regarding the number of States whose laws provide workmen's compensation protection to farm workers can be quite misleading unless the restrictions that many of the legislatures have managed to attach to such coverage are explored.

Even where the scope or nature of coverage of employees in agriculture does not differ substantially from that given workers in other industries, the laws may not be adequate to protect farm workers who face perils peculiar to their kind of labor and the way of life it often entails.

No one will be surprised to learn that no State provides workmen's compensation protection to farm workers that is more favorable than that given employees in other industries. The laws of fewer than half of the States provide any coverage, either elective or compulsory, for farm workers.

In only a handful of those States is the coverage of agricultural workers compulsory and in all respects the same as for employees in other industries.

In the States whose laws do not provide elective or compulsory coverage of farm workers, their employers may voluntarily provide for such coverage, except for Alabama and the District of Columbia, where even that is forbidden.

In many States where farm workers are covered by workmen's compensation laws, the protection extends only to persons whose employers have a specified number of workers—often a significant number.

It must be disheartening for a person disabled by an injury suffered on a small farm to learn how much better off he would be if he had had his bad luck on a larger spread! He hurts just as much.

He and his family are just as hungry.

He worries a lot more—and that doesn't do much to speed his recovery.

The range of this exemption numbers game runs from 3 to 9.

Laws like Ohio's for example, provide no compulsory coverage for farm employers regularly having less than three employees.

Florida's law provides for compulsory coverage of all agricultural workers except those performing agricultural labor on a farm in the employ of a bona fide farmer or association of farmers employing 9 or fewer regular employees and fewer than 20 other employees at one time for seasonal employment.

There are other fascinating legislative variations to be found in the States' laws applicable to farm workers, all of which share the common characteristic of stacking the deck against the fellow least able to shoulder an additional economic burden—the disabled employee.

Minnesota's and South Dakota's laws provide for compulsory coverage of farm workers, without numerical exemption, but only if the employees are commercial threshermen or balers or operators of grain combines, corn shellers, cornhuskers, shredders, silage cutters, or seed hullers.

Arizona's law is similar but includes a numerical exemption as a further restriction.

Coverage under the laws of Louisiana and Wyoming is like that provided by Minnesota's and South Dakota's statutes, except that the coverage is elective rather than compulsory.

Coverage under Kentucky's law is also only

elective and limited to workers operating machinery, and includes a numerical exemption as well.

In Michigan, compulsory coverage is provided for regularly employed farm workers employed by someone having 3 or more regular employees 35 or more hours a week for a period of 13 or more weeks during the preceding 52 weeks.

Eligibility rules under New York's and Wisconsin's statutes are just as involved, in their own ways.

Coverage under Maryland's law, which just this year was made compulsory as to farm workers, applies only where a farmer has at least 3 full-time employees or an annual payroll of at least \$15,000.

Exempted from coverage altogether are migratory farm workers who do not operate machinery or equipment.

Laws providing for protection of farm workers only if they are operators of machinery betray a long-held but entirely incorrect assumption that the only way you can get hurt on a farm is by falling off a tractor.

Now, it is certain that a person can be injured or even killed that way.

But it is also true that people working nearby are susceptible to disabling mishaps when they become entangled with or overrun by the mammoth equipment used to plant, tend and harvest agricultural products.

And these mechanical hazards are not even in the same league with the increasing perils from agricultural chemicals.

The State of California has rather definitive safety standards for the application of pesticides on farms and orchards.

Nevertheless, outbreaks of pesticide poisoning of farm workers have occurred—even where an untoward amount of pesticide was not applied at one time—because too much of it was applied over a period of time within the legal sanctions adopted by the State.

A witness at one of our hearings, a professor of medicine at the University of Miami, has found in his studies that farm workers and their families suffer additional pesticide pollution as a consequence of the overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions they must endure, where the use of cheap pesticides to control vermin is common.

I really cannot tell you how many agricultural workers are without workmen's compensation protection as a result of the numerical exemptions in the various State laws.

I do not believe that anyone can give you an accurate count of them.

They just don't show up in the statistics.

That is not to say, of course, that they are not being injured and disabled.

It just means that under the present laws they are ignored.

Even in the very few States, like California, where the laws do not exempt agricultural employees and they are covered in the same manner as other workers, the protection that the system is intended to afford them can be illusory.

A young orthopedic surgeon who appeared as a witness at one of our hearings has been on the staff of a clinic for farm workers in California for the past year and a half.

One of the problems the doctors there encounter again and again is the lack of cooperation on patients' parts in carrying out instructions concerning therapy and convalescence.

They sometimes do not stay at rest and away from work for the period recommended by their doctors and they sometimes fail to return for follow-up appointments.

The staff at the clinic attribute this primarily to two causes.

First, the patient believes, with or without justification, that he must return to work in order to keep his job.

Second, the patient must return to work

prematurely because his economic situation leaves him no choice.

Even a single day off the job represents a great financial loss.

Explaining this second point, the doctor testified:

"The problem of financial crisis during periods of unemployment relating to compensation injuries is quite major.

"The compensation claims, themselves, often take several months to be settled and in the meantime the patient is without any income whatsoever.

"The usual situation for a farm worker is an unending succession of bills and loan payments that continually threaten his existence on an almost daily basis.

"The agricultural worker has no reserve on which to draw so that a three-day injury may represent financial disaster to him in much the same way that a three-month injury might represent a comparable situation for you or me.

"Other methods of interim financing for his large family during the period of convalescence have been less than satisfactory.

"The patient is ineligible for social security disability payments following a workmen's compensation injury until six months have passed and state disability payments often take weeks before starting and then are too small to match the needs of the patient and his family."

The doctor recommended that statutes prescribe mandatory recuperation periods and require a worker to obtain a physician's certification before returning to work prematurely.

These provisions would have to be accompanied, of course, by effective job security rules and would necessitate a system for disbursing some form of regular, frequent and early payments to the injured worker during his period of convalescence.

Another problem relating especially to workmen's compensation protection for farm workers is that of cumulative health injuries, particularly to backs.

What may seem to be an actual back injury is all too often the culmination of years of chronic strain leading up to the final event which is the patient's acute disabling back condition.

In theory, the patient had sustained a compensable injury at each stage of his work with each employer.

But, at the present time, it is the worker's current employer and his insurance carrier who bear the burden for the disabling injury.

Another particular concern to the farm worker is his exceptional vulnerability to disabling disease or injury in the living quarters furnished him as part of his emolument.

When asked at one of our hearings to describe such camps, a doctor on the staff of a clinic in Florida ended his answer to the question saying, "I know from my own experiences when I go out and look at them I am horrified but the next day I can't describe them any more and I have to go back and look again to really appreciate what is going on."

In his prepared statement the doctor said: "Our program has to pay a premium rate for Workmen's Compensation because we have personnel who go into the labor camps and into the homes.

"The insurance company considers this high risk."

Workmen's compensation coverage of farm workers ought to extend to disabilities resulting from injuries and diseases suffered in the unsafe and unsanitary housing furnished the employees.

It is clear, Mr. Chairman, that adequate coverage of farm workers under the laws of all of the States is not likely to be realized soon enough.

It is certain that we cannot rely on good will.

The prospect is not good that we will see

in the near future the progress that States have been unable to achieve in a half century of workmen's compensation laws.

The solution lies in Federally required coverage for farm workers on the same basis as for employees in other industries.

I believe this should be a recommendation of the Commission.

THIS IS OUR ARKANSAS

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the opportunity of hosting in Arkansas, a Delegate to the French Assembly. His introduction to our State began at the site of the Louisiana Purchase Marker, from which that area was surveyed.

To commemorate the occasion, Miss Lily Peters recited a poem which she wrote, and I would like to share it with my colleagues in Congress:

THIS IS OUR ARKANSAS

(By Lily Peters)

This is our Arkansas—a lovely land of rivers and lakes, mountains blue in the distance, sunny hillslopes, woodlands, prairies, deep-shaded bayous in the Delta country; loveliness has been here from the beginning of our history, whose origins go back to within the fifth decade following the notable voyage of Columbus.

Let us return to those early beginnings and see

what manner of men were the first to come to this region and leave here the imprint of their dreams and ambitions:

Hernando de Soto, who discovered the Great River and opened for the first time the gates of the lands of the Akancas; the Sieur de la Salle and Henri de Tonti, who came nearly a century and a half later, securing the land in friendship with the Indian tribes.

Of all the fifty States, the entrance of Arkansas into history is the most dramatic and picturesque, meshed in the medieval pageantry of Spain. Hither came knights in armour, with the feudal trappings of the noblest blood of the Iberian peninsula,

with panoply of blade and buckler and caparisoned horses, on an incredible journey of adventure and hardships beyond belief, following their indomitable

Governor, Francisco Sorred Hernando de Soto

de Castenada y Gutierrez, that man of fire and lightning, April hyacinths and brimstone, with five hundred years of Spanish pride in his marrow,

his stamina hardened by the subconscious memories of three thousand years of conquest that Spain had known,

his mind ablaze with the dream of a country of his own, a flowery dominion by a summer sea,

its borders lying along the Gulf of Mexico, to be his when he had fulfilled in honor his solemn promise of bringing to his Emperor, Charles the Fifth, the treasure he believed to be found in this new land.

But De Soto, the bearer of the Dream, was doomed to be buried in the waters of the Great River that he had discovered, and of the Dream itself, there was only the bright stain left.

In August of 1541, these adventurers from Spain and Portugal, with their commander, De Soto, after crossing the Great River and Phillips and Monroe

Counties, came to the region in Arkansas County of the Indian town Aquiguate, the largest town

they had seen on the Island of Florida, the explorers said, near where Arkansas Post now stands, and they lingered there for a fortnight, in their records praising the beauty of the shadowy, green land with its rich river margins.

To the place of Arkansas Post in 1682, then the Indian town of Assotoue of the Arkansas, came Rene Robert Cavellier, the Sieur de la Salle, a French aristocrat and a genius of vast intellect, an empire builder whose ideals were founded on peace, a man of extraordinary presence and intrepidity, seconded by his faithful lieutenant, Henri de Tonti.

De Tonti was descended from an Italian family who could claim as their inheritance the traditions of Rome when that city ruled on three continents. De Tonti was cast in a heroic mold: a man of the highest character, chivalrous, courageous, honorable in all of his dealings with the Indians. They, in turn, gave to him freely their respect and their admiration.

His deeds among the Indians became a legend, and he was known as the Great Peacemaker among the tribes from Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi. Seldom have two strong leaders been so well matched.

As Arkansans, we may well be proud of our first citizens, who, in winning the friendship of the Indians in the Valley, made possible the framework of French empire in America, that more than a century later came to fruition in the Louisiana Purchase, which gave to our country the base for its reach from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Arkansas has been destined for greatness from the beginning. De Soto's chroniclers praised its resources. La Salle, who later received the Great River Valley in fief from Louis XIV of France, on his first journey down the Mississippi, took possession of this new domain in a stately ceremony where now stands Arkansas Post,

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

his perceptive mind seeing this land of the Arkansans as the keystone of the arch of continental dominion—a land of such beauty no pen could describe it, De Tonti tells us, building his Poste de Arkansans on the fief given him in feudal fashion by his friend, La Salle, who, like De Soto, found death instead of the Dream.

The man who could win the hearts of the savage Indians and plan an empire was shot down in cold blood by two of his own men he had come to rescue.

So does the great Dream for a time seem lost and wholly forgotten; but the Dream is our immortality.

It cannot die so long as the human spirit is willing to cherish its substance. In this hour of the twentieth century, the Dream these strong men cherished and died for, has come down to us as our heritage, a magnificent gift of courage and inspiration, for which we should thank God each day we live to enjoy it.

Fellow Arkansans, ours is a gift of Arkansas! Think of it as these men did, as the noble keystone

of the arch that is our country. It is in our power to create in Arkansas a fulfillment of all the endeavors that lift men into greatness. Let us accept this challenge, in the hope that wisdom may dwell in our speech, goodwill in our hearts, kindness in our thoughts, courage

in our hands for the worthy work that each of us can do

to enhance the beauty of our State, to enrich its prospects in keeping with the original meaning of the name,

in the ancient language of the Quapawa, "U-gakh-pa—Arkansas, The Place of the Handsome Men," remembering the homespun adage, that Handsome is as Handsome does!

This is our Arkansas—this gift of destiny, this land of showery prairies and sunlit mountains, this flowering country of trees and shining rivers, lakes like jewels, vine-shaded bayous, a country of Dream, the great Dream of the past centuries,

now in our hands to be molded and shaped to reality!

This is our Arkansas, a lovely land! let us cherish it, love it, and keep it lovely forever!

DAVID SARNOFF

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, David Sarnoff was a man of astounding vision.

As a pioneer in the field of broadcast media, he gave us the high quality of news broadcasting that we all too often take for granted today. He was re-

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spected nationwide as one who could understand the complex language of the scientists and engineers involved in new broadcasting techniques, and yet who could also translate this into meaningful operations benefiting the entire world—even in their own living rooms, in color, and in quality that represents the very best in our lives.

Aside of course from his brilliant career in broadcasting and his deep and rare understanding of corporate finance, David Sarnoff worked diligently during World War II in the headquarters of General Eisenhower in Europe as a communications consultant, where he was promoted to a brigadier general in 1944.

To the very end, David Sarnoff was an active citizen, interested in important domestic issues at home and especially involved in the field of foreign relations.

Mrs. Reid joins me in extending our deepest sympathies to Mrs. Sarnoff, to David's son, Robert, who is carrying forward the memory of his father, to his two other sons and to all others in his family whom we are thinking of at this time of sorrow.

A NEW BOOST FOR ILLEGAL ALIENS

HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, section 241(f) of the Immigration and Nationality Act has been so broadly interpreted by the ninth U.S. circuit court of appeals that fraud could be the new vehicle for an illegal alien to achieve permanent residence in the United States.

The section states that anyone who enters the United States "by fraud or misrepresentation" cannot be deported if he was "otherwise admissible" at the time of entry and subsequently married or had a child.

Immigration officials advise me that unless the Supreme Court reverses the circuit court in a fraud case involving a Mexican woman, the floodgates may be open and our immigration laws rendered useless.

In this particular case, a Mexican woman came to an American hospital for prenatal care on a nonimmigrant visa. She bore a child and overstayed her time, then told Immigration she had really intended to come into the United States for permanent residence. She went to court, and the court ruled that because she bore a child, an American citizen, she could stay.

The ninth circuit's ruling sets up these interesting possibilities for fraud:

First. An individual who enters with false documents cannot be deported if he or she marries or becomes a parent.

Second. An individual who obtains a visa or other document fraudulently is protected from deportation in the same circumstances.

Third. An individual who enters the country as a false citizen, whether by

oral declaration or with fraudulent documentation, is protected if he was "otherwise admissible" and attained a family status.

These words—"otherwise admissible"—neatly circumvent immigration quotas under the ninth circuit's interpretation.

I am advised by Immigration officials that there have been numerous cases involving Chinese, particularly from Hong Kong, who are brought in this way by Chinese-American organizations.

Many would be "otherwise admissible" but cannot come in because of quota restrictions. And so the court now says they may stay, even though they claim false relationship to an American, because they could have come in legally under the quota.

Joseph Sureck, southwest regional counsel of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, says this interpretation of law "has resulted in a phenomenon strange to the enforcement of immigration laws. Suddenly many aliens who are in the United States as nonimmigrants, or in illegal status, but who have the requisite family ties, have come forward to admit that they allegedly committed fraud at the time of entry into the United States. Thus, many hundreds of aliens who have, or shall acquire, a citizen or resident spouse, parent or child, may acquire nondeportable status upon their self-serving statements admitting fraud without subjecting themselves to the careful scrutiny of an American consul abroad—as do thousands of aliens similarly situated."

Sureck concludes:

It is anomalous that aliens otherwise eligible for its benefits may even be "inventing" deception to place themselves within reach of Section 241(f). It appears that as far as this subsection is concerned, fraud has become a virtue.

THE FOGGY FELLOWS OF FOGGY BOTTOM

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, the State Department has recently announced that it is their conclusion that further shipment of American fighter bombers to Israel at this time is unnecessary because the Russians have exercised "restraint" in arms shipments to the Arabs, particularly Egypt.

Fairy tales used to commence with, "Once upon a time," or "The Pentagon today announced." Yet perhaps the most fanciful tales of all start with: "The State Department acknowledged or said today."

In the past several years, the State Department has sought to do for the Russians and Arabs diplomatically what those two unholy friends have so long failed to accomplish on the battlefield: Hasten the erosion of Israel's hard-earned position of strength in the Middle East.

Today Israel is our only reliable friend in the Middle East. She stands astride the geographical linchpin of three continents, denying to a resurgent Soviet naval presence the swift access to the Indian Ocean so long sought by the rulers of Russia. An ever-growing Soviet merchant marine would benefit immeasurably from opening of the Suez Canal and eventual control of the access route leading from it into the Indian Ocean. Already a Soviet base has been established on an island in this area.

Yet the U.S. State Department has persistently sought to undermine the determination of Israel not to give ground there. Like some blind beast, it butts its head against the wall of reality, determined to show that it can make stupidity conquer all.

Geopolitical reality and morality remain unknown phrases to them. Soviet threats and growing military leverage in the eastern Mediterranean are ignored. Arab bad faith and intransigence are also left in limbo. What belongs to the enemies of Israel and the United States is theirs. But what is ours and Israel's is negotiable, under the handbook utilized by Foggy Bottom. Secretary Rogers seems to have swallowed this garbage to the ultimate degree. In the name of what he sees as statesmanship, he stumbles blindly trying to press one nonsensical plan after another upon the hardheaded leaders of Israel, who have lived too long with Arab perfidy and Russian duplicity to yield their strategic advantage.

All the State Department and this administration can see is what Israel should give up. The only question they seem to continue to ask is: "How many miles back will Israel move as a starter?" Not a word about guarantees of Israel's borders. Not a word about an arms balance in the area. Not a word about Israel's battle to live. Not a single strong effort to raise a worldwide storm of indignation over Russia's Jews and their outrageous treatment. Only a persistent, mindless effort to undermine the one strong position occupied by our only ally in the most important geographical crossroads in the world.

Meanwhile, the Soviets and Egypt have just signed a major treaty providing for massive commitments over a lengthy period. Yet we see this and other developments as a sign of restraint, according to the foggy minds of Foggy Bottom.

Their rhetoric toward Israel's desperate efforts to obtain more planes underlines the hypocrisy of their true feelings. The gentlemen down there have never harbored anything but hostile feelings to the "inconvenience" that Israel has traditionally posed to them.

They are constantly "studying" her requests. They are always "considering" her positions. They are usually "reviewing" her needs. In each case we may as well call them what they are. Weasel words designed to mask deliberate efforts at sabotage of this tiny nation and her efforts to survive. Israel just will not go away, and the foggy fellows of Foggy Bottom refuse to accept this fact. It would appear that their secret solution to the Middle East dilemma would be de-

struction of Israel by her circle of foes. They will never admit it, but nonetheless, their actions point in that direction. But, of course, oh, so discreetly, old fellow.

The latest refusal of our Government, acting on State Department advice, to deny further Phantom jets to Israel, is a body blow to long-range American interests in that part of the world. It is a classic example of how the foggy thinking in Foggy Bottom can effectively do Russia's work within the Federal Government. It is almost a classic betrayal of a brave, sturdy ally by an unfeeling, unthinking bureaucracy.

Our State Department has rarely enjoyed a positive image in the eyes of the Nation at large and Capitol Hill in particular in the past 25 years. Yet up to now it has not sunk too low. Now I would say that the foggy fellows of Foggy Bottom would have to stand on tiptoe to touch bottom.

MULTIPLE SCLEROSIS

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a letter from my friend and constituent, Mr. John L. Gigerich, vice president of the Indiana National Bank in Indianapolis. Because of the eloquence with which John Gigerich points up the sad plight of half a million victims of multiple sclerosis in this country—especially in view of the paltry Federal effort in this critical area—I urge my colleagues to consider his words, which follow:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,
December 2, 1971.

HON. ANDREW JACOBS,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR ANDY: A personal tragedy of some magnitude has invaded my complacent environment. I was recently informed that my wife Margaret, whom you have met on several occasions, has multiple sclerosis. This is, of course, shock, dismay and bitterness; however, once I had regained control of my emotions, I began a rather systematic research into this dreaded disease. What I have found is shocking.

It is estimated, Andy, that 500,000 people, or one out of 400 citizens of this country, suffer from M.S. The disease apparently strikes 70% of its victims between the ages of 20 and 40—in effect, young mothers and young fathers who usually have children and financial responsibilities. The disease is a chronic, non-curable disorder which cripples and robs one of all motor functions.

It is easy to assume that victims of this disease and their families, particularly when the victim is the breadwinner, must rely on public assistance and welfare to provide their basic necessities.

As of yet there is not even a constructive therapy and/or drug treatment for this disorder; however, when reviewing the status of the research into this disorder, it is very encouraging. For example, research as funded by the Multiple Sclerosis Society has successfully induced an M.S.-type disease into test animals and has been successful in preventing this disease in animals. They have identified the basic protein and bio-chemical reactions involved in this test disease and feel

that it might have direct applications to humans.

As the above thumb-nail sketch indicates, medical research is narrowing in on this disorder; however, I find it extremely shocking that since 1946, the last 25 years, this organization has been able to fund only \$14,000,000 in research projects, or approximately \$1 of research per year for every known victim of the disease. I also find it extremely disturbing that our government can provide a proposed foreign aid budget in excess of \$2,000,000,000 for military weapons, hardware and means to kill, but provide no funds for this type of basic medical research. In every booklet and fact sheet I have been able to obtain from the M.S. Society, they all contain one simple statement: "We are confident that we are asking the right questions and are investigating the right characteristics of the disease to find a cure and preventative, but we lack adequate funds to accomplish it within a reasonable time." It is hard for me as a taxpayer to understand why the government cannot fund this type of research.

For example, a \$10,000,000 Federal grant to the M.S. foundation in the next fiscal budget would be a contribution by our government of \$20 per patient. It is easy to assume that the on-going cost of public assistance to families where the wage earner is stricken and the medical cost of caring for a large number of patients who tend to be bedridden by their disease would be much more than the proposed grant to find a cure. It seems a cheap price to place on good health to be asking \$20 per patient; however, when reviewing the progress that has been made in researching the disease on a limited budget of \$14,000,000 over the last 25 years, a one-time allotment of \$10,000,000 may be all that is required to eliminate another of man's great afflictions.

I would appreciate a reply from you on this matter. I realize you are but one of 400 plus congressmen; however, you are the one I know, the one I believe in, and the one I trust. My motivation in writing this letter, of course, is my wife's condition; however, it seems so unreconcilable to me that out of the \$100,000,000,000 plus we spend per year, some of it on utter nonsense, we cannot afford a minor amount such as \$10,000,000 for research into a dreaded disease which afflicts a half million Americans in the prime of life. I hope your reply to me is in the form of a proposed and passed bill authorizing the funding of M.S. research during the next fiscal year.

Sincerely,

JOHN L. GIGERICH,

HOWARD ROCK, EDITOR OF
TUNDRA TIMES

HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, one of the many men who have contributed to the direction and force of the Alaska Natives' future is the editor and publisher of the Tundra Times, Mr. Howard Rock.

Mr. Rock has been editor and publisher for more than 10 years of the Native newspaper with the largest circulation in Alaska. Because of his great abilities in the field of journalism, Howard has had the opportunity to bring news and opinion to the villages in Alaska. While one might imagine that the dissemination of news information is not a difficult

task, the unique problems of Alaska make his achievements more enviable. His newspaper enjoys a weekly circulation of more than 45,000 and brings Native news and culture to the villages and cities of Alaska.

Recently, the Anchorage Daily News published an article which I believe captures the talents and strength of Alaskan editor Howard Rock. At this time, I insert a copy of the article as it appeared in the Anchorage Daily News of November 14, 1971.

HOWARD ROCK—EDITOR, ARTIST, THINKER,
ESKIMO

(By Allan Frank)

The world of Howard Rock is pervasive. The influence emanates from his dual talents as newspaperman and artist.

In Fairbanks, he edits and publishes the weekly Tundra Times, a Native newspaper with a circulation of one in London, England and about 4,500 in Alaska.

But an equally long-lasting and certainly more diffuse influence may be his oil paint recordings of Eskimo culture. Designs etched by Rock years ago have given people everywhere some of their popular artifact knowledge of the Eskimo.

The newspaper he has run for 10 years really began as a digression from his art, which he fueled from childhood experiences.

Brown eyes alight, Rock recounts the early days in Point Hope, where Episcopalian missionaries made Eskimos Christians and neglected to keep birth records.

"For a whole week at Christmas time, we had great feasts with dancing and dog racing. My parents used to tell me that the oldtimers had similar celebrations before Christianity was introduced there.

"It was about the same time of year when the sun began to return and the elders had a holiday week," Rock says.

White people had no culture shock effect on Rock, because they had been there before he was born. In fact, he even had a Korean playmate who was the adopted son of a missionary.

When Rock talks glowingly of his favorite childhood event, the annual coming of the U.S. Coast Guard cutter Bear, now immortalized in a Rock painting hanging at the University of Alaska, the isolation of Point Hope becomes vivid.

"I remember getting my first orange from the crew on the Bear. It was so sweet, I just ate a section a day . . . We were used to white men, but when I was 6, I saw my first Negro on the cutter Bear.

"He was apparently a cook. He had a great big smile and he gave me some roast beef which I liked very much. He was a nice man. We got along very well," Rock says.

By Aug. 10, 1911, when he came into being as the fifth of eight children, the missionaries had already changed his father's Inupiat Eskimo name, Weyakok (meaning rock) to Sam Rock and his mother Keshorna to Emma.

His parents had named him Siqvon after his maternal grandmother, but he soon was tabbed Howard. "It's just a name," he says easily.

The Weyakok-Rock clan still rings Arctic bells as one of the renowned sea mammal hunting families; his late brother Allen caught one of the largest whales ever harpooned in the Chukchi Sea. His little sister Ruth, now Mrs. Bernard Nash, even captained a whaling boat last season.

His brow furrowed with the smiles of decades, Rock remembers: "When I was a youngster, I hunted whales with my father's crew. We looked for bowheads and baleens.

"The whales are just beginning to come back to their former numbers. Many of them

were killed off during the 1890s when baleen was used for women's corsets," he says.

But Rock forsook whaling for life as an artist. "I worked my way out on the B.I.A. boat North Star during the summer of 1934. I haven't lived steadily in Point Hope for a long time," he says.

"I went away to school, then worked in jewelry places designing Alaska-type things," he says modestly.

Rock attended missionary grade school in Point Hope and a Bureau of Indian Affairs high school at White Mountain before one of his teachers recommended that he go to Trill, Ore., for more formal art training.

In Trill, he studied with Max Simes, Belgian artist who also was a retired U.S. Navy chief petty officer. "I got my lessons in return for cooking and that kind of thing—cutting the grass type jobs."

After Simes' expert tutelage, Rock touched canvas at the University of Washington art department. "I studied for three years before I ran out of money. The government loan of \$900 a year was too thin."

He then was employed by several Seattle jewelers who kept him busy designing plates, carvings and miniatures.

One white friend of Rock's says rather indignantly: "Howard got paid for his work, but his designs weren't patented or anything. It's a disgrace.

"I can take you window shopping in Fairbanks or Anchorage and every store will have some design of Howard's or a copy. His Alaska designs are copied all over the world."

Somehow, while doing that commercial artwork, Rock also painted more than 100 quality Alaskan canvases, which now hang as far away as Texas, Hawaii and Florida.

In the early 1960s, one of his last paintings sold for \$1,000 at a smash one-man show in Fairbanks that helped finance his budding career as a newspaperman.

His transition to typewriter and printers' ink was marked by his last drawing, the "flag" of the Tundra Times, which portrays the meeting of the Eskimo and Indian cultures.

His pursuit of art had drawn him to Point Hope in June, 1961, where he planned a leisurely summer, sketching life on the beach. The vacation also was billed as a reunion with his family, whom he had seen at home only in 1948.

Instead of a peaceful arctic village, he found his people gravely concerned about Project Chariot, an Atomic Energy Commission plan to build an underwater harbor by exploding five nuclear bombs.

The AEC had appropriated 70,000 acres of land dear to the Eskimos of the Cape Thompson region who knew little of land claims.

The village elders, heated about settling land claims, were infuriated by AEC interference to their traditional hunting and fishing grounds. They demanded an explanation and the AEC sent a missionary to "inform" them.

When that failed and several University of Alaska professors began discovering extensive radiation in the Eskimo food chain, the AEC sent in a team of scientists to convince the Eskimos Project Chariot was "safe."

Naturally Howard Rock served as a village spokesman at the hearings, and in the fall of 1961 was approached by the Arctic Slope Native Association to form a newspaper.

"Who says Eskimos can't talk back . . . When we first started tackling radiation, it was a hush-hush deal. Now it's a worldwide concern," Rock says almost gleefully.

At its organization meeting in Barrow. The new Arctic Slope Native Association also asked Tom Snapp, then a white reporter for the Fairbanks News-Miner, Miss LaVerne Madigan of the American Association of Indian Affairs (AAIA) and Guy Okakok of Barrow to start a newspaper.

Snapp, now editor of the All-Alaska Weekly, remembers: "I said you want a newsletter

and they said, 'No, we want a newspaper.' They knew the difference and they wanted a full-fledged newspaper because they couldn't get their issues (land claims, the AEC and subsistence hunting, and fishing rights) covered in other papers."

Snapp and Rock returned to Fairbanks where they thought they could track down money by writing to foundations.

"The problem was either the foundations didn't fit or they wanted proposals that required several thousand dollars to prepare. Of course, we didn't have any money," Snapp says.

A transplanted Virginian, Snapp talks with a soft, full Southern accent. "We did something we weren't really supposed to do. Miss Madigan told us who the five richest people on the AAlA board were.

"Dr. Henry S. Forbes of Milton, Mass. who's related to Ralph Waldo Emerson, headed that list. Howard wrote a long time, then sent him a formal, stilted letter. We didn't hear anything for a long time. Then he called and asked us to send him our reasons why we needed a newspaper and what the issues were," Snapp says.

"I wrote all night long—must have been 85-100 pages. He called back to say that he was prepared to back the paper with \$35,000 for the first year with the stipulation that Howard would be the editor and I would be his assistant," he says.

Rock remembers. "The desk man at the Nordale Hotel got me out of the little back room where I was living to take the call. Dr. Forbes told me he would back the paper under one condition: That I become editor."

"I tried to make excuses. I told him I didn't know anything about journalism. He persisted. I had to accept to get the paper for the people.

"We started out very cold, but I was fortunate to get Tom Snapp, who showed me journalism as we went along," he says.

"It was a huge challenge for me, but after I learned a little bit about it, I was very much fascinated," Rock declares.

Within a year, Rock and Snapp set up shop and began printing an eight page newspaper which has continued ever since. The Tundra Times was born on Oct. 1, 1962, with an initial free distribution of 5,000 copies to villages.

"We had one subscriber, Mrs. Deva Ahvankana from Barrow, who sent in her money five days before we printed," Rock says.

The twosome began to roam the streets of Fairbanks with Rock's artist eye and Snapp's guiding hand melding the best in journalism.

"Howard's a painter. He had never written a word for print in his life," Snapp says.

"I just disregarded conventional means of teaching journalism. We would just sit down and we would write. I'd ask Howard what he was proud about and what he wanted the paper to contain," he says.

"It was fantastic. We'd go into a supermarket and see cranberries in a plastic bag. Howard would say, 'That's not new; we've been doing it for years—with intestines,'" Snapp recounts.

Howard would sit down and write about it. "Did you know that they make raincoats out of intestines. That's right, raincoats. Been doing it for years," he says.

"He wrote for months about Arctic survival and it ought to be reprinted. It's got some fantastic stuff in it," Snapp insists.

"When I wrote editorials, I would tend to be dramatic and overstate. Although he was a little rough at first, Howard was a master from the start of the understatement," Snapp says.

"There's a natural feel to his writing. Howard writes really effective editorials by real marked understatement. He follows the same thing in news.

Amidst the curios in the Tundra Times office, two citations from the Alaska Press Club salute Rock for the "best continuing column" in 1962 and 1963.

Characteristically, Rock says of the early day: "I learned what the printed word can do. I've got two good reporters. I've been lucky to have trained people, starting with Tom Snapp."

"I've been able to get things pretty well done by being truthful and firm, rather than shouting. By doing it that way, you can get the same or better results," Rock philosophizes.

The Tundra Times' most concrete accomplishment was the 1965 abolition of "semi-servitude" for the people of the Pribilof Islands, Rock and Snapp say.

"In those days, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries controlled the Pribilofs. It was kind of a company store arrangement where the hunters were paid in kind for their seal skins. They had to barter with the government," Rock says.

After a Tundra Times "expose series," that took about 18 months to prepare, Rock says, "Sen. Bartlett and the governor got a hold of the thing. The senator introduced a bill in Congress and the governor appointed a commission, including me, to investigate there for a week."

"The commission looked like it was going to whitewash things, and Willard Bowman and myself opposed it. We threatened a minority report and called a press conference in Juneau. Some people practically called us and our reporter Communists," he says.

The Tundra Times series apparently had some impact since the reserve status of the islands was changed, and 69 people received social security benefits that they hadn't gotten before.

"By golly, St. Paul and George (in the Pribilofs) are really charming places," he says quietly. "I guess they're a little better now."

The Tundra has been getting results for about ten years now. Throughout its history, Rock has harped quietly about Native land claims, rural housing, education, sanitation, the AEC and fishing and hunting rights.

The paper's only continuing hurdle is financial; getting 4,500 copies printed costs more than \$1,000 a week.

Even with a \$10 subscription fee, the Tundra Times must rely on its annual banquet and Eskimo Olympics to pay modest salaries to Rock and his staff of seven.

The banquet, which started in 1964 with Joe Rothstein, then executive editor of The Anchorage Daily News as guest speaker, has become an institution for Tundra Times supporters.

Seeress Jean Dixon, who donates her weekly column to the TT, was keynote this year for a packed house of 500, who paid \$15 apiece to boost the newspaper banquet.

Other speakers have included actor Vincent Price, columnist Jack Anderson and in 1968, then Secretary of Interior Stuart Udall.

Udall made national news at the Tundra Times banquet by announcing a land freeze to protect Alaska Native land claims. A fitting act, since Rock has been one of the most consistent and certainly the most widely circulated spokesman for land claims.

A gentle graying 60, Rock has earned his rank as the elder statesman spiritual grandfather to a growing band of young turks among Native leaders.

He dreams of the day when the Tundra Times might become a statewide newspaper and he can turn the reins to Thomas Richards Jr., a 22-year-old Kotzebue Eskimo who will leave the U.S. Navy next year.

"I don't do much writing now, except the editorials. I've got several good writers and I just do the layout," he says.

Snapp and Richards offer a somewhat different assessment of the editor's performance on Tuesday, the day the paper goes to press.

"Howard's an artist who makes his page layouts perfect," says Snapp.

Richards says: "Watching Howard on Tuesday is some kind of pain. It's like he's giving

birth and he's tough to get along with. The rest of the week, we got along fine."

After the paper is put to bed, Rock leaves his second story office on Fairbank's Second Ave. and stops at his informal office, Tommy's Elbow Room, where he holds court many evenings before walking another block to his home.

After a pert barmaid brings him a liquid tribute to Jim Beam bourbon with a splash of water—known locally as "The Howard," Rock begins exercising his crystal clear memories for the people assembled to listen at his special table.

Before a sip is lifted, someone at the table interrupts: "Tell us how you almost became the Conrad Hilton of North Africa."

Shades of Bogart.

"I was drafted into the Air Force during the Second World War. I knew colors and I wanted to be a camouflage artist. They gave me a test and said I could work on instruments or radio operations," he begins.

"After Florida and South Dakota, I spent 18 months in North Africa."

"One night in Tunis, I went into a French bar, Le Royale. I was having some muscat wine, when three ladies, one tall, one medium and one short, walked in," the 5-foot-7½ Rock says. "They were talking French and the tall one leaned over," he says while lapsing into French, Excusez-moi, monsieur. Avez-vous une cigarette Americain?"

"I gave her a Camel. Then the little one leaned over and said 'My friend is very rude.' Pretty soon we were talking and she left me a little note with the address of her hotel on it," Rock says with a roguish half-smile.

"On my day off, I went to the address and there she was. Her name was Madoline Falcon and she owned two hotels. I stayed there 14 months.

"They kind of taught me French. I would say something, they would laugh and encourage me to say more. I asked why it was so funny. They said because I talked like a French bebe.

"I went back to Seattle and became an artist . . ."

Somebody else interrupts, "Do you ever get the feeling that you want to be an artist again?"

"I get a little itchy now and then. I doodle sometimes. I'll tell you one thing—knowing what I know now, I could paint a lot better," Rock says.

COORS BEER ACTIVE FOR BETTER ENVIRONMENT

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, since I do not drink beer, I am no authority on any brew. But when I heard the story of what the Coors Brewery was doing on environment I was impressed. The Coors Beer Co. has undertaken a positive program of action that is a tribute to American industry.

The Coors environmental program centers upon a total commitment to aluminum packaging and recycling. President William Coors says:

Recycling is the key to a good environment for America. Aluminum has high salvage value—ten times more than tinplate. That makes aluminum recycling realistic, and consistent with quality environment.

Coors new aluminum cans will be made by a division of Coors Porcelain Co., headed by Joseph Coors.

The Coors Co. plan calls for any group or individual to be paid 10 cents per pound for aluminum containers—which means every 24 cans collected is worth a dime. And redemptions are not limited to Coors aluminum cans, but include any aluminum containers.

Along with the recycling plans, Coors has developed a second project for environmental control. The company is introducing a new six-can package to be known as a Stik-Pak which will feature cans held together by drops of glue, so that no carton or wrapping of any kind is required. The new package also will eliminate the ring-pull opener, which Coors said has become a growing source of environmental concern. In its place will be a press-tab opening device which folds into the can.

In addition to the cash-for-cans program and the new packaging for its beer, Coors began last January 1 paying 1 cent each for all Coors bottles returned to any Coors distributor or cooperating retailer. In September, 64 percent of all Coors bottles marketed that month were returned.

The benefits to America of such programs as Coors Brewery has introduced are unlimited. In 21 months of the cash-for-cans program, Coors has paid out more than \$1.8 million dollars, which represents more than 444 million cans returned for recycling. Along with environmental benefits, civic and service organizations, students, youth groups, and a variety of community causes are all benefiting from the program.

Members of a Boy Scout Troop in Platteville, Colo., have added \$75 to its camping supply fund through redeeming aluminum cans and Coors beer bottles. The fire department in Denver is collecting aluminum cans for KHW-35-TV, the department's closed circuit television station used in the televised training of Denver firemen and policemen. Cash-for-cans has helped fund the United Cerebral Palsy Association through the wives of the California Angels baseball; it provided hot meals for elderly shut-ins in Tucson; it funded a film on coastal conservation by the Sierra Club of Carmel, Calif.

Mr. Speaker, the Adolph Coors Co. is truly a leader in American industry in its projects for protecting our environment. Coors has begun a great program. With industrial leadership like Coors, we can look for America to be more beautiful tomorrow.

VICTIMS OF THE BLOOD LOTTERY

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, we often hear statistics documenting the severity of a given disease, or the extent of a problem, and the need for action is demonstrated on the basis of these statistics. But numbers cannot really relate the grief they try to represent.

I recently introduced a bill which aims to prevent the suffering caused by serum hepatitis. This disease is contracted by patients who receive blood carrying the hepatitis virus. This virus does not immediately affect the patient, but often attacks when the individual is well on the way to recovery. Imagine the effect on a family when a member begins to return to an active, normal life after successful surgery, only to return to the hospital, stricken with transfusion hepatitis. These families are the losers in the deadly blood lottery, involuntarily played by all blood recipients.

Since I introduced my bill, I have received letters from all over the country from people who have lived with the trauma of serum hepatitis. A sample of these letters follows:

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE VEYSEY: This is just a note to thank you for your efforts to introduce legislation to regulate blood banks and its licensing.

My husband is one of those in the over-forty group; and is a victim of serum hepatitis. Three years ago he had a bleeding duodenal ulcer and because of respiratory problems had to have eight (8) pints of blood—it wasn't thirty days until he was desperately ill with the hepatitis. He has suffered irreparable liver damage (medical terminology being "chronic actine hepatitis and hepatic cirrhosis").

In 1969 he was off from work nine months, 1970 six months, this year he has worked since January, we keep our fingers crossed and are grateful for every day he can get around.

We hope and pray this bill will pass and be rigorously enforced.

Our doctor tells us that every pint of blood received after the first one, the chances of one contracting hepatitis were greater and almost a surety.

May I suggest that every person that is a donor be required to have a certificate of clean bill of health from his or her doctor before being allowed to donate blood, because there are hepatic carriers just the same as there are typhoid and diphtheria carriers or tuberculosis. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. S. D. ANDERSON.

GARDEN GROVE, CALIF.

DEAR REP. VEYSEY: I read with interest your introducing legislation urging controls on blood banks.

My wife has just recovered from hepatitis, which I will always believe came from blood she received after recent surgery. I understand 90% of the cases of hepatitis are contracted this way.

We were on vacation when she became ill and was hospitalized in a Texas hospital. She could have died. All this was costly not only in mental and physical anguish, but financial as well. I had to leave my wife and drive home. When she was able to travel, she flew home.

I feel that we have government regulations covering our food and many other things, why are we so careless about our blood donors? I can't help but believe all these things my wife had to go through would not have happened if the donor had been checked before accepting his blood.

I back you 100% in your endeavor to control blood banks and am sending a copy of this to my Representative in hopes he will back you, also.

Sincerely yours,

JULIAN S. OGBURN, JR.

RICHMOND, VA.

SIR: I support your bill on blood bank control to curb hepatitis. My father died in

April after having open heart surgery in December at the Veterans Hospital in Washington, D.C. He was doing good until March. There is a murder around, in my opinion, so I hope and pray it passes.

RICHARD GAUGHAN.

CUMBERLAND, Md.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN VEYSEY: Many thanks for offering legislation in Congress to regulate blood banks.

Thousands of Americans have felt the need for this restriction for a long time.

Many of us have relatives who have suffered because of having received bad blood following operations.

In Los Angeles, one of the leading newspapers (L.A. Times) carries a daily advertisement in the personal column offering \$4.00 per pint for blood—residents of "skid row" are the main contributors.

One of my nephews underwent open heart surgery last February. He is still in the hospital suffering from serum hepatitis which he contracted through blood transfusions received during the operation. He has been actually fighting for his life.

Congratulations on your interest, and I certainly hope your bill is adopted.

Sincerely yours,

MARY F. HEYMAN.

NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

TELEMEDICINE AND TELEEDUCATION

HON. WILLIAM R. ANDERSON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, in the face of the many perplexing changes taking place in our Nation today science and technology have become dirty words. At least to a seemingly increasing number of concerned individuals and groups.

What we perhaps need to recognize more fully is that it is the way we utilize science and technology that makes these dimensions of progress good or evil. We need to sharpen up our imaginations on how to apply our abundant and growing technology to fields of human social concern—toward an improved quality of life on earth. We led the world in the industrial revolution and in the technological revolution. Our challenge now is to lead the world in applying our industrial and technological capacities to the benefit of all mankind. This is the last remaining vacuum into which the United States can move—not only to solve its own problems—but to recapture a suitable international leadership position and a measure of worldwide esteem.

Mr. Speaker, recently I had the opportunity to be briefed by Mr. Raymond Welsh of the bioscience department of the General Electric Co. on one of the more important benefits of space spinoff, and the tremendous potential for applying existing space technology toward alleviating earthly needs.

Specifically, the application of modern telecommunications, including the use of relay satellites, can be made to improve the quality of medical education, consultation, and diagnosis, as well as the actual delivery of health care to rural or urban areas which are remote to a core medical facility.

The capability exists today to interconnect city medical schools and hospitals and to extend this integrated capability to suburban hospitals and into outlying area clinics. The overall system consists of two major subsystems: tele-education and telemedicine.

Teleducation is the extension of standard teacher/student relationships to an environment which is independent of the distance between them. This is accomplished by extending the coverage of a specific teacher by providing two-way audio/video communication between lecturer and a remotely located class.

Telemedicine provides a capability for consultation between doctor and a remote patient via two-way television hookup and telemetry of patient data. Such a system counteracts the unequal distribution of doctors which creates regions of inadequate medical care. Specific examples of the application of telemedicine include remote or ghetto clinics manned by paramedics for specialist consultation with a major medical center. Remote hospitals comprise another example.

Such a program has been initiated in northeastern Pennsylvania, using the facilities of the Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital as a core center which will be linked to Wilkes College and other area institutions in the northern areas of the State of Pennsylvania. The inauguration of this program is due principally to the foresight of our distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania (Mr. Flood); Mr. Wharton Shober, president of the Hahnemann Medical College; and the bioscience department of the General Electric Co.

It is my hope that the Pennsylvania plan will become a blueprint for a nationwide effort to utilize existing space technology in a way which will extend needed medical and other services to all Americans regardless of geography or economics, and eventually to the entire world.

In such efforts I see a new American dream—one that can excite our countrymen—one that can be fulfilled.

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.,
ACTION MANIFESTO—SOUTH
AFRICA, GUINEA-BISSAU, AND
CAPE VERDE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Detroit (Mr. Diggs) completed this summer an important factfinding trip to several areas of Africa. Included on his itinerary were Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, and South Africa.

Tuesday, December 14, Mr. Diggs held a news conference at which he released a document of great importance. As Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, our colleague's views on United States African policy rate close attention. His "Action Manifesto as a Result of My Trip to South Africa, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde"

contains Mr. Diggs' recommendations concerning U.S. policies. My hope is that these recommendations will be read and acted upon in this Congress and by the Nixon administration.

The material follows:

ACTION MANIFESTO AS A RESULT OF MY TRIP TO SOUTH AFRICA, GUINEA-BISSAU AND CAPE VERDE

(By HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., chairman, Subcommittee on Africa Committee on Foreign Affairs)

PROLOGUE

This prologue which is drawn from my Press Statement of September 15, upon my return from the fact-finding mission to several African countries, including Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and South Africa, is designed to provide a background for this Action Manifesto which consists of a number of recommendations for United States Policy resulting, for the most part, from the trip. In view of the immediacy of concern on the proposed Heath/Smith settlement, and in view of the action which was announced last week by this government of the agreement on the Azores, recommendations have been added on these two subjects.

The visit to Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde was extremely informative, both on the stark racism of the Portuguese Government and on the tenuous situation of the Portuguese in Guinea-Bissau. Guinea-Bissau is an armed camp, and the Portuguese are indeed beleaguered. At the same time, it was obvious that a consideration of the effect of the PAIGC must include not only its military gains and its concomitant efforts to improve conditions in the liberated areas, but even the housing, health and educational programs currently being undertaken in the Portuguese-held areas in Guinea and on Cape Verde.

The basic fact which I found on the fact-finding mission to South Africa was the indomitable spirit and the unquenchable will of the people of South Africa to be free. I have returned with the conviction that majority rule in South Africa is inevitable and the rest of the world, particularly the United States, has no choice but to get on the side of freedom.

I am not prepared to start predicting when or how, but the countdown has begun.

Our government, at present, decries violence as a means of liberation, without condemning the violence which the South African Government uses to enforce the subjugation of the majority of the people. The United States must recognize that any means are legitimate so long as the recalcitrance of the South African Government continues.

For, despite some questioning among some of the white elements in South Africa, the situation of the African is worsening. He has no right of political participation in the government, no right of movement, no right to work or even to live with his family. We found no evidence either that the inhuman, all pervasive restrictions on the majority of the people, or that the repressive laws—applicable against anyone, black or white, who opposes the system—are being mitigated one iota. In fact, the resettlement projects, the Terrorism Act trials, the detention, the tortures, the deaths in detention and the bannings by unchallengeable executive fiat continue. The pass laws, under which 2,500 Africans are arrested each day, symbolize the tyranny and the repression.

In my opinion, the United States, as the leading power in the world, must act to avoid the holocaust which will otherwise surely come. The government must reform its own employment practices in its enterprises, including the embassy and consulates in South Africa.

There is positively no justification, under

present administration policy, whereunder black foreign service officers are not assigned to South Africa. Such assignments must be made without delay. The city of Soweto has nearly a million blacks, there should be a USIS office there.

In my discussions with various U.S. business managers in South Africa, as well as in my visit to NASA, I found an utter lack of realization that blacks are human beings. The United States Government, in its own enlightened interest, must end its complicity with apartheid, and work towards the peaceful and expeditious termination of minority rule in South Africa.

It is incontrovertible that U.S. business, representing the second largest foreign investment in South Africa and concentrated in the manufacturing and dynamic sectors, buttresses the South African economy and, therefore, the present government and apartheid. Its presence not only renders the U.S. hostage to apartheid, it provides a stake in the status quo. Because of the innumerable policy and legal difficulties in forcing U.S. business to disengage, I am directing present efforts against the exploitation of the blacks by U.S. business, which uses the apartheid system as an excuse for slave labor practices.

The United States Government must use every legitimate means to bring U.S. business to dedicate itself to the principles and effectuation of fair employment practices with respect to wages, training and educational programs, fringe benefits, and special services and programs for the African. American firms must push beyond the limits of the permissible and end their racist practices. The signs—Whites Only—and the segregated facilities and the discrimination in jobs which we witnessed both in U.S. plants in South Africa and at the NASA facility there must be eliminated.

I have long opposed the sugar quota for South Africa, and frankly, I was shocked when I visited the sugar estates and actually witnessed the blatant racism of the Sugar Association and the deplorable conditions of employment for the sugar workers—the wages, the housing, the diet, and the long hours of work.

The potential of a free South Africa, with its tremendous natural, industrial, and human resources for all of its people, indeed, for all of Africa, is unlimited.

South Africa is not isolated from the tide of self-determination and freedom which has revolutionized the world in the middle of this century. Through the Charter of the United Nations, majority rule, self-determination and human rights have become recognized legal obligations of all member countries, including South Africa and the United States. The international community has been transformed from independent powers and dependent areas to communities of sovereign and independent states. This tide of freedom is a surging undertow in South Africa that will overcome.

We must utilize all our resources for its early realization; for although in the final analysis the resolution is coming from the people themselves, external forces and external assistance can make a vast difference in the way in which their freedom will be won.

I have thus issued this Action Manifesto with recommendations to the Secretary of State and to Dr. Kissinger for United States Government action.

1. That the United States take meaningful steps, as spelled out below, (1) to end its complicity with apartheid, (2) to implement its pronouncements of adherence to the principle of self-determination and of abhorrence of apartheid with concrete actions towards their realization, (3) to comply with United States obligations under Articles 1, 2, 55, and 56 of the United Nations Charter, and

(4) to act in accordance with the moral and legal standards of the Constitution.

That the United States Government show cause why it should not, as an earnest of its position on human rights and self-determination, downgrade its representation in South Africa and Portugal to the Chargé level.

3. That the United States condemn the violence with which the Government of South Africa and Portugal perpetuate their rule of these countries.

4. That the United States cease its condemnation of the efforts by the majority of the people of these areas to achieve their freedom by the only means available to them, and in reaffirmation of the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence—principles which gave birth to the American Revolution and to the United States of America—acknowledge the sacred right of these peoples to use, so long as the recalcitrance of those governments continues, whatever means are necessary to achieve self-determination and to win their freedom.

5. That the United States contribute to the United Nations Trust Fund. The Fund is made up of voluntary contributions and is used for:

"(a) Legal assistance to persons persecuted under the repressive and discriminatory legislation of South Africa;

"(b) Relief to such persons and their dependents;

"(c) Education of such persons and their dependents;

"(d) Relief for refugees from South Africa." (General Assembly Resolution 2397 (XXIII) of 2 December 1968).

The General Assembly Report of October, 1971 listed the following contributions as received during the previous 12 months: Austria, \$5,000; Belgium, \$20,149; Bulgaria, \$1,000; Cyprus, \$242; Denmark, \$66,796; Finland, \$25,000; France, \$20,000; Ghana, \$1,000; Ireland, \$2,750; Jamaica, \$840; Japan, \$20,000; Khmer Republic, \$1,000; Liberia, \$1,000; Morocco, \$3,972; Norway, \$35,000; Pakistan, \$3,000; Saudi Arabia, \$2,400; Sweden, \$77,369; Yugoslavia, \$1,000. Note, there was no contribution by the United States.

6. That United States NATO contributions to Portugal should be suspended until Portugal recognizes its obligations under the United Nations Charter with respect to the self-determination of the people of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, and until Portugal ceases its expenditure of a disproportionate amount of its budget to fight a colonial war in Africa. This recommendation is underscored by (1) the absence of any significant military reason for such contribution (the United States NATO contribution to Portugal amounts to "approximately one-fourth of one percent of Portuguese military expenditures") and (2) Portugal's expenditure of almost 50% of its budget for military purposes.

7. That the United States suspend all sales to the Portuguese armed forces until such time as Portugal takes the two actions specified in Recommendation 6.

8. That again, until Portugal takes the two actions specified in Recommendation 6, the United States suspend all sales to the Government of Portugal or to Portuguese buyers, whether such sales are public or commercial, of the following:

(a) Aircraft which can be used for troop transport;

(b) Arms, ammunition, and items of a weapons nature;

(c) Items for the use of, or by, the Portuguese armed forces;

(d) Spare parts and third party componentry for any of the above.

9. That United States export licenses for the sale of any of the items listed in the prior two paragraphs be denied. The present arms embargo against Portugal not only raises questions of adequacy of enforcement;

it continues a military partnership with Portugal without regard to either Portugal's violations of the rights of the people of those territories or to Portugal's obligations under international law, and indeed without regard to our own obligations under the United Nations Charter. Regulations of the Department of Commerce (validated and G-dest license controls) and State Department (Munitions Control) should be amended accordingly.

10. That the United States suspend all Export-Import Bank facilities to Portugal until such time as Portugal takes the two actions specified in Recommendation 6.

11. That the United States pursue a positive program for bringing Portugal to rethink its obdurate position on Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

12. That the United States cease its obstruction of efforts by other NATO countries to place on the agenda an item to reconsider NATO assistance to Portugal and that the United States Government use every effort to have this item placed on the agenda for the next NATO Council meeting.

13. That the United States take whatever steps are necessary, including amending its validated license regulations, to prevent the sale of defoliants to Portuguese buyers.

14. That the United States clearly and publicly state its support for self-determination for the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

15. That the United States either bilaterally, or through the United Nations, give humanitarian aid to the PAIGC and other liberation movements. (The feasibility of such aid is attested by the program of the Swedish Government which has an on-going assistance program to liberation movements and, in the calendar year of 1971 will contribute to the PAIGC 1,750,000 kroner in kind for humanitarian or educational purposes.)

16. That the United States Government welcome the leaders of the PAIGC and other liberation movements for visits to this country and that United States officials meet with such leaders.

17. That the United States endeavor to get the two sides, the PAIGC and other liberation movements, and the Government of Portugal, together to the conference table on the basis of the Lusaka Manifesto, the principles of which the United States generally endorsed.

18. That the United States support multilateral and/or bilateral programs of humanitarian support to the liberation movements, through the provision of educational and reading materials, as well as medical supplies, to people in the liberated areas and to refugees.

19. That the United States adopt a positive and substantial program of assistance to Southern African refugees.

20. That our foreign policy towards South Africa be completely revamped. Our present foreign policy towards South Africa is based on pronouncements of abhorrence of apartheid on the one hand, and coexistence with, and even support of, its adherents on the other. In our own enlightened interest, this must be changed, and we must come to grips with the fact of change in South Africa due not to the largesse of the whites, but to the determination of the majority to achieve self-determination. To this end, the United States should affirmatively adopt a policy, attuned to and supporting the majority and their rights.

21. That the United States clearly and publicly state the legal position on the Bantustans, namely, that (1) they are illegal under international law, and (2) that international law requires the right of political participation in the Government of South Africa by all the people without distinction as to race, color, sex, language or religion.

22. That the United States establish substantial contact with the majority in South

Africa through the opening of USIS offices in Soweto and in other large black communities.

23. That the government reform its own enterprises in South Africa and terminate the apartheid practices I observed there, and that the embassy and consular staffs be integrated at all posts and at all levels in South Africa, and specifically:

(a) That the United States assign black personnel without delay to the embassy and consulate staff and to the USIS staff in South Africa on all levels, and

(b) That local blacks be employed by the diplomatic and consulate staff at each post and in all categories.

24. That guidelines be established for the United States Embassy and Consulate Post for (1) the use of segregated facilities in South Africa, and (2) for entertaining by United States Government personnel on a non-racial basis, and (3) for their attendance at segregated functions. (I cannot accept the position of the Department of State that (a) it gives maximum discretion to our Ambassador in regard to the "delicate problem of having to maintain adequate relations with the authorities while continuing to support and project our abhorrence of apartheid and dedication to multiracial principles" and (b) it permits the Ambassador to exercise "this discretion in tailoring the nature of his entertainment and that of his staff to fit the needs of the occasion." Under these vague standards, spelled out in Mr. Abshire's letter to me of July 26, 1971, our Ambassador gave a large, segregated reception which has subjected the United States to much criticism in South Africa and in the United States. Our policy interests require the establishment of functional and legal guidelines for embassy, consular and all official United States Government personnel in South Africa as to their participation at official and social functions and their use of segregated facilities.)

25. That the agreement with South Africa for tracking stations in South Africa (T.I.A.S. 4562 of September 13, 1960) be terminated according to its terms and, in the interim, (1) that NASA be required to end its apartheid policies and racist practices and (2) that there be no discrimination in either the conditions of labor and employment or in the facilities available to employees. The callous racism and apartheid which I found at the NASA Tracking Station near Johannesburg must be ended.

26. That the role of the Commercial Attaché and Economic Officer be reexamined and their functions of encouraging United States businesses in South Africa be terminated.

27. That the United States Government take a stand against business expansion in South Africa until such time as South Africa ceases its racist policies, and implement effective disincentives to United States business investment in South Africa.

28. That the United States advise businesses that, if they decide to stay in South Africa, they do so at their own risk; and in the event of difficulties with liberation elements, the United States Government will not support them or afford protection.

29. That the United States Government actively and publicly use its power and influence to cause and assist United States businesses in South Africa to:

(a) Close the communications gap between United States headquarters and their subsidiaries and branch offices in South Africa;

(b) To pay equal pay for equal work;

(c) To get on with the task of training and whatever else is necessary so that blacks, coloreds and whites are performing equal work on a substantial scale;

(d) To throw off local coloration and give respect to all employees;

(e) In sum, to establish fair employment

practices and to refuse to adhere to racial policies and practices.

30. (a) That Executive Order No. 10925 be amended so that, with respect to those United States businesses in South Africa, fair employment practices in their South African enterprises be a condition for their eligibility for government contracts. I am also planning to introduce legislation for this purpose.

(b) In accordance with Executive Order 10925 requiring nondiscrimination by government contractors and in view of Pan-Am's exclusion of Black Americans from its African runs, each United States Government agency having a contract with Pan-Am should review such contract under section 301 (6) concerning sanctions and remedies for noncompliance with the discrimination clause.

31. That an appropriate mechanism be established within the executive departments to investigate the practices of American firms in South Africa, to report to the Executive and Congress thereon, and to advise as to those firms which are not implementing fair employment practices.

32. That the United States Government establish an Honor Roll of those firms who are implementing fair employment practices, and are providing substantial educational, counseling and training for their African employees.

33. That the United States Government end all Export-Import Bank facilities and services for South Africa. As brought out in our hearings of June 3, 1971, at which the Vice President of the Export-Import Bank appeared before the Subcommittee, the following services of the Export-Import Bank are allowable under present guidelines for South Africa:

(1) Short-term FCIA [Foreign Credit Insurance Association] insurance.

(2) Medium-term FCIA insurance. As of April 30, 1971, \$9,882,000 insurance was authorized.

(3) Guarantees of loans by United States financial institutions to South African purchasers of United States goods or services.

(4) Guarantees of loans by non United States financial institutions to South African purchasers of United States goods or services.

Export-Import Bank has informed the Subcommittee that as of April 30, 1971, \$20,246,000 guarantees were authorized as medium-term guarantees, but did not indicate the nationality (i.e., United States or South African) of the exporter bank.

(5) Exim discount loans to South African purchasers. In his statement on May 20, 1970, before the Subcommittee, a State Department witness had listed the Exim Bank exposure in South Africa as confined to medium-term and short-term insurance and guarantees, adding that no Exim loans or credits have been issued for transactions with South Africa since 1959. However, four discount loan commitments to South African companies were approved by Exim between October 20, 1969 and February 25, 1971 for export sales to South Africa, indicating a change and relaxation of policy by this Administration. (Two of these transactions were cancelled by the borrowers).

(6) The facilities of the Foreign Credit Insurance Association for insuring political risks in South Africa.

(7) The Export Expansion Facility for insuring higher risks transactions.

(8) Guarantees of non United States loans to cover local costs related to United States purchases.

(9) The re-lending credit program.

(10) The provision by Exim Staff of guidance and information to South African importers and United States exporters to South Africa.

(11) And the availability to South Africa of Exim's program of providing direct loans to a foreign government suffering temporary

dollar shortages was not stated outside of present guidelines by the Exim Bank witness before the Subcommittee on June 3.

34. That Section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930, 19 U.S.C. 1307, prohibiting the importation into the United States of goods produced by forced labor be enforced. This provision reads:

"All goods, wares, articles, and merchandise mined, produced, or manufactured wholly or in part in any foreign country by convict labor or/and forced labor or/and indentured labor under penal sanctions shall not be entitled to entry at any of the ports of the United States, and the importation thereof is hereby prohibited, and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to prescribe such regulations as may be necessary for the enforcement of this provision. The provisions of this section relating to goods, wares, articles, and merchandise mined, produced, or manufactured by forced labor or/and indentured labor, shall take effect on January 1, 1932; but in no case shall such provisions be applicable to goods, wares, articles, or merchandise so mined, produced, or manufactured which are not mined, produced, or manufactured in such quantities in the United States as to meet the consumptive demands of the United States.

"Forced labor,' as herein used, shall mean all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty for its nonperformance and for which the worker does not offer himself voluntarily. (June 17, 1930, ch. 497, title III, section 307, 46 Stat. 689)."

35. That the sugar quota for South Africa be terminated; and that in no circumstances should South Africa be permitted an increased allocation so long as the benefits of the quota do not inure to the majority of the people. I personally witnessed the blatant racism of the South African Sugar Association and the deplorable conditions of employment of the workers as to wages, housing, diet, and hours of work. To this end, I recommend:

(a) That the President, acting pursuant to Section 202 (d) (1) (B), suspend the continuation of the sugar quota for South Africa. This section provides:

"(B) Whenever and to the extent that the President finds that the establishment or continuation of a quota or any part thereof for any foreign country would be contrary to the national interest of the United States, such quota or part thereof shall be withheld or suspended, and such importation shall not be permitted. A quantity of sugar equal to the amount of any quota so withheld or suspended shall be prorated to the other countries listed in subsection (c) (3) (A) (other than any country whose quota is withheld or suspended) on the basis of the quotas then in effect for such countries."

(b) That South Africa not be eligible for the benefits of the provisions of Section 202 (d) (2) (A) of the Sugar Act. This section provides:

"(2) (A) Whenever the Secretary finds that it is not practicable to obtain the quantity of sugar needed from foreign countries to meet any increase during the year in the requirements of consumers under section 201 by apportionment to countries pursuant to subsections (b) and (c) and the foregoing provisions of this subsection, such quantity of sugar may be imported on a first-come, first-served basis from any foreign country, except that no sugar shall be authorized for importation from Cuba until the United States resumes diplomatic relations with that country and no sugar shall be authorized for importation hereunder from any foreign country with respect to which a finding by the President is in effect under paragraph (1) (B) of this subsection: Provided, That such finding shall not be made in the first nine months of the year unless the Secretary also finds that limited sugar supplies and in-

creases in prices have created or may create an emergency situation significantly interfering with the orderly movement of foreign raw sugar to the United States. In authorizing the importation of such sugar the Secretary shall give special consideration to countries which agree to purchase for dollars additional quantities of United States agricultural products. In the event that the requirements of consumers under section 201 are thereafter reduced in the same calendar year, an amount not exceeding such increase in requirements shall be deducted pro rata from the quotas established pursuant to subsection (c) and this subsection."

36. That the arms embargo against South Africa include:

(a) All sales to, or for, the South African military, including the provision of spare parts, componentry and repairs. The relaxation of the arms embargo by the present Administration to permit certain sales of aircraft to the South African military must be ended.

(b) All sales of light aircraft, military or civilian, destined for South Africa. The significance of this recommendation is indicated by the structure of the South African military forces, in which all physically qualified white males must serve and in which Africans cannot serve—a structure such that the "citizen forces" and citizen "air commands" form an integral part of the defense force of the country. Thus, planes sold for civilian use are in fact available for military purposes.

(c) Training to South African military, including correspondence courses and participation in conferences.

(d) Cooperation in, and the transfer of, research, development and/or military know-how, including the testing of military equipment. At the Subcommittee hearings of November 12, 1971, the Department of Defense testified that the United States had tested, in the United States, weapons (surface-to-air missiles) developed by joint South African-French participation, while dealing only with the French firm, to which we had provided money for the testing.

37. That the role of the military attaché in South Africa be reviewed and cause be shown why these functions not be terminated. (Note, information supplied by the Department of Defense at the November 12 hearings before the Subcommittee indicated that there are more United States military attaché assigned to South Africa than to any other African country).

38. That the United States institute an expanded educational and cultural program with the South African majority as a primary target and with those institutions and individuals working for change to majority rule as a secondary target.

39. That the United States facilitate private efforts and programs to provide legal and humanitarian assistance to the victims of the repressive legislation of South Africa.

40. United States cooperation with South Africa in the field of nuclear energy should be ended and, in no event, should there be a new agreement or an amendment to the present agreement to provide for an increase in the amount of uranium enriching services which the United States can supply South Africa. (South Africa has allegedly developed a new uranium enrichment process which the Prime Minister estimates (Speech of August 3, 1971) may bring South Africa \$336,000,000 a year in foreign exchange). Any support of South Africa in this effort would thus significantly undergird apartheid economically and militarily. South Africa has not signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The Chairman of the South African Atomic Energy Commission has been quoted (Rand Daily Mail, 12 April 1971) as saying that:

"With its uranium enrichment process, South Africa is theoretically in a position to make its own nuclear weapons, whereas be-

fore, it was not practical to make the bomb from plutonium since that would have to be imported from abroad and the installation would be subject to international inspection."

41. That United States policy in international financial organizations be consistent with a policy of supporting change in South Africa and not of economically undergirding the status quo.

42. That the United States visa policy towards South Africa be based on "quid pro quo" considerations.

43. That, in conformity with the international legal obligations of the United States and in accordance with the acceptance by the United States of the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice on the "Legal Consequence for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia, notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276," the United States:

(a) Recognize the illegality of South Africa's presence in Namibia and the invalidity of its acts on behalf of and concerning Namibia, and

(b) Refrain from any acts and in particular any dealings with South Africa implying recognition of the legality of, or lending support or assistance to, South Africa's illegal presence and administration of Namibia, and in particular

(1) that United States firms doing business in Namibia not be allowed tax deductions or tax credits for monies paid to the South African Administering Authority (see also (5) (V) below);

(2) that grants, concessions, titles, licenses, privileges or interests of any kind granted by the South African Government in regard to Namibia, Namibian products, goods or property of whatever kind be declared invalid (see also (5) (IV) below);

(3) that the importation of goods originating in Namibia into the United States on the basis of rights or interests purported to be granted by the South African Authority be prohibited;

(4) that the United States not apply the provisions of any treaty with South Africa on behalf of, or concerning, Namibia (see also (5) (III) below);

(5) that the United States implement without delay the recommendations of the American Committee on Africa, as presented to Ambassador George Bush on November 4, specifically those regarding:

(I) American diplomatic and consular accreditation to South Africa;

(II) Preventing South African representation of Namibia in international affairs;

(III) No invocation of treaties extended to Namibia;

(IV) Invalidity of South African concessions and other acts;

(V) Treatment of American businesses in Namibia;

(VI) Political asylum for Namibian refugees;

(VII) Actions which should be taken by the United States through the United Nations.

(c) Cooperation with the legal Administering Authority for Namibia by joining a reconstituted Council for Namibia and seek to implement practical measures to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. (See (5) (VII) above).

44. That Recommendations 26 through 32 regarding United States policy and its implementation with respect to United States investment and business involvement in South Africa also be applied to United States investment and business involvement in the Portuguese territories.

45. That all investment-incentive programs of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) in, and for, the Portuguese territories be terminated and that the United States Government adopt an affirmative pol-

icy proscribing OPIC programs for the minority-ruled areas of Africa.

46. That American companies operating abroad, directly or indirectly, be required to furnish to the Departments of State, Commerce and Labor and to the appropriate committees of the Congress an annual, detailed comprehensive statement on their employment and wage practices. I also intend to introduce legislation to make this a statutory requirement.

47. That the United States support in the United Nations and all other appropriate forums, as well as bilaterally in our relations with South Africa and Portugal, the application of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 to the freedom fighters, and participants in resistance movements and to the civilian population. The status of, and treatment as, prisoners of war should be accorded to the freedom fighters. The humanitarian provisions of these conventions should be extended to the combatants as well as the civilians in conflicts arising from the struggle for the liberation and self-determination of the minority-ruled areas of Africa.

48. That the United States (1) place increased emphasis on the majority-ruled states of Southern Africa, particularly through economic and technical assistance and educational and cultural programs, and (2) assist their efforts to resist South African domination.

49. That the United States should encourage and assist feasibility studies into the mineral resources of the majority-ruled countries of Southern Africa in order to lessen the dependence of those countries on South Africa.

50. That the United States look for an effective means to encourage greater interest in the majority-ruled states of Africa from United States investors and businesses.

51. That the United States cease its hypocrisy, dissimulation and legal dishonesty and recognize that the situation in Southern Africa is within the purview of Article 39 of the United Nations Charter. This section provides:

"The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Article 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security."

In order that the Security Council can get on with the task of considering appropriate measures to be taken, the United States must acknowledge that the situation in each of the minority-ruled areas of Africa—the situation in South Africa, the situation in Namibia, the situation in the Portuguese territories, as well as the situation in Southern Rhodesia—that each of these presents a threat to the peace.

52. That a Special Task Force on Africa be created:

(a) Composed of ranking members of the Departments of State, Commerce, Defense and other pertinent agencies, and of recognized experts on Africa including members of Congress, academicians, journalists and businessmen;

(b) Charged with the task of making a comprehensive review of our policies towards Africa; and

(c) Established on the principle that its recommendations will be effectively implemented.

53. Finally, that the United States recognize the validity of, and take appropriate action on, the following recommendations and findings of the United Nations Association—United States of America National Policy Panel on Southern Africa:

(a) That "the 'rightness' of any particular course of action should be judged on the basis of its ability to assist in the realization of racial equality and representative government in South Africa"; and thus that "a boycott in sports and a strengthening of ex-

change programs may both be helpful in promoting change." (page 41 of Panel Report of December 2).

(b) That (in addition to those points made in Recommendation 29) United States businesses in South Africa institute the following:

(1) "providing hot lunches, improved medical care, pension programs, and disability insurance" (page 45);

(2) facilitating the organizing of black workers (page 45);

(3) "that American companies cease making financial contributions to the South Africa Foundation" (page 57);

(4) "that American companies appoint as managers of their South African affiliates only those who are willing to work for change and are committed to the implementation of fair labor practices" (page 46).

(c) "That all United States groups and organizations concerned with apartheid and racial discrimination—and particularly the American labor movement in its tradition of active concern with the betterment of working conditions throughout the world become concerned with the need for American companies to adopt a program of fair labor practices in their South African operations" (page 47).

(d) "That concerned stockholders take advantage of the annual stockholders' meetings to bring to public light the matter of employment practices and conditions in South Africa" (page 47).

(e) That "each American company operating in South Africa should assess the use to which its products are employed in terms of the government's apartheid policy. Any products used directly or indirectly in support of apartheid or racial discrimination—particularly those used by the police or military—should be withdrawn from the South African market" (pages 47-48).

(f) That "United States business should not, within the framework of its own domestic labor practices and in the context of its social responsibility, rely on racially discriminatory labor practices in other parts of the world to make a profit" (page 48).

(g) "That United States banks and other financial institutions refuse to accord any financing to South African Government subsidiaries or to government-sponsored commercial or military projects" (page 48).

(h) "That the United States Government review questions concerning the impact and future of international companies operating in South Africa with other investing nations. The United States might initiate such discussions in GATT and the OECD as well as in the United Nations" (page 50).

(i) That the United States assist the Government of Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania in their programs "for the thousands of political refugees from Southern Africa whose needs are great in terms of housing, education and health care" (page 76).

54. That the United States, cognizant of its obligations under the United Nations Charter, and specifically Articles 1, 2 (2), 25, 55 and 56;

(a) Recognize that the Heath/Smith "Proposals for a Settlement" do not secure to the people of Zimbabwe majority rule, self-determination, human rights or the enjoyment of the totality of their rights as set forth in Article 73 of the United Nations Charter.

(b) Recognize that the situation in Zimbabwe continues to constitute a threat to the peace.

(c) Support the authority of the Security Council with respect to Zimbabwe.

(d) Recognize the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to secure their rights.

55. (a) That the United States Government must be required, and is herein called upon, to explain the enormous, unprecedented and anomalous commitments which

the United States is making to Portugal in connection with the Agreement to extend U.S. base rights in the Azores—an Agreement under which Portugal is to receive in the next two years (the Agreement expires on February 3, 1974) the following quid pro quo:

\$15 million in P.L. 480 agricultural commodities;

The loan of a hydrographic vessel at no cost;

\$1 million for educational development program;

\$5 million in drawing rights for non-military excess equipment;

The waiver of MAAG support payments (\$350,000) for the MAAG (Military Assistance Advisory Group) to Lisbon;

\$400 million of Exim loans and guarantees for development projects.

(b) That specifically, the government is called upon to address each of the following points:

1. From the point of view of U.S. interests, the new Agreement with Portugal represents an unusual and anomalous commitment. There is no apparent justification for the quid pro quo in the new Agreement.

a. The general availability of funds for foreign economic assistance has been diminishing since 1967. In that year, funds for economic assistance totalled \$5,120 million. In 1968, they were \$4,634 million. In 1969, they were \$4,067 million. Last year, they totalled \$4,711 million. The Export-Import Bank is an exception to the rule; its funds have been increasing in the last few years. But the question must arise why loans and credit guarantees to Portugal are arising at a moment when federal funds are so scarce, and when total appropriations for economic assistance are falling.

b. The funds projected for commitment to Portugal are out of all proportion to previous development commitments through the Export-Import Bank to either Europe or Africa. The total of Export-Import Bank loans to Africa in the whole period 1946-1970 was less than \$358 million. The total of long-term economic loans to Europe from the same source in that period was only \$753.7 million.

c. The projected commitment is also out of proportion to any previous commitments to Portugal itself. That country received less than \$50 million in the whole period from 1946-1970 through the Export-Import Bank. The present Administration is proposing to provide more than four times this amount in the next two years alone.

d. The projected new commitments would constitute a tremendous drain on the funds of the Export-Import Bank. They would represent about 10% of the average annual commitments to all countries from the Bank in the last few years; and this does not even take into consideration the \$200 million in Exim credit guarantees.

e. The question which remains to be answered, therefore, and it is a most important question, is why a small nation of 8.6 million people should receive such extraordinary special treatment.

2. The United States, furthermore, is now going through the worst balance of payments crisis in its history. We now have the largest deficit on record. Unemployment has risen to high levels as a consequence of deflationary measures designed to remedy that situation. In this context the Administration has undertaken an Agreement with a small European country which will lead to a substantial increase in the foreign exchange costs of our economic assistance. Again, the question must arise why Portugal should qualify for such special treatment.

3. Total U.S. dollar flows to Portugal and its overseas territories now exceed \$400 million. (See Table below). These flows are important to that country's balance of payments. The Administration is now propos-

ing a substantial increase in these flows through the loans provided for in the new Agreement.

Portugal and overseas territories: Gross flows of funds from North America, 1969¹

[In millions]

| | |
|--|-------|
| Imports from Portugal and overseas territories | \$166 |
| Freight and insurance on merchandise | 3 |
| Other transportation | 11 |
| Travel | 79 |
| Investment income | 29 |
| Other government | 6 |
| Other private | 24 |
| Unrequired transfers (pension remittances, etc.) | 89 |
| Nonmonetary sectors: Direct investment | 6 |
| Total | 413 |

¹ These figures refer to flows from the U.S. and Canada. U.S. funds account for almost the whole of the total.

Source: IMF Balance of Payments Yearbooks, August 1971, vol. 22.

4. The Portuguese are now running a trade deficit of just under \$500 million. This deficit is, to an important degree, the result of the drain on Portugal's economy created by the pursuit of three colonial wars in Africa. Additional, and substantial, assistance to Portugal in this context will have the effect of helping it to continue those wars at the very moment when it is being forced to consider seriously whether it ought to withdraw from its overseas territories.

5. It should be noted that parts of the new Agreement can easily become open-ended commitments. The expanded commitment under P.L. 480 may well be increased still further when the Agreement is reviewed two years from now. The provision dealing with excess equipment is *already* open-ended. Secretary Rogers' letter clearly states that \$5 million for this purpose is not to be considered a maximum ceiling.

6. Dollar flows to Portugal, from both the private and the public sector, are already on a scale amounting to "economic intervention that might just decide the outcome of the colonial war." The new Agreement increases that indirect assistance by a substantial amount and changes the character of our commitment to Portugal.

7. The political context cannot be ignored. Particularly:

The liberation forces control large areas of Angola, east and south of the Central Plateau.

In Mozambique the liberation forces control several provinces and operate freely south of the Zambesi River.

In Guinea-Bissau, the PAIGC have forced the Portuguese to leave the countryside and to retreat to the urban areas and a few scattered military bases.

The obvious effect of the Azores Agreement is to enable Portugal to continue waging the three wars in Africa.

8. There is nothing to indicate that the military value of the Azores is of overriding importance to U.S. security so that it merits such an inordinate expenditure. Further, the fact that the base Agreement remained dormant for the past 10 years (since 1962) indicates this.

9. The injection of huge sums for economic and educational assistance, as well as aid in kind, into the Portuguese economy, in the existing internal situation of considerable domestic unhappiness with, and criticism of, wholly disproportionate budgetary expenditures on colonial wars, will greatly assist the Caetano Government in dampening the domestic antipathy to the wars and thus to continue their prosecution.

(c) That, if the Administration cannot provide a statement of compelling reasons

for making this Agreement, it must be considered as admitting that it is the intention of the Administration to directly assist Portugal in waging these wars against the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique.

(d) That the United States Government respond to the following questions:

1. What projects were reviewed, or are contemplated for Exim loans?

2. Are these projects in Portugal, that is in so-called "metropolitan Portugal" as distinguished from Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique.

3. Are similar increases in Exim loans being considered (i) for South Africa, (ii) for majority-ruled African countries?

(e) That, in view of the implications of this Agreement for the United States internally, the Administration explain why this Agreement was entered into by the executive agreement route rather than as a treaty and submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification.

(f) That the Administration explain the discrepancy between its claimed lack of funds to assist Black business in the United States, with its 23 million Blacks, on the one hand and, on the other, its expenditure of tremendous sums to assist the economy of Portugal, a country with only 8.6 million people, and thus to assist the waging of wars against Black people in Africa. According to its reports to the Congress, the Federal Government is now giving only \$213.8 million in loans to minority businesses in this country (including Blacks and Spanish-speaking Americans), whereas the sums projected for Portugal in this Agreement are more than double that amount.

HOUSE RESOLUTION 630

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 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 military 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.

PITTSBURGH BLACKS TURN THE LAW ON POLICE HARASSMENT

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, white police harassment of blacks has become a commonplace occurrence in most American cities. Too often police commit crimes and go unpunished. A recent article in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch focuses on this problem and shows what can be done to rectify such injustice.

Fourteen blacks in Pittsburgh, defended by the Neighborhood Legal Services Association, took their case to court and won a preliminary injunction against six officers. Their case stems from police harassment and the stories which they told in court are reprehensible. The brutal force enlisted by these so-called defenders of the law against innocent victims must cease.

U.S. District Judge Rabe F. Marsh issued a preliminary injunction against six police officers, "ordering them to stop harassing, threatening, intimidating, and beating black residents and black visitors to the city." The article continues:

The judge in Pittsburgh ruled that the police actions described by 20 witnesses on September 16 and 17 constituted a pattern of racism over a nine-month period.

Judge Marsh also noted that the blacks have suffered irreparable harm from these unconstitutional acts on the part of the police.

This case has set a precedent which I hope will be continued throughout the country. Too often we are confronted with these heinous tales of police brutality. It is about time this situation is corrected so that no one will fall victim to these unwarranted assaults being carried out under the banner of "law and order."

I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues. The article follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Nov. 28, 1971]

PITTSBURGH BLACKS TURN THE LAW ON POLICE HARASSMENT

(By Robert L. Joiner)

PITTSBURGH, November 27.—Walter Lee Laney, Willy Thompson, Kevin Green, Mrs. Lillie Johnson and 10 other blacks finally found someone who would listen to their charge of harassment by white members of the Pittsburgh Police Department.

United States District Judge Rabe F. Marsh listened to testimony they gave in his court, heard little rebuttal, and, on Nov. 18, issued a preliminary injunction against six officers, ordering them to stop "harassing, threatening, intimidating and beating" black residents and black visitors to the city. The 14 blacks got their day in court because the Neighborhood Legal Services Association was available to consolidate their grievances and file the unusual action.

Detective Sgt. Francis Quinlan, head of the Fort Pitt Lodge, Fraternal Order of Police, which represents most of the 1700 officers in the department, said the legal services association had exceeded its purpose. It was supposed to provide legal assistance to indigent persons, not intimidate police, he said.

John B. Leete, a young Legal Services lawyer, denied Quinlan's charge, then added:

"Quinlan doesn't understand that we are for real. He and the police don't understand that our function goes beyond holding people's hands. We're here to try to change, through legal processes, some unjust things in this society."

One after another, the witnesses took the stand and told the court about incidents that had occurred this year.

Laney an employee of Westinghouse Electric, said he had been driving home from a barbershop early on the evening of May 8 when he had parked and had started walking toward a store.

"A policeman hollered at me," he said, "and when I stopped to find out what he wanted he yelled, 'When I tell you to get off the street, you get off the street!' I told him I hadn't done anything and went inside the store.

"The policeman arrested me and said, 'I'm going to teach you that when the night shift is on, you do what you're told.'"

The policeman then began hitting him, Laney said. He was booked and then taken to a hospital, where he was treated for injuries to his face, arms, back and legs.

Thompson said he had been standing in a bus zone when two men in street clothes, who later identified themselves as policemen, approached in an automobile.

"The driver asked me, 'Have you seen any niggers hanging out here?'" Thompson said. "I answered, 'No—and no whites either.' The driver said, 'Nigger, you've had it.'"

Thompson said he had shouted for help to a uniformed policeman up the street.

"The driver got out of the car and grabbed me," Thompson said. "I hit him. The uniformed cop came up and apparently recognized the two men in the car. He turned to me and said, 'Why did you hit an officer?'"

Thompson said the uniformed man had assumed the plainclothesmen had a warrant for his arrest and that he had been struggling with them. The driver handcuffed Thompson, borrowing the handcuffs from the uniformed man, and put through a "trouble" call on a nearby police phone.

"They shouted racial slurs as they put me in a police wagon," Thompson said. "Inside, they threw me on the floor and kicked and hit me. One of the officers appeared to be drunk."

Thompson was charged with disorderly conduct, resisting arrest and assaulting a

police officer. After being booked, he was taken to a hospital for X rays because of chest pains and a headache. In addition, his mouth was cut.

Green, 12 years old, said he and two friends had been caught stealing toys from a Sears Roebuck & Co. store last Jan. 2. He said four officers had come to his home and one had made a derogatory remark about his mother.

He replied in kind, he said, and the officer handcuffed his arms behind his back, spraining one of his arms. He was treated for the injury at a hospital.

Mrs. Johnson testified that she had been in a crowd of about 30 persons who had gathered after a police car struck a bridge abutment last Aug. 13, injuring a passenger. Somebody in the crowd laughed and one of the officers walked into the crowd, asking who it was.

"Somebody pointed toward me," Mrs. Johnson said, "and he hit me in the face with a blackjack, knocking me down. I told him nobody was laughing at the accident. I explained that my niece had been holding her dress over her face because of smoke from the damaged car and my nephew was laughing at her.

"The policeman knocked me down again and kicked and beat me."

Mrs. Johnson said the officer had not arrested her and apparently had made no report of the incident. The policeman took the stand and said he had no recollection of such an incident.

He was the only policeman to offer a rebuttal.

Attorneys for the Neighborhood Legal Services Association said Marsh's restraining order would help blacks to gain confidence in the legal system. Similar suits may be filed against policemen in other cities, they said. Leete called the suit filed by his group a new approach for civil rights lawyers.

"The precedent has been set," he said. "As a result, judges in other cities will not be reluctant to take action against individual policemen. Lawyers throughout the country are requesting copies of the injunction."

Detective Sgt. Quinlan's view was somewhat different.

"The injunction will affect the morale and duties of every police officer and jeopardize the public welfare," he said. "If the public allows this to continue, the hands of the police will be tied and the death knell of law enforcement shall be rung."

Persons affiliated with the Neighborhood Services Association are gathering additional data for the appeal and possibly for trials if the defendants challenge the injunction.

The original suit was narrow in its scope of protection. The group had asked for protection of blacks in the Fifth District, in which the six officers were stationed.

However, after the suit was filed, the policemen were transferred to other districts. Consequently, Marsh expanded the order to make the court protection city-wide.

(In 1969, a similar suit was filed in U.S. District Court in St. Louis by representatives of civil rights and antiwar groups. But Judge Roy W. Harper dismissed the suit for lack of evidence.)

The judge in Pittsburgh ruled that the police actions described by 20 witnesses on Sept. 16 and 17 constituted a "pattern of racism" over a nine-month period, beginning last November.

The witnesses testified that the six officers repeatedly had used racial slurs and had administered beatings with nightsticks and leadweighted gloves on the streets, in police vans and at the district station.

Marsh rejected the arguments of defense attorneys that the federal court did not have jurisdiction over the complaint and that the plaintiffs had failed to prove that they were entitled to an injunction.

He said the plaintiffs and other black persons in Pittsburgh "have suffered irreparable

harm as a result of the unconstitutional actions" of the six policemen.

In five specific prohibitions, Marsh protected black residents or visitors from beatings or physical mistreatment; from the use of excessive force; from harassment, threats or intimidations; from arrest or imprisonment without sufficient cause and search and from seizure without adequate cause.

The judge supported his decision with a quotation from former Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis: "If the government becomes the lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy."

THE UNITED STATES GETS BAD NAME

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, it is clear to even the most casual observer that in some foreign countries the image of the United States is not as desirable as we would prefer it to be. In many cases, however, this judgment is quite unfair for often our country is considered to be responsible for projects or programs which are not really American sponsored.

An article appearing in the Beacon-News of Aurora, Ill., on November 23, 1971, discussing the Inter-Continental Hotel in Bucharest, Romania, came to my attention and I include it in the RECORD at this point. This represents a classic example of an enterprise which many think to be operated and managed by American businessmen but is in fact the responsibility of the Romanian Government. I know that my colleagues will read this with interest:

[From the Aurora (Ill.) Beacon-News, Nov. 23, 1971]

THE UNITED STATES GETS BAD NAME
(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—In pre-war Eastern Europe, America had a reputation for perfectionism. It was merited because any enterprise they started was outstanding. They hired the best local talent and trained them thoroughly so they could carry on the operation with fewer and fewer American experts.

In the Communist days, however, things are different.

The Reds know it all and don't accept advice. The results are lamentable particularly to brave new American investors.

Take for example the hotel Inter-Continental in Bucharest, Romania. It opened last spring. For all intents and purposes it is an American enterprise although neither Pan American Airways nor its subsidiary Inter-Continental Hotels Co. (IHC) have made any investment. It was built on a "franchise arrangement" and the Romanian Reds used local talent architects, engineers, decorators, etc.

They refused American technical advice from the start.

For instance IHC recommended a recognized and proven air conditioning installation. This was rejected and the contract was given to a German firm. On opening day the air conditioning was not functioning. It has sputtered on and off ever since. American experts say the equipment is too complicated for the hotel personnel.

IHC can only offer technical assistance when asked by the management. This never

happens because the Romanians don't want to spend hard currency. They hope to "muddle through" somehow.

Who suffers? The guests. The management and the personnel don't seem to care and they can't do much to improve things because most of the employees are from the security police.

The general manager Gheorghe Leonte has no experience in hotel management as his appointment is political.

It is presumed that every room and every table is bugged, that every conversation is recorded.

In fact, the hotel is used by the Romanians first as a source of hard currency and second as a spy operation.

Hard currency guests must pay in dollars which at the rate of 18 per dollar make everything exorbitant. The food is described by guests as mediocre and not always safe because sanitation operations are haphazard and lax.

One practice is to discourage customers who order foreign wines and force on them local wines. This saves foreign currency and gives the Romanian a chance to rook the customer.

The hotel reportedly charges exorbitant prices for inferior beverages.

Who loses on all this?

We do.

Romanian mismanagement of this "American" enterprise gives the United States a bad name.

A COMMONSENSE APPROACH TO UNITED STATES-CANADIAN RELATIONS

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, I was privileged last week to preside over a hearing held by the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy which sought to explore the effects of the President's new economic policy on Canada as well as the longrange economic issues affecting United States-Canadian relations once there is realignment of currencies and removal of the surcharge.

All of us recognize that Canada has a special status in its relationship with the United States. This is evident by the interlocking nature of our economies, by the trade patterns between them, and by the common efforts we have made to establish a working federal system on a continental scale. However, this special status very often invites neglect, acceptance of the status quo, and an easy confidence that no serious difference can divide us. In recent years, especially during the Nixon-Trudeau era, and even more since the announcements of August 15, such a psychological and political equation no longer works.

The policy changes which President Nixon announced on August 15 badly match the policy prerequisites in our relations with Canada. In no country, except possibly Japan, has the new economic policy had such immediate and potentially far-reaching consequences as in Canada. The effects were probably heightened by the fact Canada has not been a conspicuous practitioner of the trade discriminations and monetary dis-

locations to which the new economic policy addressed itself.

Canada had already floated its dollar for more than a year; it was not manipulating its reserve assets to our disadvantage, or causing special strain on our own reserves. Its tariff and trade practices—except in some minor respects—measure up well against our own. The specific grievances and points of issue between our two countries which will require negotiations, such as modification of the Automotive Pact, the Michelin deal, and the effort to liberalize customs limits for Canadian travelers returning from the United States, hardly justified the full sanctions of the countermeasures which we have taken against the people and Government of Canada.

It was obviously encouraging that at the very time this hearing was taking place that President Nixon and Prime Minister Trudeau and their respective senior advisers were beginning to set differences into a workable perspective. It was also valuable to learn that the conditions for the general removal of the surcharge appear to have been defined more precisely so that the removal of may, in fact, occur in the next weeks.

As far as Canada is concerned, it offers no obstacles on proper monetary realignment, and it has long championed the renewal of multilateral trade negotiations. Indeed, Canada faces in heightened form some of the very same problems which we do—the emergence of a common market which includes Great Britain, the European Community's restrictive agricultural trade policy, and the expansion of their preferential trade agreements. In addition, Canada, which relies proportionately five times more than we do on its foreign trade and whose own domestic market is much narrower, is almost the only other large trading nation which looks as much to the Pacific as to European markets.

In whatever steps we take in international economic negotiations Canada is likely to be our closest collaborator rather than our antagonist or a regressive influence in removing existing trade barriers. In fact, Canada generally has been in advance of this country in seeking new markets, as well as in probing new political relations in Asia and other parts of the world.

However, we must be very careful that even as the current monetary crisis resolves itself that we do not again simply lapse into a condition in which we take Canada for granted, or in which we simply assume that Canada has no options other than to weld its economic and political policies with ours. That day has passed, and there are issues on the horizon even now which make it certain that Canada should stay in the forefront of our policy concerns. It is already becoming evident that in the next decade some very delicate but decisive negotiations will be joined in the field of energy—not just oil, but also natural gas, water, hydropower and uranium. We are mistaken if we believe that we can present a shopping list of policies which the Canadian Government and people have to accept. In this area, Canada has bargaining power of its own and no solution

which does not have in it elements of real reciprocity is likely to occur. The long negotiations preceding the Columbia River treaty in the previous decade offered convincing evidence of this.

Finally, no policy toward Canada will be durable if it does not take into account the historic and psychological movement which is now taking place in Canada. Almost all Canadians in varying degrees and different ways are seeking greater national identity, and all want to avoid a policy which is simply submissive to or derived from U.S. policy. Clearly this creates, at times, ambiguities and paradoxes, but on our part also we are at the moment experiencing a split view as to our own role in world affairs. Therefore, part of any Canadian policy must have in it the simple ingredient of better understanding and visible interest even at times when open crisis have abated.

BELLMAN OF THE YEAR

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Bob Hellmund, bell captain at the Crystal City Marriott, has been selected "Bellman of the Year" by the American Hotel & Motel Association. This is a national recognition which goes to the top bellman in the country based on a careful screening of each entry.

Mr. Hellmund and his wife went to Atlanta, Ga., to receive the award at the A.H. & M.A. Convention, Friday, December 10, 1971, and he is to be honored by Marriott Corp. executives at a reception tomorrow, December 15, at the Crystal City Marriott.

As I am proud to have Bob Hellmund as a constituent, and am proud of the outstanding job he is doing for a new and prosperous business in my northern Virginia community, I insert in the RECORD the brief story of his background which was read during the award ceremony in his honor:

BOB HELLMUND—BACKGROUND

Bob Hellmund, a self-styled "boy from Brooklyn," has shaken hands with President Nixon, and Linwood Holton, talked over football plays with the late Vince Lombardi, and traded small talk with David Frost.

He has also carried a lot of baggage. Hellmund is the bell captain at the Crystal City Marriott in Arlington, Virginia, where the care and feeding of VIPs is a specialty of the house.

However, as far as the Marriott Corporation is concerned, Bob Hellmund's main claim to fame is his ability to train courteous and efficient bellmen, and get them to keep their hair trimmed—above the collar line.

In the past four and a half years, Hellmund has trained more than 500 bellmen from Boston to Arlington. "I've stopped counting now," he says, but he hasn't put the lid on his enthusiasm for the job.

"A bellman is a potential salesman," said Hellmund. He must sell the house (the hotel facilities) and he must sell himself, and if he does both well, it pays off—in tips.

But it also pays off career-wise in the Mar-

riott Corporation. Hellmund's recent successes include a new member of sales staff, Craig Conlon, a former bellman whose "selling" ability was spotted, and a current bellman Sam Watson, now in training to be a desk clerk.

"I couldn't buy the experience I've had as a bellman," said Hellmund who started out at Key Bridge Marriott in 1963. His career was interrupted by Uncle Sam in the form of Army duty between '63 and '65, but then he returned to Marriott to be made bell captain at Twin Bridges. Since then he has opened hotels in Boston and the Crystal City Marriott in Arlington where he has been for the past year and a half.

Quick thinking as well as honesty can make for a good bellman maintains Hellmund who told about an experience one of his men had when a Mexican visitor left \$1,800 in a suit he had given a bellman to take to the cleaners. The money was found and returned to its owner pronto.

Not all of Hellmund's experiences have been so gratifying, but training men is a matter of pride with him now. And he expects to instill this same "pride" in the new men he trains for Marriott. "Take the matter of appearance—we go for the new styles, sideburns and the like . . . but the hair over the collar look . . . that's out."

Hair . . . It's one of Hellmund's biggest problems!

NEEDED—NEW DRUG TREATMENT METHODS

HON. WILLIAM R. ANDERSON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Attorney General of the United States recently delivered in New York an address entitled "To Heal, and Not To Punish." This is an address providing some enlightened thinking relative to dealing with public alcoholism in the United States. As the title implies, the theme of the Attorney General's remarks is that society has an obligation to place first emphasis on developing effective methods to cure alcoholism as a disease.

An even more pressing problem facing our Nation is to develop safe and practical effective cures for heroin addiction. I have recently received an article by Dr. Albert A. LaVerne on the subject of carbon dioxide treatment of heroin addiction. I have been advised that a similar procedure might be effective in helping to cope with the problem of the disease of alcoholism. I understand that the Department of Justice has recently committed \$1,000,000 for pursuing narcotics treatment programs including methadone modalities here in the District of Columbia. In any event, it seems that immediate further evaluation of the LaVerne procedure should be made with a view to obtaining the earliest possible scientific analysis.

Under unanimous consent, I ask that the speech of the Attorney General and the article by Dr. LaVerne be included in the RECORD.

TO HEAL, AND NOT TO PUNISH

(An address by John N. Mitchell)

It is a privilege to be asked to participate in this banquet honoring Brinkley Smith-

ers. I have known and admired him for many years, and I am delighted to be able to say so to this audience tonight. I'm also pleased to bring him the good wishes of the President of the United States, who is thoroughly aware and appreciative of his leadership in the movement to control alcoholism.

I believe it is fair to say that no person in the history of this movement has approached Brinkley Smithers in the generosity of his support. Through the Christopher D. Smithers Foundation, which he founded in honor of his father in 1952, he has made repeated gifts to this cause over the past two decades.

Last July he made a personal grant of \$10,000,000 to Roosevelt Hospital in New York City for treatment and rehabilitation of alcoholics. This is the largest single gift ever made in this field, and I do not except even the various grants made in recent years by the Federal Government. I must confess that when I first read about this magnificent grant I thought some typesetter might have inadvertently added a cipher or two. It is a most extraordinary example of dedication to a cause, even by the generous standards of Brinkley Smithers.

Nor have the contributions of our honored guest been confined to financial values. He has given just as unstintingly of his own time and energies. If you read a list of the national and New York organizations to combat alcoholism, you will almost be reading a list of the organizations that he has founded or headed.

So I must say tonight, without fear of contradiction in this assembly of experts on the subject, that among the many world leaders in the crusade against alcoholism, no one casts a longer shadow than Brinkley Smithers.

The other reason I am happy to be here is that it gives me the chance to talk about an aspect of alcoholism that I feel needs to be addressed by a law enforcement official.

I refer to the fact, acknowledged now by all professionals in the field, that alcoholism as such is not a legal problem—it is a health problem. More especially, simple drunkenness *per se* should not be handled as an offense subject to the processes of justice. It should be handled as an illness, subject to medical treatment.

Now, this may seem fairly obvious to you here in this room, who are thoroughly informed on this subject. But it is not generally recognized throughout the country.

In all but a few of the states in the Union, public drunkenness is an offense punishable by a fine or jail sentence or both.

In other words, our knowledge in the field far surpasses our action. The result is that in most of the cases which come to public attention, a major disease is not being treated by doctors, therapists or medical technicians. The disease is being treated by policemen, judges, and jailers.

This is no reproach to the latter group of professionals, many of whom know from distressing experience that this system is wrong. It is a serious misuse of their time, abilities and resources. It is likewise a failure to use the skills of the medical practitioners who are the ones qualified for this work. And it is a desperate injustice to the victims of the disease.

I feel strongly about this situation partly because of its unnecessary drain on the resources of the criminal justice system. At least one-third of all arrests in the United States are for public drunkenness. In some cities the proportion runs as high as three-fourths. The commitment of police on the street and for processing at the station house, the commitment of jail space and facilities, the commitment of time by judges, court administrators and courtrooms—all this constitutes an enormous drain on a justice system that is already overtaxed by

felony cases. This misuse of tax-supported resources is bad enough, and constitutes a problem crying out for solution.

But still more important is the fact that this system is absolutely ineffective as a lesson or deterrent. Those who have witnessed the arraignment of drunk arrests in the lower courts of any large city can testify that it is, indeed, a revolving door. A study in Los Angeles showed that in a given year about one-fifth of the people arrested for drunkenness accounted for two-thirds of the total drunk arrests. In one typical case in another city, a homeless alcoholic was arrested every other day that he appeared on the street over a four-month period.

The so-called "drying out" accomplished during such overnight jail terms has not, to anyone's knowledge, ever reformed an alcoholic. It has often, however, contributed further to any health infirmity he might have been suffering from, and has demeaned him still further with overcrowded conditions devoid of the barest human facilities.

In the process it has also demeaned the courts and the administration of American justice. Drunk arrests in big cities are often, if not usually, brought before the judge *en masse*—10 to 20 at a time. The typical defendant is almost never represented by counsel, which means that the procedures are often perfunctory, without any real consideration of guilt or innocence.

It is not surprising that many if not most of the policemen and judges involved know full well that this system is a distortion of legal processes. But in most localities they also know that it is all we have for dealing with public alcoholism. They therefore tend to develop a benevolent paternalism toward their charges—taking care of them the best they can within the limits of their authority and resources. It would be the same if the police and the judges were forced by law to take care of accident victims; as compassionate human beings they would do their best, but they could not help knowing that the system was senseless.

So we cannot blame the police or the courts for the system, and in many cases we must commend them for making the best of a bad situation. The blame must be faced by the public at large, which after all is the master of its own government. And if the public is unaware of this gross injustice, then it is the public that needs to be educated.

Fortunately, as many of you know, progress has been made in recent years. In 1966 the District of Columbia Circuit of the United States Court of Appeals ruled in the *Easter* case that the public drunkenness of a homeless alcoholic was involuntary. Therefore, he could not be held accountable before the law. In the same year another Appellate Court made a somewhat similar ruling in the *Driver* case.

In 1967 the United States Supreme Court heard a similar case—*Powell v. Texas*. While it ruled that the defendant was accountable for being drunk in public because he did have a home to go to, a majority of the justices also expressed an opinion that coincided with that of the two appellate decisions—that a homeless alcoholic is not accountable for his act.

The important point is that the courts have decided what the experts had been saying for years—that alcoholism in itself is involuntary and therefore is not a legal offense in the ordinary sense.

Unfortunately, these cases have not been heeded as they should be, and the constitutionality of the related laws in most states has not been challenged.

However, the court rulings were taken into account by two commissions investigating the criminal justice system—the District of Columbia Crime Commission and the United States Crime Commission. They both re-

ported in 1967 that public intoxication should be treated by public health services rather than as a criminal offense.

In turn, these recommendations influenced Congressional thinking, and new laws were forthcoming to establish this change of policy in the District of Columbia and encourage it in the states. Thoroughly associated with much of this legislation is the name of Senator Harold E. Hughes of Iowa, who of course is with us tonight. Among other things, the latest Federal legislation established an Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. President Nixon has shown his deep interest in this organization by asking for and receiving from Congress an additional seven million dollars of health initiative funds for its work.

At the same time, the court cases and the Crime Commission recommendations have been noticed by the legislatures of a few states. They have changed their laws to provide for health treatment of one kind or another, and some of them have repealed the legal sanctions against alcoholism. But the rest of the states and most of the localities have not yet responded, although some legislatures are considering the matter. Throughout most of the country the situation remains as archaic as ever.

In fact, even in some states where the approach has been changed, new questions have arisen.

What is the role of the policeman?

If he can no longer make a drunk arrest, can he forcibly remove a subject to a health care center?

If the subject cannot be incarcerated, can he be committed to any kind of treatment against his will?

Fortunately, answers to some of these questions have recently been offered by several commissions that have carefully drawn up proposed model state laws on the subject. The latest and most important is the work of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, which adopted a Uniform Alcoholism and Intoxication and Treatment Act last August. Among many other provisions are the following:

First, a person appearing to be incapacitated by alcohol must be taken into protective custody—not an arrest—by the police or a special emergency service patrol. He is to be taken to a public health facility for emergency treatment.

Second, if the subject has inflicted physical harm on another or may do so, he may be committed for emergency treatment for up to five days on the certificate of an independent physician.

Third, for a longer period up to 30 days, and with extensions for a maximum of seven months, his commitment must be made by a court.

So as a result of developments in the past five years we have made several important strides.

We have won an opinion from the courts that alcoholism in itself is involuntary, and should not be subject to legal sanction.

We have secured legislation by Congress and by a few states supporting this principle and establishing civil medical treatment as an alternative.

We have a carefully drawn uniform law on the subject that can serve as a model for the states. And I would note the fact that the Commission drawing up this Act is composed of a representative from each state, and he is obligated to see that the act is introduced in his legislature.

Finally, we have gained enough experience from the operation of forward-looking laws in the District of Columbia and some of the states to uncover some sound operating principles.

For instance, we know that it does little good to remove alcoholism from the purview of the law if you do not substitute a

full-dress medical treatment—not only a detoxification process, but a thoroughgoing program aimed at recovery from the illness of alcoholism.

Again, the program must include the closest cooperation and communication starting at the top level between the public health officials and law enforcement officials. The police must have an understanding that their role continues—not in an arresting capacity, but in one of helping subjects to the designated health center, voluntarily if possible, involuntarily if necessary.

Finally, the program must make a strong appeal to voluntary enrollment. We know that the street alcoholic who in the past has been the subject of most drunk arrests actually represents only from 3 to 5 percent of the alcoholics in this country—what we might call the tip of the iceberg. We know that some of the others who may still be living in a home environment do account for many of the arrests—perhaps one-third, as the Los Angeles survey seems to indicate. It is not only to these, but to the many more who are not arrested, that the civil treatment program must appeal if we are to reach the rest of the iceberg.

With these kinds of guidelines, and with the opportunities we now see ahead, we can perhaps venture some real hope in a field that for too long has been marked by frustration. Through the processes now at work, the public itself may come to realize that our task is not to punish, but to heal. And in such a climate of belief, the work of people like Brinkley Smithers will be assisted, not by a relative few, but by all.

CARBON DIOXIDE TREATMENT OF HEROIN ADDICTION

(By Albert A. LaVerne, M.D.)

WHAT IS A "HEROIN ADDICT"?

A composite of chemical, psychological, neuro-physiological factors create what is known as a Heroin Addict.

The most significant behavioral symptom complex in the addict is the craving, both physiological and psychological, with which he is unable to cope. He is then compelled to perpetuate the procurement of the drug at any cost in order to survive. Exhortation and persuasion are of no avail. The addict is devoid of free will or choice and is literally enslaved by the needs of his chemistry for the drug. Now his mind and his will turn him into a defenseless automation with an irresistible craving for Heroin that must be promptly satisfied or he shall perish. In effect, the addict has become a monster, created by society, without will or reason, a most dangerous predator that must prey upon society to survive.

Heroin addiction is the most addictive of any disease known. The search for the control of this disease must continue in precisely the heroic manner as defined by Jerry Finkelstein in his recent editorial in the New York Times of September 11, 1971.

WHAT IS THE IDEAL TREATMENT?

What comprises the ideal treatment for the control of this disease? What are its attributes? What objectives must it achieve? What are its assets and liabilities? Firstly, it must be a treatment that is safe for the patient, practical in its application and feasible. Secondly, this treatment must be more effective than any other currently used modality, since none have yet scratched the surface of the problem. Thirdly, the results must be sustained and long lasting rather than temporary or transient.

WHAT ARE THE GOALS OF SUCH A TREATMENT?

The treatment must firstly eradicate the unbearable withdrawal symptoms that have created the anti-social and dangerous behavior as reflected in the addict. These symptoms requiring immediate attention are drug craving, both physical and mental, ex-

perenced by the addict as a result of having an inadequate supply of Heroin that his body cells demand for mere survival. This is the most unbearably painful stage experienced by the addict as a result of abruptly discontinuing the drug. Secondly, the ideal treatment should induce a permanent physiological, chemical and psychological change in the personality so that there will not be a recurrence of the addiction given the conditions that would ordinarily have created it in the first place. Thirdly, the ideal treatment should induce what is known as maturity in all levels of adjustment of human relationship; intellectually, emotionally and spiritually. Finally, this ideal treatment should enable the patient to be able to develop his underlying potentials that will not only make him a respected member of the community but also one who shall become productive and creative, a desirable goal for the patient and society.

CARBON DIOXIDE THERAPY, RAPID COMA TECHNIQUE (CDT) MAY BE THE IDEAL TREATMENT

Of all of the modalities of treatment in medicine that have been utilized in the treatment of Heroin addiction, in my clinical experience, only one appears to have fulfilled the prerequisites elicited above. That treatment is the Rapid Coma Technique of Carbon Dioxide Therapy (CDT). Description of this inhalation technique is described under Methodology. It is emphasized that CDT does not replace corrective rehabilitative and socio-economic factors in the environment. Parental and familial guidance, occupational, social, educational and other rehabilitative activities that mold and influence health, personality and character are also necessary. These services must be made available as needed to the addict, for after he has been stabilized by CDT and has been rid of the craving for Heroin, he must continue to live as a functioning and productive member of the community.

IMPLEMENTATION OF CDT TREATMENT FOR THE ADDICT POPULATION

A physician training center shall be set up where physicians from various parts of the country involved in the treatment of Heroin addicts shall be trained in the administration of CDT, who in turn shall return to their own clinics and hospitals and administer it to local patients. The out-patient treatment of Heroin addicts is the most practical aspect of this CDT, since it is not necessary to hospitalize all patients except those who are on excessively high doses of Heroin, or those who for various reasons are unable to remain on an out-patient basis initially. Out-patient treatment at the onset is also the most economical and most practical for the patient, since not having to be hospitalized is most reassuring for the patient. However, in such an out-patient program there is a higher relapse rate and a slower clinical recovery. Nonetheless, it is still the most desirable plan if the nation's addiction problem is to be effectively and pragmatically resolved.

CONGRESSMAN BRADEMÁS SPEAKS ON ENGINEERING EDUCATION

HON. JOHN BRADEMÁS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. BRADEMÁS. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the privilege of addressing the College-Government Conference of the American Society for Engineering Education. The purpose of the conference was to present substantive information about the relations between engi-

neering education and government, and to stimulate engineering educators to thinking about the role of their discipline in a rapidly changing world.

I hope that my remarks, on the subject of "New Dimensions in Engineering Education," contributed in some small way to the success of the conference.

Mr. Speaker at this point I would like to insert to text of that address in the RECORD.

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMÁS BEFORE THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR ENGINEERING EDUCATION

In 1919 the great economist Thorstein Veblen expressed the conviction that engineers sit at the right hand of God, or, at any rate, nearby. In his book, *The Engineers and the Price System*, there appears the following passage:

"These expert men, the engineers, make up the indispensable General Staff of the industrial system; and without their immediate and unremitting guidance and corrections the industrial system will not work. . . . The material welfare of the community is unreservedly bound up with the due working of this industrial system, and, therefore, with its unreserved control by the engineers, who alone are competent to manage it."

Gentlemen, it is fifty-two years later. I am a Congressman who has devoted most of his legislative attention over the past thirteen years to education. I am here—appropriately during National Education Week—to talk with you about our mutual concerns in that field. You are in the midst of a productive conference. And so I fear, in such pleasurable circumstances, to pass on the bad news: Thorstein Veblen was wrong.

Unless there are changes in the education of future engineers, no longer will men and women of your profession make up the "General Staff" of the industrial system.

Unless there are changes in the education of future engineers, the material well-being of this country may no longer be tied to that industrial system.

And, if some alarmists are right, unless there are changes in the education of future engineers, the American industrial system as we know it may not be around much longer.

Frankly, gentlemen, I don't believe these dire predictions will come about. But there are enough who do think so that the prospect cannot be disregarded. Charles Reich is one of them. In his book, *The Greening of America*, he lays out the agenda for change:

"There is a revolution coming. . . . It will not be like revolutions of the past, it cannot be successfully resisted by violence. . . . (This revolution) must be understood in light of the betrayal and loss of the American dream, . . . and the way that the state dominates, exploits, and ultimately destroys both nature and man. Its rationality must be measured against the insanity of existing "reason"—reason that makes impoverishment, dehumanization, and even war appear to be logical and necessary. Its logic must be read from the fact that Americans have lost control of the machinery of their society and only new values and a new culture can restore control. Its emotions and spirit can be comprehended only by seeing contemporary America through the eyes of the new generation."

I must tell you that I do not agree with Reich, but I am not afraid of him either, for I have faith in the capacity of our governmental and industrial systems, and in your profession among others, to withstand this crisis of confidence and to be changed—for the better, I hope—but not destroyed.

And yet I am prompted to ask why? Why has it all come about, this shaking up of America?

Today from my perspective on Capitol Hill,

I propose to offer some of the answers as I see them. I want to identify some of the pitfalls we have all fallen into as we think about modern technology. I want to suggest ways in which you can overcome the suspicions of modern technology and make it, to use an overworked but nonetheless useful term, more "relevant." And I hope to talk of how we in Congress can more effectively relate to you in engineering.

First, let me talk of some of the pitfalls.

I. FALLIBILITY OF TECHNOLOGY

Figuratively speaking, you engineers have scaled many mountains. You have done so on the backs of burros and in the cockpits of jet helicopters. Each mountain appeared another milestone on the road to total mastery over nature. As time passed, and each new feat of engineering surpassed the other in size and superiority, it became commonplace to suggest that there were no objectives man could not reach.

What we have rarely seemed to realize is that great achievements often carry with them the seeds of future failures. Successes such as the Apollo project may lead us to mistaken supposition that technology can accomplish anything, even rescue society from unlimited foolhardiness—as, for example, a long-continued population explosion, or nuclear war, or world hunger.

In his essay on *Technology and Values*, P. G. Burke underscored this point with eloquence: He said:

"Progress is . . . an elusive value. The notion that science and technology can create a society characterized by health, wealth and leisure is questionable on historical grounds, since we know that under our present system of distribution these benefits have not accrued to all members of society. . . . It is therefore extremely doubtful that scientific knowledge and technological capability can solve all of our complex social problems. . . . In a qualitative sense, moreover, our preoccupation with progress has blinded us to the seriousness of the situation we now face.

Technological progress may indeed be the most important product of our industrial society. Of that progress you can rightly be proud. But we must all be humbled as well in the face of the numerous doors to which science yet has no key, and perhaps never will.

II. SPILLOVER EFFECTS

A second pitfall into which we have fallen in our approach toward modern technology is to ignore the spillover effects of technological innovations.

For too long we have assumed that the end products of technology are necessarily good, and that the bigger those products, the better. The size of engineering works, like the Verrazano Narrows Bridge or the Hoover Dam, is equated with their contribution to humankind. Until recently, few engineers appeared to recognize that each feat of engineering creates its negative byproducts; and often the bigger the end result, the more numerous and hazardous those byproducts. It is true that we can change the ratio of resources used to waste produced. But the inexorable laws of conservation of matter and energy that Einstein taught us so well will never allow waste or pollution to be reduced to zero.

It is imperative, therefore, that you remember that each new project you embark upon will result in spillovers of which, as an engineer, you may have been previously unaware. For example, the building of dams carries the threat of heavy damage to health, although building dams is certainly a purely technical matter as far as design and use are concerned. Large parts of Africa, Asia and South America are today ravaged by schistosomiasis, a disease transmitted by worms that breed only in still waters. The construction of dams provides plentiful breeding grounds. And so the schisto worms have destroyed the

health of millions and effectively defeated the best attempts at technological development in large areas.

It is now painfully plain that every engineering artifact leaves its mark on a further universe. This realization has led some to the conclusion that government should permit no changes in the environment unless it can first be conclusively proven that the result will be an improvement in the quality of human existence.

In the past, engineers have shied away from such normative judgments. In the future, if our system is to survive and prosper, your students will be required to make such judgments virtually every day. And you, as engineering educators, must teach them how.

III. NO INTEGRATION OF GOALS

Still a third pitfall into which we have fallen in our view of modern technology is to regard each field of technology as a body of truth unto itself, separate from all others.

In the past such thinking may have been valid. Engineering designs were based on the assumption of a closed system—such as the civil engineering problem of building a dam. However, the spillover effects of which I have spoken find no solution in just one field of technology.

If present population trends continue—and we have every reason to believe they will—by 1980 the population of the world will be four billion. That of the United States will be 240 million. Never mind the problems of social interaction in that context. These are such large numbers that some biologists wonder about the capacity of the planet to operate at all. The increasing integration caused by the large scale of almost any engineering work—such as a dam that results in widespread disease, or pesticides that afflict far-flung victims—will only get worse with the growth in population. What is the role of engineering in such crises?

As I see it, the fundamental issue you as engineers must face is how the technology you represent can be brought into equilibrium with the increasing demands of this exploding population. What I am saying is nothing new. The eminent ecologist, Dr. Barry Commoner, among others, has repeated the same admonition for years. His newest book, *The Closing Circle*, serves to underscore the obvious: that, from now on, each technological change will have to be measured against a set of long-term equilibrium objectives.

You will agree, I am sure, that this determination requires a new kind of engineering, and a new breed of engineer. It demands that you engineers break out of the narrow confines of your discipline to assess the full effect of each design and project.

The new engineer cannot install sophisticated air conditioning equipment in an African hospital only to discover that power failures occur frequently there.

The new engineer cannot establish health care delivery systems that reduce infant mortality rates and increase life spans, and then find that the food supply in the area makes starvation inescapable. If the new engineer makes such mistakes, he will soon discover that all the advances of modern technology, if not judiciously applied, are still no match for nature.

These are the kinds of lessons you must help teach him.

IV. THE PROBLEM OF PRIORITIES

We fall into a fourth pitfall when we consider modern technology apart from the social priorities and goals which it serves.

Determining acceptable priorities for engineering projects is likely to be very difficult, indeed. But you gentlemen make such decisions every day. Within a narrow range of constraints you must decide, for example, how to build a faster and lighter airplane, using materials within cost limitations, to

be amortized within a fixed time. But, clearly, our country's engineers must now broaden the criteria for evaluation of proposed engineering advances to include broader constraints and much less precise objectives—social, economic and environmental.

For example, engineers may more and more be involved in the planning of water delivery systems and their consequent effects on the ecology of an area, its residential pattern, agricultural output, health standards, and total economy. This job—of relating strictly engineering judgments to broader social considerations—will be enormously complicated. It will require the contribution of a broad range of disciplines heretofore viewed as wholly unrelated to engineering. But it can be done; indeed it must be done if we are to avoid the melancholy Malthusian prophesies of doom of some authorities.

Let me at this point give you some examples of the kind of problems amenable to such new methods.

One is the whole question of water resources in this country. It has always been scarce in our Southwest, and estimates are that it would cost \$100 billion to transport sufficient water for the Southwest down from Canada and the Arctic. It may sound absurd to talk in such figures, but let us remember that this country at one time spent \$50 billion a year on Vietnam. If we ever come to the day when we dispense with that debacle, we are only talking about a few years of effort. As soon as one has said this, the possibilities that loom are of a scale never before contemplated by man.

Another problem that must be attacked more vigorously with such an integrated approach must be transportation. An analytical base has never been developed for looking at the system as a whole. Meanwhile, major bus systems are losing millions of dollars weekly, and mass transit systems, such as those in Washington and San Francisco, are years behind scheduled completion.

"NEW" DIMENSIONS FOR ENGINEERING EDUCATION

I have been delineating the dimensions of the challenge. Let me now turn to the dimensions of change in engineering education—to some ways by which you can, hopefully, avoid the four pitfalls to which I have been referring. I shall as well cite some ways in which we in government can be of help to you in engineering.

For if engineering practice is to be changed at its roots, the education of the engineer must first be changed. It seems imperative to me, therefore, that engineering curricula acquire these new dimensions of which I speak.

Our objective should not be to make a philosopher of the engineer. He can study Plato or A. J. Ayer on his own time. Rather, we must aim to make engineers capable of dealing with the variety of global problems I have been discussing with you.

In the past several sessions of Congress, my own congressional subcommittee has considered, and Congress as a whole, has passed, such "new dimensions" for engineering education. These are programs the significance of which you may wish to consider as you reevaluate engineering studies.

A. ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION ACT

The first possible "new dimension" is the Environmental Education Act, of which we mark the first anniversary this week. Under this law, Federal funds are authorized to support elementary and secondary education courses in environmental studies; adult education and community conferences on ecology; and curriculum development and teacher training in environmental studies.

When I first introduced the bill almost two years ago, Donald A. Buzzell of the Consulting Engineers Council sent me a letter, endorsing the bill and commenting on its significance for the engineering profession:

"Engineers are keenly aware of the need for some general educational effort of the type proposed in this bill. Most engineers . . . share in inherent appreciation of the need for some massive and effective response to the problems we are creating for ourselves . . . We (therefore) wholeheartedly endorse the aims and objectives of this legislation."

During hearings on the bill, Elvis Stahr, now President of the National Audubon Society, formerly Secretary of the Army and President of Indiana University indicated American education for doing, as he put it, a "demonstrably miserable job" of teaching about the fundamentals of man's relation to nature and the balance of nature.

Dr. Stahr blamed this failure on the kind of fragmentation of which I have earlier spoken. "Nature," he said, "is broken into little bits—botany, astronomy, zoology, bacteriology, physics, etc. Scarcely anywhere in academies are the pieces put back together."

The Environmental Education Act aims at helping to put those pieces back together. While the program is focused on secondary school programs, the stimulus the act represents for a multi-disciplinary approach to environmental studies is applicable on the university level. Indeed, this view was the major thrust of a report done for the President's Environmental Quality Council by Dr. John S. Steinhart of the Institute of Environmental Studies at the University of Wisconsin and presented before my subcommittee in hearings on the Environmental Education Act.

The Steinhart report recommends that there be schools of the human environment at colleges and universities, schools whose purpose should be "problem-focused education and research directed toward people—their needs and desire for a satisfying life in pleasant surroundings."

Affirms the report:

"Such schools can begin the task of providing trained professionals to work on environmental problems, help to define what is possible and how to get it, and provide opportunities for the justifiable desire of many young people to devote their attention to environmental problems."

Clearly, such an approach would be a new—a radically new—dimension in education, but assuredly a dimension consistent with the philosophy and aims of the Environmental Education Act.

B. NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

A second "new dimension" for engineering education might come from the activities of the proposed National Institute of Education, which I am sponsoring in Congress.

The NIE is still a dream; I am hopeful that the President will soon sign the bill creating it, to make the Institute a reality. Briefly, the purpose of this new Institute will be to support research on new and better ways of teaching and learning at every level of education—from preschool through postgraduate school.

The NIE will support basic research into the learning process.

It will give attention to certain crucial national problems in education, such as the education of the disadvantaged.

It will, among other tasks, study curriculum development and educational technology.

It will assign high priority to strengthening the links between research and development institutions, on the one hand, and schools and universities on the other.

The new National Institute of Education will, in general, undertake virtually any kind of research aimed at improving the quality of American education. Certainly engineering education should be among the concerns of the NIE. As the Institute takes shape, I therefore strongly urge your Society to keep close track of its activities.

C. INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION ACT

A third "new dimension" for engineering education is represented by the International Education Act of 1965. This Act authorizes grants to colleges and universities for teaching and research in international affairs at both the graduate and undergraduate levels.

Although Congress has not yet appropriated funds under the Act, the need to strengthen international education in all fields is clearer than ever. Talk of neo-isolationism is foolish. Obviously, the United States must continue to play a major role in the world. In fact, key elements of American commerce and academia are all expanding their international activities, not pulling back. And, most noteworthy for engineering, urgent domestic programs such as urban development, pollution control, and race relations all have aspects that require cooperation across international frontiers.

Part of my own graduate education was at an overseas university. England is a country as close to ours in custom and convention as a country can be. Yet Oxford was in many ways a world away. There I learned that, no matter how advanced we Americans are or consider ourselves, we have much to learn in the laboratories and in the lecture halls of other nations, both advanced and underdeveloped.

Indeed, I wonder how the levees at New Orleans or Natchez would stem the tides today if we had not the benefit of centuries of Dutch trial and error with dikes. Or how well the mid-Continent Canal would carry its cargo had there been no Suez or Panama before it? Who here will say we have nothing to learn from the Japanese about urban mass transit? And who can deny that we shall be crossing national boundaries in our efforts to cope with a wide variety of problems with which our society, and its engineers, must deal.

The International Education Act symbolizes, then, another "new dimension" for engineering education.

D. NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES

A fourth possible, though at first glance implausible, "new dimension" in engineering education might be the activities of the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities.

One historian has called John F. Kennedy "a dreamer with a keen sense of double entry bookkeeping." Many engineers can keep books; some of you are even CPAs. But, sadly, too few engineers in my experience have never learned to dream. Someone told them in childhood that a man who reaches for the stars oft' tumbles on a straw—and they believed it. It is fortunate for the rest of us that Leonardo da Vinci and Michaelangelo never got the news.

The National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities is an independent agency of the Federal government whose purpose is to encourage and support programs in the humanities and the arts. The Foundation does so by grant-in-aid, by scholarship, and by the partial financing of productions of cultural or artistic merit.

You may find it hard to imagine that you gentlemen will ever have much to do with the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities. But there are signs stirring of linkups between the technological community and the arts. The Art and Technology Project of the Los Angeles County Art Museum is one. This enterprise joined scientists and engineers from 28 major industrial companies with painters and sculptors for the purposes of creating works of art. Using all the resources available to the corporations, including laser beams and computers, the artists have created striking sculpture, some of which may well endure as outstanding art.

A decade from now, if anything more than stale memorabilia remains of this innovative project, I hope it will be an awareness by the participating companies that esthetics and design should be both a part of product development and an everyday concern. If you spend money to build a bridge, it should, hopefully, be a beautiful bridge. A fortune spent on a building can result not only in a building, but in a work of art.

By no means do we in Congress have a right to chastise you in engineering for paying insufficient attention to esthetics. If the Rayburn House Office Building is any illustration of congressional leadership to promote esthetics in this country, we Congressmen should feel less than comfortable specchifying about new standards for art and architecture. Though it cost three times as much as the Longworth Building next door, the Rayburn Building fails sadly to qualify as art.

While hopefully mending our own ways, we in Congress can ask that, for the good of our society, you in engineering education expose future engineers to esthetic values as well as economic ones. Such an awareness will help assure products that are beautiful as well as functional.

NEW DIMENSIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Let us also look beyond these possible "new dimensions" for engineering education to new dimensions for higher education as a whole. Today in this country we are in the midst of an earnest reassessment of the purposes of higher education, a reassessment reflective of our economic system, and, indeed, about the direction society is bound. Perhaps more than any place else, the American campus has come to be the focal point for the expression of an often legitimate din of discontent with the status quo.

We hear from the campus loud and clear that minority groups want to be freed, that women want to be liberated, and that students want more than diplomas; they seek understanding as well. The alumni find their knowledge obsolete and seek continuing education. And all these groups blame the university for its failure to lead them to their respective promised lands.

If American education is going to lead anyone anywhere, it must be responsive to this constituency—society at large—and it must adapt. If our schools of engineering are to be responsive to their constituencies—the builders, the shapers, and the movers of our industrial structure—they must adapt no less. There must be more black engineers, more Chicano engineers, more women engineers, more engineers with a non-establishment point of view willing to undertake non-establishment kinds of projects.

Gentlemen, it says something about engineering in America that tonight, in this gathering of several hundred people, there are no black engineers, no women engineers and—unless I am wrong—no Chicano engineers. If there can be public interest lawyers and missionary doctors, surely you can graduate at least some engineers who will pioneer in moving society as well as moving mountains.

CONCLUSION

My remarks this evening were not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to stimulate your thinking and imagination. I have always taken to heart John Galsworthy's admonition: "If you do not think about the future, you cannot have one."

From here on into that future, I trust you will do even more creative thinking about the scope and dimensions of your profession. For if you do, you will discover far more exciting prospects than I, a layman, ever could. That engineers need to do so, I hope these remarks have made apparent.

When Charles Reich writes of a coming

revolution, he means a bloodless, but nonetheless decisive, overthrow of a depersonalized technological society. You gentlemen, with your talents and training, and influence over virtually hundreds of thousands of students, can forge a revolution of your own. You have the chance to demonstrate that technology need be neither brutal nor uncivilized, the opportunity to invest engineering education with broader humanistic considerations.

The great historian, Plutarch, who chronicled the greatness of ancient Greece, in these words wrote of what makes a civilization great: "Not houses finely roofed," he said, "or the stones of walls well-built, nor canals and dockyards, make the world, but men able to use their opportunity."

The opportunities of which I have spoken are before you gentlemen. I sincerely hope you seize them.

REAP FUNDS NEEDED NOW

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, this has not been an especially good year for farmers. Farm prices are low, surpluses are high, and according to many experts more of the same is expected in 1972.

These economic problems of rural America are hardly helped by an obvious unwillingness by the administration and its Office of Management and Budget to release funds appropriated by the Congress for various agricultural programs. Included are funds for pollution control, waterway improvement, soil enhancement, waste management, and other rural environmental improvement programs. The failure of the administration to announce their intentions in respect to these programs—or to do so very late in the year—compounds the situation even further.

What especially concerns many of us is the \$55.5 million freeze of funds for the rural environmental assistance program—REAP. This freeze was implemented despite the directive of the House Appropriations Committee, in its report for the Department of Agriculture 1972 budget, which states:

The Committee strongly condemns the failure to administer the full \$195.5 million called for by Congress (for REAP) in 1971. . . . For 1972, the Committee has directed that the Secretary (of Agriculture) announce a program of \$195.5 million, the same level as authorized in 1971.

Mr. Speaker, I think that makes the intent of Congress quite clear. Furthermore, those instructions were given for good reason. Consider for a moment what the \$55.5 million cut means. It means that OMB is asking Congress to forgo over \$150 million worth of conservation programs, two-thirds of which will be paid for by individual farmers. It means that we are not going to employ the time, labor, and funds that hundreds of thousands of farmers are willing to make available for forestry development, erosion and sediment control, stream bank and shore protection, wildlife habitat improvement, and solid waste disposal management.

If this administration is truly concerned about our environment, as it has indicated on a number of occasions, I can think of no better program to support than REAP. Yet, for the second straight year, we see millions of dollars appropriated for this program being withheld from farmers who want and can effectively use these funds for environmental enhancement.

Is this administration really trying to kill REAP? There are indications they are. But I hope the opposite is true, and I know I speak for the over 4,000 farmers in my district who participate in REAP programs yearly. These farmers have placed over 200,000 acres in conservation programs in the past two years. Our environment is better off for it. I only wish the Office of Management and Budget understood that.

In an effort to bring this matter to their attention, I have written the following letter to George Shultz, Director of the OMB.

DECEMBER 9, 1971.

GEORGE P. SHULTZ,
Director, Office of Management and Budget,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SHULTZ: I am writing to protest the fact that \$55.5 million is now being frozen by the Office of Management of Budget for conservation programs under the Rural Environmental Assistance Program (REAP).

As you well know, the Congress appropriated \$195.5 million for REAP programs for 1972. OMB has decided that only \$140 million of these funds be available for use. I consider that decision unwise. Furthermore, it is clearly in violation of the Congressional directive, contained in the House Appropriations Committee Report for the Department of Agriculture's 1972 budget, that a program be announced for this year at the \$195.5 million level.

I fear that somehow OMB considered the 1971 freeze of \$45.5 million in REAP funds as a precedent for severely restricting this program in 1972 and future years. If this is true, you should realize that OMB is completely disregarding the intent of the Congress with regard to the REAP program.

Last year the Administration's unilateral decision to change the direction and scope of the Agriculture Conservation Program by converting it to REAP was used as justification for freezing the funds. I am not convinced this change was necessarily wise. It is diminishing the flow of dollars to small farmers who wish to maintain their conservation programs, like those farmers, for example, who have used ACP funds in the past for liming practices. But even this new program has been in existence for a year. What is the justification for the freeze in 1972 funds?

When the President introduced the REAP program, he pledged to "focus upon preserving our environment and the demonstrating of good environmental enhancement practices." I believe our ACP and REAP programs have done just that.

Over the past 35 years, the ACP and REAP programs have placed and maintained over 200 million acres in water storage reservoirs, terraces, stripcropping systems, permanent sod waterways and trees and shrubs. In Wisconsin last year, millions of acres of soil were protected and improved. Nationally, this program attracts the labors and the money of over one million farmers. In fact, for each \$1 contributed by the federal government, farmers contribute \$2.25 of their own money for conservation programs. In short, REAP is a program which meets the needs of rural environmental development at the lowest possible cost.

By refusing to allocate \$55.5 million in REAP funds appropriated by Congress, your office has halted over \$150 million in agricultural conservation programs. Farmers who wait for these funds will soon be forced to completely eliminate or delay their plans for environmental enhancement. Already seasonal conditions prohibit the use of this year's funds in the upper Midwest for terracing, liming, tree planting and most other soil practices. As winter engulfs more of the country, the funds farmers have held for agricultural conservation will be spent on production improvements. If funds are not released now, they may go unused—not because farmers did not want or could not use REAP money, but because you prohibited the money from being spent as Congress intended.

In recent years, Congress has provided incentives for industries and small businesses which must deal with pollution abatement. Grants have been provided to local units of government to help them deal with pollution problems without overwhelming economic hardships. The present Administration supported these measures. Why then, are farmers now being asked to carry the full cost of their environmental improvement practices.

The Congress did not intend it to be this way. We have made it clear we support the you to follow that Congressional intent. full allocation of REAP funds. I strongly urge Sincerely,

DAVID R. OBEY,
Member of Congress.

TRIBUTE TO MAESTRO FAUSTO CLEVA

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, on August 5, 1971, death claimed one of America's foremost men of music, Maestro Fausto Cleva, mainstay of the Metropolitan Opera for more than 50 of his 69 years.

Maestro Cleva was considered one of the greatest of operatic conductors. He received his early training in music in Trieste, Italy, his birthplace, and he continued it in Milan. At the age of 17 he was appointed associate conductor at the Teatro Carcano when that was the only one functioning in Milan. In 1920, he was selected to become assistant chorus master at the New York Metropolitan Opera Co., and held that post with great distinction until 1942. In 1939, after conducting the Metropolitan Auditions of the Air, he was appointed an associate conductor as well.

In 1951, Fausto Cleva opened the Metropolitan Opera season with a new production of "Aida." In all, Maestro Cleva conducted 657 performances of 27 different operas at the Metropolitan Opera.

When not conducting at the Metropolitan, Maestro Cleva represented the United States with great distinction as guest conductor in some of the leading opera houses in the world; the Swedish Royal Opera, Stockholm; Edinborough Festival, Scotland; Vienna State Opera, Vienna; Arena di Verona, Italy; and the Vancouver International Festival, Canada.

The first complete opera ever televised

in English in the United States was conducted by Maestro Cleva when Verdi's "La Traviata" was aired by the American Broadcasting Co. In 1944 the Cincinnati College of Music honored Cleva with its doctor of music degree. Many internationally renowned artists had been privileged to make their American or Metropolitan debuts with the maestro at the Metropolitan Opera in New York or other leading opera houses in America; some include Maria Callas, Franco Corelli, Tito Gobbi, Jerome Hines, Dorothy Kirsten, Jan Pierce, Lyontine Price, Renata Tebaldi, and Richard Tucker.

In 1958, the Italian Government awarded Fausto Cleva the "Commenda Della Repubblica Italian," its highest civilian award.

In August 1971, Maestro Cleva went to Greece, representing the United States in the Athens Music Festival where he conducted Gluck's "Orfeo and Euridice." As he took the podium for the third performance to a standing ovation, he succumbed to a massive coronary. He died as he had lived, dedicated to the art and world of music.

Truly it can be said that Fausto Cleva, adopted son, was a name synonymous with grand opera in the grand tradition wherever it was performed in the world. Fausto Cleva will not, cannot, be replaced. But he will be missed.

TRADE WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES—SOME PROFIT WHILE OTHERS DIE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the news educational-media is saturated with the great expectations of profit by the capitalist industrial barons from trade with Communist Russia.

Someone stands to gain but it certainly will not be the American taxpayer, farmer, laborer, or the small business man.

The readiness of the Communist Party structure in Russia to do business with the capitalists of the United States means more than the Russian leaders' admitting to the bankruptcy of their system and their admitted failure to meet the needs of their people. It means that our leaders have agreed in turn to import Soviet goods which will undercut our own economy—more unemployment and less opportunity for Americans.

This is reminiscent of the free trade era with Japan before World War II. Many American men remember being hit with "Made in U.S.A." hardware during World War II that was sold for profit before the war.

While the American taxpayers continue to pay for foreign aid to protect foreign countries from Communist aggression, American men continue to die from Russian guns, SAM missiles, and Mig fighter craft; and our American leaders boast of trading with the enemy

as being good for business. What an Alice-in-Wonderland environment.

Related newscippings follow:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 10, 1971]

SOVIETS HOPING TO BUY U.S. FARM MACHINES

(By Marilyn Berger)

The Soviet Union is interested in purchasing American grain for years to come, Minister of Agriculture Vladimir Y. Matskevich said yesterday.

In an unusual press conference at the Soviet embassy marking the start of an 11-day visit to the United States, Matskevich also said he hopes to investigate prospects for importing U.S. farm machinery and for purchasing licenses for the production of combines and tractors in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet minister spoke of industrializing agriculture, improving livestock breeding and increasing the production of fruits and vegetables. "We know that the United States has achieved some significant results in this sphere," he said. "So as not to invent this for a second time we are ready to share our experiences and get something from the achievements of the United States."

He added: "We hope this will be in our mutual interest."

Matskevich said "the purchase of grain, especially corn, will continue for a long time." He later defined "a long time" as meaning 5 to 10 years. But he said this would depend on "many factors, on the general atmosphere good understanding and willingness to cooperate."

The agriculture minister explained that what the Soviet Union "needs badly" is "fodder for livestock breeding," in which corn is particularly important. He said that while the Soviet Union has 220 million hectares of land under production only 5 million hectares are usable for corn production.

He indicated that if the livestock production lives up to expectations, the Soviet Union could never be self-sufficient in corn because of climatic conditions. The United States has had a record corn crop this year.

The current grain deal with the Soviet Union will involve between \$135 million and \$190 million worth of corn, barley and oats. Matskevich said the Soviet Union would be increasing its own production of barley and oats. A major question in the United States has been whether the current sale would turn out to be a one-shot deal or the first in a continuing arrangement.

Matskevich said that he, personally, is most interested in obtaining credits for purchases of agricultural machinery and chemicals. He said the Soviet Union wants to import certain small farm machinery such as those for sowing sugar beet seeds and for removing cotton seeds. But he said that his government also wants to purchase licenses for manufacture in the Soviet Union of mass production machinery like combines and tractors. Commerce Department officials said yesterday that such arrangements have been made in the past but that they are rare.

The press conference yesterday was part of an increasingly evident Soviet drive to focus public attention on the potentials for trade with the United States. This was spotlighted by the unprecedented invitation extended to Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans and his delegation during a recent visit to Moscow to attend a meeting of the Supreme Soviet, a visit that was publicized by the Soviet Union in widely distributed photographs.

Stans held a press conference yesterday to discuss his trip which he described as an "exploratory mission" to "consider the roadblocks and obstacles on trade . . . and to get a fix on the viewpoint of the Soviets and their desire of working with the United States."

He said he found an interest in developing joint ventures, in which U.S. technology

would be exchanged for raw materials. He explored prospects for importing liquefied natural gas and the possibilities of U.S. participation in the Kama River truck and automobile project.

While speaking in positive terms about future U.S. Soviet trade prospects, Stans made it clear that there are hurdles to overcome—the credit hurdle, for example.

The Soviet Union still owes the United States large sums from the World War II lendlease program and until that matter is cleared up there is doubt that Congress would grant the Soviet Union "most favored nation" status. Without that status and without credits from the Export-Import Bank (which the President must approve) U.S.-Soviet traders might have difficulty financing their transactions.

Last year, U.S. exports to the Soviet Union were valued at \$118.4 million. Soviet imports to the United States were valued at \$72.2 million.

[From the Washington Star, Dec. 10, 1971]

SOVIET FARM CHIEF PROPOSES LARGE-SCALE BUYING IN UNITED STATES

(By Bernard Gwertzman)

The Soviet minister of agriculture has held out the prospect for large-scale Soviet purchases of American feed grain, agriculture machinery and technology.

At a news conference yesterday at the Soviet Embassy, Minister Vladimir V. Matskevich said the Soviet Union, which recently bought nearly \$140 million worth of feed grains from the United States, wanted to continue purchases of corn over a long-term period of at least five to 10 years.

He indicated that the Soviet Union, which is seeking to modernize its agriculture and boost its meat and dairy output, also was very interested in purchasing specialized agricultural machinery and licenses from American concerns for use in producing high-quality tractors, combines and other equipment "by the millions" in his country.

CONFERS WITH BUTZ

Matskevich arrived here yesterday at the invitation of the Agriculture Department. He met with the new Agriculture secretary, Earl Butz.

His official visit was the latest sign of the improving mood in Soviet-American relations marked especially by recent steps to increase trade.

At a separate news conference yesterday, Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans, who returned recently from a high-level trade mission to the Soviet Union, said that American trade with the Russians could rise from its current \$200 million yearly turnover to billions of dollars in coming years if trade obstacles can be overcome.

GAS DEAL STUDIED

Stans, who met in Moscow with Premier Alexsei N. Kosygin and other Soviet officials, noted that the Russians had suggested a multibillion dollar deal involving the export of liquefied natural gas to the United States.

Under this plan, which he stressed was only in a very preliminary stage, U.S. business would develop untapped Soviet gas fields, supply the pipeline, help build a port, construct a liquefaction plant, and build refrigerator ships.

The Russians would supply about a billion dollars worth of gas a year in payment for the American investment, he said.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 10, 1971]

SOVIET AIDE, IN UNITED STATES, INDICATES LIKELIHOOD OF BIG FARM DEALS

(By Bernard Gwertzman)

WASHINGTON, December 9.—The Soviet Minister of Agriculture today held out the prospect of large Soviet purchases of feed

grain, agriculture machinery and technology from the United States.

The Minister, Vladimir V. Matskevich, said at a news conference at the Soviet Embassy that his country, which recently bought nearly \$140-million worth of feed grains here, wanted to continue purchases of corn over a period of at least 5 to 10 years.

He indicated that the Soviet Union, which is seeking to modernize its agriculture and to increase its output of meat and dairy products, was also very interested in purchasing specialized agricultural machinery and licenses from United States concerns for the production in the Soviet Union of tractors, combines and other equipment "by the millions."

Mr. Matskevich, who is 62 years old, arrived with a delegation of farm experts last night at the invitation of the Agriculture Department. His visit was the latest sign of the improving mood in Soviet-American relations, marked especially by recent steps to increase trade.

STANS NOTES POSSIBILITIES

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Under this plan, which he stressed was only in a very preliminary stage, United States concerns would develop untapped Soviet gas fields, supply the pipeline, help build a port, construct a liquefaction plant, and build refrigerator ships. The Soviet Union would supply about a billion dollars worth of gas a year in payment for the American investment, he said.

Crucial to a long-term expansion of trade would be the ability of the Soviet Union to find credits in the United States for its purchases, since there is no prospect at this time that it could balance its imports from the United States with exports to this country.

Trade talks would begin in Washington on Jan. 6 between Soviet and American trade experts. Presumably the problem of credits will be discussed then.

President Nixon can authorize the Export-Import Bank, an independent Government agency, to extend or guarantee credits to the Soviet Union. It is believed that Mr. Nixon, who extended Export-Import bank credits to Rumania recently, might authorize them for the Russians as part of a trade package to be negotiated either before or during his scheduled visit to the Soviet Union next May.

Mr. Matskevich headed an agricultural delegation to the United States in 1955 in the first such exchange between the two countries following Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's decision to improve relations with the United States.

WON'T PLACE ANY ORDERS

At his news conference today, Mr. Matskevich said that his delegation planned to visit agricultural enterprises in various states, but indicated that he was not here to place any orders. He, too, pointed to coming negotiations as important for an increase in trade relations.

Both Mr. Matskevich and Mr. Stans linked expansion of trade to the political relations between the two countries.

Mr. Matskevich said that whether the Soviet Union bought corn over a long term depended "on the general atmosphere, good understanding, and a willingness to cooperate."

[From the Washington Star, Dec. 13, 1971]
STANS FOUNDATION OWNS SHARE IN U.S.-
AIDED FIRM

(By H. L. Schwartz III)

A private foundation controlled by Commerce Secretary Maurice H. Stans has acquired since he took office an interest in a Thailand paper company which directly benefits from U.S. government cash and other assistance.

In response to written questions from the Associated Press, Stans called the \$24,302 investment in Siam Kraft Paper Co. "very minor," said he gets no income from the Stans Foundation, and "couldn't conceive" of any tax breaks normally associated with such foundations as being available to him.

Disclosure of Stans' involvement in the Thai company, founded in 1965 on a \$14 million loan from the U.S. Export-Import Bank which was extended last year, marks the second time in recent months that questions have been raised about the secretary's financial holdings.

In February it was disclosed he held a \$318,000 interest in a Penn Central subsidiary at the time his department was engaged in secret negotiations to save the railroad from bankruptcy.

At that time, Stans said he had disqualified himself from efforts to help Penn Central after attending one high-level meeting.

Tax returns for the Stans Foundation, which list Stans as president, and his wife and four children as directors, show it acquired 2,667 shares of Siam Kraft in 1969 when the company was chaired by a Thai major general, managed by an American consulting firm and headed for large initial operating losses.

It got the shares from another Nixon appointee, Henry Kearns, president of the Export-Import Bank.

INVESTMENT GROWTH

The foundation, Kerans and a New York investment firm, then headed by Stans, had been partners for a year in a separate real estate venture, Thai Industrial Estates. A spokesman for Kearns and an officer of the investment firm, Glore-Forgan-Wm. R. Staats, said no real estate ever was purchased or developed although tax returns for the foundation show its \$4,143 investment had grown to \$20,851 by the end of 1968.

James Lynch, Glore-Forgan vice president, said he didn't recall when the partnership was dissolved, but that Siam Kraft shares were distributed in July 1969 to pay off the real estate investment.

Kearns founded Siam Kraft in 1965 with the Export-Import Bank loan plus backing from four American banks, an insurance company and the General Electric Pension trust.

Questioned closely by the Senate Banking Committee about his \$750,000 interest in the company, which produces paper bags, Kearns pledged to put his holdings in a blind trust and divorce himself from any Export-Import Bank efforts to help the firm.

Stans also put his personal stocks and bonds into a blind trust, but retained personal control of the foundation.

The foundation, established in 1945, increased in net worth from \$501,000 in 1962 to \$1.39 million by the end of last year, according to its tax returns. The returns show a \$319,514 increase in 1970.

Siam Kraft's annual report to shareholders in October listed a \$4.28 million loss for the year ended in June. But the company report said extension of the Export-Import Bank loan, plus advice and assistance from officials of the bank and the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok, had brightened company prospects.

Douglas Smith, a project officer for the bank, said the payment date on the \$14 million loan was extended from 1976 to 1993.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 13, 1971]
STANS SEES UNITED STATES-SOVIET TRADE
GAINS

Commerce Secretary Maurice H. Stans said yesterday that American private capital may some day be used for commercial developments in the Soviet Union if the political and trade climate between the two nations continues to improve.

Stans said he discussed such "joint ventures" with Soviet officials during his just-completed visit to Russia.

Under this type of venture, American capital, equipment and technology would be supplied for development of Soviet natural resources and in exchange the American firms would get an interest on their investment plus long-term, fixed-price contracts to buy some of the production from the facilities, Stans said. However, the American firms would have no ownership in the production property.

Stans, discussing the proposal in a copy-righted interview with U.S. News & World Report, said Russian officials expressed interest in joint ventures for development of natural gas, oil, timber, pulp and a range of nonferrous minerals including copper, nickel, platinum, titanium and zinc.

The Commerce Secretary said such schemes were relatively far in the future, however, and that normalization of more usual types of trade and technological exchanges must come first.

Stans said that among other matters, the issues of fuller travel freedom for Americans, better tourist and visitor accommodations, and the still-unsettled Russian debt for U.S. lend-lease in World War II must be dealt with. But he expressed optimism that U.S.-Soviet trade would be rapidly expanded within a short time.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 13, 1971]
BUTZ HOPES FOR SALES TO CHINA

(By Hedley Burrell)

Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz said yesterday he hopes the United States will be able to sell food to China as a result of President Nixon's February visit to Peking.

He also said he favored selling more farm products to the Soviet Union.

"I think the sale of farm products to Russia was a good deal for the American farmer and a good deal for America," Butz said on "Meet the Press" (NBC, WRC).

Maritime labor unions recently agreed to removal of a requirement that 50 per cent of feed grains sold to the Soviets be shipped in U.S. vessels, thus paving the way for sales that could run as high as \$185 million. No U.S. grain had been sold to the Soviet Union since 1964 because the Soviets had been unwilling to pay the extra cost that would have resulted from the shipping restriction.

Asked about trade with China, Butz commented:

"In recent years China has bought Canadian wheat. They spent Canadian dollars for it and they are about as hard to come by as American dollars and if the diplomatic relationships can be worked out so trade can be carried on, I am sure I would be delighted to see a sale of American foodstuffs to China."

He said he hoped this would be a natural follow-up to Mr. Nixon's visit to China.

On other matters, Butz said:

Use of the secondary boycott by Caesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee "is in my opinion not a justified tactic for organization of workers."

It would be impossible to feed 206 million Americans with health food.

"Without the modern input of chemicals of pesticides, of antibiotics, of herbicides, we simply couldn't do the job . . . Before we go back to an organic agriculture in this coun-

try somebody must decide which 50 million Americans we are going to let starve or go hungry and I don't want to make that decision."

"To blame the Secretary of Agriculture for the decreasing number of farmers is akin to blaming the Census Bureau for the increase in population."

"When I said we were going to have upwards of a million fewer farmers by 1980, that didn't mean necessarily that I approved of that. I simply was reporting what is going to happen. I think it is inevitable."

THE NATIONAL PRIORITIES DEBATE: A REPUBLICAN PERSPECTIVE

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, on December 6, 1971, my colleague (JOHN ANDERSON) delivered a remarkable treatise to the Brookings Institution. For those who believe that there is an inexhaustible cornucopia of Federal resources to fill economic and social needs, JOHN ANDERSON'S paper should be required reading, because it shatters that myth.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert this speech in the RECORD, and I commend it to all of my colleagues:

THE NATIONAL PRIORITIES DEBATE: A
REPUBLICAN PERSPECTIVE

The pervasive feeling that we need to re-order our national priorities is a basic fact of political life in the United States today. No doubt much of this "national priorities" consciousness stems from unease about the results of our military intervention in Southeast Asia during the last decade, from a growing concern about the deteriorating state of our environment, from the stridency of new groups bidding for a more active role in our political life, and from a growing feeling that as a nation we are earning more but enjoying it less, to paraphrase the President's observation in his 1971 State of the Union address. But whatever the source, the concern about national priorities is not to be dismissed lightly. It demands a serious response from those of us who believe that our current system has served us well and should be preserved.

Unfortunately, the national priorities issue has, in my view, been all too often preempted by those who do not really understand the dynamics of our socio-economic system, and who are not sufficiently sensitive to the limits of its ability to absorb change and governmental intervention without losing its capacity to function effectively. To put it another way, the terms of debate have been largely shaped by what I consider to be a faulty analysis of the nature of our great domestic problems and an analysis that is leading us, as I hope to demonstrate in a moment, in a direction that does not bode well for the future.

For the sake of convenience, I want to call this erroneous formulation of the national priorities question the "Galbraithian dichotomy". In using the name of the distinguished Harvard professor, I should make clear, I do not imply that he has single-handedly led the nation in untoward directions, although he has never been loathe to take the credit for other feats of similar magnitude. Rather I use this label because much of the current discussion of re-ordering na-

tional priorities does not go much beyond the argument developed by Professor Galbraith, in a book called *The Affluent Society*, almost a decade and one-half ago.

His argument in essence was that there are two distinct spheres or sectors, the public and the private, that the two are in a constant struggle for the given quantity of national resources, and that we are an "affluent society" only in the sense that the private sector has been victorious in the struggle for resources. In the years since publication of "The Affluent Society," war games strategists have popularized the notion of a zero-sum game in which one side's gain is inevitably the other side's loss, and in the Galbraithian view this is precisely what is involved in the question of national priorities. If ghetto kids cannot read, if low income citizens cannot find decent housing, if the United States has far worse infant mortality or life expectancy statistics than other industrialized countries, if our central cities decay, it is all because the "public sector" has been starved by the private sector monopoly on national resources. Re-ordering national priorities then, means to begin channeling massive amounts of resources heretofore claimed by the private sector, into new government programs designed to alleviate these symptoms of social distress and breakdown.

Over the past few years, scores of legislative proposals have been introduced by adherents of the Galbraithian doctrine to facilitate this transfer of resources from the private economy to the Federal budget; they are all directed toward the solution of very real problems that allegedly stem from the starvation of the public sector—problems that, although severe, will be readily remedied if we can summon the national will to accomplish the transfer. If selfish interests which profit from the current dominance of the private sector stand in the way, so this view goes, the public only needs to be educated and mobilized in support of its real interests. Senator Kennedy's running debate with the AMA presumably exemplifies this heightened struggle between the private and public sectors over national resource allocation.

Now I assume that you here today are not disposed to accept this formulation of things, nor, I suspect, are many of those who support individual programs designed to alleviate particular problems or meet particular unfilled needs. But taken together, these social spending programs imply the kind of massive transfer to the public sector implicit in the "Galbraithian dichotomy". And unless those of us who believe in a vigorous, decentralized and pluralistic private socio-economic system with a minimum of Federal intervention can develop an alternative frame of reference, we are going to be left, I am afraid, to fight a rearguard battle over spending levels for programs put on the national priorities agenda by others.

While I doubt that many of you need convincing about the impact of a series of massive new social spending programs on our private socio-economic system, I think it is nevertheless instructive to consider in concrete and quantified terms the direction in which this Galbraithian formulation of the "new priorities" question is taking us. In order to facilitate discussion, we have developed a hypothetical budget for FY 1974, which incorporates major new public sector initiatives now under serious discussion in Congress and in the nation, and also various measures to raise the revenues to finance these new programs proposed by the same individuals and groups. This hypothetical budget is shown in full below, but it is the broad conclusions and implications that should concern us this morning. I should also say that these figures are based on some pretty reasonable assumptions, and in many cases on estimates and studies by various Federal departments, but they are cer-

tainly not precise enough to satisfy OMB's computers. Rather they are "ball park" estimates that I think can be quite useful if we treat them as such.

Table I contains FY 1974 incremental cost estimates for a number of programs currently under serious discussion, or at least by those who believe the nation ought to adopt the kind of new priorities approach I have just discussed. Now I want to make clear that I do not for a moment deny that every one of these programs point to an area of need, to problems that demand more attention than they are now receiving. But we must also make clear just exactly what it would cost to look for "public sector" solutions to all of these problems, and frankly their proponents are seldom candid enough to do this on their own accord. I think that the \$163 billion figure which is an estimate of the total added cost of these proposed programs is clear evidence that we are indeed talking about a massive resource transfer—over 15% of current GNP.

Let me just run through them briefly. The first is based on a bill recently introduced by Congressman Selberling (D-Ohio), but the ideas have been advanced by many others. Both the notion of substantially higher social security benefits and partial funding from general revenues have long been supported by those who feel that this public program should provide the preponderant share of retirement income.

The second item carries a pretty high price tag but provides for benefit levels considerably below the \$6900 level advocated by the Black Caucus, the National Welfare Rights Organization, Senator McGovern and the liberal wing of the Democratic party. Unfortunately, the advocates of these levels of income maintenance have not been very forthright about spelling out the costs. And if anyone should have the notion that we are spending too much on welfare already, I should stress that this is an incremental cost in addition to current outlays.

The fourth item, national health insurance, has a cost of \$40.8 billion, but this is only the cost of the portion to be financed out of general revenues. The actual cost to the Federal government of the Kennedy plan, according to recent H.E.W. estimates, would be double that, with the difference financed by sharply increased payroll taxes.

The remaining items concern proposals for greatly stepped-up funding of programs already on the books. The notes in Table VI make reference to the sources of these proposals and the estimates for budgetary impact. It is perhaps worth noting that none of them have been proposed by groups struggling to keep from falling off the far end of the political spectrum.

Table II merely puts in budgetary perspective the total costs of these programs. The GNP and federal expenditure estimates at current program levels were cranked out of the Brookings Institution Computers last winter, so we would be ill-advised, I think, to question those figures considering the auspices under which we are meeting today! The bottom line (preliminary deficit) suggests the magnitude of the resource reallocation that would be required to keep the Federal government solvent if these proposals were to be adopted.

Table III focuses on three sets of measures commonly advocated as means to finance massive new social spending: 1) plugging so-called "tax loop-holes;" 2) expenditure reductions in areas like national defense, farm subsidies and highway construction; and 3) higher taxes on those best able to pay. While they might well close most of the revenue gap, I think most of you would agree that the consequences for our private economy, for the rate of savings and capital formation, and for our national defense posture would be intolerable, to say the least. I will say more about these consequences or "costs" in a moment.

The first set of measures for obtaining additional revenue have been variously proposed by the AFL-CIO, tax reformers like Phillip Stern in his popular book entitled *The Great Treasury Raid*, and at one time or another have been strenuously advocated before the tax committees of both Houses. However ill-advised any or all of these measures may be, the important point is that despite the assurances of those who favor massive new social spending, closing the tax loopholes even through draconian measures like these will not go very far toward paying the government's bills. In fact, as this hypothetical budget indicates, tax "reform" would close less than 25% of the revenue gap.

A second popular approach to paying for new programs is based on the assumption that there is considerable room in the current budget for expenditure re-allocations. But once you get past the defense budget and the farm subsidy program, the opportunities for wielding the budgetary meat-axe are pretty slim indeed. Most of these expenditure reductions were proposed in the Urban Coalition's *Counterbudget*, published last spring, with which some of you may be familiar. The key point is that once you have set aside their proposed cut in the defense budget, which is totally unrealistic and irresponsible, the possible expenditure reductions are pretty meager in relation to the needed fund.

It is probably gratuitous to proceed from this point, as it is clear that less than 50% of the revenue gap could be closed even if we adopted all of these tax "reform" and expenditure reallocation proposals. Since it is unlikely however, that any Congress in the near future will reverse the recently enacted tax cuts for low and middle income groups, part C is designed only to show that corporate profits and upper income groups would have to be taxed almost to the point of wholesale confiscation in order to close the remaining revenue gap; and even then, there would be a 22.5 billion deficit when under conditions of full-employment (on which the Brookings GNP estimate is based) most economists agree that we need to run a surplus in the order of \$15 billion.

Now my point in developing this "new priorities" budget has not been to scare a group of concerned business executives out of their wits with a fiscal horror show. Obviously, the nation is not going to be stampeded into adopting either the new spending proposals or the revenue measures contained in this budget in one fell swoop. Nevertheless, it illuminates the direction in which we are heading, in part because those of us who believe in our current system have not been creative enough to propose more viable alternatives for the solution of some very real problems. Yet this is a course in which the public sector could swell to close to 50% of GNP, as indicated by Table V, a course in which substantial portions of the population would be dependent on the Federal government for income and services, in which strong dis-incentives for saving and capital formation would undermine economic growth, and in which inefficient public bureaucracies would squander scarce national resources in unbridled fashion. In all, not a very happy scenario to contemplate.

Let me in my remaining time sketch the outlines of what I believe to be a more viable approach to the question of national priorities. The fundamental point of departure is an explicit disavowal of the "Galbraithian dichotomy"; the notion that there is a distinct "private" and public sector, that the two are locked like Tarantulas in a jar in a zero-sum battle over allocation of national resources, that unmet social needs are proof positive that the public sector has been starved, that a massive resource transfer is therefore in order and that once this transfer is accomplished, the problems will be readily resolved. In my view this analysis is wrong nearly from beginning to end. There-

fore, let us try to reconstruct the issue along somewhat different lines.

First, it should be clear from this analysis that although we are a wealthy society, our resources are not unlimited. In fact, we may well be approaching the limit already as to the amount of GNP that can be channeled through the Federal budget without impairing the functioning of the private economy. In other words, the pie is not so large that we only need to decide how to slice it; if we try to force a slice of the magnitude contained in this budget into the public sector, we may be worse off than if we had done nothing at all.

Secondly, concern about unmet social needs does not necessarily lead to the Galbraithian conclusion that we need to pump more resources into the public sector and that government must take on new operating functions. Unmet social needs may mean, instead, that private or traditional delivery systems have broken down and that they need to be repaired, re-organized or augmented. This means that rather than being locked into a zero-sum struggle for national resources, the relationship between government and the private sector is more like what the game theorists call a mixed-interest situation; and the best results will be obtained if each sector does only what it can do best. Concretely, only government can intervene to restore equilibrium when markets have gotten out of kilter and are beyond reasonable hope of self-correction. I think this is true today of the health care market, the private pension field, the housing sector, the low skill job market, the pollution control area and many others.

But the aim of intervention should be structural reform designed to re-organize private markets, not replace them with public spending programs and public bureaucracies. By the same token, private enterprise, spurred by the need to remain solvent and produce profits, can best organize resource inputs efficiently and deliver outputs that are responsive to consumer preferences. Government monopolies, like any other, leave the consumer no choice and are under no imperative to perform efficiently, whether the function is trash removal, education or the delivery of health care.

Thirdly, to use an old maxim, "there ain't no such thing as a free lunch." If there is a limit on the resources that can be made available for social purposes without undermining our capacity for economic growth and progress, then we have to have some method for allocating them. The price system is the best mechanism that has yet been devised. If we remove that restraint, the check of competing demands is eliminated. The resource allocation process is shifted from the decentralized coordination of supply and demand in the marketplace, to the political arena in which suppliers and providers have an inherent advantage over consumers and taxpayers because they are more readily organized and mobilized. As a result, allocation decisions often reflect more what providers and bureaucrats think consumers ought to want, than what they may actually want.

Finally, I think we must accept the truth that prices may sometimes be barriers and that the market may sometimes not be capable of producing services at costs that those most in need can afford. For this reason, I think *income maintenance* must be the second prong of a social strategy aimed at filling unmet needs and demands. The aim must be to insure that every citizen has sufficient purchasing power to play an effective role in the market, and be capable of obtaining at least a minimum level of the goods and services needed to live in decency and dignity. But it would be far preferable to provide this kind of support through direct income transfers tied to strong work incentives than

through a whole array of direct service programs. Government simply cannot provide these efficiently or effectively. Moreover, income transfers can be targeted to those with the greatest need, whereas direct service programs like National Health Insurance, child development and the like, have a tendency to be universalized because no one liked to be just above the cut-off line. The experience of Great Society direct service programs like Head-Start and Medicaid provide ready examples of this problem.

In conclusion, let me say that this kind of market-incomes strategy will not be easy to sell to the public. It cuts directly across the grain of our current approach to solving social problems based on direct service programs and an everexpanding role for the public sector. But the effort must be made, or one day soon this hypothetical budget may no longer be so hypothetical at all.

Hypothetical budget for FY '74 follows:

THE FISCAL IMPLICATIONS OF NEW SOCIAL SPENDING PROGRAMS

TABLE I.—Major social spending proposals: Incremental budget costs, fiscal year 1974

| (In billions) | |
|--|--------------|
| 1. Higher social security benefits ($\frac{1}{2}$ financed from general revenue) *— | \$24.0 |
| 2. \$5,000 annual income floor (family of four)----- | 52.0 |
| 3. Comprehensive child development----- | 15.7 |
| 4. National health insurance (Kennedy/Corman-Griffiths plan)----- | 40.8 |
| 5. Low and middle income housing assistance----- | 8.0 |
| 6. Public service employment (750,000 jobs)----- | 3.15 |
| 7. Urban redevelopment----- | 3.7 |
| 8. Water pollution control----- | 2.1 |
| 9. General aid to education ($\frac{1}{2}$ Federal financing)----- | 15.4 |
| Total ----- | 162.9 |

* Assumptions and sources corresponding to each number given in Table V.

TABLE II.—Preliminary fiscal projections, fiscal year 1974

| (In billions) | |
|---|-----------|
| 10. GNP----- | \$1,380.0 |
| 11. Estimated Federal expenditures at current program levels----- | 266.0 |
| 12. Estimated Federal revenue at current rates----- | 260.0 |
| Expenditures with table I program proposals----- | 428.9 |
| Preliminary deficit----- | 168.9 |

TABLE III.—Proposals for closing the revenue gap, fiscal year 1974 impact

| (In billions) | |
|---|---------|
| A. TAX "REFORM" MEASURES: ELIMINATION OF— | |
| 13. Foreign income preferences----- | \$0.525 |
| Individuals----- | .080 |
| Corporations----- | .444 |
| Mineral preferences----- | 2.384 |
| Exploration and development expensing----- | .489 |
| Percentage depletion----- | 1.895 |
| \$100 dividend exclusion----- | .376 |
| Capital gains----- | 12.753 |
| Individuals----- | 12.168 |
| Corporations----- | .585 |
| Investment incentives----- | 7.797 |
| Job development credit----- | 3.960 |
| ADR----- | 3.837 |
| Excess bad debt reserves (banks)----- | .782 |
| Medical expense/insurance deduction----- | 4.279 |
| State and local debt issue exemption----- | 6.305 |
| Home mortgage and property tax deduction----- | 6.305 |
| Revenue gain----- | 42.0 |
| Remaining gap----- | 126.9 |

B. EXPENDITURE REDUCTIONS, FISCAL YEAR 1974 IMPACT

| | |
|--|-------------|
| 14. National defense----- | -\$35.5 |
| 15. Farm price support program----- | -3.0 |
| 16. Reclamation and conservation projects----- | -.371 |
| 17. Maritime subsidies----- | -.242 |
| 18. Inland navigation (Corps of Engineers projects)----- | -.122 |
| 19. Space (NASA)----- | -1.50 |
| 20. Highway construction----- | -1.478 |
| Total expenditure reduction ----- | 42.2 |
| Remaining gap ----- | 84.7 |

C. INCREASED TAXATION ON BUSINESS AND UPPER-INCOME GROUPS, FISCAL YEAR 1974 IMPACT

| (1. 40% surtax on corporate income tax liabilities) | |
|--|---------|
| 21. Estimated corporate tax liability at current rates----- | \$50.0 |
| 22. Corporate tax liabilities with Table III A "reforms"----- | 60.0 |
| Corporate liabilities with 40% surtax----- | 84.0 |
| Revenue gain from surtax----- | 24.0 |
| Remaining gap----- | 60.7 |
| (2. 40% surtax on individual income tax liabilities in AGI classes above \$15,000) | |
| 23. Estimated liability under current rates----- | \$73.06 |
| 24. Liability with table III A "reforms"----- | 95.46 |
| Liability with 40 percent surtax----- | 133.64 |
| Revenue gain from surtax----- | 38.2 |
| Remaining gap----- | 22.5 |

TABLE IV.—Final fiscal projections, fiscal year 1974

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Estimated expenditures at current program levels----- | \$266.0 |
| Minus \$42.2 billion expenditure reduction----- | 223.8 |
| Plus new program costs (table I)----- | 389.7 |
| Plus 50 percent of NHI cost financed by payroll taxes----- | 427.5 |
| Estimated revenue at current rates----- | 260.0 |
| Plus tax "reform" revenue gain----- | 302.0 |
| Plus individual and corporate surtax----- | 364.2 |
| Plus NHI payroll tax (\$40.8 billion)----- | 405.0 |
| Total Federal expenditures ----- | 427.5 |
| Total Federal revenue ----- | 405.2 |
| Deficit ----- | 22.5 |

TABLE V.—Current and projected national tax burden

| | Percent |
|--|-------------|
| Federal expenditures as percent of GNP, fiscal year 1970----- | 19.8 |
| Total Government expenditures as percent of GNP, fiscal year 1970 ----- | 31.1 |
| Federal expenditures as percent of GNP, fiscal year 1974----- | 31.0 |
| Total Government expenditures as percent of GNP, fiscal year 1974 ----- | 43.6 |

TABLE VI.—Assumptions and sources

1. Based on H.R. 11944 introduced by Congressman Seiberling; would raise minimum monthly benefits to \$100, increase benefits 25% across-the-board, and finance $\frac{1}{2}$ of total Social Security costs out of general revenue. \$24 billion is his estimate of cost to general fund.

2. Cost, net of current welfare expenditure by Federal government, estimated by Edward Moscovitch in Jan./Feb. 1971, New England Economic Review; assumes 50% off-set rate.

3. Estimate based on assumption of total subsidization of \$1600 annual cost for 2.5 million children under 5 in families below the poverty line and 50% subsidization for 14.6 million children under 5 above the poverty line.

4. Based on H.E.W. estimate of \$81.6 billion cost of H.R. 22 (Corman-Griffiths bill) after netting out current programs that would be folded in; 50% to be financed out of general fund.

5. Brookings Institution estimate of meeting cost of 1968 housing subsidization goals.

6. Estimated on creation of 750,000 jobs slots at annual cost of \$4200.

7. Based on Urban Coalition's Counterbudget recommendation for \$3.7 billion increase in spending above current levels for urban redevelopment; includes expanded model cities, community action and urban renewal programs.

8. Annual cost of Senator Muskie's 5 year water pollution abatement bill.

9. Based on Federal assumption of 33% of national elementary and secondary education costs; total costs of \$66.6 billion in 1974 based on assumed growth rate of 10% from 1970 \$45.7 billion base; 1974 budget increment equals 33% of \$66.6 billion, net of current 8% expenditure level.

10. Brookings Institution projection contained in Setting National Priorities: The 1972 Budget.

11. Brookings Institution projection.

12. Brookings Institution projection, net of 1971 Revenue Act (House version).

13. Extrapolated from Treasury Department "tax expenditure" figures for 1968 and 1969, except for ADR and job development credit; average 1968-69 ratio for each tax expenditure applied to Brookings estimate of \$1138 national income in 1974; figures for ADR and job development credit based on current Treasury calculations.

14. Defense spending reduction figure equals difference between \$84 billion level assumed in Brookings FY 1974 budget forecast and Counterbudget recommendation of \$48.5 billion for 1974.

15. Based on Counterbudget's projected impact of recommendation for phase-out of farm price support program.

16, 17, 18. 1974 impact of Counterbudget recommendation for reductions in these programs.

19. Assumes 50% cut from current spending levels.

20. Based on budget impact in FY 1974 of Counterbudget recommendation for stretch-out and curtailment of Federal highway program.

21. Estimate based on application of 1970 effective corporate tax rate to Brookings projection of \$140 billion corporate profits in FY 1974, net of FY 1974 impact of 1971 Revenue Act.

22. Includes revenue impact of all tax "reforms" in Table III A falling directly on corporations; corporate share of ADR and job development credit based on Treasury estimates contained in the Ways and Means committee report on the 1971 Revenue Act.

23. Extrapolation from 1966-69 moving average ratio of tax payments of 7 AGI classes above \$15,000 to national income for each year, net of impact of 1968-69 surcharge.

24. Based on 70% attribution of non-corporate share of Table III A tax "reforms" to AGI classes above \$15,000.

dispute which has been prepared by the staff of CBS. This document, which was presented to me by Chet Casselman, president of the Radio-Television News Directors Association, is quite lengthy and for that reason I propose to present it in two installments. I ask unanimous consent that this first installment be printed in the RECORD.

The first installment follows:

MEMORANDUM: CRITICISM OF "THE SELLING OF THE PENTAGON"

The CBS News documentary, "The Selling of the Pentagon," was broadcast on February 23 and rebroadcast, with commentary, on March 23. The broadcast stirred a storm of controversy, was sharply attacked, and strongly praised. On the one hand there were charges that CBS News had set out deliberately to hatchet the Defense Department through contrived editing. On the other the documentary won George Foster Peabody, Saturday Review and National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences awards for distinguished journalism.

The sole purpose of this broadcast, which was the result of nine months of investigative reporting, was simply to expose to public scrutiny some of the public relations activities of the most far-flung and expensive operation of the Federal government—one that touches the life of every American. It sought to provide information which the public has an essential right to have and the press a fundamental responsibility to disclose.

No one has refuted the basic veracity of "The Selling of the Pentagon." We are confident that, when passions die down, it will be recognized by all—as it already has been by many—as an important contribution to the people's right to know. At the same time, we do not claim that this—or any other news broadcast—is or should be immune from criticism. Nor do we shrink from conscientious examination of our efforts, just as we ourselves practice continuous self-examination of our standards and practices.

In this spirit we discuss herein the major criticisms that have come to our attention, primarily from three sources: (1) an article by Claude Witze in the April 1971 issue of *Air Force Magazine*; (2) answers provided by Daniel Z. Henkin, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, to numerous questions posed by Representative F. Edward Hébert, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee; and (3) a pamphlet about the broadcast, distributed by the Defense Department. These have been widely quoted or reprinted, and typify the range of criticism we have heard or read.

THE BROAD ISSUE

"Representative F. Edward Hébert, Democrat of Louisiana, chairman of the Armed Services subcommittee on military waste, disclosed meantime that he had asked the Defense Department to supply him with a list of all public relations personnel on duty at the Pentagon. *It is about time the American public be informed as to the identity of the individuals and what it costs the taxpayers to maintain and support this gigantic and colossal propaganda machine on the banks of the Potomac,*" he said. "Since the expose of waste in the military and its effect on the taxpayers' pocketbook has been so vividly brought to the attention of the American people by the committee which I head," he added, "all the faucets have been turned on by the Pentagon propagandists, alibi artists and apologists." (*The New York Times*—February 26, 1952) [emphasis added].

"This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every State house,

every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fall to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society. In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. *Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together*" (President Eisenhower—January 17, 1961) [emphasis added].

"Public attitudes depend on public information, and the military establishment is a powerful and effective advocate on its own behalf. *Critical comment and evaluations of the establishment must be made publicly available for genuine debate*" ("The Military Establishment"—A Twentieth Century Fund Study published in 1971—page 419) [emphasis added].

"The Selling of the Pentagon" was produced in the spirit of these statements. It discusses serious issues of national importance which deserve a sober, factual assessment on the merits.

EDITING

Perhaps the most frequent and strongest criticisms of "The Selling of the Pentagon" involve the editing of several interviews and speeches, i.e., the selection of the excerpts to be broadcast. CBS News discusses below the necessity of editing in general, and then the specific instances in the broadcast which have been criticized.

1. The necessity of editing

The problems which make it necessary and desirable to edit speeches, statements and interviews are shared by all journalists, electronic and print. In all media, it is usual to collect more material with respect to an event that can be fit into the available space. Additionally, the material is frequently rambling, disjointed and awkward, with pertinent facts obfuscated, concealed or separated by irrelevancies. Consequently, it is often desirable (for the reporter, for the public, and for the person whose words are being reported) that the available material be edited and condensed to present the pertinent facts as clearly and as sharply as is consistent with accuracy and fairness. In all media, this frequently involves omitting portions of, or combining excerpts from, speeches, statements or answers. If this editing process is performed honestly and competently, it is an acceptable and essential journalistic practice.

Judge Learned Hand described this practice in a notable decision:

"News is history; recent history, it is true, but veritable history, nevertheless; and history is not total recall, but a deliberate pruning of, and calling from, the flux of events. Were it possible by some magic telepathy to reproduce an occasion in all its particularity, all reproductions would be interchangeable; the public could have no choice, provided that the process should be mechanically perfect. But there is no such magic; and if there were, its results would be immeasurably wearisome, and utterly fatuous. In the production of news every step involves the conscious intervention of some news gatherer, and two accounts of the same event will never be the same. Those who make up the first record—the reporters on the spot—are themselves seldom first-hand witnesses; they must take the stories of others as their raw ma-

CBS ANALYSIS OF "THE SELLING OF THE PENTAGON" CONTROVERSY: PART I

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, in view of the widespread interest in the controversy over the Columbia Broadcasting System's production of "The Selling of the Pentagon" I believe my colleagues will be interested in reading a detailed analysis of the main issues in

terials, checking their veracity, eliminating their irrelevancies, finally producing an ordered version which will evoke and retain the reader's attention and convince him of its truth. And the report so prepared, when sent to his superiors, they in turn 'edit,' before they send it out . . . ; a process similar to the first. A personal impress is inevitable at every stage; it gives its value to the dispatch, which without it would be unreadable."

Many editing decisions were made in the production of "The Selling of the Pentagon"—and questions have been raised as to the accuracy and fairness of a few of them. Certainly, those that have been questioned could have been handled differently. Editing, as Judge Hand indicated, is a subjective procedure. It involves the selection of significant details from a large amount of material and reasonable men can readily reach different conclusions as to what is significant. But it is clear that the questioned decisions did not substantially affect the substance of the broadcast; and it is a fact that those decisions were made by intelligent, conscientious journalists applying their best professional judgment with the intent only to condense and focus a vast amount of material. CBS News is confidently willing to let the reader judge on the basis of the facts.

2. Colonel MacNeil's speech

a. The Composite Paragraph

One of the criticisms is directed toward the broadcasting of five sentences excerpted from different portions of a long speech by Colonel MacNeil at a seminar in Peoria, Illinois. Mr. Witze, in his *Air Force* article, stated:

"If the TV audience sensed that the next five sentences, out of the mouth of Colonel MacNeil, sounded somewhat disjointed, there was good reason for it. They came from four different spots in the camera record, and the sequence was rearranged to suit the somewhat warped taste of producer Davis."

The Defense Department pamphlet on the program states:

"The broadcast included improperly edited excerpts from a speech by Colonel MacNeil." The statement in question was broadcast as follows:

"Well, now we're coming to the heart of the problem—Vietnam. Now the Chinese have clearly and repeatedly stated that Thailand is next on their list after Vietnam. If South Vietnam becomes Communist it will be difficult for Laos to exist. The same goes for Cambodia, and the other countries of Southeast Asia. I think if the Communists were to win in South Vietnam, the record in the North—what happened in Tet of '68—makes it clear there would be a bloodbath in store for a lot of the population of the South. The United States is still going to remain an Asian power."

Colonel MacNeil's speech, lasting approximately an hour, dealt with the general subject of Southeast Asia. Scattered through the speech, and separated by discussions of unrelated subjects, were individual statements dealing with the foreign policy implications of American involvement in Vietnam. The broadcast sought to illustrate the nature and extent of the Colonel's concern with foreign policy. Since it was not feasible to include in the broadcast his entire speech or substantial portions of it, CBS News selected, from five different points in the speech, six representative statements dealing with foreign policy and edited them together. Each sentence, as used in the composite statement, meant exactly what it meant in the portion of the speech from which it was taken. Its meaning was not confused or distorted in any way. The statement, as broadcast, put into clear, sharp and accurate focus the Colonel's discussion of foreign policy in Southeast Asia. Each sentence in the

statement, except the first, was taken from the speech in chronological order. The first sentence was taken out of order merely because it served as a lead-in to the other sentences—a lead-in which left their meaning intact.

b. The Attribution to Souvanna Phouma

More specifically, the composite statement has been attacked by critics with the charge that two of the sentences were actually quotations from Souvanna Phouma, the Prime Minister of Laos, yet CBS News edited out this attribution. Mr. Witze stated the accusation as follows:

"The statement was not original with Colonel MacNeil or the drafters of the briefing. It is a quotation. The CBS scissors-and-paste wizard deleted the attribution. Colonel MacNeil made it clear, in the words immediately preceding the above sentences, that he was quoting Souvanna Phouma, the Prime Minister of Laos. In other words, Souvanna Phouma said it; CBS distorted the film to make its viewers think Colonel MacNeil said it."

Following is the text of the relevant portion of Colonel MacNeil's speech from which these two sentences were excerpted. The two sentences that were broadcast are italicized: "Now Souvanna's position on North Vietnam was pretty thoroughly stated in November 1967. He said that we can count forty thousand North Vietnamese soldiers in our country. On his visit here last year, he raised the figure to sixty thousand. But they fight besides the fifteen thousand Pathet Lao who are armed, paid, trained and encamped by North Vietnam.

By what right, what moral do they assume the right to liberate us. *If South Vietnam becomes Communist, it will be difficult for Laos to exist. The same goes for Cambodia and the other countries of Southeast Asia.*"

It is obviously difficult, from the text of the whole passage, to untangle when Colonel MacNeil is directly quoting Souvanna Phouma, when he is paraphrasing Souvanna Phouma, and when he is stating his own views. In the second and third sentences, the Colonel appears to be reporting indirectly what Souvanna Phouma said. The fourth sentence could well have been any of the three alternatives. The fifth sentence looks like a direct quotation. One is left totally to conjecture about the last two sentences (those in question), which could have been any of the three alternatives.

On this point, in an April 28, 1971, letter to Representative Harley O. Staggers, the Federal Communications Commission concluded:

"As Mr. Salant observed in his March 23 rebuttal, it was 'difficult to tell where Souvanna Phouma left off and the Colonel started.'"

Whatever the intended context of the particular two sentences in question, the substantive point made by the CBS News broadcast remains true: it is clear that Colonel MacNeil's presentation sought to justify to his audience the need for a continued presence in Vietnam. At times the Colonel may have been using Souvanna Phouma or others to support his conclusion, but at other times he made the same point in his own words. The fact that Colonel MacNeil expressed his own views, not just those of Souvanna Phouma, was apparent to the Federal Communications Commission in its review of this incident. The Commission's letter, cited above, stated:

"Later in the course of his remarks, Colonel MacNeil did return to the 'domino theory' and he did affirm it in virtually the same words as the Laotian Prime Minister" [emphasis added].

3. The Henkin interview

Criticism has also been directed toward the editing of Roger Mudd's filmed inter-

view with Daniel Z. Henkin, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs. Mr. Witze contended in his *Air Force* article that "The producer of 'The Selling of the Pentagon' was less interested in responsive answers that made sense than he was in portraying Mr. Henkin as a bureaucratic buffoon." Mr. Henkin in his March 4, 1971, letter answering questions posed by Congressman Hébert cited four examples of remarks "taken out of context by cutting and rearrangement."

Others have made similar criticisms, although in a May 19 letter to Chairman Harley O. Staggers of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee Mr. Henkin, while repeating his comment, stated that "I have at no time questioned the integrity of CBS News."¹

The interview with Mr. Henkin extended over approximately 42 minutes. Approximately 60 questions were asked. The broadcast excerpts ran slightly more than two minutes and used four questions and six answers in part or in whole. Since Mr. Henkin was only one of many people and subjects to be covered on the broadcast, it was obviously not feasible to include all, or even a substantial portion, of his lengthy interview.

In his March 4, 1971, letter² to Congressman Hébert, Mr. Henkin describes the following four examples of edited answers and assesses the impact of the CBS News editing procedures on the substance of what he said:

Example No. 1

The following statement and answer, as edited, were broadcast:

"Mudd. We asked the man in charge of all Pentagon public relations, Assistant Secretary of Defense Daniel Henkin, if he thought the press did a good job covering the Defense Department.

"HENKIN. I believe that it does. From time to time of course it gives me some headaches and I give the press some headaches. We understand that. We act professionally, as a professional relationship, not only with the Pentagon press and other members of the Washington news corps, but with newsmen who cover military activities around the world."

Mr. Henkin's assessment:

"This constitutes about half the original answer. The meaning and intent were not changed substantially."

Mr. Henkin's complete answer (set forth in the Appendix) was lengthy. The first portion, which is included in the broadcast, answers the question directly and fully. The balance of the complete answer was deleted from the broadcast because of its length, because, to some degree, it was repetitive and because (as Mr. Henkin seems to confirm) the deletion did not change the substance of the answer.

Example No. 2 (the only example mentioned specifically by Mr. Witze).

The following question and answer, as edited, were broadcast:

"Mudd. What about your public displays of military equipment at state fairs and shopping centers—what purpose does that serve?"

"HENKIN. Well, I think it serves the purpose of informing the public about their armed forces. I believe that the American public has a right to request information about the armed forces, to have speakers come before them, to ask questions, and to understand the need for our armed forces,

¹ Hearings, Special Subcommittee on Investigations, House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, "Subpoenaed Material Re Certain TV News Documentary Programs," page 261.

² The letter was inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Representative Hébert on March 8, 1971 at pages 5402-5407. It included a transcript of the entire interview prepared by Mr. Henkin. (See Appendix.)

why we ask for the funds that we do ask for, how we spend these funds, what are we doing about such problems as drugs—and we do have a drug problem in the armed forces. What are we doing about the racial problem in the armed forces, and we do have a racial problem. I think the public has a valid right to ask us these questions."

Mr. Henkin's assessment:

"Only the first sentence of the original answer was used. The remainder of the material was taken from another question and answer. The modification alters the tenor of the response from attracting volunteers to problems in the armed forces." (In his letter to Mr. Stagers, Mr. Henkin said deletion of his reference to recruiting was a "significant omission" and that the editing "leaves an implication that I feel shopping mall displays make a significant contribution to informing the public about a broad range of subjects.")

The answer in Example No. 2 is a composite which includes portions of replies by Mr. Henkin to two related questions. Following is the first question and the "original answer" to which Mr. Henkin refers; the portions that are included in the broadcast are italicized:

"Mudd. But aside from your meetings in which you disseminate information, what about your public displays of military equipment at State Fairs and shopping centers? What purpose does that serve?"

"HENKIN. Well, I think it serves the purpose of informing the public about their armed forces. It also has the ancillary benefit, I would hope, of stimulating interest in recruiting as we move or try to move to zero draft calls and increased reliance on volunteers for our armed forces. I think it is very important that the American youth have an opportunity to learn about the armed forces."

The first sentence of the "original answer" is used in the broadcast (as the first sentence of the composite answer) because it is directly responsive to the question. It describes, in general terms, the information function of public displays of military equipment. It omits specific details.

The remainder of the material in the composite answer was intended by CBS to furnish these specific details, i.e., to explain what Mr. Henkin meant by his general reference to "informing the public about their Armed Forces." It was drawn from his answer to a subsequent question which dealt not only with military displays but also with military speakers. The end result was a statement, in general and specific terms, using Mr. Henkin's own words, of the public information function of military displays.

Upon review, one might judge that a fuller answer could have been broadcast by including, in the composite answer, the second sentence of the "original answer" (relating to recruiting). However, Mr. Henkin himself referred to the recruiting function as merely ancillary to the function (the dissemination of information) then being discussed; and even so, it was not a statement of fact. It was a statement only of Mr. Henkin's hope with respect to a function (recruiting) that was not within his jurisdiction or responsibility. In the opinion of CBS News the omission of the recruiting reference was not unreasonable. Since editing involves subjective judgments, it is understandable that there are contrary opinions. Whatever one's conclusion about the soundness of the editor's handling of this sentence, the intent was to condense and clarify, not to deceive.

Example No. 3

The following question and answer, as edited, were broadcast:

"Mudd. Well, is that sort of information about the drug problem you have and the racial problem you have and the budget problems you have, is that the sort of information that gets passed out at state fairs,

by sergeants who are standing next to rockets?"

"HENKIN. No, I wouldn't limit that to sergeants standing next to any kind of exhibit. Now there are those who contend that this is propaganda. I don't—do not agree with this."

Mr. Henkin's assessment:

"Only the first sentence of Mr. Henkin's original answer is used. CBS then added two sentences which were lifted from the middle of an earlier question. Mr. Henkin's comment referred to data on the increasing Soviet threat." (Mr. Henkin told Mr. Stagers he felt the editing left "a completely misleading impression.")

Mr. Henkin had been addressing himself to a criticism mentioned by Mr. Mudd, i.e. that "the display of military equipment in the country and the instant availability of military speakers" creates "in the mind of the citizen a dependence, or an acceptance of the military and what it represents, as a way to solve problems." Mr. Henkin had answered this criticism by reciting a specific list of the various kinds of information to which, in his judgment, the public is entitled. At this point in the interview, he denied that dissemination of this information (including, but not limited to, information about the "increasing Soviet threat") constitutes propaganda. And, a little further on in the interview, he indicated that it can be disseminated by "sergeants" stationed at public displays of military equipment—as well as by military speakers.

The answer in Example No. 3 is a composite answer. The editing which produced this composite was intended to reflect, in Mr. Henkin's own words, the substance of what he said, as it is summarized in the last two sentences of the preceding paragraph.

Example No. 4.

The following segment, as edited, was broadcast:

"HENKIN. We're trying our best to provide information. There undoubtedly have been times when certain actions have been staged. I think this is true of all TV news coverage. After all, this interview is being staged."

"Mudd. How so?"

"HENKIN. Well, props were set up; arrangements were made. You and I just did not walk into this room cold. Arrangements were made for it."

"Mudd. Well, we wanted to film in your office. But your people said let's go in the studio. So we didn't stage it."

Mr. Henkin's assessment:

"This segment on staging is inserted without narration immediately following Demiter's claim that newfilm released by DOD is staged. Mr. Henkin qualified his statement that the interview was 'staged,' the qualifying line, 'as one might say' was cut. The deletion changes a statement into an accusation." (In his letter to Mr. Stagers, Mr. Henkin objected to deletion of his comment: "No, I am not accusing you of staging it; I made no accusation at all.")

The words "as one might say" were deleted because Mr. Henkin had turned his head away and down as he spoke them and they were rather indistinct. Since they were difficult to hear, their inclusion might possibly have been confusing. Their omission, at the time, did not seem to change the substance or tenor of Mr. Henkin's answer. This was particularly so because the question and answer in the broadcast which immediately followed Mr. Henkin's reference to staging made it quite clear that he was not really accusing CBS News of anything other than making normal and acceptable arrangements for an interview.

THE "TEAM OF COLONELS"

Critics have made a variety of charges against references in the broadcast to a team of officers from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces in Washington, which presents

lectures and conducts seminars at different cities around the country.

1. The foreign policy issue

One of the issues involves statements in the broadcast that the officers "lecture on foreign policy" and that "The Army has a regulation stating: 'personnel should not speak on the foreign policy implications of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.'"

One critic, Mr. Witze, acknowledges that discussion of foreign policy implications of Vietnam would be in violation of Army regulations, but denies that the officers actually spoke on this subject. In his *Air Force* article, Mr. Witze stated:

"The ICAF team, consisting of five military officers and a State Department officer, does not speak on the foreign policy implications of our involvement in Vietnam, which would be in violation of Army regulations."

On the other hand, Mr. Henkin in his letter answering questions from Representative Hébert, inserted in the *Congressional Record* on March 8, states that "there is no Army regulation specifically prohibiting statements on foreign policy by Army personnel." He adds that the "applicable directive" is AR 360-5, paragraph 9, that this merely requires material to be "cleared for accuracy, propriety and consistency with national policy," that the other services have similar directives, and that "all presentations by the faculty group" were cleared by "appropriate government agencies."

The following statements by the military members of the team, which were included in the broadcast, make it clear that they *did* speak in Peoria (at the only seminar filmed by CBS News) about the "foreign policy implications of our involvement in Vietnam":

"Colonel MACNEIL. In the Chinese view only one country has been liberated from colonialism, and that is North Vietnam. The others will not be considered liberated, in the Chinese viewpoint, until each and every one has a Communist government."

"Colonel MACNEIL. Well, now we're coming to the heart of the problem—Vietnam. Now the Chinese have clearly and repeatedly stated that Thailand is next on their list after Vietnam. If South Vietnam becomes Communist it will be difficult for Laos to exist. The same goes for Cambodia, and the other countries of Southeast Asia. I think if the Communists were to win in South Vietnam, the record in the North—what happened in Tet of '68—makes it clear there would be a bloodbath in store for a lot of the population of the South. The United States is still going to remain an Asian power." (This is a composite statement which is discussed on pages 2, 3, and 4.)

"Colonel SERRELL. . . the bloodbath, the indications at Hue during the Tet offensive as to what might be in store for people who would otherwise have some semblance of freedom or individuality, if we did stay and protect their interests, as well, admittedly, as our own."

"Colonel MACNEIL. Some say there are no interests at stake today, some say we had none in the beginning. I feel when we put half a million men in there [Vietnam], at least we placed national interest at stake when we did that."

The "approved text which served as a basis" for Colonel MacNeil's Peoria speech, a copy of which was made available to CBS News by the Department of Defense, includes additional foreign policy statements (not in the broadcast) such as, for example, this discussion of the domino theory:

"Prominent Americans sit back here in the United States and say that it is all right to let the Communists take over South Vietnam, that it would not affect the rest of Southeast Asia, and they scoff at the domino theory largely because they don't have to live there. Ask this domino Lee Kuan Yew what he has to say. He says that 'the United States is buying time for all Asians who want self-

determination. He also says that if the Americans pull out of Vietnam all of Southeast Asia is lost."

The question of whether discussion of foreign policy implications is against Defense Department regulations is resolved by reference to the pertinent regulations.

Navy Public Affairs Regulation A-1002d provides that "[i]n public discussions, all officials of the Defense Department should confine their remarks to Defense matters. In particular, discussion of foreign policy, a field reserved by long-established principle to the President and the Department of State, will be avoided." Army Regulation 350-5b provides that "[i]n public discussions, all officials of the Department of the Army should avoid discussions which are the responsibility of other Governmental agencies, i.e., foreign policy is a responsibility of the Department of State." Section A-1002d of the Marine Corps Manual provides that "[i]n public discussions, all officials of the Department of Defense should confine their remarks to defense matters. In particular, discussion of foreign policy, a field reserved by long-established principle to the President and the Department of State, will be avoided."

Mr. Witze writes, in justification of the statements by the officers, that "material used must be cleared for accuracy, propriety and consistency with official policy. Both the State Department and the Defense Department have a hand in this routine clearance of all ICAF presentations." Mr. Henkin's comments (above) also emphasize clearance. The issue is whether the statements by the military members of the team (quoted above) constitute a discussion by them of foreign policy in violation of governmental directives which were then in effect. Clearly, they do.

2. Sponsorship of "Tour"

Mr. Witze also questions each phrase in the statement in the broadcast that "the Pentagon has a team of Colonels touring the country to lecture on foreign policy."

a. He states that the "team comes from the Industrial College of the Armed Forces in Washington." The Industrial College of the Armed Forces is a component of the Defense Department. The military officers on the team are under the control and jurisdiction of the Pentagon. Consequently, failure to mention the specific Pentagon component involved, i.e., the College, does not negate in any way the statement that "the Pentagon" has a team.

b. Mr. Witze seems to imply that the reference to "a team of Colonels" is inaccurate, since the team included a Navy captain and a State Department foreign service officer.

The team comprised four Colonels—two from the Army and one each from the Air Force and the Marine Corps—a Navy captain (equivalent in rank to a Colonel) and a foreign service officer from the State Department (a Lt. Colonel, USMGR, in the Ready Reserve). "Team of Colonels" is a substantially accurate characterization of this group.

c. Mr. Witze denies that members of the team are "touring the country." Instead, he states, "they have a briefing on national-security policy that is given seven times a year, no more and no less." The basis for this distinction is not clear.

Colonel Donald Spiece, of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, informed CBS News, during the production of the broadcast, that, in addition to an initial, abbreviated seminar in Washington, D.C., there were seven briefings (or seminars) in 1968-69, and eight in 1969-70, with seven scheduled for 1970-71. The locations visited by the team are widely dispersed geographically around the country. The team remains at each location, other than Washington, D.C., approximately 11 days during which it delivers more than 30 speeches in addition to

panel discussions and individual appearances before local groups.

d. Mr. Witze states that the team also talks about subjects other than foreign policy. The fact that there are other subjects is not in dispute. The broadcast merely questions the nature, extent and desirability of the team's involvement in foreign policy discussions. The extent of the team's involvement in non-military subjects is indicated in a letter, dated April 26, 1968, from Colonel Robert L. Goerder (on the staff of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces) to Captain Paul A. Haberkorn in connection with the Peoria seminar which points out that the seminars deal with the "interrelationship of the military, political, economic and social factors affecting our national security" [emphasis added].

3. Military or civilian audience

Mr. Witze states that "[t]he ICAF national-security policy briefing is designed for the education of Reserve officers from all branches of the Armed Forces, not primarily for the general public."

The broadcast says nothing to the contrary. Whatever the design, the fact is that the Pentagon urges and welcomes "the largest possible participation by the civilian community;" and the Reserve officers "represent perhaps one-fourth of what we [the Pentagon] hope would be our audience" (see Colonel Goerder's letter quoted, in part, immediately below):

"The National Security Seminar is a course of instruction conducted by the Industrial College of the Armed Forces for military reservists and civilians representing a cross section of industry, agriculture, labor, business, the professions, relation, education, women's organizations, and civic community life.

"As mentioned above, the 'hard core' of Seminar attendance is the 100-150 or more Reserve officers, but with a sizable auditorium available we encourage and welcome the largest possible participation by the civilian community. This does not just happen but requires the combined efforts of the Attendance and Publicity Committees. In talking with potential sponsors, it should be emphasized that the National Security Seminar is not a convention. The several hundred military reservists who come to town do represent a substantial economic shot-in-the-arm, but they represent perhaps one-fourth of what we hope would be our audience. It is the civilian attendance that keeps the sponsor(s) solvent" [emphasis added].

4. The word "found"

Mr. Witze wrote, "Here we have a use of the word 'found' that would not be permitted by a competent newspaper copy editor."

Mr. Witze has reference to this statement in the broadcast—"We found them [the ICAF team] in Peoria, Illinois, where they were invited to speak to a mixed audience of civilians and military reservists." His point seems to be that it was not necessary for CBS News to find the team in Peoria because it had been told the team was going to be there. He is correct. There was no intention to imply the contrary—and CBS News did not anticipate that such an intention would be inferred from the use of "found." By hindsight, this unintended inference might have been avoided if "filmed" had been used instead of "found."

5. The reference to Caterpillar Tractor

Mr. Witze states that "The Peoria seminar was not arranged by the Caterpillar Tractor Co. It was arranged by the city's Association of Commerce, which provided the auditorium and other facilities. A spokesman for the Association said his group shared the sponsorship with the 9th Naval District." The Defense Department pamphlet on the broad-

cast also observes that the Colonels "were using auditorium facilities provided by the Association of Commerce (not the Caterpillar Tractor Company, as the program states) . . ."

The broadcast does not state that the auditorium facilities were provided by the Caterpillar Tractor Company. The broadcast states that "the invitation [for the Peoria seminar] was arranged by Peoria's Caterpillar Tractor Company . . ." This statement is based on an interview by CBS News with Herbert N. Johnson, an official of the Peoria Association of Commerce. Here are excerpts from that interview:

Q. "What are the firms that are here, or what firm that has played a major role in bringing the seminar here?"

A. Well, we have two chairmen. One is a military chairman which we have nothing to do with. That's handled by the military. But we have a civilian chairman, Mr. Charles Leber, who is Vice President of the Caterpillar Tractor Company. And he and his associates have been extremely helpful to us in heading up the Committee, and making all the necessary arrangements [emphasis added].

Q. You say the Caterpillar Company, can you tell us a little about it? What does it make, what do they do?

A. Caterpillar Tractor Company is a manufacturer of tractors, track-type tractors, earth moving equipment, and allied equipment. They are the largest exporter in the State of Illinois—with their equipment. And, of course, they have plants located throughout the entire world. And their home office is here in Peoria. They have around twenty-eight thousand employees in the Peoria area.

Q. And they played a major part in helping the National Security Seminar to come to Peoria?

A. Yes, and without their help we would not have had the civilian success that we have experienced."

The broadcast did not state that the Peoria seminar was "sponsored" by the Caterpillar Tractor Company. The nominal sponsors were known to be the Association of Commerce and the 9th Naval District.

DEFENSE PUBLIC RELATIONS SPENDING

Some critics raised questions about references in the broadcast to the results of President Nixon's memorandum calling for elimination or curtailment of certain promotional activities and about references to the costs of Defense public relations.

1. Nixon memorandum

Congressman Hébert's questions to Mr. Henkin included:

"Mudd says that the President ordered curtailment of public information activities but that the Pentagon has not cut anything. What cuts have you made in recent years in response to Congressional action and Presidential directives?"

Pentagon Answer: Congressional reductions totaled \$5 million in fiscal year 1970 and \$7 million in fiscal year 1971. A further reduction of \$5 million for fiscal year 1972 was directed by the Office of Management and Budget. There was a reduction of 690 positions in fiscal year 1970. There will be a reduction of 1,535 positions in fiscal year 1972.

Mr. Mudd does not state in the broadcast that "the President ordered curtailment of public information activities but the Pentagon has not cut anything." Rather, after referring to the November 6, 1970 Presidential memorandum which ordered a curtailment of "broadcasting, advertising, exhibits and films" and an end "to inappropriate promotional activities," Mr. Mudd states:

"We were told there will be cuts in personnel, not activities. There may be some disagreement, of course, over just what constitutes 'an inappropriate promotional activity.' But to date [February 23, 1971] not a single activity shown on this broadcast has been eliminated" [emphasis added].

2. Public relations spending

Congressman Hébert, in the *Congressional Record* of April 21, 1971, stated:

"We have another CBS misrepresentation. The \$190 million figure is the opinion of an individual researcher and not the opinion of the Twentieth Century Fund. CBS used the Twentieth Century Fund to add authenticity and credibility to its statement that the Pentagon spends \$190 million a year on public affairs, when in fact the Fund takes no responsibility for that figure and the published report financed by the Fund did not use it." The pertinent statement in the broadcast is:

"A special, still unpublished report for the prestigious Twentieth Century Fund estimates the real total [annual Pentagon expenditures for public affairs] as \$190 million" [emphasis added].

These facts were confirmed in the April 16, 1971, letter to Representative Hébert from M. J. Rossant, Director of Twentieth Century Fund, which was inserted in the *Congressional Record* by Representative Hébert:

"This Fund study was published prior to the airing of the Columbia Broadcasting System's program to which you referred, and did not contain the \$190 million figure you mentioned. However, the Fund has ascertained that such a figure appeared in research done for the study. As the Fund grants independence to its research directors and other personnel who work on our studies, insisting only that statements submitted for publication are justified, it is common practice in all of our projects to compile material that does not necessarily appear in published form" [emphasis added].

On the question of trying to determine the actual costs of public affairs activities of the Defense Establishment, the published study of the Twentieth Century Fund, entitled "The Military Establishment," had this to say (pages 196-197):

"These operations [the Pentagon's informational, educational, and propaganda machinery] by their nature tend to be varied, diffuse, and frequently difficult to identify or classify. Defense Department officials prefer to talk in terms of categories or compartments, to separate the direct information function ('Public Affairs') from many other activities. The recruiting process, for example, does not fall under the heading of public affairs, but it may exert a definite subliminal influence in extolling the military life and the necessity for large standing forces. The educational and self-promoting activities which the armed services mount in local communities, in the school and university systems, with veterans' and civic organizations, even though not labeled 'public affairs' activities, are indeed that. So, too, the widespread public circulation of Defense Department and service films, radio and TV programs, printed material, and visual exhibits. The armed forces' extensive liaison activities with the Congress and some state legislatures may not be labeled as such, but they, too, perform the function of furthering the military's affairs with the public. The exact costs of this public relations complex have never been determined; when asked for details, one high-ranking Army Information officer estimated that it would cost \$85,000 to track down the figure on the size of the public relations force for his service alone."

The Defense Department pamphlet stated: "The program said that the Department of Defense is spending 'ten times what it spent to tell people about itself just 12 years ago'."

Pentagon Comment: "CBS probably justifies the statement by comparing the \$2.8 million estimate of public information costs in fiscal year 1959, with the \$30.4 million limitation on public affairs costs in fiscal year 1971. The comparison is not valid. The \$30 million figure includes the costs of all community relations activities at all levels of military

structure, a substantial figure when one considers that a significant share of public contact falls into this category, particularly at installation level. The \$2.8 million figure specifically exempted community relations activities as well as other costs associated with activities not unique to public information, but common to all staff sections, such as administrative costs, policy, planning, and programming costs" [emphasis added].

The pertinent statement in the broadcast is:

"In December, Congress cut the appropriations for this division [Pentagon public relations], but, according to the Pentagon, it will still spend \$30 million this year on public affairs, an amount more than ten times what it spent to tell people about itself just 12 years ago."

This 12-year comparison was based on the cost limitation for fiscal year 1959 established by Public Law 85-724, Section 619:

"Funds provided in this Act for public information and public relations shall not exceed \$2,755,000."

The Act, signed into law on August 22, 1958, does not "specifically" exempt any public information or public relations activities or costs. CBS News found nothing in the legislative history of the Act that year, or in the legislative history of similar acts for the seven preceding years, to indicate that Congress intended to provide for any such exemptions. It seemed reasonable to conclude, therefore, that \$2,755,000 was an overall limitation imposed by Congress on all public information and public relations costs, and that it was comparable to the \$30 million Pentagon estimate for fiscal year 1971.³

Following the comment in the Defense Department pamphlet, CBS News endeavored to ascertain the basis for the statement that the \$2,755,000 limitation enacted in 1958 did not cover all public relations activities of the Defense Department. In testimony the following year, on March 23, 1959, Errett P. Scrivner, who was then Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller) and a former member of the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee which imposed the limitation, told the Subcommittee:

"As a member of this subcommittee, I joined in voting for the limitation, but frankly, I was never fully advised of all the

³ Similar comparisons were made by "The Military Establishment," the Twentieth Century Fund study referred to above:

"In 1959, public affairs costs acknowledged by the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the military services were \$2,755,000. In a decade—by 1969—they had increased more than ten fold." (page 197) and by Senator Fulbright:

"Ten years ago, Congress for the last time placed a limitation on the amount which the Department of Defense could spend on public relations and public information. The limit at that time was set at \$2,755,000—a substantial sum nonetheless which could be used to promote what was then a \$43 billion defense establishment. In the years intervening between fiscal 1959 and this past fiscal year, the overall defense budget has almost doubled to more than \$76 billion, including supplementals. During that same time, the Defense Department public relations funds lacking any legislative restraint by limitation, had soared by last year to at least \$27,953,000, according to figures supplied me by the Office of Secretary of Defense and the three military services. That represents a tenfold increase over 10 years ago. . . ." CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 115, pt. 27, p. 36129.

⁴ Hearings, Department of Defense Appropriations for 1960, Subcommittee on Department of Defense Appropriations, House Appropriations Committee, Part 4, Operations and Maintenance, page 1034.

activities other than 'news' carried on in offices of information of the services, such as troop information and training, public inquiries and community relations, among others."

At a later point, Mr. Scrivner testified: "In my consideration, 'Public Information' and 'News' were synonymous. None of the hearings ever fully, concisely, compactly, and clearly detailed all of the other activities which had nothing to do with 'news,' such as we had today from Secretary Snyder . . . When the limitation was imposed, in absence of a definition of 'Public information and public relations' it became necessary for the Defense Department to formulate directives, revised from time to time to define the limited activities."

Mr. Scrivner then presented the Subcommittee with a copy of Defense Department Instruction No. 7210.1 showing the accounting procedures by which the Pentagon had exempted a number of activities from the \$2,755,000 statutory limitation.

These exemptions were based not on specific provisions in the applicable Act, but rather on definitions and accounting procedures established unilaterally by the Pentagon, i.e., the Pentagon decided "from time to time" (as Mr. Scrivner stated) which of its activities involved public relations or public information for the purpose of the statutory limitation on the cost of such activities. In any event, however, the testimony by Mr. Scrivner, further illustrates the difficulty of ascertaining the complete cost of the broad range of public information and public relations activities of the Defense Department.

HÉBERT-ROWE INTERVIEW

Critics made a number of charges in connection with the use on the CBS broadcast of a filmed interview by Congressman Hébert with Major James N. Rowe.

The pertinent part of the CBS News broadcast states:

"Mudd. Using sympathetic Congressmen, the Pentagon tries to counter what it regards as the anti-military tilt of network reporting. War heroes are made available for the taped home district TV reports from pro-Pentagon politicians. Here Representative F. Edward Hébert of Louisiana asks Major Rowe, a Green Beret and former POW, what keeps the Viet Cong fighting."

1. Origin of the interview

Major Raymond E. Funderburk, in an article in the *Army Times* of April 7, 1971 (reprinted in the *Congressional Record* of April 20), discussed the CBS News use of the Hébert interview of Major Rowe, and stated:

"Furthermore, CBS showed the Hébert film as an example of what the Department of Defense produces for the public. Such a statement is too ludicrous and obviously false to mention."

The broadcast does not state or imply, directly or indirectly, that the Hébert-Rowe film was produced by the Department of Defense.

Congressman Hébert charges in a March 3, 1971 press release that:

"Anyone who states that this program [the Hébert-Rowe interview] was produced at the Pentagon's suggestion or produced by any of the military services, or produced with military funds, or produced as an attack on the networks, is telling a clear falsehood and misrepresenting the facts."

"The Selling of the Pentagon" made none of these statements. It did imply that Major Rowe was made available to Mr. Hébert by the Pentagon.

Congressman Hébert further charges that the broadcast deliberately created the false impression that Major Rowe was supplied to Mr. Hébert by the Pentagon.

The Hébert-Rowe program contains this statement addressed by Mr. Hébert to Major Rowe:

"I want to pause momentarily now to express to you my very deep appreciation and to our mutual friend, Colonel Scooter Burke, a Congressional Medal winner, and we are proud of him on the Hill, for bringing you to me and allowing you to come down to talk with us and meeting the folks down in New Orleans" [emphasis added].

Colonel Scooter Burke is Colonel Lloyd Burke, Pentagon liaison with the House Armed Services Committee. An article by Bernard D. Nossiter in *The Washington Post* on November 23, 1969, which reports the circumstances under which Major Rowe participated in recorded interviews with various Congressmen, refers to "Colonel Lloyd L. Burke, an Army legislative liaison officer and Rowe's immediate sponsor."

Congressman Hébert charges that the broadcast deliberately created these "clear inferences" each of which was a "falshood": that the Hébert-Rowe program was the Pentagon's idea, that it was planned by the Pentagon to counter network TV reporting and that the Pentagon "used" Mr. Hébert for the program because he was "sympathetic."

It was clear from the broadcast that the program on which Major Rowe appeared was one in a regular series of home district reports by Mr. Hébert. The broadcast did not state or imply that this series was "the Pentagon's idea," or was "planned by the Pentagon." But, as already noted, Major Rowe was, in Mr. Hébert's own words, brought to him by Colonel Burke, a Pentagon representative. Mr. Mudd's phrase "using sympathetic" Congressmen was warranted by the facts. As to whether the Hébert-Rowe interview was intended to "counter TV network reporting," the interview did include this statement by Mr. Hébert which was reported in "The Selling of the Pentagon:"

"I am one of those who believes that the most vicious instrument in America today is network television."

2. The charge of "false pretenses"

Congressman Hébert charges that the Hébert-Rowe program was obtained from his office "under false pretenses."

The substance of this charge is that the taped Hébert-Rowe interview was delivered to CBS News by Mr. Hébert's office on the basis of a false representation by CBS News that it was to be used in a POW documentary.

In the summer of 1970, Bernard Seabrooks, a CBS News production manager, asked Lou G. Burnett, the Congressman's press aide, for a tape of the Hébert-Rowe program. Mr. Burnett forwarded the tape to Mr. Seabrooks on July 6, 1970, with the following letter of transmittal which mentioned neither restrictions on its use nor prisoners of war.

JULY 6, 1970.

MR. BURNETT SEABROOKS,
CBS News Department,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. SEABROOKS: I am sending you under separate cover the film of Congressman Hébert and Major Rowe.

It is most important, however, that we get the film back, and I would appreciate your returning it as soon as possible.

I trust it is not necessary to cut the film to obtain what you need because it goes to the Congressman's library and he would like the film to remain in tact.

Please feel free to use any portion of the film as the Congressman has given his permission to do so.

With kindest regards,
Sincerely,

LOU GERRIG BURNETT,
Press Secretary to Rep. Hébert.

About 16 weeks later, in October 1970, James Branon, a researcher for CBS News who was working on "The Selling of the Pentagon," had a telephone conversation with Mr. Burnett (*his first*) in which he asked for the names of other Congressmen who had in-

terviewed Major Rowe. The Nossiter article in *The Washington Post* (quoted above) had mentioned 20 Congressional interviews with Major Rowe but had listed only eight names.

On January 19, 1971, Mr. Branon had another telephone conversation with Mr. Burnett in which he asked for the names of any servicemen (in addition to Major Rowe) who had been interviewed by Mr. Hébert, such as other returned prisoners of war, Vietnam veterans, or members of the Son Tay rescue team. During the course of this conversation, Mr. Burnett volunteered a description of Mr. Hébert's extensive prisoner of war interests and activities. At about the same time, and for the same purpose, Mr. Branon made similar requests to Representative Fisher and to the press aides for Representatives Dickinson, Buchanan and Winn.

There was no effort to conceal or camouflage the subject of the program in any way. On March 26, 1970, Peter Davis, the producer of the broadcast, wrote to Daniel Z. Henkin, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), informing him that "CBS News is beginning preparations for a proposed documentary on public information activities in government." On the same day, similar letters were sent to Herbert G. Klein, Director of Communications for the White House; Alvin Snyder, Assistant to the Director of Communications for the White House; Robert J. McCloskey, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Press Relations, Department of State; and Michael Collins, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs.

By the end of May 1970, six sequences dealing with military information activities and involving military personnel had already been filmed. On July 2, 1970, Norman Hatch, Chief, Audio-Visual Division, Directorate for Defense Information, circulated a memorandum to 27 DOD personnel, including the "Public Affairs Officer for the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Legislative Affairs)." The subject of the memorandum was "CBS Documentary on Governmental Information Activities." The memorandum said in part:

"Mr. Peter Davis and a staff of CBS researchers are developing a television special on the subject of public information activities with the Department of Defense. Extensive research and some filming are being carried out by Davis and his staff. This memorandum is offered as guidance in handling inquiries or requests from CBS in this effort. All information officers are requested to grant Davis or his representatives normal press courtesies in assisting him to gather information about DOD information services or activities, and to photograph public displays, demonstrations, briefings, or other information activities that are open to the press, within limits that do not involve Government expense or serious interference with the activity. . . . Some of Mr. Davis' staff working on this project include researchers Helen Moed and Susan Seglist and Mr. James Brannon [Branon]."

It is clear, therefore, that early in the 10-month production period, and before Mr. Hébert's office delivered the Hébert-Rowe program to CBS News, the subject matter of the broadcast and the identity of its production staff were widely known.

Messrs. Seabrooks and Branon, the CBS News personnel who discussed recorded interviews with the offices of Mr. Hébert and the other Representatives mentioned by him, state flatly that they did not, at any time, represent that the interviews were to be used in a POW documentary. On the contrary, they state they disclosed that the documentary was concerned with the public relations activities of the Pentagon. In the light of the widespread knowledge of the nature of the documentary in Washington, at the Pentagon and on Capitol Hill, it is difficult to believe they would have done otherwise. Months after the Rowe-Hébert program was delivered to Mr. Seabrooks, Mr. Branon contacted Mr.

Hébert's office and the offices of other Representatives to obtain information with respect to additional Congressional interviews with Major Rowe and other military personnel, including other former prisoners of war. It is at this point, seemingly, that the confusion began. The focus on additional Rowe interviews and other POW interviews may well have been the genesis of the misunderstanding which arose.

WELCOMING MAJOR LEAGUE HOCKEY TO LONG ISLAND

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I would like at this time to express my admiration for the great spirit and traditions of that grand Canadian invention, the game of ice hockey, which is moving into the life of all America, with wild exuberance and furious enthusiasm.

As a Representative from Long Island, I am pleased to note the inclusion of my area in the world of major league hockey, by recent edict of the National Hockey League.

It is a great moment for Long Island, and a tribute to her growing significance in the overall structure of the State of New York.

Refined from the ancient European game of bandy, a formless free-for-all that 19th-century Canadians took up to ward off the winter cold, ice hockey has become a hot commodity, commercially, over the past decade. Rival leagues are vying for the right to produce the game in major population centers throughout the United States and Canada, and the National Hockey League has extended its influence to the Pacific coast.

The appeal of the game is electric and contagious, and once an area has become involved with it, there is a strong tendency to addiction. In Toronto, the Maple Leafs of the National Hockey League have filled their 14,000-seat rink for every game since 1946, and have a waiting list a mile long for season tickets.

All across Canada, each Saturday night from October to April, 650,000 citizens—one third of the national population—watch National Hockey League games on television. It is a sacred tribal rite, rapidly spreading to tribes in other lands.

Thirty years ago, the Soviet Union had no hockey players. Today, she boasts 500,000, and crowds of 50,000 often pack Moscow's huge open-air rink, at temperatures of 30 below. Second only to soccer in popularity in Sweden, hockey has become the game in Czechoslovakia and Finland. When the World Amateur Hockey Tournament was held in Yugoslavia a few years ago, most of the important matches were sold out a year in advance. They are even playing hockey in Mexico and Japan, and with all-weather, artificial ice rinks in such unfrozen places as Memphis, Tenn., and Houston, Tex.

Of all team sports, hockey is perhaps the roughest. When two teams square off, each armed with curved hickory sticks

and intent on firing the flat, vulcanized rubber puck into the other's goal, the action is usually violent. Accordingly, there are rules against slashing, tripping, punching, and such. If a player's offense is noticed by the referee, he is banished to a penalty box for 2 minutes or more, and his team must play shorthanded. While team owners often deplore rough play and fisticuffs, the fans are entertained by them. A Toronto official observed after one rousing brawl:

If we don't stamp out that sort of thing, we'll have to print more tickets.

Easy to understand, hockey is possibly the hardest of all sports to master. A big-league player needs speed, split-second reflexes, agility, balance, and strength—plus an instinct known as "hockey sense." Above all—in the manner of knights of old—he must shrink not from pain or the sight of blood. A true professional in the hockey game can be recognized by the stitch-marks in his face and by his pearly dentures.

As recently as 15 years ago, the great mass of players in the National Hockey League were Canadians and the number of Americans totaled exactly one. As of today, the number of Americans is considerable and Europe is represented as well. As the game's excitement continues to spread, the day may come when we will see a truly world playoff for the Stanley Cup, the 73-year-old National Hockey League championship bowl. If a cup playoff should ever pit the Russians against our pros, or the Canadians, it probably would not qualify as a replacement for Brotherhood Week. For the Soviets play, in the words of Sports Illustrated, "as though the future of the Communist world depends on their sticks and blades."

And so it is for hockey players everywhere. It is a game seemingly of life and death, a game of fury and of passion, and a game that inspires the audience wherever it appears.

As a Representative from Long Island, I am pleased and proud to welcome to our front yard the glories of this enterprise. We extend our best wishes to the National Hockey League and to our own team, and wish them the best of all possible success to their collective endeavors.

CAREFUL STUDY OF VALUE-ADDED TAX NEEDED

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, the newspapers have recently reported that a value-added tax may be proposed by the administration in the next session of Congress.

The imposition of such a tax has undoubtedly been made more necessary to the administration because of the multi-billion dollar corporate tax cuts contained in the Revenue Act of 1971. The individual taxpayer will soon be called upon to make up for this tax give-away to a special group of taxpayers. The bil-

ions of dollars given away to a few special taxpayers will have to be collected from all of the taxpayers when we come to our senses after the politics of 1972.

A value-added tax is essentially a national sales tax. It is a regressive tax which taxes consumption of goods rather than income accumulation. It is a tax which completely disregards the ability of the taxpayer to contribute his fair contribution to the cost of the Government.

I believe it valuable for my colleagues to consider the following two articles, from the Wall Street Journal of June 17, 1969, and from the Harvard Business Review of November-December 1970. When former Assistant Secretary Stanley Surrey and an editorial of the Wall Street Journal both caution against imposition of this new tax, I feel we in Congress should study the proposal carefully. I enclose both of those articles for the RECORD.

The articles follow:

[From the Wall Street Journal, June 17, 1969]

A TAX OF DUBIOUS VALUE

Since the Federal tax structure is far from flawless, it's probably healthy that there is talk of sweeping revision. One current proposal, however, seems to us to be of limited merit.

The proposal is that the U.S. institute a "value-added tax," of the sort now imposed by France, Germany and a few other countries. In general, the idea is simply that each businessman pays a tax on the value that his operations added to a product. Since it would add up to a percentage of the price of the product, it is, in other words, a variant of a general national sales tax.

At the moment the value-added levy is being urged by a number of economists and businessmen and has been getting at least some consideration in the councils of the Federal Government. A strong plea for VAT is advanced by Richard W. Lindholm, dean of the University of Oregon's Graduate School of Management and Business, in the Tax Foundation's Tax Review.

As Professor Lindholm points out, a value-added tax would make it possible to reduce income tax burdens for both individuals and corporations. There's more than a little question, though, whether any such substitution of tax sources would be politically possible, even if it were economically desirable.

For better or for worse, U.S. tax theory is firmly wedded to at least some progressivity—in other words, a system that bases taxes on the taxpayer's ability to pay. The system doesn't work quite as intended (witness the current Administration proposal to assure that the very wealthy pay at least some tax) but the idea remains durable despite faulty implementation. And the value-added levy plainly isn't progressive, since the amount it added to prices would not vary with the incomes of the purchasers.

Professor Lindholm sees this "neutrality" as a virtue. If the Government wants to grant special favors to unprofitable businesses or the poor, he notes, it can do so in other ways. Yet even if this political obstacle were overcome, the case for the value-added tax would not be especially persuasive.

One of the weaker arguments for the levy is that it appears to be workable in Europe. But many European nations long have leaned heavily on indirect, sales-type taxes—not because they think such levies are necessarily best but because they have so much trouble imposing, and collecting, income taxes. The success of the U.S. self-assessment income tax still astonishes many Europeans.

Another argument is that European na-

tions can rebate VAT to exporters and impose it on imports; the tax thus allows them to systematically subsidize exports and penalize imports. The contention is that a U.S. value-added levy would put this country on an equal competitive footing—it would permit the U.S. to retaliate.

One trouble with that is the Europeans in all probability would not regard the new competitive footing as equal; they might very well take added steps to discriminate against imports from the U.S. and in favor of their own exports, touching off a new war of protectionism. If the U.S. is truly interested in free trade, it should instead continue trying to get Europe to minimize its discriminatory use of VAT.

Whatever happens to that effort, it would be foolish for the U.S. to adopt a new national tax system solely to aid its exports, which after all account for only about 5% of its Gross National Product. The overriding consideration should be how any such system fits the nation's domestic situation.

In the domestic economy, the value-added tax doesn't look especially attractive. It's true that VAT would permit an income tax reduction, but it would by no means assure it; unfortunately, governments with rising revenues from new sources have a way of finding all sorts of new expenditures. It's probably also true, as Professor Lindholm says, that the technical difficulties of the value-added levy are surmountable. But the difficulties exist, and they would further complicate a vastly complicated tax law.

VAT, moreover, is in a way a hidden tax, which usually would be paid by consumers in the prices of products. As such, it might be less subject to public control than income levies and even the usual retail sales taxes, which are so painfully visible to everyone.

Speaking of retail sales levies, the value-added tax would be a major invasion of a revenue area that now is largely the province of state and local governments. Even with their present tax sources, many states and localities are leaning ever harder on Washington, and VAT could further weaken their economic viability.

The Federal tax system surely should continue to be discussed and debated. All things considered, however, VAT seems a tax of dubious value.

[From the Harvard Business Review, November-December 1970]

VALUE-ADDED TAX: THE CASE AGAINST (By Stanley S. Surrey)

FOREWORD

In stating the case against the VA tax, this expert on taxation argues that the adoption of this regressive tax would not only worsen our present domestic tax situation, but also fail to bring us any significant international trade advantages. He further says: "There is no need for the United States, with an already effectively functioning retail sales tax structure at the state level, to have at the federal level a value-added structure that collects, in more complex fashion, the amounts which could otherwise be collected under a retail sales tax."

Mr. Surrey is the Jeremiah Smith, Jr. Professor of Law at the Harvard Law School, where he teaches taxation. From 1961 to 1969, he served as Assistant Secretary for Tax Policy in the U.S. Treasury Department.

Writers of tax articles have recently found a new topic for discussion—or what they appear to indicate is a new topic—namely, "Should the United States have a value-added tax?" The question, when so phrased, does appear to be a new one, since most readers do not know what a value-added tax is and are led to believe it is a novel form of taxation. But if the question were phrased more accurately as, "Should the United States adopt a national sales tax?" the reader would at once be on familiar ground.

This question has been discussed for four decades or more in the United States—and the answer has been consistently in the negative. A value-added tax is just a general retail sales tax collected in a different way.

It is interesting that advocates of the value-added tax generally go out of their way to avoid mentioning this. Indeed, articles urging the VA tax are written without once using the words "sales taxation" or "retail sales tax." Many other people, however, such as public finance experts and the Europeans who have such taxes, are quite clear on the sales tax classification of the value-added tax.

There is nothing wrong in once again debating a question we have considered a number of times before in the United States. Any tax system must constantly face up to continued scrutiny. Nevertheless, we should maintain our perspective in talking about a value-added tax, and constantly keep in mind that it is no more than one way of collecting a retail sales tax.

Moreover, and this is important, we should recognize that many who wish to add a national sales tax to our tax system hope to find a new and stronger urgency for their position by pushing this variant of the usual retail sales tax under a name that is generally novel to our ears and, even more significant, that does not reveal its basic character. They also seek thereby to capitalize on the current wave of adoption of value-added taxes in the European Economic Community.

Let us, therefore, first look at that background and see how a VA tax functions. Then in succeeding sections, I shall discuss the domestic and international considerations, and present my judgment that the United States should not adopt a national sales tax and that, in any event, the typical retail sales tax is preferable to the value-added tax variation.

VA TAX BACKGROUND

What is new in the world today is that the European countries are in the process of adopting value-added taxes. France has had one since 1954; Denmark adopted one in 1967; Germany adopted one in 1968; The Netherlands, Sweden, and Belgium, in 1969; Norway, in 1970; and so on. But a word of perspective is in order.

All of these countries have for many years had a national sales tax of one form or another, usually the inefficient turnover tax. The main topic for them, therefore, was not whether to have a national sales tax. Rather, in seeking to replace the undesirable turnover taxes and to harmonize their tax systems under the European Economic Community, the consideration was whether they should adopt the VA form of sales taxation or some other form of sales tax as the common denominator.

For reasons growing out of their political and tax histories, which in some countries involved the inability to effectively collect a mass income tax, they had already chosen to utilize high-rate sales taxes. The significant point is that they were concerned with the subtopic—namely, the form of a sales tax which would be superior to the turnover tax and would achieve harmonization—and not the main topic: Should there be a sales tax at all? They had answered that question, as I have said, many years before, for their national sales taxes go back at least to post-World War I days. As for the present, they are choosing the value-added tax, partly for political reasons and partly because of worries about collection problems under the retail sales tax. I shall present more on this point later.

How it works

We all know what a retail sales tax is—44 of our states and some of our cities have this tax. We also know what a wholesale sales tax is and what a manufacturer's sales tax is. What, then, is a value-added tax? A VA tax is merely a different method of collecting a

retail sales tax. Moreover, it is a more complex method. Using the recent German tax as a model—and that is the type urged for adoption in the United States—let us see how a VA tax works.

The German tax is imposed at an 11% rate on almost all sales of goods (and some services) by any business. Take the case of a manufacturing company: it applies an 11% rate to its total sales to find the preliminary tax due. From this, the company subtracts the 11% taxes it has paid on its purchases; the net is payable to the government.

In essence, the tax is computed on the value-added by the manufacturer, as represented by the difference between the values of the company's total sales and its total purchases. The latter includes all components, either as raw materials or semiprocessed goods; capital goods, such as plant machinery and equipment; goods used up in manufacture; business furniture; and so forth. The manufacturing company, of course, bills its wholesale customers for the 11% tax on the sales price of the articles it sells, just as it was earlier billed 11% on its purchases from suppliers. The tax is invoiced separately on all sales and is thus not hidden in the sales price.

The process is repeated at the wholesale stage—the wholesaling company pays the government 11% of its sales, less the taxes the company has paid previously on its purchases, and then bills the 11% tax to its customers. No pyramiding should occur with the VA tax—in contrast to the turnover form of sales tax—since the taxes paid by the wholesaling company are kept apart from the price of the goods it purchased, and it can subtract this tax cost. The process is repeated once again at the retail stage, with the retailer charging its customers for the 11% tax.

The process ends there if the retail sale is for personal consumption, as in the case of a family automobile, household furniture, clothing, and food. But if the article is purchased for use in a business—say, a company automobile or office desk—the process begins again, and the company subtracts the tax on the car or desk from the taxes it collects on its sales.

There is one additional important facet to note. Under the German system, the tax payment is due each month. Suppose, then, that a company has paid more tax on its purchases than it has collected on its sales to customers (e.g., sales may be slow. In that case, the government makes a refund of any excess tax paid in any given month; thus the cost of carrying the value-added tax is not borne by the company beyond a month or two.

All this clearly adds up in economic effect and intended result to an 11% retail sales tax on personal consumption. The 11% VA levy is designed to be passed all along the processing line to the consumer who buys from a retailer and is left with the tax. The 11% tax is not intended to enter into the price structure until the final sale. Prior to that time, it is a tax item that accompanies each sale, it is kept separate on the books, and it is so indicated. If the tax item is not promptly moved along the business chain, the government refunds the amount promptly.

(Economists refer to this form of value-added tax as a consumption type. It is the form used by all European countries that have adopted the tax. There are other forms—for example, the income type, which allows only depreciation of a producer's capital goods purchased and has the effect of a proportional income tax. But the consumption type is the one that advocates of a value-added tax have in mind for the United States.)

The obvious question that one familiar with an effective retail sales tax would ask is: "Should the government bother with the

preliminary steps when it can get the final 11% tax at retail?" The response is presumptively, "Don't bother with the preliminaries that occur under a value-added tax; just have the retail sales tax." Indeed, this was the reply given by the Canadian Royal Commission on Taxation, which did pose the question for itself. I shall return later to this aspect.

DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS

Against the preceding background, we can return to the main question I posed at the outset of this article: Should the United States adopt a national sales tax? Proponents of this tax have followed two courses. One is to argue that we should have a sales tax right away, and it should be substituted for part of the present income tax, usually the corporation income tax. The other course is to assert that if, as a nation, we decide to increase our tax payments, the sales tax should be utilized to raise the additional revenues.

While, in the eyes of sales tax proponents, these two courses of action embody the view that the VA tax is clearly superior to all other taxes, in part the courses raise separate issues. Let us first consider the substitution of a sales tax for part of the corporate tax.

Substituting a sales tax

A 1% national retail sales tax would yield about \$5 billion. Similarly, six percentage points of the corporate income tax would yield about the same revenue. Hence should we, for example, reduce our 48% corporate income tax to about 30%—proponents of a value-added tax do not say how much of a substitution they desire—and make up the \$15 billion loss of revenue through a 3% sales tax? What would the United States gain through this change?

Aspect of neutrality: Certain virtues are claimed for the value-added tax in the name of "neutrality." There is no such thing, however, as a really neutral tax; some transactions or people must in the end be taxed and not others.

The VA tax is said to be neutral because it applies in the same way to all types of business. Thus the tax is said to be a cost for every business—whether a business makes or loses money, whether efficient or inefficient whether in corporate form or proprietorship form, whether labor-intensive or capital-intensive, whether debt-financed or equity-financed, and so on. We are left with the impression that here is a really neutral tax imposed on businesses which we are substituting for the corporate income tax.

But this just is not so. The value-added tax is neutral as to businesses because it does not apply to businesses; rather, it is a retail sales tax on the consumers of goods and services, and not a tax on the producers or sellers of goods and services. For the business sector, the neutrality of the VA tax simply means the neutrality of the nontaxpayer, because it casts the business firm in the role of a collector of taxes from the ultimate consumer.

Nor should we view a VA tax as a neutral tax on consumers. A VA tax would be neutral only if it taxed all consumer goods and services at the same rate. But no such tax actually exists in Europe, and none would exist here. The French tax, for example, has four rates: a normal rate; an increased rate for luxury items; an intermediate rate for certain utilities, such as hospital care and some food stuffs; and a reduced rate for widely consumed foods, tourist hotels, and so forth. The German tax has two rates—a general 11% rate and a 5.5% rate for most agricultural products—and other countries generally also have at least two rates.

Some systems exempt food, and many exempt a large variety of services, financial activities (banking and insurance), newspapers, nonprofit institutions (schools and

governments themselves), and so on. Some favor small businesses. Other systems avoid differential rates, but reduce the tax base for certain sectors of the economy (e.g., construction) by taxing only a percentage of the sales price. The list of separate rates, differentials, exclusions, and discriminations is endless. No mass tax can be a simple, neutral tax, as anyone acquainted with a state retail tax will agree, and a value-added tax is more complex than a retail tax.

Advocates arguments: Some supporters of a VA tax say that the United States should derive a larger portion of its revenue from indirect taxes—that is, from sales taxes. This argument is usually associated with the idea that substituting a tax on sales to raise part of the revenue now provided by the corporate income tax would stimulate economic growth through enhancement of investment in corporate equity. Foreign tax systems are often cited as evidence to support this view.

But if one looks at the components of the tax systems of various industrialized nations over a period of time and relates them to the growth rate of their economies, there seems to be no observable relationship between the two. We have been doing pretty well in the United States in the last decade, and we do not have a national sales tax.

Arguments as to the "fairness" of taxing corporate income will continue so long as there is a corporation tax. Far be it from me to deny that a separate tax on corporate profits does not have distributional and incentive effects. It does, but so does every tax, and some of these effects could be corrected by appropriate revisions in our corporate tax rules. The real question is whether there are advantages to corporate profits taxation which offset the disadvantages. I believe there are.

The history of corporate income taxation in this and other industrialized nations has shown that there is a significant tax-paying capability inherent in the corporate structure. Moreover, many approve of the distribution of the corporate tax by income classes. And the taxation of corporations and their dividends hardly seems to put a damper on the long-run advantages that investors find in corporate equities. Some economists, of course, would like to see the corporate income tax integrated with the individual income tax—by regarding the corporate tax as a preliminary withholding tax on shareholders and the latter taxed on their shares of all corporate income—and capital gains made fully taxable on an accrual basis as far as possible; but this is a step which is rarely urged by advocates of a VA tax.

If we desire to adjust our income tax structure to tilt it, or rebalance it, or what you will, so as to favor investment, there are ways to accomplish this (e.g., investment credit) without having to resort to an entire new tax.

Inasmuch as proponents of a VA tax for the United States so often refer to the tax systems of foreign countries as model for the use of indirect taxes, I wonder why, if they are so worried about the level of our corporate tax, they so conveniently ignore the corporate tax rates in those countries. Heavy reliance of a country on indirect taxation does not mean low corporate rates.

For example, both Germany and France have a rate of over 50% on undistributed corporate profits, and the United Kingdom's rate is in the 40% bracket. The experience of U.S. companies with international operations and U.S. Treasury data on the foreign tax credit indicate that the effective rate of European corporate income taxes generally is quite comparable to that of the United States.

Moreover, it is on top of these high corporate rates that European countries have their value-added taxes, also at high rates. Thus the top French rate is 23%; the Swedish rate, 15%; and the German rate, 11%. No European country has reduced its corpo-

rate tax as a result of having adopted a value-added tax.

I thus can find no persuasive reasons to shift from the corporate tax—or any other existing tax—to a national sales tax. The Conference Report of the National Bureau of Economic Research and the Brookings Institution in 1964, on the subject of "The Role of Direct and Indirect Taxes in the Federal Revenue System," ends with the same conclusion: "It is hard, then, to find much support for more reliance on indirect taxation in the record of the conference, even though some participants came, and left, with a disposition toward this view."¹

Detractors' objections: There are a number of persuasive reasons against a shift from the corporate tax to a sales tax. It would mean the substitution of a regressive tax for a progressive tax, and on equity grounds this would be a distinct step backward. A Bureau of Labor Statistics Study contrasts the distribution of consumer expenditures as a percentage of income with the distribution of corporate dividends, also as a percentage of income.² Consider:

The consumer expenditures range downward from over 100% of income in the lowest brackets to 80% at the \$10,000-to-\$15,000 level, and 62% in the brackets over \$15,000.

The dividends hover around 0.6% to 0.7% of income until the \$10,000-to-\$15,000 bracket, where they are 1.9%, while in the over-\$15,000 bracket they are 6.7%.

The groups under \$10,000 accounted for 82.5% of overall consumer expenditures, but only 29.3% of the total dividends.

The groups over \$15,000, which included only 2% of the consumer units in the country, made 5.7% of the expenditures but received 41.6% of the dividends.

The value-added tax is levied on the consumer expenditures, whereas the corporate tax, in effect, reaches the dividends. If one believes in progressivity in our federal tax system, one would oppose the substitution of the VA tax for the corporate tax.

Proponents of the VA tax seek to meet this objection in several ways. One course is to argue that the corporate tax itself is shifted forward, so no change in regressivity would be involved.

(This argument assumes that on reduction of the corporate tax there would be pro tanto, a deshifting which, coupled with the effect on prices of the value-added tax, would leave prices unchanged. However, the deshifting is a result one could well be skeptical about, even if one felt that there had been some previous shifting of the corporate tax. If there is no deshifting, then the price structure will of course rise with the imposition of the value-added tax.)

The economic aspects of the incidence of the corporate tax are very involved, and economists are in varying stages of disagreement on the theoretical arguments and statistical analysis. But if they were put to the crucial and operative question, "What should a legislator, in deciding how to vote on tax issues, assume as to who bears the corporate tax?" I believe most economists would answer, "The legislator shall assume the tax is borne by the shareholders." Further, if put to the same form of question on a retail sales tax, or a VA tax, I believe they would answer, "The legislator should assume the tax is borne by the consumer."

Another course of the proponents of a VA tax is to seek to minimize the regressivity effect, either by raising income tax exemptions and increasing welfare payments, or

by granting exemptions from the sales tax—say, for food. Perhaps the burden of a VA tax on the very poor can be moderated in this way. But the VA tax, including the added load of the increased welfare payments, must be paid—and it will be paid—through a shift of the tax burden from the upper to lower brackets.

A third course is to acknowledge some increase in regressivity, but to consider this disadvantage outweighed by the purported advantages of the tax in fostering economic growth and giving corporate investors more "reasonable" tax treatment. However, this defense is only as good as those purported advantages, and they, in my view, do not carry the needed weight.

In the end, the arguments come down to the fact that most of those who advocate a VA tax simply have a distinctly lower regard for progressivity and tax equity as factors in shaping a tax system.

The substitution of a sales tax would cause prices of consumer goods to rise, which is the underlying purpose of the tax. This rise in price would, in all likelihood, set off a round of wage increases as the price index rose, and thus the substitution of the tax would have an inflationary potential. The addition of a new mass federal tax also would have its costs in taxpayer compliance and IRS administration. A proposal for a value-added tax would involve a political and legislative battle of the first order. The country would not be well served by provoking such a battle for a tax that has so little to offer to our tax system.

Raising additional revenue

Let us turn to the question of what should be done if the country decides that additional revenue should be raised. The previous discussion indicates that a national sales tax should not be the first measure to turn to for the additional funds. Recently, \$10 billion in additional taxes was raised by a 10% income tax surcharge without any adverse consequences or administrative problems. This indicates that, if additional revenue is needed, the first course should be to raise income tax rates to higher levels.

Along with this should come further steps toward reforming the income tax. Target areas could include a stronger minimum income tax, income taxation of appreciated capital assets at death, withholding on dividends and interest, elimination of the maximum tax on earned income, wringing out the "tax water" in our tax preference subsidies (state and local bonds, real estate, oil exploration, timber, farm losses), and strengthening the estate and gift tax laws.

Thus, given the revenue increase likely to be needed—if it is indeed needed—for economic stabilization reasons or voted by Congress for expenditure purposes, we would not be faced with the question of whether we were using our existing tax system beyond safe limits, and a new mass tax would thus not be required. Moreover, and I shall consider this later, if such a tax becomes necessary, a retail sales tax is preferable to a value-added tax.

(Some economists, seeking far larger revenues for social purposes, see a national sales tax as part of a revised tax structure with a strengthened income tax, especially as to appreciation in capital assets whether or not realized by sales; increased taxes on wealth through stronger estate and gift taxes and perhaps a net wealth tax; a progressive expenditure tax for well-to-do spenders; and a strong negative income tax or income maintenance arrangement to protect the poor. But most of the advocates of a value-added tax are not found here, for they see only the sales tax ingredient.)

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS

The preceding discussion states the view that, on the basis of domestic considerations,

¹ *Role of Direct and Indirect Taxes in the Federal Revenue System* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 313.

² Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Survey of Consumer Expenditures, 1960-1961*, "Supplement 3—Part A to BLS Report No. 237-93," May 1966.

the adoption of a national sales tax is not desirable. If one accepts this conclusion, the next question is: Should the answer nevertheless be altered because of international considerations?

Many proponents of a value-added tax would reply in the affirmative, and indeed rely on international considerations to differentiate the latest discussion of the need for a sales tax from the previous debates on that subject in this country. This reliance on international considerations is based on the structure of a VA tax as applied to international trade.

A country with a value-added tax, while recognizing the effect of the tax on domestic prices, prevents the tax from increasing export prices. It does so by exempting a manufacturing company (or other exporter) from paying a VA tax on its exports. The country also rebates to that company the VA taxes it has paid to its suppliers so that it does not incur those tax costs for its exports.

At the same time, the country brings imports under the value-added tax by imposing a border tax on the imports equal to that tax, thereby subjecting imports to the same sales tax system as domestically produced goods. There is nothing mysterious or tricky in this approach. We do the same in the United States in the case of our single-stage manufacturer's taxes on automobiles, cigarettes, alcohol, and so on—namely, rebate the tax (if previously paid) on that part of the output which is exported and collect an equivalent excise tax on imports.

Inadequate arguments

Why, then, is it said that a country having a VA tax is favored in its international trade? Some business firms and groups have a simple, first-level answer. They say that a German company exporting machine tools, for example, is exempted from an 11% VA tax if it sells for export, but not if it sells domestically, so that those German exports are favored by the 11% differential.

This simply means, however, that a German exporter of machine tools does not pay a sales tax in Germany, and the tax does not increase his price; but neither does a U.S. exporter of machine tools pay a sales tax in the United States. Hence both, in this respect, are already on the same basis.

They also say a German exporter receives a rebate of 11% of the cost of his purchases, while the American exporter does not. But the German exporter has paid a sales tax equal to that 11% rebate, while the American exporter has not. Thus, in this respect, they also end up on the same basis—selling in world markets free of a domestic tax.

And so it is with imports. Machine tools coming into Germany must pay an 11% tax because machine tools produced and sold in Germany are subject to that tax. Machine tools coming into U.S. domestic markets do not face a border tax in the United States because machine tools produced in the United States are not subject to such a tax.

Clearly, we must look beyond this erroneous first-level contention to see if there is an international trade effect. Some proponents of a VA tax assert that while this system of border tax adjustments keeps that tax from affecting international prices, the United States does not have comparable border tax adjustments to reflect the corporate income tax. But this argument has validity only if the corporate tax is shifted forward in prices and thus, without the rebate, would affect the export price. This is a point considered earlier, and we took the view that the corporate tax should, for legislative policy purposes, be considered as not shifted forward. Moreover, since the principal European countries also have corporate taxes at about the same effective level as ours, they are in the same posture in this regard, and this argument thus has no weight.

Let us move from these clearly inadequate

arguments of the proponents of a value-added tax to try another avenue of analysis. As noted earlier, the VA tax is passed forward in an accounting sense and is expected also to be shifted forward in an economic sense through a price rise.

Suppose, however, that it is not fully shifted forward in domestic prices because of market conditions. Then a manufacturing company will be forced to absorb some of the tax effects on its domestic sales and thus reduce its profits, since it is only realistic to assume that wages cannot be reduced.

But the company would not have the consequence of reduced profits on its exempted export sales; therefore, it would perhaps turn more of its energies to exporting and thereby enlarge the country's international trade. Similarly, foreigners exporting the same product to the value-added tax country would suffer lower profits and be less induced to push those exports.

If this be so, a country with a VA tax would have some trade advantage through such an incentive to export and the disincentive to import. The situation could vary from product to product, depending on supply-and-demand elasticities.

But, given full employment, the absence of full forward shifting in price of the VA tax would presumably be due to a reasonably tough monetary policy that did not allow domestic prices to rise to absorb the tax. If it takes such a tough policy to produce the trade advantage when a sale tax is introduced, then presumably the advantage could also be obtained by the same monetary policy and its deflationary effect on domestic prices without resorting to a value-added tax.

Finally, for the trade advantage to be at all significant, the rate of the VA tax must be quite high, at levels commensurate with the European rates. But a VA tax applied in the United States at such levels would swamp our existing tax system. For example, even a 10% rate would mean a revenue yield considerably greater than that from our total corporate tax.

The conclusion which emerges from this examination of international aspects is this: if the United States were to decide, on domestic considerations, that it should not adopt a national sales tax, it should not change that decision because of international considerations. The international considerations are either neutral or so minor in their effect that the final decision should rest on domestic policy considerations alone.

PREFERABLE ALTERNATIVE

In regard to the major question of whether the United States should adopt a national sales tax, my answer is *no*, at least in the foreseeable future, whether the sales tax would be offered as a substitute for an existing tax or as a method of raising any additional revenues needed. But even if the answer were *yes*, why should the value-added tax be chosen by the United States? Why not the familiar retail sales tax?

Effective structure exists

In the United States, with 44 states having retail sales taxes, over 97% of our population live in states with retail sales taxes, and 97% of our retail establishments are located in states having such taxes. The usual rate is around 5%, with some rates as high as 8%. Thus, today, a retail sales tax is being successfully administered in the United States. Therefore, if the federal tax system is to have a national sales tax, why not simply use the retail tax structure we already have functioning and adopt a national retail sales tax?

What is to be gained by having a VA tax rather than a retail sales tax? As far as I can see, the answer is more paper work and administrative chores, and greater temptations for exemptions and special rates.

The end result of a VA tax, as we noted earlier, is that the retailer collects the tax

from his customer. Let us compare the effects of a 5% retail sales tax and a 5% VA tax. Under the retail sales tax, a retailer collects 5% of the sales price from his customers and pays the full 5% to the government, that is the end of the matter. Under a value-added tax, however, a retailer first pays 5% to his wholesaler on goods purchased, then collects 5% from his customers on the retail price, and pays the net difference to the government.

For example, if the wholesale price is \$70 and the retail price is \$100 before tax, the retailer pays the wholesaler \$3.50, later collects \$5.00 from its customer, and pays \$1.50 to the government. The government is thus collecting the \$5.00 in bits and pieces: \$1.50 from the retailer; say, \$1.00 from the wholesaler (if the manufacturer's price is \$50, the wholesaler collects \$3.50 from the retailer but has paid the manufacturer \$2.50, leaving a net of \$1.00); say, \$1.50 from the manufacturer; and the rest from various suppliers of the manufacturer.

While the government gets part of the \$5 earlier, it has the administrative problems of dealing with all the other units in the productive process. These units, in turn—wholesalers, manufacturers, and suppliers—are all involved in paper work under the VA tax, whereas they are less encumbered under the retail tax. The retailer also has an additional burden under the VA tax, for he must keep track of both purchases and sales, whereas only sales records are involved with a retail sales tax.

Of course, under a retail sales tax most businesses would probably be registered, since some nonretailers do have sales at retail. Also, such registration may be relied on to administer the exemption for sales of a producer's goods and goods to be used in further manufacture, with a registered seller being permitted to sell such goods on an exempt basis to a registered buyer. In addition to some direct exemptions, the exclusion of such goods could, of course, also partly be handled under a system of refunds to the exempt purchaser, which is essentially the way a VA tax does it.

Overall, however, the paper work and back-and-forth tax payments and credits or refunds would be considerably less under the retail sales tax. Moreover, the exclusion of various classes of business organizations, rate differentials, and the like—and surely there would be these—are considerably more difficult to handle under a VA tax (e.g., where a company not required to collect the tax, because it is exempt, has paid tax on its purchases) than under a retail tax.

We must remember that the Europeans developed the VA tax because they (a) did not believe that they could effectively handle a retail sales tax and (b) were improving a turnover tax system under which they had been taxing all sectors of manufacturing and distribution, and hence tended to think of all sectors as still playing a role in the sales tax process. The Europeans, especially with their high rates of sales tax, said that if the retailers would cheat and not collect a retail sales tax, then under a VA tax the government at least would get the tax on the wholesale price, provided the wholesaler played his role.

Even this view disregards two aspects: (1) typical retailer cheating—that of understating the retail price for tax computation purposes—which is not reached by either tax; and (2) retailer cheating that hides some sales entirely or cuts below the wholesale price, which can be reached under a retail tax by using wholesaler sales records without requiring wholesaler tax collections. In short, both types of tax require effective government auditing programs.

Hence there is no need for the United States, with an already effectively functioning retail sales tax structure at the state level, to have at the federal level a value-

added structure that collects, in more complex fashion, the amounts which could otherwise be collected under retail sales tax.

Crucial interrelationships

Our federal system adds a special reason to have the same structure for the national tax as that used in our states. Clearly, our states are not going to give up their retail sales taxes as a revenue factor; more likely, they would oppose a national sales tax as an encroachment on their tax preserve.

But if we are to have a national sales tax, we should at least use it to work in the direction of uniformity in the sales tax field. This could best be achieved by letting the states "ride" the federal tax—that is, add their rate to the federal rate and have the federal government pay over to a state the amounts collected on its behalf.

The states cannot, however, without a great deal of confusion, ride a VA tax and end up with the same revenue allocations among them as exist today.

Retail sales taxes in a federal system essentially allocate their revenues to the state of final sale, i.e., the state of destination of the goods. In the absence of border adjustments, a value-added tax allocates its revenues in part to the state of origin, in part to any states having terminated wholesalers, and in part to the state of final sale. Indeed, since the Europeans desire for the period ahead to allocate revenues within the Common Market to the country of destination, they must retain their border adjustments among themselves.

In the United States, under current Supreme Court decisions, the states cannot apply a sales tax on an origin basis, and hence the states have adopted a different method of allocation. On the one hand, it would seem difficult to change that method, because a federally imposed minimum state sales tax would be required to prevent interstate competition. On the other hand, it would seem confusing to accommodate a VA tax to that method, while still obtaining a uniform sales tax structure with its total rate made up of national and varying state, and even city, rates.

Indeed, if the United States is to have a national sales tax, it would appear that this federal-state-city interrelationship is a crucial aspect requiring full exploration.

The prudent course, if we are to have a national sales tax in the United States, would be to build on our already functioning retail sales tax structure and to see if any difficulties turn up which cannot adequately be coped with under that structure. We should explore the known, rather than the unknown of whether a value-added tax offers any expectation of better meeting those difficulties without incurring new problems.

CONCLUDING NOTE

In varying degrees, our existing federal tax system provides equity, incentives, certainty, and familiarity. It is by no means perfect, but any change should be in the direction of improvement, balancing the various goals the system seeks to achieve. Consider:

Viewed from the standpoint of domestic considerations, the addition of a national sales tax would clearly not improve our present federal tax system; rather, it would make it distinctly worse.

On the international side, a national sales tax would not bring the United States any advantages which would alter a policy decision against the tax made for domestic reasons.

Finally, if a national sales tax were ever deemed desirable in the United States, it should take the form of a retail sales tax and not a value-added tax.

In this light, the case against a value-added tax for the United States is very strong.

OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION PROTECTS SPECULATORS IN FOREIGN LANDS WITH TAXPAYERS' DOLLARS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the average American man on the street cannot understand why the U.S. capitalists would trade with the Soviet Union, Red China, and other Communist countries and take the chance of losing their investments. Especially is this so after the great losses inflicted on American capital in Chile and in Bolivia.

The average American is not advised that his tax dollar in foreign aid and Export-Import Bank deals is being used to entice American investments and development in foreign countries. Nor is the average American advised that his tax dollars are being used to pick up losses suffered by American industry if their foreign operation is seized or nationalized by a foreign state.

Congress in 1969 guaranteed foreign investments by establishing an overseas private investment corporation to "insure" U.S. capitalist operations in foreign countries.

Section 237(c) title IV of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1969 provides that the full faith and credit of the United States of America is pledged for the full payment and performance of obligations incurred by OPIC under its insurance and guarantee contracts. Thus, if claim settlements are in excess of available reserves, OPIC will be required to request supplementary funds from the Congress to pay the claims.

And as additional investors' guaranty, the Internal Revenue Service has ruled that U.S. companies whose overseas property is seized by a foreign government without promise of payment may write off their losses as an income tax deduction.

Who could devise a more ingenuous operation whereby capitalism of our country can use the full faith and credit of the U.S. taxpayers to develop Communist countries around the world without any worry of loss of their investment or income?

The American industrialist cannot lose; the foreign governments stand to gain. So, everyone should be happy except the U.S. taxpayer who has not yet seen through the shell game.

I include excerpts from H.R. 12067, the foreign aid appropriation bill of 1972; a newsclipping; and data from the OPIC annual report for fiscal 1971:

H.R. 12067 FOREIGN AID APPROPRIATION BILL OF 1972

| | |
|---|--------------|
| OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION | |
| Fiscal year 1971 appropriation | \$18,750,000 |
| Fiscal year 1972 estimate | 25,000,000 |
| Recommended in the bill | 25,000,000 |

The Committee recommends the full budget estimate of \$25,000,000, which is an increase of \$6,250,000 above the fiscal year 1971 appropriation.

The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) is authorized to insure invest-

ments against inconvertibility, expropriation and war risks, to guarantee loans and other investments of eligible investors (not to exceed 75 percent of such investment), to make loans to firms privately owned or of mixed private and public ownership (excluding loans for mining or other extraction operations) and to encourage and support the promotion of private investment opportunities.

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1969 created the Corporation and authorized the sum of \$40,000,000 for the capital of the Corporation to be derived from repayments of prior development loans. This sum would be used as a direct investment fund to make loans directly to borrowers.

At the time the hearings were held in April, no loans had yet been made from this fund. In fact on June 21, 1971 in testimony presented by Dr. John Hannah, Administrator for the Agency for International Development, the following exchange was recorded (page 65, part 2 of the FY 1972 hearings):

Mr. PASSMAN. Also OPIC makes loans for American business people who want to open businesses abroad?

Dr. HANNAH. Yes; but they have a very minimal amount of money. They have not loaned any yet.

Mr. PASSMAN. From little acorns big trees grow.

Dr. HANNAH. It could.

Mr. PASSMAN. It does. The record shows how all of these programs get started. Look at the prior years' appropriations and what they requested this year. Their purposes, their intent and the legislation sets them up as a lending agency as well as a guarantee investment agency, does it not?

Dr. HANNAH. Yes; it could Mr. Chairman. I am only saying so long as I am the chairman of the board of OPIC we are not going into the loaning business.

Mr. PASSMAN. Doctor, you are very fair, but have I made a fair statement: under the legislation they had a request in for loans, did they not?

Dr. HANNAH. Yes; they did but they withdrew it. They have a small sum of money.

Despite the above testimony, the first loan was signed on June 30, 1971 for \$2,000,000. The Committee has also been told that OPIC is presently processing additional loan applications and several are nearing the approval stage. The loan was made to the Private Investment Company for Asia which is incorporated in Panama and domiciled in Tokyo. The following fact sheet is supplied concerning this loan:

PRIVATE INVESTMENT COMPANY FOR ASIA S.A.
(PICA)

Amount of loan: \$2,000,000.

United States—Directors:

Eugene R. Black.

Emilio G. Collado,* Executive Vice-President, Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)

Mark C. Fear, General Partner, Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

Jacques G. Maisonrouge, President, IBM World Trade Corporation.

George S. Moore, Chairman of the First National City Bank.

Stanley de J. Osborne,* Partner, Lazard Freres & Co.

Rudolph A. Peterson,* Chairman of Executive Committee, Bank of America.

Purpose of the Corporation: It is a multinational corporation organized to make and facilitate private capital investments in developing countries of Asia.

Where located: Main office is in Tokyo, head office is in Panama City, Panama and they have a regional office in Singapore.

When started: They have been in operation for two years as of this past December 31, 1970.

*Member of Executive Committee.

Capitalization: Initial authorized capital was \$40,000,000. As of December 31, 1970, \$24,000,000 had been paid-in.

It appears that OPIC is providing loans to foreign corporations when U.S. businesses are having a difficult time obtaining similar loans from the Federal Government.

According to material provided to the Committee, the total potential contingent liability of OPIC as of September 30, 1971, exceeds \$8,500,000,000 if all the programs administered by OPIC are considered separately. The potential contingent liability amount is broken down as follows:

Contracts issued under previous authorities:

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Current coverage----- | \$3,194,366,891.35 |
| Standby options----- | 3,130,313,034.61 |

| | |
|-------------|------------------|
| Total ----- | 6,324,679,925.96 |
|-------------|------------------|

Contracts issued by
OPIC:

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| Current coverage----- | 924,983,489.77 |
| Standby options----- | 1,252,971,053.95 |

| | |
|-------------|------------------|
| Total ----- | 2,177,954,543.72 |
|-------------|------------------|

Grand total contracts
outstanding:

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| Current coverage----- | 4,119,350,381.12 |
| Standby options----- | 4,383,284,088.56 |

| | |
|-------------|------------------|
| Total ----- | 8,502,634,469.68 |
|-------------|------------------|

In this connection, it should be pointed out that the present potential claims possible as a result of the actions taken by the country of Chile amount to about \$270,000,000 while the total insurance reserve which can be applied to these claims is estimated to total a maximum amount of \$152,000,000 on June 30, 1972. The total potential claims of this one country would liquidate the entire insurance reserve of OPIC which has been built up for the last twenty years and a short fall of \$118,000,000 would result.

The Committee feels OPIC is becoming overextended in its financial commitments around the world. This can certainly be documented by the fact that the Overseas Private Investment Corporation has a total potential liability of over \$8,500,000,000 when all programs administered by OPIC are considered separately and the total maximum reserves are estimated to amount to only \$222,000,000 on June 30, 1972. In addition, if the situation in Chile went completely down the drain, OPIC's reserves would not be adequate to meet all the potential claims for this one country alone. The U.S. must slow down these programs.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Dec. 13, 1971]

RULING MAY CUT COPPER FIRM'S SEIZURE LOSS

The Internal Revenue Service has ruled that U.S. companies whose overseas property is seized by a foreign government without promise of payment may write off their loss as an income tax deduction.

The decision would appear to allow the Anaconda Co. and Kennicott Copper Corp. to recover part of the value of their copper holdings expropriated in July by the government of Chile.

Chile's President Salvador Allende said the companies will receive no compensation since they owe the government more in "excess profits" and damaged equipment than their property is worth.

As is customary in government tax rulings, no companies or individuals were named. But the IRS outlined a situation in which a foreign government takes over the assets of a U.S. company and later expropriates them "without any promise of indemnification."

Under the ruling, the taxpayer would have a tax loss at the time the foreign officials intervened in the management of the busi-

ness instead of the time formal expropriation actually takes place.

Anaconda has placed the value of its three copper mines in northern Chile at \$430 million. In its 1970 annual report, Kennicott said its single huge mine in southern Chile was worth \$140.7 million.

A third U.S. firm, Cerro Corp., also is involved in the expropriation but the Allende government promised to pay Cerro about \$13 million compensation on the mine it owns jointly with a Chilean corporation.

It was not immediately clear if the IRS interpretation would allow Cerro to file for a tax loss on the remaining amount.

All three companies are insured against expropriation by the Treasury Department's Overseas Private Investment Corp.

COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES,

Washington, D.C., November 30, 1971.

TO THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,
Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

Our examination of the statement of financial condition of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), as of June 30, 1971, and related statements of net income, changes in the investment of the United States Government, and source and application of funds for the year then ended, was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances. To a significant extent, our examination relied on prior audits performed by the Auditor General, Agency for International Development (AID) of the financial statements of AID's Investment Guaranty Program, the predecessor of OPIC. We reviewed the work of the Auditor General and found it to be acceptable.

OPIC insures and guarantees United States Investors against the potential risks of loss of their overseas investments due to expropriation, inconvertibility of currency, and war, revolution, or insurrection. As of November 1971, OPIC's management believed that potential claims under its insurance contracts totaled \$236.3 million (see note 5 to the financial statements). This amount includes an \$11 million claim by The Anaconda Company for losses due to expropriation of its investment in mines in Chile. The amount does not include potential claim by The Anaconda Company and its subsidiaries for large additional expropriation losses in Chile. OPIC, on advice of outside counsel, believes that it has no liability for the additional claims. (See note 6 to the financial statements.)

Due to the many imponderable factors affecting the foregoing potential claims, as well as those affecting the contingent liability that OPIC has incurred as a result of its other contracts of insurance and guarantees in force (see note 4 to the financial statements), we are not able to express an opinion on the adequacy of the amount reserved for losses OPIC may suffer as a result of its insurance and guarantee contracts.

Section 237(c) Title IV of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1969 provides that the full faith and credit of the United States of America is pledged for the full payment and performance of obligations incurred by OPIC under its insurance and guarantee contracts. Thus, if claim settlements are in excess of available reserves, OPIC will be required to request supplementary funds from the Congress to pay the claims.

The statements of financial condition and net income for fiscal year 1970 are those of the program as administered by AID. They were not prepared on a full accrual basis and do not include many of the expenses applicable to insurance and guarantee programs; thus, they should not be used for comparative purposes.

In our opinion, subject to the above comments relating to the potential claim liability, the accompanying financial statements present fairly the financial position of OPIC at June 30, 1971, and the results of its operations, the changes in the investment of the United States Government, and the sources and applications of its funds for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles and applicable Federal laws.

ELMER B. STAATS,
Comptroller General of the United States

STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN AND PRESIDENT

The Overseas Private Investment Corporation is the United States Government's principal catalyst for stimulating U.S. private investment in the developing nations. Congress created this independent, new Government Corporation to achieve this goal.

OPIC came into being on January 19, 1971. The Corporation inherited from the Agency for International Development an \$8.4 billion portfolio of outstanding insurance against political risks issued to U.S. investors over a 23-year period. It also assumed loan guaranties totaling \$169.7 million, as well as responsibility for local currency lending and investment promotion.

OPIC incorporates important new features. A majority of its Directors are from the private sector, prudent risk management of its portfolios is required, economic and social benefits to the host countries are mandatory, it may make direct loans from its capital, and its operations must benefit the United States. In short, OPIC is a flexible instrument designed to reduce the risks of U.S. private investment in the development of low-income countries by providing a wide range of creative investment banking and insurance services.

OPIC's net income reached a record high of \$26 million in fiscal 1971, compared with \$21 million in the previous year. This income was derived from a variety of sources, the largest of which was insurance premiums. These premiums reached a new high of \$24 million in 1971.

The insurance program has operated successfully since 1948, insuring investors in developing countries against the political risks of expropriation, war and inconvertibility. Insurance premiums have amounted to over \$130 million during this period. In fiscal 1971, OPIC insured \$695 million of investment which mobilized approximately \$1 billion of combined U.S. and foreign private investment in developing countries. Of this amount, \$428 million was in Latin America, \$27 million in the Near East and South Asia, \$230 million in East Asia and \$10 million in Africa and elsewhere.

Income from loan guaranties also reached a record level of \$1.6 million compared to \$710 thousand in fiscal 1970. Loan guaranties totaling \$8.7 million were issued to support total investments of \$80 million, as compared to \$96.4 million in fiscal 1970 to mobilize total investments of \$251.8 million. The decline of loan guaranties was caused by a variety of factors, including the decrease in U.S. business in general and the stricter review of projects by OPIC.

The Direct Investment Fund made its first loan late in the fiscal year. Issued on commercial terms, it consisted of \$2 million to assist U.S. businesses in East Asia. Additional loans have been committed since the end of the fiscal year assisting private U.S. investors in Indonesia, Korea and Brazil. Income from the DIF will be utilized to augment OPIC's insurance and guaranty reserves, as well as providing additional working capital for the Corporation. Since the funds are loaned at commercial rates and often with a profit participation in the company, it is hoped the revenues from these investments can be of substantial assistance in meeting OPIC's obligations in the years ahead.

On behalf of AID, OPIC administers the Cooley loan program of lending local currency funds. The equivalent of \$163 million of these loans is outstanding to U.S. and other eligible foreign enterprises. AID reimburses OPIC for all its expenses in connection with this program. Over the life of the Cooley program, \$355 million of local currencies has been loaned. At the close of the fiscal year \$742 thousand had been written off and potential losses were estimated at \$9.4 million, or about three percent of the total principal funds. This record shows not only the need for such financing programs in the developing countries but that, if administered properly, the profits can be substantial and losses minimal.

RESERVES

When OPIC was formed in January of 1971, its reserves totaled \$156.1 million. This was the remainder after Congress allocated \$50 million of insurance premiums earned to the AID Housing Guaranty Program in fiscal 1970, and after it rescinded in fiscal 1968 the \$200 million borrowing authority that had been established to back up the insurance program. As of June 30, 1971, our reserves totaled \$167.7 million. The Board allocated \$70 million to the guaranty reserve which, by law, is required to have a minimum of 25 percent funding, and \$70 million to the insurance reserve which was increased to \$85 million after the end of the fiscal year, leaving \$12.7 million unallocated. The insurance reserve has been adequate to meet all claims since the first U.S. political risk contract was written in 1948. However, the insurance reserve was not intended by the Congress to cover large extraordinary losses, such as when a country, heavily endowed with foreign investment, nationalizes, as a matter of policy, all private investment without fair compensation in disregard of international law and practice.

Looking ahead, if OPIC's earnings currently at \$26 million, continue to grow as rapidly as they have in the past, its reserves should increase to the point where they could cover even a large extraordinary loss. If, simultaneously, OPIC is able to reinsure some of its risks, the prospect of becoming independent of public funds seems realistic.

CLAIMS

Claims paid out since the inception of the insurance program amount to \$4.1 million, of which a portion has been recovered from the sale of assets received.

In 1971, a number of U.S. companies were expropriated in Chile or forced to sell to the Chilean Government. OPIC is making every effort to protect its insured investors and to work out equitable settlements where possible.

The President of OPIC made a personal visit to Chilean President Allende to urge him to reach fair and equitable agreements with U.S. investors. Settlements have been reached by some companies. OPIC has made payments to some other companies to compensate them for their insured losses or has extended coverage to the settlement.

The major settlements have yet to be achieved. The most significant case still under negotiation is between International Telephone and Telegraph and the Chilean Government, and involves an investment by ITT of over \$150 million of which approximately \$108 million is insured by OPIC. At this time, it is not known what compensation the Chilean Government will make to ITT. Until the election of the present Government, ITT's investment in Chile was a welcome contributor to that country's economic and social development.

The Controller General of Chile announced on October 11, 1971, that no compensation, except for modest amounts in the cases of two smaller properties, would be paid for the U.S. copper mining equity investments expropriated on July 16. The copper companies are appealing these findings. If no satisfactory settlements are reached and the Chilean

Government also refuses to honor its debt obligations to the companies involved, OPIC may have to pay claims amounting to approximately \$110 million—\$84.6 million to Kennecott Copper Company on its debt investment in the El Teniente mine, \$14.2 million to Cerro Corporation on its debt investment in the Andina mine, and \$11 million to Anaconda Copper Company for its equity investment in the Exotica mine.

Bolivia's previous administration expropriated two tin mining companies resulting in insurance claims of \$13 million. The new Government is negotiating with the two companies in an attempt to reach satisfactory agreements.

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

Economic nationalism and the confiscations by Chile have had a severe effect on the flow of private investment to several Latin American countries. In late fiscal 1971, there was a dramatic shift of investment away from some Latin American countries to other nations. The number of new investments insured by OPIC in Latin America in 1971 fell from 50 percent of OPIC's total world volume in 1968 to less than six percent in the last half of fiscal 1971. Even more significant, OPIC insured only \$8 million of new U.S. investments in the region during the last quarter of fiscal 1971 against an average level of \$100 million for each quarter of the preceding four years. As Secretary of State William P. Rogers pointed out, confiscatory treatment of foreign investment in Chile "could jeopardize flows of private funds and erode the base of support for foreign assistance, with possible adverse effects on other developing countries. The course of action which the Chilean Government appears to have chosen, therefore, could have an adverse effect on the international development process." OPIC's new investment registrations indicate that this is already happening in much of Latin America.

U.S. investment, assisted by OPIC, is growing in many countries outside of Latin America, particularly in Indonesia, South Korea and Singapore. As developing nations compete for investment in a world already short of capital, a decline in investment in some Latin American nations can delay the economic betterment of their people.

PUBLIC SUPPORT ACTIVITIES

In addition to its lending and insurance operations, OPIC administers several other public support activities.

Community credit guaranty program. The establishment in 1971 of the Community Credit Guaranty Program, designed to provide credit without the usual collateral to the rural workers and cooperative groups in Latin America, may lead to a major breakthrough in encouraging development through private lending. OPIC, on a pilot basis, initiated programs in four countries—Guatemala, Honduras, Brazil and Panama—and will be operating in a fifth country shortly. This program is designed to make small loans averaging a few hundred dollars each to people who have never before had a loan from any commercial bank or enterprise. It proved to have great appeal. The Guatemalan Government recognizing the value of the OPIC program, established its own similar program and within a few months received over 30,000 applications. The experience gained from these pilot projects may enable OPIC to expand the program after making a full report to Congress.

Investment promotion. OPIC takes an active role in helping U.S. firms find, plan, and develop potential investment projects by providing background information on investment conditions in developing countries, by investigating potential projects in the field, by advising on the financial structure of projects, and by sharing the investors' costs of field reconnaissance and feasibility studies. In addition, OPIC funds the investment sur-

vey program of the Agribusiness Council, Inc., a non-profit association of U.S. leaders in the food industry whose objective is to identify opportunities to expand food resources in the developing countries.

International Executive Service Corps. The IESC, a private organization directed and managed by leading American businessmen, is partially funded by the Agency for International Development. Its program, administered by OPIC, provides management-experience and services of seasoned American business executives to advise locally-owned enterprises in developing countries. During the past fiscal year, a record of 586 projects, for businesses large and small, was undertaken in 48 countries. The program enjoys worldwide acceptance by businessmen and governments overseas.

LEADERSHIP

OPIC is providing the leadership in encouraging U.S. private investment in the developing nations. Its example has been followed by the governments of eleven other developed countries which realize that private investment benefits not only the developing countries but also their own economies. Their programs, like OPIC's protect their nationals against the political risks of war, expropriation and currency inconvertibility. Some also join in the financing of investments. They are expanding their programs rapidly, and several of them offer significantly more incentive than OPIC. Japan's investment insurance program projects a ten-fold increase in its business over the next five years, particularly to ensure access or control of mineral resources essential to the Japanese economy. The German counterpart to OPIC's Direct Investment Fund has financed over 110 projects and its success has led its Government to plan substantial increases in the capital of the corporation and to expand the number of investments in which its nationals have ownership.

OPIC cooperates with these other bilateral programs and works with them on specific projects. OPIC now shares insurance coverage with these agencies on a substantial amount of multinational investments. As the competitive race sharpens, the U.S. investor must continue to have equal opportunity and protection.

NEW INITIATIVES

Immediately after OPIC was formed, the Board of Directors and Management instituted a full review of OPIC programs, policies and administrative procedures. As a result, new initiatives are being taken to meet changing political and economic conditions, to reduce OPIC's risks, and to find imaginative ways of helping the developing nations and U.S. private business. Some of the more significant steps now being taken are:

Negotiating with reinsurance organizations in the United Kingdom, United States and Latin America to reinsure a portion of OPIC's expropriation insurance, thereby multinationalizing the risks involved and lowering OPIC's exposure.

Devising improved insurance contracts to provide special coverage for large or sensitive projects, particularly in the mining and extractive industries.

Implementing criteria for measuring the investment contribution of economic and social development.

Utilizing excess or inconvertible currencies in developing countries for loans to U.S. businesses.

Reducing risk exposure by diversifying OPIC's portfolio by country and industry, by establishing country concentration guidelines, and by close monitoring of countries to identify incipient claims early to facilitate their satisfactory resolution.

Exploring ways of reducing interest costs of loan guaranties.

Instituting a Small Business Program to provide special incentives for U.S. companies and a program to facilitate the participation of U.S. Cooperatives in overseas investment.

Extending OPIC's insurance and finance programs to Yugoslavia and Romania if an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act is authorized by Congress. Following up on President Nixon's initiative, the President of OPIC and one of its Directors visited Yugoslavia and Romania to determine how OPIC could assist U.S. private enterprise in these countries.

Returning OPIC insurance fees to 1966 levels to enlarge OPIC's reserves and increasing financing fees to assure OPIC a portion of profits commensurate with the commercial risks involved.

Instituting policies to assure that OPIC programs do not assist projects which could hurt the U. S. economy. These policies explicitly prevent assistance to runaway industries, textile projects exporting to the U. S. and other investments which seriously threaten U. S. employment.

Hiring and promoting outstanding executives to head OPIC departments.

OPIC today is a going concern. An experienced staff is assembled and is administering operations in a businesslike manner. The Board and Management are moving the Corporation toward the objectives which Congress established. The challenges ahead can be met. Private investment can further U. S. goals, assist the developing countries, and expand the U. S. share of world markets.

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THE HUMAN PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC CONVERSION

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, as we work toward legislative solutions to the acute national problems which have resulted

from cutbacks in military related and technological spending, we must not lose sight of the human implications of economic conversion.

Recently, a distinguished engineer from my district, Mr. Robert M. Fraser of Lincoln, Mass., testified before the Senate Special Subcommittee on the National Science Foundation with respect to the problems which he and others have confronted as the result of cutbacks in technological spending.

Because Mr. Fraser's statement is highly relevant and effective, I take this opportunity to bring it to the attention of my colleagues. The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF ROBERT M. FRASER

I am Robert Fraser of Lincoln, Massachusetts. I have been an engineer for thirty-three years; in 1937 I began my career as a development engineer in the television broadcasting industry, and twenty-one years later, in 1958, shortly after Sputnik was orbited, I moved into the newly created space industry, applying my knowledge of television and motion picture technology to the problems of getting pictures back from space vehicles which were not coming back.

I am a Fellow of the Society of Motion Pictures and Television Engineers, Senior member of the Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers. I have held office and served on committees of these organizations. Most recently I have been active in the formation of the Association of Technical Professionals, a politically oriented organization seeking solutions for the problems facing the engineers, scientists and other technical professionals in the New England area.

Very few years ago I had little reason to doubt that for the relatively few years remaining before I reached the age of legal senility, I would be gainfully employed building up my company pension and savings for a relaxed retirement. Last year, in July, 1970, that dream became a nightmare, when, because of the lack of work, I became unemployed for the first time in my many years of experience.

The lay off was swift and cruel. I was given one week's notice, which turned out to be only four days, since the following Friday was a holiday on the Fourth of July weekend. I was told that I would lose a day's pay, since I would be terminated on Thursday. I was given eight weeks pay for my twelve years with the company and asked to sign documents, among which was one that stated that I had put in my notebooks which I was required to leave behind, all my patentable ideas. At the time of my termination I had two patents pending. Both have been issued since, assigned to the company, and in which I will receive no benefit as the inventor. I am sure that you will understand my interest in legislation which will protect the interest of the inventor in his patents, particularly when faced with involuntary termination of employment.

My layoff was not unexpected. For the previous year I had seen colleagues depart as they finished their work when government contracts were completed or cancelled. During this year I spent my time writing proposals for projects that were not funded. The company was cutting overhead, which made the older engineer with seniority as vulnerable, if not more so, as his younger colleague, since the older man was more expensive, both in salary and the cost of fringe benefits. What few projects were being funded were being staffed by younger men in order to hold costs down, as well as possibly reflecting the prejudices of the program manager who was responsible for selecting his project team.

Although expected, the impact of the situation after termination was traumatic. I

realized for the first time, the great dependence that I had placed over the years on fringe benefits, health and hospital insurance, group life insurance, and the pension plan. These were terminated along with my employment. The costs of converting the health and life insurance to individual policies were so high as to be prohibitive. With over ten years of employment, I had vested rights in my pension including company contributions. However the amount that I will now receive compared with that I would have been entitled to if I had been permitted to work until retirement age is less than half.

In the sixteen months of unemployment I have used up my severance pay, unemployment benefits, and am now using savings that were to have provided for retirement years.

I am naturally interested in re-establishing a source of income. To that end I have sent out over two hundred resumes, registered with numerous employment agencies, and answered more advertisements than I can remember. The result of all this activity has been one interview, and a cold feeling that, while many companies may be looking for someone with my background and experience, they require that he be 35 years old, no older.

In the Boston area, with an estimated 12,000 technical professional people out of work, there have been organized a number of self-help groups, meeting regularly to seek, individually and collectively, solutions to the nightmarish situation that government policy has inflicted upon the area. During the 16 months that I have been unemployed, I have visited many of these groups. I have been impressed with the fact that the majority of those attending these meetings, are, like myself, in the category of the gray-haired engineer. Among my unemployed colleagues who have passed the half-century mark, I know of only one who has found a job and very few who have even been extended the courtesy of an interview. Younger engineers join our groups; however they seem to find work within a few months, while a majority of the older people have been looking for over a year.

Two professional societies have joined to provide assistance to the unemployed in writing resumes and conducting interviews. One of the points made in these courses is, "do not reveal your age, you may be able to get an interview." This is subterfuge! Why is it necessary? I think the answer is obvious.

In the courses conducted this past spring in the Boston area, 45% of the attendees were over the age of 45, while only 20% were under 35. If one were to examine the age grouping of project teams which are working on the few projects still being funded, I believe the ratios would be reversed.

Age discrimination is a serious problem which is not unique to the unemployed technical professional. Arthur Miller in his play "Death of a Salesman", written over twenty years ago, tells of Willy Loman, who after 28 years on the road for his company, asks for a transfer to a desk job. Instead he is fired. After fruitless search at the age 58 for new work, Willy commits suicide by crashing his car so that his family will have the proceeds of his life insurance.

The writing off of the older generation is a sickness typical of our times.

The older individual, whatever his occupation, must be guaranteed the right to his means of livelihood. Incentives must be found to induce the employers to hire and to hold on to their senior people. If incentives do not work, then penalties must be used.

A cruel 19th century economic theory which holds that the cost of living can be controlled by putting people out of work, applied in the past two years to this modern complex world has caused personal tragedy to many people. It is time to renounce the

use of unemployment as an economic control, or let him who espouses it be the first to lose his job.

Thank you.

U.N. PEACEKEEPING: ONLY TO ADVANCE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, again and again we see evidence appearing indicating the futility of the United Nations as a peacekeeping organization.

The United Nations Organization is not now, and never has been, an organization capable of keeping peace. The only evident facts of history indicate otherwise—both Korea and Vietnam were and are U.N. wars.

The solution, Mr. Speaker, is not a reduction of U.S. contributions to this international sinkhole—it is absolute and total withdrawal from this Communist-dominated organization. Three times the U.S. Government has offered resolutions calling for a cease-fire in the India-Pakistan conflict; three times this resolution has been vetoed by Soviet Russia.

Certainly the implication is clear. Now that Red China occupies a seat on the Security Council, we can expect that one or the other of the two Communist powers will veto U.S. resolutions—unless we ourselves submit to their control and offer resolutions in keeping with their avowed drive for Communist world domination.

No, Mr. Speaker, the answer is not a reduction in U.S. appropriations to the U.N. It is total and complete withdrawal from the U.N. and its related agencies.

I say again to our colleagues, this can be accomplished by signing discharge petition No. 10, which I have at the Speaker's desk, calling H.R. 2632 from the consideration of the House Committee on the Judiciary and forcing a floor vote on continued U.S. membership in this international Communist debating society.

I include related news articles dealing with the third Russian veto of a U.S. resolution calling for peace in India at this point:

I particularly call our colleagues' attention to the second article that indicates that the British—acting like Nero who fiddled while Rome burned—continue to sell arms to India. Some U.N. members seemingly find the Soviet veto profitable.

SOVIETS AGAIN VETO U.N. DEMAND FOR INDO-PAKISTAN CEASE-FIRE

(By Anthony Astrachan)

UNITED NATIONS, December 13.—The Soviet Union again vetoed a U.S. resolution tonight calling for a cease-fire and troop withdrawal in the war between India and Pakistan.

It was the third Soviet veto in nine days in the Security Council. The resolution was almost identical to one passed in the General Assembly Dec. 7, but regretted India's failure to comply with the assembly resolution. The

same resolution was vetoed in the council Dec. 5.

The United States had called the council into urgent session yesterday to demand Indian compliance with the assembly resolution. It appeared then that the resolution was heading for a Soviet veto, but U.S. Ambassador George Bush denied that he was seeking a veto for propaganda purposes.

[In the Azores, where President Nixon was conferring with French President Georges Pompidou, White House press secretary Ronald L. Zeigler said: "The United States cannot but regret the failure of the Soviet Union to join the vast majority of the membership of the United Nations to call for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of forces from foreign territories."]

The United States revised its resolution at the request of Japan before the vote, deleting a clause that called on India to comply with the U.N. resolution before asking both countries to cease hostilities. The veto was still forthcoming.

The vote on the U.S. draft was 11 to 2 with two abstentions. Britain and France have abstained on all resolutions so far to end the conflict.

Italy and Japan then introduced a new resolution that called on "all parties concerned" to take measures to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities. This appeared to be a concession to India's insistence that there could be no cease-fire unless the secessionist Bangla Desh government was a party to it. Previous resolutions have mentioned only India and Pakistan.

The new resolution also calls for an immediate opening of negotiations and appoints a committee of three Security Council members to assist India and Pakistan in bringing peace to the area.

Pakistani Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was also active behind the scenes, promising free elections in East Pakistan if the United Nations would act to keep his country from being dismembered.

Soviet and Indian diplomats expressed the view that the offer came too late. Pakistan disregarded the results of a free election a year ago in which East Pakistan elected 167 representatives out of 169 on an autonomy platform. Many of these representatives have identified themselves with Bangla Desh, which India has recognized as a state.

In the council meeting, Soviet ambassador Yakov Malik raised the question of a hearing for a Bangla Desh representative. Foreign Minister Solomon A. J. Pratt of Sierra Leone, serving as council president, interpreted the rules as meaning that the council could not hear representatives of a state not recognized by the world community. He did say that the council could hear an individual qualified to speak on the matters before it.

Malik then suggested that Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury be heard as an individual. He is the chief Bangla Desh representative in New York.

China and Argentina objected and Pratt said he would have to put the matter to a vote. Malik then said he had never proposed pressing the matter to a vote and withdrew the request to hear Chowdhury.

BRITAIN TO CONTINUE ARMS SALES TO INDIA

Britain announced yesterday it will fulfill its military contracts to India despite the war but made it clear that all military supplies will be subject to close supervision.

Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home told the House of Commons that any Pakistani orders for military supplies in Britain would be given the same consideration but he noted that Britain for some years has not been a regular arms supplier to Pakistan.

In New Delhi, an Indian Foreign Office spokesman yesterday reported the detection of Chinese troop movements and said they were apparently designed "to show political solidarity with Pakistan."

However, an Indian defense ministry spokesman said later that intelligence assessments of the report were incomplete and that it was too early to tell whether the information was "a plant or a fact."

In Moscow, D. P. Dahr, senior Indian foreign policy planner, met for 3½ hours with Deputy Foreign Minister Nikolai Firuybin to discuss the war.

According to Indian sources, the two men discussed events leading up to the conflict, the progress of military operations and international reaction to the war.

In Peking, Pakistani diplomatic sources said they were continuing their contacts with Chinese officials. Western diplomats believe that while China is watching war developments with concern, it is being extremely careful about committing itself to giving more than the military and other aid that Pakistan is at present receiving from Peking.

MORATORIUM ON WHALING

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Interior Rogers C. B. Morton, in a statement released by his office on December 12, 1971, called for a moratorium on whaling.

So that my colleagues will have an opportunity to be aware of the Secretary's views on this matter, I insert the text of the statement at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

SECRETARY MORTON CALLS FOR MORATORIUM ON WHALING

"We must accelerate the worldwide fight to preserve the great whales," Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton said today while commenting on the fact that after 200 years the United States has now stopped all commercial exploitation of whales.

The Department of the Interior's ban on the importation of whale products, including oil, meat, teeth and ambergris, went into final effect last week. Even the import of foreign cars containing whale oil additive in their transmissions will be affected. In line with Interior's stand, the Department of Commerce will issue no licenses after December 31 to U.S. commercial fishermen to take whales on the Endangered Species list.

"The whales are an international resource belonging to the many and must not be exterminated for the few," he said. "This Administration, acting on principle and despite the unfortunate economic hardship it has brought to some firms, has set an example that hopefully other nations will follow."

"We have done everything we can unilaterally. We must now concentrate our efforts on getting the International Whaling Commission to enforce their own regulations and to set realistic catch quotas by individual species and area in order to allow a maximum rebuilding of all whale populations."

At its annual meeting last June, the Commission had agreed unanimously that all member nations should implement the international observer scheme for the 1971-72 whaling season. "I was keenly disappointed that the Soviet and Japanese whaling fleets sailed for the Antarctic in October with no international observers on board," Morton said. "It is clear that time is running out for the whales."

"If the Commission cannot move quickly and surely to meet its international obligations, a moratorium on all whaling is the

only solution. Both houses of Congress have passed a resolution calling for a 10-year moratorium and we support it," Morton said.

"As long as man views these magnificent creatures as solely an economic product, we are in grave danger of destroying the complex web of life of which man is an inextricable part."

"In this environmental decade, it would be barbarous to stand idly by while the last of earth's largest and—next to man—most intelligent creatures are reduced to pet food, face creams and lubricating oils," said Morton. "All whale products have synthetic substitutes and are no longer essential to man's well-being. Yet the rate of killing in recent years has already driven some species to the brink of extinction and now threatens those few remaining species whose populations are still large enough to be commercially exploitable."

It was in an effort to halt this slaughter that Interior last December placed all eight species of great whales on its list of endangered foreign wildlife. This move cut off a U.S. market which had consumed more than 20 percent of the world's whale products.

However, a "hardship clause" in the Endangered Species Conservation Act of 1969 allowed 12 months in which firms that import and use such products could fulfill existing contracts. All special permits issued for this purpose during the past year by Interior's Fish and Wildlife Service expired on midnight of December 1, 1971. The last import permits for whale oil was issued in August and the last for meat products in December 1970.

In September this year the Fish and Wildlife Service denied a request by a major importer for an additional 3,000 long tons of sperm whale oil. Officials said they felt that granting such a request, well above the firm's previous importation levels, could only result in more endangered whales being killed.

"Another valid reason to stop whaling," Morton said, "is the recent discovery by the Food and Drug Administration of excess mercury in whale meat." More than a million pounds of contaminated meat destined for pet food have been seized.

Morton concluded, "Now that the U.S. no longer has any commercial interest in whales, either as harvester or as consumer, we are in a position to provide leadership in the worldwide drive to preserve the whale as a vital part of the marine ecosystem."

THE ADL AND ITS STRANGE ENTERPRISES; TAX-SUPPORTED AND TAX-EXEMPT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I previously called the attention of this body to the sinister activities of a little-publicized, private spy organization, the Anti-Defamation League.

Since my speech of last Monday, I have had several inquiries from people indicating that they had never heard of the ADL and who found it difficult to believe that an organization of such magnitude could be assembled in this country, let alone be concealed so successfully from the public.

I was also reminded by another caller that the ADL was so influential in "proper" circles that, despite or perhaps because of the ADL's being a private gestapo, it was even able to be the recipient

of Federal funds under the LEAA—Law Enforcement Assistant Act—to teach human relations to police forces. One such instance goes back as far as 1966 when the Anti-Defamation League, with three different addresses—varying from 315 Lexington Avenue, New York City, to 535 Gravier Street, Suite 806, New Orleans, to 41 Exchange Place SE., Atlanta, Ga.—were paid \$7,434.17 for books, speakers, and project consultant's fee for teaching human relations to the New Orleans Police Department.

Of course, the ADL, having an image, where known, of brotherhood, human rights, and supposedly an announced purpose "to seek justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike" might appear to the liberals as an appropriate organization, if any is needed, to teach the police tolerant law enforcement. After all, many might question what harm could befall a community by having a quasi-religious organization, even if it is in the gestapo business, as teachers of our police.

To those in the business of spying, selling influence, and promoting professional pressure, the answer should suggest itself. There is a lot of blackmail data to be obtained around a police department headquarters, including the knowledge of what officers can be influenced with bribes and special favors.

The events as outlined, according to the New Orleans Times Picayune newspaper and a news report by Richard Cotten's Conservative Viewpoint, occurred in 1966. Payment vouchers of the city of New Orleans substantiate a partial payment of \$400 as a project consultant's fee to a Mr. A. I. Botnick of the Anti-Defamation League of New Orleans.

The next time the public hears of the same Mr. A. I. Botnick, director of the ADL's regional office in New Orleans, is in a news story by one Jack Nelson that broke in the Los Angeles Times. The news account revealed that the ADL in New Orleans had raised \$36,000 to ambush and execute two alleged members of the Ku Klux Klan in Meridian, Miss., in June 1968. Reportedly used in the planned execution were FBI and police officers hired by a private gestapo—the Anti-Defamation League.

The reaction to "murder for hire" was so repulsive that in 1970 the American Friends Service Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union called for a Justice Department probe, which was suddenly abandoned, perhaps because they found out that the project was ADL ordered and financed.

I bring these events to the attention of our colleagues only to show the power and influence that the mysterious little-publicized ADL exercises outside its myriad of files and so-called educational ventures.

It is strange behavior indeed for an organization which claims ultimate purpose "to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike"; and this may not be the only successful murder enterprise.

I reiterate my original statement that in comparison with the ADL, the FBI, the CIA, and military intelligence are tinkertoys.

I insert related material at this point in the RECORD.

Richard Cotten's Conservative Viewpoint. Script Number 122-125 Broadcast on May 23-25, 1967.

Vol. 5, No. 22, Section 2, P.O. Box 1808, Bakersfield, California, 93303, May 27, 1967.

"BRAINWASHING" OF NEW ORLEANS POLICE

CHAPTER I

On November 26, 1966, the New Orleans Times Picayune published a story under the headline "Police To Study Human Relations." Due to the courageous efforts of one devout Christian patriot in the area, we are now in a position to unfold a story that should shake the nation to its very foundation. It will take four days broadcasting to develop even the outline of what transpired as the New Orleans Police Force was compelled to study "Human Relations." You will not find it boring! Furthermore, less anyone feel that what happens to the Police Force in New Orleans is not relevant to their own community, I refer you to the Release from the Department of Justice statement by the then Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, before the Subcommittee On Executive Reorganization of the Senate Committee On Government Operations (report Aug. 17, 1966). I quote from page eight:

LEAA INVOLVED

"None of our studies under the Act" (let me say that "The Act" refers to the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, otherwise known as the LEAA, ed.) "None of our studies under the Act has been more central to the Department of Justice and the Crime Commission than those for police-community relations. These, too, have been broad in range—from a three-week management seminar for 40 police chiefs in large cities taking place now at the Harvard Business School to a police-community relations course for the entire city police force of New Orleans, plus 100 key police officials from four surrounding parishes.

"Today I am happy to announce that we are able to begin a new Law Enforcement Assistance plan by which special grants will be available to cities of over 150,000 population for planning and developing police-community relations programs. These grants, totalling \$1,000,000, underscore the fact that the man on the beat is, for many citizens, the only real link with local government and even organized society. Likewise the average policeman needs, and wants, a greater understanding of the people in his community, neighborhood by neighborhood.

"The need here is so widely felt that we anticipate rapid applications from at least 60 cities in all parts of the country." End of quotes from Mr. Katzenbach establishing that what happened in New Orleans is to happen to an estimated 60 cities in all parts of the country. Therefore, what I tell you in the following broadcast, as I document the forces behind this "police-community relations" business, you will see that it can reach you as well, wherever you may be living.

You will have noticed that Mr. Katzenbach expressed the belief that the "average policeman needs, and wants, a greater understanding of the people of his community." It is strange that the policemen, who were forced to take the course, expressed themselves as believing they were being exposed to "brainwashing." Our broadcast will endeavor to establish the direction this "brainwashing" was taking, and we will even undertake to reveal what the real force is behind this entire bit about "human relations" in your community.

POLICE "BRUTALITY"

For background we have to recognize that the police force in every community is under

attack by various "liberal" groups as being bigoted and racist. The cry of "police brutality" rings loud and clear with little or no attention given to the long suffering policeman who no longer finds the citizens in his community looking upon him as a figure demanding instant respect, but instead all too often as a figure suitable for their abuse, vilification, and murder, muggings, and knifings. The policeman certainly realizes that the "man in the street" is still "with him in spirit," but after a few gang beatings while the "law abiding" citizen stands on the sidelines and watches, it is not too difficult to conclude that this average policeman might become convinced that his work is not only increasingly hazardous but, even worse, quite degrading.

With all emphasis on coddling the criminal, even at the expense of the law abiding citizen, the role of the "man on the beat" is increasingly difficult, even to the point that you and I and other average "Mr. and Mrs. Americas" should be eternally thankful that they haven't left the force in droves leaving us to the tender mercies of the "mob," composed of hate-filled and inflamed minorities. So you can imagine how the captive police force in New Orleans viewed their first paid speaker as they underwent their compulsory instructions in "Human Relations," who also happened to be the Executive Director of the Louisiana Association for Mental Health, when his "message" included the following:

INSTRUCTION OR "BRAINWASHING"

"The role of a police officer as a law enforcer, is rapidly diminishing, and his role as an advisor or caretaker of the public has grown . . ."

Let's take a minute and show you some of the hog-wash that this captive audience was exposed to. Incidentally, this is not from our own possibly "prejudiced" reporter on the scene, but rather from the columnist, Jack Dempsey, in the New Orleans States Item on December 6, 1966. Listen closely:

"Thursday night's lecture was delivered by George Saporito, executive director, Louisiana Association for Mental Health.

"He called it 'Looking at Yourself,' and outlined a series of what he labeled 'Pressure Points' in a policeman's life. They are:

"1. The public versus private life of an officer. He said it's quite difficult at times for the policeman to separate them. Sometimes the officer is 'noble,' and other times he is 'frustrated and arrogant.'

"2. Aspect of danger and suspense. This, said the speaker, is the most unique part of an officer's being—the immediacy of possible danger and death.

"3. Cool head. Saporito pointed out that most of the people with whom the policeman has dealings become emotional and give the patrolman a rough time. The officer must try to maintain a cool head, in handling such persons.

"4. Trying to be objective. The lecturer conceded that this was one of the most difficult aspects of a policeman's life. 'Trying to be fair,' he said, 'and genuinely interested in the plight of the public in automobile accidents and the like can be quite trying for a policeman.'" (I assume he has some such picture in mind as the traffic accident where the criminally drunk driver has just killed the child in the school crossing, or where the young mother has just been raped, tortured and murdered by the just-released sex offender—yes, sometimes it must be hard to "keep a cool head" and he is undoubtedly correct that it is hard to be "fair" in certain circumstances. Now comes the meat:

"5. Manifestations of prejudice in the community. The speaker stressed that oftentimes the officer is inclined to choose sides in prejudicial matters. A good officer, he said, must remain neutral at all times.—Now isn't that priceless! On the one hand you have the culprit who has just clubbed the

store owner over the head, threatened his wife, and fled with the day's receipts. On the other hand you have the culprit, who, let us assume, is only a three or four time repeater and again is caught by the "man on the beat." Our man must remain without prejudice, must remain "neutral at all times." Thus reasons this paid director of the "Mental Health" processes in the State of Louisiana—a typical example of the bleeding-heart who feels that the only reason for the criminal act is that somehow society has been unfair to the culprit, and therefore must pay.

"6. Exposure to morbid situations—no need to amplify, and on to the final—

OUTMODED LAW ENFORCEMENT

"7. Care-giving role of police. Saporito described the policeman's service to the community caring for abandoned children, rendering assistance to people in distress, taking care of mental cases and drunks. 'The role of a police officer as a law enforcer,' he said, 'is rapidly diminishing, and his role as an advisor or caretaker of the public has grown.' . . . Due to the legal restrictions imposed by recent high court decisions, the policeman's role has changed from that of catching robbers and other criminals to caring for people, offering service to the public. Maybe this trend will change your image with the public.

Now I don't know just how this leaves you feeling as an individual, but to me this smacks of brainwashing as we read about it in Korea. A captive audience of New Orleans policemen being treated to typical bleeding-heart sympathies with the criminal, and telling the policeman his role as an enforcer of the law is rapidly diminishing! And that he is to become a "caretaker and advisor to the public," now that he can no longer catch robbers and other criminals due to the legal restrictions imposed by high court decisions! Wouldn't you expect that it was about time for some of these men, the finest in fact, to turn in their badges? Well, as they left the meeting, some of them were quoted as follows; maybe you will find this encouraging:

Columnist Jack Dempsey stated, "Although one of the speakers stressed, 'we are not trying to brainwash you here,' that's nevertheless the opinion that many of the men held. . . . When it came time for the men to sound off at the round table, many of them did exactly that." Our reporter also talked to some of the officers who attended and their response included, "Until they can show me different, this course is Communist run." It's nice to see that these fine men are thinking.

Time is running out on this day's broadcast; it is also running out for the nation unless we awaken in a hurry. I will spend the remaining few minutes trying to establish what we are covering in this and the following few broadcasts, and I hope you'll be sure tomorrow to have some friends listening.

SUMMARY

It amounts to this: A certain element in our society has succeeded in painting a picture of our police forces being brutal, bigoted, and cruel to minorities. At the same time this propaganda has been expanding across the nation, similarly motivated "liberals" have painted a picture of the criminal as being the victim of society. Mind you, the purpose of "society" is to protect its citizens, its institutions, its physical property. No longer is "law enforcement" being allowed to do so, however; no, now, according to this spokesman of the "Mental Health" field whom we have been quoting, now there are legal restrictions so that the policeman's role as a law enforcer and police officer is diminishing, and his role as an advisor or caretaker of the public is growing proportionately! Let me make this clear! This was not some casual crackpot sounding off about his outlandish theories, it was a "symposium"

receiving the blessing of the Attorney General of the United States, paid for by the U.S. taxpayers through the "law enforcement assistance act," and, as we will develop in subsequent programs, actually in compliance with the express ambitions of a very small but vocal, and deeply entrenched, minority. Eighteen hours of mandatory instruction (I would prefer the more honest word, "brainwashing") for ". . . every member of the New Orleans Police Department" took place in compliance with a program pioneered three years previously, in Amarillo, Texas, under the auspices of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League! I don't make this statement lightly. Nor do I prepare this broadcast for any frivolous objectives. But as we develop this picture, it should stand revealed that so-called "brotherhood" is indeed a religion in itself, and it is going a long way toward destroying Christianity.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Now when I speak of the Anti-Defamation League (and I will document anything I have to say on this and subsequent broadcasts) realize I speak of an organization that is presently suing the Federal Communications Commission in the U.S. District Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., because the F.C.C. granted a station a license that carries our broadcast even though it has found disfavor with the Anti-Defamation League! The A.D.L. hides behind the smear-term, "anti-Semitism," and demands that my criticism of its activities be removed from the airwaves! As for the "fairness doctrine," they refuse all offers of "equal time" and claim that my "blatant anti-Semitism" is not subject to debate! Well, I have news—this is still the land of the free! There is still an element of free speech. And I intend developing the picture of the Anti-Defamation League's involvement in "brainwashing" your local police.

CHAPTER II

For three or more days we will be dealing with the "Human Relations" symposium held in New Orleans, where attendance was compulsory for every New Orleans policeman. We will develop that this was funded by your tax moneys, confiscated by your government and then dished out in accordance with the will of the Attorney General of the United States. These moneys come from appropriations for the Law Enforcement Assistance Act and not only New Orleans but sixty major cities are going to have these "symposiums" on Human Relations unless we can awaken the nation immediately.

BEHIND THE SCENES

There is a "guiding hand," naturally. In this instance, as we will develop, it would appear to be the Anti-Defamation League. Furthermore, and I realize we are far down the road to acceptance of the term "brotherhood," it is not unrealistic to say that under the guise of "brotherhood" or "humanism" we are destroying Christianity. If because I am FOR Christ there are those who would describe me as AGAINST all forces that are ANTI-Christ, I plead guilty. Christianity does not teach the "brotherhood of man" but rather the fellowship of the kindred souls, those who truly BELIEVE. Our nation is founded upon certain principles and inherent in these is the concept of Man as answerable to His Creator, NOT to the all-powerful state. Thus we find a battle between "Socialism" (or welfare-stateism) and the forces of historic Christianity. I regret that I must add "historic" but the simple fact is that "Humanism" and the "Brotherhood of Man" are replacing the message of the Trinity. Now this is not irrelevant to the subject at hand because, as I will develop, the guiding hand behind the "symposiums" was the Anti-Defamation League. I suggest that this is not only a "religious organization" but that this religion is in fact "humanism" or "brother-

hood" and having little or nothing to do with "Judaism," "Talmudism," or "Pharisaism" or whatever the proper term might be. Very shortly I will expand on this theme.

The New Orleans Police Force underwent a course in "indoctrination" into a particular philosophy. This underlying philosophy is contrary to all that "law enforcement" would normally teach. The opening day of the 18-hour course found this captive audience being addressed by the Executive Director of the Louisiana Association for Mental Health and some of the things he said were most revealing.

"NEUTRALIZING" THE POLICE

"The role of a police officer as a law enforcer is rapidly diminishing, and his role as an advisor or caretaker of the public has grown . . . Due to the legal restrictions imposed by recent high court decisions, the policeman's role has changed from that of catching robbers and other criminals to caring for people, offering service to the public." Isn't this just about the wildest idea of which you can conceive? This is part and parcel of a new philosophy. Only it isn't new at all, it dates back almost two hundred years in history. In essence, those who now would "brainwash" our police forces, believe that the criminal is not "guilty," but is the end result of a heartless society. He no longer steals or rapes or murders because he is a thief, rapist, or murderer; no, now it is because he has been "rejected" by society! Always the victim, a member of society, is at fault, because somewhere down the years, this poor misunderstood perpetrator of what once was openly called a "crime," had been rejected, or misunderstood, by "society."

Now this is just one statement by the first speaker at a series of lectures which lasted literally for weeks. Every man and woman in the police department, including the civilian employees, was required to attend two hour sessions for a total of eighteen hours, sometime within a period of eighteen weeks. And the men themselves, thank goodness, recognized that it was brainwashing! But they didn't know what was behind the scenes.

In the next few minutes I am going to involve the Anti-Defamation League. Rather, I should say, since this is their project, not mine, I am going to tie them in to the scene.

A.D.L. SUBVERSIVE?

You may or may not agree with such men as Congressman Rankin who had the courage, in 1949, to enter House Resolution 6519 to prohibit membership in, or participation in, the activities of the Anti-Defamation League. The bill, which was referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities included the following:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that it shall be unlawful for any individual to be a member, or to participate in the activities, of the un-American subversive organization known as the Anti-Defamation League."

The A.D.L. was not as powerful in those days as it is now; they had not developed the concept of the "Brotherhood Award" to such an exact science, but nevertheless they were powerful enough that we now find Congressman Rankin gone, and are faced with a still-flourishing Anti-Defamation League.

You may or may not agree with the founder of the California Senate Fact Finding Subcommittee, Senator Jack B. Tenney, with his intimate knowledge of the Anti-Defamation League. His excellent, though suppressed, book, "Tenney Report on World Zionism," includes the following:

"The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is referred to in many quarters as the 'Jewish Gestapo'. While it is obvious that its activities are concerned with spying and snooping, ferreting out 'anti-Semitism,' it is unfair to label it 'Jewish.' Very few American

Jews know much about the actual operation of the Anti-Defamation League."

I could go on with other "sources" but this should suffice for the moment. The A.D.L. is not without its critics—criticism with which you may or may not agree. I do not think, however, that at this late date anyone can be completely blind to the fact that behind "race-mixing," bedestroying Bible reading in our schools, behind "integration," and behind a great deal that is done in the name of "civil rights" we find the Anti-Defamation League. With this broadcast I will establish that the A.D.L. has now, not only run its own "Human Relations Seminar" for the benefit of our police forces as was done in the case of Amarillo, Texas, in 1963, but that now their activities are one and the same as the Justice Department activities, operating through the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, spending your tax dollars to brainwash the captive police of our cities.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

Let's have it clearly understood that the A.D.L. is a Religious Organization. Herein lies the key. The very same organization which demands that Bible reading be taken out of our schools, and similar situations relating to the "separation of Church and State," is actually preparing the text-books and furnishing the lecturers for brainwashing sessions with our police!

Can you imagine what the hue and cry would have been had the Knights of Columbus undertaken to prepare the text-books and furnish the lecturers for this Symposium, even though New Orleans is predominantly Catholic? How the "liberals" would scream! Yet, in this instance, and we will develop this in detail, the Justice Department of the United States, furnishes the funds for the City of New Orleans to train its police in "Human Relations" (otherwise known as "how to fail to protect life and property without even trying") and behind the scenes we find text-books and lecturers furnished by the religious organization—The Anti-Defamation League!

Now who says "The religious organization, the Anti-Defamation League?" Is this something I dreamed up? No, it isn't! I have it before me. The men I am about to quote could hardly speak with more authority. Benjamin R. Epstein is the National Director of the Anti-Defamation League. Arnold Forster is the General Counsel of the Anti-Defamation League. These two men wrote the book entitled "Some Of My Best Friends," which they described as the "first fully documented story of a shocking evil in American life, furtively practiced and pervasive." These same two men are better known to our current conservatives for the book, "Danger on the Right," which was a violent attack on the so-called Right Wing. In any event, I assume that the National Director and the Chief Counsel of the Anti-Defamation League speak with authority. So, in the Chapter dealing with the "public spirited bigot" (page 61 of the book, "Some Of My Best Friends"), I find the following:

"Unlike the Shrine, both B'nai B'rith and the Knights of Columbus are frankly and avowedly religious organizations!

By this time you should see where this inevitably leads. If the National Chairman of the A.D.L. says they are a religious organization, and if the Chief Counsel says they are a religious organization, I assume it IS a "religious" organization, and the next question would be, what religion? And the next question would be, what are they doing brainwashing our police?

A.D.L. INVOLVEMENT

I should get down to business. There will be more tomorrow, but having said the the A.D.L., a self-avowed religious organization was the guiding hand behind this brainwashing of our police, I had better produce the evidence. Like the following:

"City of New Orleans public voucher, to Theodore Freedman, Southern Director of the A.D.L., \$58.85 for his air travel, \$34.32 for his hotel, and \$240.00 in speaking fees. Total paid, \$333.17.

"City of New Orleans public voucher direct to the A.D.L. of New York, for the services of Sol Littman, in training the New Orleans police, \$701.30.

"City of New Orleans public voucher, direct to the A.D.L. for the services of (catch this)—for the services of the Project Consultant's Fee." The A.D.L. is being paid for furnishing a Project Consultant—hardly "behind the scenes"—and this was for the services of a Mr. A. I. Botnick, \$400.00 (carefully marked "partial fee." This implies there is more that has not yet seen the light of day).

And now to top all the foregoing, \$14,400 books, purchased from—you guessed it—the Anti-Defamation League! Now this isn't child's play, folks, this is a big business! They are listed as \$8,820 gross amount, with a discount of \$2,820, leaving a net amount of \$6,000 paid for books, to the Anti-Defamation League—a self-avowed "Religious Organization" just like the Knights of Columbus, if you please!

There were twelve titles on the A.D.L. invoice, but each policeman only received eleven which I just happen to have also received! Tomorrow's broadcast will tell you about the contents.

None of this is a matter of "opinion," it is a matter of fact, stated, if I do say so, clearly!

Our government is going to pour money into these Symposiums in our principal cities; they do this through the Justice Department administered LEAA or "Law Enforcement Assistance Act." The actual mechanics of the project as we have just established, complete with speakers, project consultants, and all the text-books, are safely in the hands of the self-avowed religious organization—the Anti-Defamation League. Folks, this is happening! And it will happen in your cities! Unless we can overcome the "fear of the smear" of being called "anti-Semitic" and get right down to cases and study! I know a lot about the Anti-Defamation League. I consider it completely un-American and, above all, it should not be fair to have taxpayers' moneys available for it to exert its "brotherhood" concepts on the police in our major cities!

Does the A.D.L. quit there? You know better! It paid good money to establish that two-thirds of the nation is either openly or silently "anti-Semitic"! And then it has the gall to endeavor to take the F.C.C. into Court, because it refused to be a party to destroying free speech!

The A.D.L. furnishes their material to your radio stations. The A.D.L. furnishes their material to your school systems. I presume they are entitled to do this in the land of the "free". But—and here is the major distinction—we are now dealing with the administration of a Federal Project to work with the Police in our major cities. And who do we find furnishing the direction, the speakers and the text-books? We find the religious organization—the Anti-Defamation League!

CHAPTER III

Today brings us to part III of a four-day broadcast dealing with the "brainwashing" of the New Orleans police.

The Federal Government is taking the taxpayers' money to fund the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, otherwise known as the LEAA. Former Attorney General Katzenbach bragged openly in his memorandum last August 17th, that up to sixty cities with population of over 150,000 were prepared to undertake the identical program with the one being developed for the city police force in New Orleans.

PIONEERED IN AMARILLO

What appears to have been an identical pioneering Human Relations Seminar had

been conducted in Amarillo, Texas, in September of 1963, the difference being that the Amarillo Seminar was under the auspices of the Anti-Defamation League.

With this for background, and assuming that most of you have been with us for the two previous days, let's get right at these text-books that were selected by the Anti-Defamation League for use in this Police-Human Relations program of instruction for the New Orleans Police, that just happened to have a Project Consultant who was also—you guessed it—an employee of the Anti-Defamation League.

A.D.L. PROPAGANDA

The city of New Orleans was invoiced for 14,400 books, the Anti-Defamation League Invoice No. R 5080 says 12 titles but insofar as we can determine, only 11 were received. Ignoring this for the moment, let's take a look at the titles, the subject, and who published each of the eleven of these.

We start with a tall, thin booklet, black cover, solid black, with an outline of the most sinister policeman I have ever seen. This evil-faced officer is shown only head-and-shoulders, and under his picture is the title, "With justice for all." It's published by the Anti-Defamation League. It starts with the assumption that police officers carry anti-Negro prejudices which interfere with the performance of their duty. Illustration shows whites to be bigoted and Negroes to be kind and understanding. They are told that (quote) "Wherever there is racial friction on the adolescent level, some police officers tend to be far more severe with the Negro children than they are with whites." Also, "I think that the delinquency rate is not as high in respectable Negro homes as it is in respectable white homes," says a police captain in a leading Southern City. "It is common knowledge among the officers responsible for handling of juveniles that many Negro parents are more solicitous of the welfare and the conduct of their children than are some white parents."

There is a great deal just like that. Analyze those sentences carefully. They are carefully worded. "Many . . . Negro parents . . . are more solicitous than some white parents." A sentence like that has absolutely no meaning other than brainwashing. We could also say, "Many Negro families are richer than some white families." Or many Negro families are larger, or smaller, or nicer, or meaner, or anything you want. As long as they stay with the "many are more than some," the statement can be true, but the inference isn't. "Some police officers tend. . ." Of course, some police officers "tend" to almost anything you can imagine. But the emphasis on the book was that police are brutal, bigoted, prejudiced, and unfair to Negro Minority groups and most of us know this is nothing short of brainwashing.

Let's see what else the A.D.L. published for these officers in the New Orleans Police: Book #2 is authored by the National Director of the A.D.L., Benjamin Epstein, and Arnold Forster, the General Counsel of the A.D.L. It is entitled "The Report on the John Birch Society 1966." It is copy written by the Anti-Defamation League, this self-avowed religious organization that is undertaking the brainwashing of our police forces. I can't begin to give you the contents; it is a typical smear of the "right-wing" so-called by this group that has determined that one-third of the nation is openly anti-Semitic, that another one-third is also anti-Semitic but doesn't like to talk about it, and that this two-thirds of the nation are bigots who are not entitled to free speech! I can't begin to go into detail regarding this book. I would say that if the A.D.L. would have spent more time and energy in writing an expose about the extent of communism in the civil rights movement, or in helping to clean out subversives from high places in our government,

they would serve a far better purpose than to attack those who are trying to educate others to the dangers facing the Republic.

MORE BRAINWASHING

A third book entitled "Prejudiced—How Do People Get That Way?" is published by—you'll never guess it—the Anti-Defamation League! We learn in this book (quote) "Religion insists that all men are brothers." (Mine doesn't). It calls on "all people to live in peace and harmony." (Mine doesn't—certainly not live together in peace and harmony with Bolsheviks). "The message of your religion is not a message of hate" (mine is to hate evil), "intolerance, hostility, violence. It is a message of brotherhood, charity, humanity, and love. Your religion rejects prejudice." End of that particular section. I have news for the A.D.L.! I just don't know exactly what religion they are talking about, but mine would have me hate evil, to "come out from among unclean things." Mine determines that righteousness has no fellowships with the works of darkness, it does not teach me to be "tolerant" of evil, and the only "brotherhood" expressed in the Christian religion is the brotherhood of believers. The book tells us that "prejudice is learned, not inherited," that in fact we have to be "taught to hate."

Nowhere did the book suggest that as the end result of a pattern that is repeated and repeated, the individual comes to realize that a given situation is best avoided, thus seeming to result in our being "prejudiced." I am "prejudiced" against New York subways late at night (or Philadelphia or Chicago) and assume I will stay that way until law and order return to the nation. I am not ashamed to suggest that I carry all sorts of "prejudices" or "pre-conceived ideas" as to what will happen in a given set of circumstances. And if, as a result of our ability to observe and reason and reach logical conclusions, we are to be labeled as "prejudiced" I assume that is something that we can learn to live with.

A fourth book, "Crisis Without Violence—A Story of a Hot Summer" is also published by the Anti-Defamation League, and is written by their National Community Relations Director. Here we learn that ". . . Negro leaders were haunted by the possibility of Goldwater in the White House and Governor Wallace's shadow over it." We learn that ". . . when a policeman is arrogant and too free with his club or gun, he is often motivated by fear as by prejudice." The author places himself "front and center" including his role in the New Rochelle Human Rights Commission. Naturally, the need for a Civilian Review Board was indicated. I assume that now Governor Wallace's shadow is doing some more "haunting" and if this be so, behind the scenes, we have to realize that there was an organization doing its level best to heighten "tensions."

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

A fifth book, "A Living Bill of Rights," deals with the "Philosophy or Point of View" of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. Published by the Anti-Defamation League—by this time I bet you guessed it! I wish I had time to read this little gem on Justice Douglas's "philosophy." We learn he questions loyalty oaths; we learn that he finds ". . . some police officers still regard it (torture) as useful. . ." He singled out Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa as having jailed an individual who tried to organize an opposition party. He expressed his opinion about allowing Communists to hold key positions in government service; he appears to grant that possibly it is well that the government can remove them from key positions but they could then be retained in a non-sensitive position. He insists that "all religions" must receive equal treatment by the government. He states that there can be no discrimination by government, either in favor of or

against, any particular religion, however popular or unpopular. He points out that "religion" embraces all faiths, Hinduism, Buddhism, and the Islamic faith, but also includes atheism and agnosticism! In other words, to believe there is no God, also becomes a religion! I am surprised he didn't include witch doctors, cannibalism and fetish worshippers; surely those, compared with atheism, carry more of the hallmarks of a "religion."

Nowhere did he suggest that the Supreme Court, which he now dishonors, has determined, in times past, that this is a Christian Nation. Nowhere did he suggest that our articles of Confederation, or original United States Constitution and our Bill of Rights are all signed "In the Year of Our Lord." I assume this would be repugnant to Mr. Douglas. But enough of this; imagine it being a text-book for the New Orleans Police Force! Let me continue.

MORE BOOKS

There are six books left to describe and I am running out of time to do so. Can you guess by now who is the publisher? Right the first time! Five of the six are published by the A.D.L., and the sixth is copywritten by them. Eleven out of eleven of the "text-books" used in this Brainwashing Session, conceived of by the Anti-Defamation League but financed by you, the American Taxpayers, were text-books by the Anti-Defamation League! Every one, by my standards, was designed to spread more unrest and create rather than curb, tensions and racial hatreds. The remaining titles include "Social Change and the Negro Problem," written by Arnold Rose who, with Gunnar Myrdal, authored the "American Dilemma." As to the contents, I leave it to your imagination. "Epitaph for Jim Crow" appears to be designed to make the white man hate himself endlessly. "What We Know About Race" tells us that we are all pretty much alike and that ". . . skin color is believed to be one form of adaptation to environment." The books suggests that "race" is not an adequate description and they make reference to the Jews being neither "a racial nor a national entity, but persons who adhere to the Jewish religion—Judaism, Israelis are nationals of Israel, they are not necessarily Jews, and they represent many different physical types." A great deal is made of the fact that intelligence differs within ethnic groups, and seemingly we are "racists" if we speak of "race" but the term "ethnic group" is to be tolerated at least.

It is a typical book by a typical social anthropologist, as opposed to the scientific study, "physical anthropology." The author takes great delight in telling us of the skill at checkers of the Australian Aboriginal, (he doesn't suggest exactly why they still prefer to crawl on all-fours and only recently, after thousands of years, have learned the "cause and effect" of child-bearing). He does suggest that anthropologists prefer to call "primitive peoples" "non-literate peoples," because they are not really "primitive," etc. Yes, you paid for this one, too, you lucky little taxpayers, through the connivance of the A.D.L., the cooperation of the Justice Department, and the funding of the Law Enforcement Assistance Act. You turned this loose on the helpless, captive police force of the city of New Orleans, and it is going to be repeated in sixty key cities across the United States!

I'm out of time, and I imagine you're out of patience. These books don't get any better, I simply had to establish that the entire \$6,000 worth of books furnished by the A.D.L. for this "Symposium" were published by, or copywritten by the Anti-Defamation League—and these became the books furnished the captive policemen. I will be on this subject one more day and will establish that the current "Human Relations" compulsory 18 hours of instruction are modeled after the

1963 Anti-Defamation League pioneer project in Amarillo, Texas. The difference is that now they have a pipeline into your pocket—the taxpayer—and into the U.S. Treasury. I will reaffirm that this is a "religious organization" that compares itself with the Knights of Columbus, but still feels it is alright for them (the A.D.L.) to brainwash your local police. Separation of Church and State has never been disregarded more blatantly. Furthermore, and I cannot develop this theme in the limited time I have, but nevertheless, I am compelled to recognize that the "brotherhood" of which they speak is itself a "religion," the religion of "humanism" where we will all be "equal" except some will be "equaler" than others. It will be the end of Christianity.

CHAPTER IV

We have been dealing with the Police Department of New Orleans and a study course they were compelled to attend that can only be described as "brainwashing." Behind it stands the Anti-Defamation League. This, in itself, is not unique; their pilot project almost identical in content took place in Amarillo, Texas in 1963. But now you and I pay for the privilege of having them brainwash our police. It is done through the Justice Department and the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, otherwise known as the LEAA. It must be exposed for what it is.

A.D.L.—RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

The best authority for their being "religious" (and it is my opinion that their religion is "brotherhood," not Judaism, not Tolmudism, not Pharisaism) is to be found in the statement of the National Director of the A.D.L., Benjamin Epstein, and their General Counsel, Arnold Forster. I quote from their book, "Some Of My Best Friends." The chapter dealing with the "public spirited bigot," page 61, taking the paragraph from the beginning: "Unlike the Shrine, both B'nai B'rith and the Knights of Columbus are frankly and avowedly religious organizations. . . ." Now let's proceed.

It is foolish to suggest that any of us are without our "bias," it simply reflects the sum total of what we believe. It is no secret what the A.D.L. believes. It is endlessly and publicly on record that the "Far Right" or the "Radical Right" is a threat to our "Democracy." Having established that theirs is a "religious organization" I sometimes wonder just what it is that they believe. I know they are in harmony with the self-proclaimed Zionist, Arthur Goldberg. In fact, he is on the National Commission of the Anti-Defamation League. So, too, is Jacob Javits. Presumably, their "religion" is in the minority in America, yet this group appears to have no qualms in presenting their beliefs to a captive audience in the form of the New Orleans Police. In Amarillo, Texas, in September of 1963, the same program was frankly and openly presented to the Police by the Anti-Defamation League. This was questionable, but at least it only concerned the local community. We now have a program, identical in content and direction, coming to us through a Federal Agency, the Justice Department, and we are told by the Attorney General of the United States that this is but a pilot (the New Orleans affair) for what will occur in sixty of our large cities. It becomes important to learn what it is that the A.D.L. believes.

I have developed this over a period of three days and am sorry to have to repeat; nevertheless, let me re-affirm that the A.D.L. was paid for furnishing a "Project Consultant," was paid for furnishing several of those who lectured, and was paid \$6,000 for furnishing 11 text-books that appear to be all that were ever received.

WHY A.D.L. MATERIAL?

The able reporter who uncovered this kettle of fish endeavored to learn why all the books were furnished by the Anti-Defama-

tion League. The coordinator of the program denied that he chose the books, said that he only ordered them! He said he came into the program in its final stages and that these pamphlets were in the proposal as submitted to the Federal Government! The Police Superintendent guessed that he would have to share the responsibility (for ordering the books) and thought that it was ". . . one of the mistakes we have made." The coordinator, questioned as to why no other books were used except A.D.L. Books replied, "I admit it is a weakness, and if we could come up with some good other literature on the same subject, we would distribute it." The Police Superintendent stated that it had been a mistake to use only the 11 publications of the A.D.L. and that he had only realized this when people began to complain of it. He said that a man from the John Birch Society has showed him the A.D.L. publication being used, "Report on the John Birch Society 1966."

COUNTERATTACK

This might be as good a time as any to tell you that Richard Cotten's Conservative Viewpoint furnished several hundred copies of Senator Jack B. Tenney's Report on the Anti-Defamation League; also our broadcast material entitled "The A.D.L. Attempts to Muzzle Free Speech" and "Who or What Does the A.D.L. Represent?" This was, of course, distributed without any official blessings but the police made it clear (if unofficially) that they approved mightily.

So this is pretty much the package. It narrows down to whether or not we are going to sit still for having our police forces indoctrinated by a religious organization that believes in many things directly in opposition to what most of us believe.

BROTHERHOOD VERSUS CHRISTIANITY

"Brotherhood" is the antithesis of Christianity. All concepts of "social justice" depart from our concepts of free enterprise and private property. Furthermore, even as "brotherhood" may believe in total integration and feel free to term any one who disagrees a "bigot" or "racist," another individual's religion can believe in segregation just as firmly. The very fact that all but a few of our States have historically taken the position that it is illegal for the white race and the Negro race to marry, proves that our nation is undergoing a social change that is altering it radically.

There is no sound reason why those who believe in "segregation" and in racial purity should be abused in this so-called land of the free. If the truth were known, these beliefs are held by the vast majority. The social experimentation that is coming in the wake of the Brown Case is shaking the nation to its foundations. Tempers are being strained, lawlessness by anti-white "racists" is increasing enormously. Yet, while the great majority of our citizens are pretty well "sitting it out on the sidelines," some of us are beginning to see. It is a revolutionary change that is taking place, and when the dust settles we will no longer be free. We will be a "brotherhood" no matter what we believe. Freedom of speech will be allowed . . . as long as we all "agree." But if we disagree? Why, we will be labeled "racist" and "bigot" and locked up for the good of society.

The opening speaker who addressed this captive audience in New Orleans informed these policemen of their "diminishing role as a law enforcer" and their new role as an "advisor or caretaker." He said this was due to the fact that there were "legal restrictions" imposed by recent high court decisions and that the policeman's role had changed from that of catching robbers and other criminals to caring for people, offering service to the public." I trust that you begin to see.

These statements were made by the Louisiana Association for Mental Health Director. It was some years ago that I read the fantastic statements attributed to the founder

of our "Mental Health Movement" to the effect that we needed "preschool schools for our children (you will notice we now have "Operation Head Start") so that they could "overcome the narrow nationalism and religious bigotry fostered upon their innocent minds by the parents." We are seeing that this concept of "mental health" means nothing less than regimented conformity.

"CULTURE" AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Every nation has a culture which reflects its "religious" beliefs. The entire Western civilized world is based upon a system of values predicated upon the worth of the individual in the sight of God. This finds expression in the Magna Carta, in English Common Law, and in our Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and similar documents. There are exactly two pillars that have upheld our Republic—one is the Constitution, the other Christianity. When we compromise our beliefs and talk about the "World's great religions" as though they have something in common, we are turning our back on Christianity. I didn't make the rules. Scripture did. To be a "Christian" is to be a follower of Christ. He spoke clearly and told us that He and the Father are One, that he who has seen Me (Christ) has seen the Father, and that none shall come into the Kingdom except by Me. (Christ speaking). He also told us to have no fellowship with the works of darkness, but to hold out the gift of salvation to as many as would believe. Now this is basic. I don't make this up, this is what a Christian purportedly believes! It is one thing to have religious freedom in our nation, it is quite another to turn the brainwashing of our police forces over to an agency of a self-avowed "religious organization," particularly when we examine just what it is that this organization believes.

"BROTHERHOOD"

There is nothing new in the teaching of "brotherhood" or "humanism"; this occurs endlessly in the effort to destroy Christianity. One of the eleven A.D.L. text-books used in this course of required study by the New Orleans police, was entitled "With Justice For All," a book that makes quite a point of white police officers showing discrimination in the arrest of whites, etc. But quite pointedly, the author refers to "leaving it to the sociologists to answer" some of their quandaries. This is the very root of the matter, we have to know what the study of "sociology" leads the adherents to believe!

SOCIOLOGY

We find, by enough digging, that "sociology" was a term coined by Auguste Kumpt and he deemed it to be a "religion," this worship of Humanity. Mind you, this was back in the 1800's and Kumpt was able to say, following student rioting that he had instigated, "I have dealt the Old Education a death blow. . . . The worship of humanity would be the only religion. . . . Postivism is really a religion. . . . The object of its worship is Humanity. All religious denominations now dimly perceive the trend of the times, and are gradually omitting theology from their teachings and taking on ethics and sociology." This is from Elbert Hubbard's "Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Philosophers," and it gives us the roots of this "sociology."

Just a bit more, this by Elbert Hubbard, personally. Listen closely: "There is a new religion . . . without shoutings, without argument, agitation or violence. This new religion is slowly conquering the world . . . aye, without the realization that it exists . . . its adoration is humanity . . . it teaches man that his success lies in making peace with his neighbor . . . the new religion is not a 'revealed' religion . . . it has been born to the multitude and the businessmen of the world are its chief promulgators . . . It rec-

ognizes the Brotherhood of Man . . . This new religion tends to eliminate fear, doubt, hate, prejudice . . . The chief characteristic of this new religion is its antiquity. It has always been known to the elect few." End of comment by Elbert Hubbard about this "new religion—dating back to antiquity." Humanism, or the end product of "sociology."

Brandeis has stated, "One can hardly escape the conclusion that a lawyer who has not studied economics and sociology is very apt to become a public enemy." Here again we find "sociology." As long ago as 1907 the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States declared, "We are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the Judges say it is . . ." No wonder we have departed from the Faith of our Fathers, and the sound, Constitutional precepts that made our nation great. We have been sold out for a mess of "pottage," under the guise of the "Brotherhood of Man," we are creating a Socialistic Police State, the organized Church has become apostate, and we are destroying historic Christianity. And who do we find with the big stick stirring this concept? We find the Anti-Defamation League!

CONCLUSION

A self-proclaimed religious organization with a pipeline to the U.S. Treasury, endeavoring to "brainwash" their captive audience, our major cities' police. Isn't it pertinent to want to learn just what are their "religious beliefs?" Surely if we recognize that they are "religious," we should be concerned about the separation of "Church and State?" The A.D.L. leaders, themselves, liken their organization to the Knights of Columbus. Can you imagine the uproar if we found the KC's undertaking to brainwash our police?

Above all, however, just what are these "religious" beliefs? It is my contention that the "Brotherhood of Man" is itself a religious belief. It is not any part of Christianity. It reeks of Socialism and Equality. It does not respect free enterprise and private property.

This entire area is due a thorough Congressional investigation and the investigation for it should come from the police. I have every confidence that they do not believe that "black is white"—to use a somewhat questionable simile. They undoubtedly did resist this brainwashing session manfully. But if we comment? Why, we are immediately either "bigoted," "racist," or "anti-Semitic." Enough to try men's souls, times such of these.

This is all I have time for on this series of four broadcasts. I cannot doubt but what there will be an uproar, but that is how it should be if we believe in free speech. We have uncovered what would appear to be a blatant attempt to have the Federal Government finance, through the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, seminars that are safely under the direction of the Anti-Defamation League. We must, above all, come to understand the Anti-Defamation League.

ADDENDUM TO PROGRAM ON "BRAINWASHING" OF NEW ORLEANS POLICE

In the foregoing material, Richard Cotten's Conservative Viewpoint has stated that the Anti-defamation League "pioneered" a Community-Human Relations Seminar in Amarillo, Texas, in September of 1963 which embraced remarkable points in common with the Community-Human Relations Seminar held for the New Orleans Police. In support of this contention, we submit the following:

A Staff Reporter of the Amarillo Globe-Times under date of September 16, 1963, reported at some length on what was determined to be a "pioneering" concern in the field of human relations . . . a . . . seminar . . . sponsored by the Amarillo Police Department in cooperation with the Arthur Bluhm Lodge of B'Nai B'Rith and the lodge's Anti-Defamation committee.

The report described a seven-week human

relations seminar with the courses to include the following: (note the similarity)

The policeman looks at himself.
Minority groups.
Mob behavior and psychology.
Minority groups and the law.
Juvenile delinquency.
Clinical sessions.
Problems of effective communications.
The "Course in Human Relations for the Law Enforcement Officer" conducted in New Orleans had been expanded to nine subjects, described in the following:

The policeman looks at himself.
Minority groups.
Mob behavior and the policeman.
Minority groups and the law.
Extremist movements in the United States (1966 textbook on the JB Society, ed).
Youth and police (note: Juvenile delinquency, renamed?).

The police and emotionally disturbed citizens (note: clinical sessions, renamed?).

Problems of effective police communication.

Police professionalism.
Additional points of similarity can be developed including the use of similar texts, also the involvement of specific officers of the Anti-Defamation League, active in both instances but now being paid for their services out of the United States Treasury. This is a self-avowed Religious Organization, brainwashing your police.

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 13, 1970]
FBI USED CASH FROM MISSISSIPPI JEWS—
\$36,500 PAID TO AMBUSH KLAN

(By Jack Nelson)

MERIDIAN, MISS.—The FBI and the Meridian police, bankrolled by an alarmed Jewish community, paid \$36,500 to two Ku Klux Klan informants to arrange a trap to catch two young Klan terrorists in a bombing attempt, The Los Angeles Times has learned.

The trap, sprung in Meridian on June 30, 1968, when the Klan members tried to bomb a Jewish businessman's home, resulted in a gun battle in which a Klanswoman was killed and a Klansman, a policeman and a bystander were wounded. The wounded Klansman received a 30-year prison sentence.

The trap was sprung by law enforcement officials frustrated over their failure to solve a series of 17 bombings and burnings that had terrorized the Jewish and Negro communities in the Jackson and Meridian areas of Mississippi in 1967 and 1968.

Despite the viciousness of the Klan terror, some observers believe the Meridian incident raises serious questions as to the proper means to be used by police and the FBI to solve crimes of violence.

Evidence strongly indicates that the Klan members who made the bombing attempt, Thomas Albert Tarrants III, 21 at the time, and his companion, Kathy Almsworth, 26, a school teacher, were lured into the bombing attempt by two other Klansmen who were paid a total of \$36,500. A former FBI agent who acted as an intermediary was paid \$2,000.

Policemen who sprang the trap say they expected a gun battle and never thought either Klan member would be taken alive. They had expected two men to attempt the bombing and did not know a woman would be involved until 45 minutes before it was carried out.

Most of the nightrider attacks in Mississippi were directed against Negro homes and churches, but the Jewish community became a target in the fall of 1967 with the bombings of a synagogue and a rabbi's house in Jackson. Jewish leaders, greatly alarmed by the violence, began raising a reward fund to try to solve the crimes.

Despite the reward money and intensive investigations, lawmen were unable to solve

the crimes and the wave of violence continued.

On May 27, 1968, a bomb shattered a synagogue at Meridian. Reports that the FBI knew of Klan discussions about plans to bomb a synagogue with women and children inside added to an atmosphere of fear and tension.

Finally, the FBI and the Meridian police decided to use the reward money to pay the informants to arrange the trap, rather than for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the terrorists, as originally intended.

TERROR IS ENDED

The reign of terror ended after the shoot-out. There has been hardly any violence in Mississippi since. And the White Knights of the Klu Klux Klan has virtually disbanded. At one time in 1968, law enforcement officials in Mississippi said the White Knights were suspected of committing nine murders and 300 other violent acts, including bombings, burnings and beatings.

Before the Meridian incident the situation in Mississippi was considered so grave by the Jewish community that A. I. Botnick, director of the Anti-Defamation League's regional office in New Orleans, helped raise funds to pay the informers and participated in the original discussion about the trap with the FBI and the police. The ADL is a highly respected organization whose charter cites an immediate objective of fighting anti-Semitism and an ultimate purpose "to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike . . ."

The Times, in checking rumors that the Klan members had been "set up" for the trap, interviewed Botnick in April, 1969. He acknowledged his part in helping execute the trap, but said he could not "morally blow the whistle" on the FBI and the Meridian police, who had helped curb Klan violence.

Botnick said it was "logical" that someone had paid to set up the two Klan members, but he declined to say how much money was paid and said he would not want to see the ADL "involved" in a story about the Meridian incident. "Four guys know I was in on the original planning," he said. "It was a trap—you know that."

At that time Botnick said he had listened to FBI recordings of a Klansman talking about blowing up synagogues full of people—including women and children. And he quoted one Klansman as saying, "Little Jews grow up to be big Jews and kill them while they are young."

Discussing his own part in raising funds to arrange the trap, Botnick said, "We were dealing with animals and I would do it again." However, he acknowledged that when he learned a woman had been killed (the plan called for two men to be in the car) it made him sick: "I threw up when I heard what happened that night."

Recently, after learning details of how the trap was arranged, the Times interviewed Botnick again. He said that he could not recall much about the earlier interview, but said that the reporter's recollection (from typewritten notes) was "incorrect." Told of some of the details uncovered by the Times in a lengthy investigation, Botnick said, "It's fantastic—like something out of Orwell's 1984."

However, the Times has documented the arrangements for the trap through police records and statements by some of the police officers involved. The arrangements were made in a series of secret meetings between a Meridian detective and two FBI agents with two Klansmen and an intermediary which began within two weeks after the Meridian synagogue bombings.

The informants were brothers—Raymond and Alton Wayne Roberts, both members of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Since October, 1967, Alton Roberts has been under a 10-year sentence, having been convicted of a federal civil rights violation in

connection with the 1967 lynching of three civil rights workers in Philadelphia, Miss. (His case and those of five other White Knights convicted at the same trial are now on appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court.)

Besides receiving \$36,500, the Roberts brothers demanded and got written assurances that they would be given immunity from prosecution in several cases of the church bombings.

The original deal called for the brothers to share a total of \$69,000 and for the intermediary to receive \$10,000, if Tarrants and Joe Danny Hawkins, who the FBI believed to be the top two "hit men," attempted the bombing. After Mrs. Ainsworth took Hawkins' place, the amount of the payment was reduced.

PROOF LACKING

Although Tarrants and Hawkins were suspected of being responsible for much of the violence that had rocked Mississippi, lawmen had been unable to prove that either man had committed any of the crimes and had been unable to find Tarrants to arrest him on a fugitive warrant involving an illegal gun charge.

(Meridian police contended that even though Hawkins was not at the scene of the bombing attempt, Tarrants' use of a car registered to Hawkins and other evidence linked him to the crime. Hawkins was indicted on a charge of placing a bomb, but has never been brought to trial.)

The frustration of lawmen was reflected in comments made by Roy Moore, special agent in charge of the FBI office in Jackson, shortly after a synagogue in Jackson was bombed on Sept. 18, 1967.

Kenneth Dean, director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, recalls Moore saying that money was needed to solve the crimes because "explosions destroy the evidence and the crimes usually are committed in such a way that there are no witnesses."

Dean quoted Moore as saying that "somebody connected with the bombings will be willing to talk for a price," but that some juries did not think well of testimony from paid informers.

COMMENT DECLINED

Moore declined to comment publicly on the case, but he expressed the belief that a story disclosing the tactics used by the FBI and police would jeopardize their system of informants and hurt the cause of law enforcement.

Meridian detective L. L. Scarbrough, a principal figure in the negotiations with the informants, cooperated in helping the Times develop the facts. But after a reporter tried to interview Moore, Scarbrough wrote the reporter a registered letter saying that "any release of this case should have come from Mr. Moore or the chief of police, Mr. (Roy) Gunn."

The fact was that in an interview Chief Gunn already had confirmed some of the major facts of the story and had expressed concern about only one thing: the possible disclosure of the informants' names. Gunn had arranged for Scarbrough to cooperate with the Times reporter.

Scarbrough wrote the reporter "You are writing about vicious bloodthirsty Klansmen who are waiting for certain names to be made public and there will be retaliation by them. You told me that you knew who the informers were, but in case of a libel suit there are only three people who actually know and we would have to testify that we never received any information from them."

"There is never a good way to handle a case of this type, but this one was handled in the only way possible . . . I sincerely hope you will see and understand my position."

The fact is that other Klansmen have been informed for some time of the role of the Roberts brothers in arranging the trap. Tarrants' father, a Mobile real estate salesman,

has investigated the case and almost from the day of the bombing attempt has asserted that his son was illegally entrapped and has told several people that the Roberts brothers were the informants. Joe Danny Hawkins also has said he knew the brothers were the informants.

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 14, 1971]

BOMB EXPLOSION SETS OFF PLOT AGAINST KLAN TERRORISTS

(By Jack Nelson)

(NOTE.—On June 30, 1968, police in Meridian, Miss., ambushed and killed a Klanswoman, Kathy Ainsworth, and wounded Klansman Thomas Tarrants III while the two apparently prepared to bomb the home of a Jewish businessman. It was the climax of a series of resolved killings and bombings of Negroes and Jews in that area. This is the second of three articles on the case.)

A bomb that wrecked Temple Beth Israel in Jackson, Miss., late on the night of Sept. 18, 1967, sparked the first drive for reward money to be used to solve the crimes. On the night of Nov. 21, another bomb shattered the Jackson home of Rabbi Perry Nussebaum. He and his wife, both asleep at the time, narrowly escaped injury.

After each bombing, A. I. Botnick went to Jackson to discuss the situation with Jewish leaders. Botnick was New Orleans director of the Anti-Defamation League.

Scattered violence against Negroes continued, but it was not until late on the night of May 27, 1968, that another anti-Jewish act occurred—the dynamiting of a synagogue in Meridian. Botnick rushed to the city and talked to Jewish leaders and other civic figures about the necessity of raising money to help the FBI solve the bombings. For some reason the FBI did not want to use money from its own fund for paying informants.

(For many years the FBI has used this fund to buy information about the Ku Klux Klan; the system has paid off in convictions of Klansmen in several killings, including the Philadelphia, Miss., lynching of the nightrider slayings of Vila Liuzzo in Alabama, Col. Lemuel Penn in Georgia and Vernon Dahmer in Mississippi. In the case of Mrs. Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker slain after the Selma to Montgomery march, the principal witness was an FBI informant who was in the car with the killers when they shot her.)

Kenneth Dean, a young native Southerner active in civil rights recalls that he and his wife discussed the Mississippi bombing cases with Botnick at the New Orleans airport on June 9, 1968, and that Botnick "became very anxious and said that something almost beyond belief had happened."

Dean said Botnick told of being asked if he would "make a contact somewhere in the South, such as Chicago, to have two Klansmen (the Roberts brothers) liquidated."

Dean said Botnick told him it was believed that Raymond and Alton Roberts were the source of much of the violence in the Meridian area and that was why they should be killed.

"Botnick said he was assured that if he could arrange the Roberts brothers' liquidation, there would be no investigation," Dean said, "Botnick said he could not do this." When the Times asked Botnick about the incident, he denied it occurred. "That's the wildest thing I've ever heard," he said.

In any event, by early June, the Meridian police department had adopted a policy of harassing the Klan. The day after the bombing of the synagogue Meridian police detective L. L. Scarbrough noted in a written report that he had learned that the state had a "squad capable of causing a lot of harassment to hate-type groups and individuals who are chief suspects in acts of violence . . ." Two days later he wrote of discussing the situation with Meridian Police Chief Roy Gunn and, assuring him "that there would be no innocent persons injured

in any way." (Scarbrough cooperated with the Times in developing the facts of the case.)

"Realizing the tasks we were facing, Chief Gunn gave us his approval on this," Scarbrough wrote. "After already stressing that we had a free hand, and could go to any extreme to solve this case and other like cases . . . we did not hesitate a moment in making arrangements to ask the state for help."

The same day Gunn wrote a letter to state Public Safety Commissioner Giles W. Crisler asking for investigative assistance and reporting that since Jan. 15 the Meridian area had experienced terrorist attacks on eight Negro churches, two Negro homes, a white home and a synagogue.

Early in June a former FBI agent began negotiating with the FBI and the Meridian police on behalf of the Roberts brothers. Detective Scarbrough said the intermediary "came to us and . . . told us that for the money I think we can find out who did it and we met with him and arranged a meeting with the informants."

Scarbrough said the intermediary wanted \$10,000 for himself and \$69,000 for the informants. At that time, the Jewish community and others in Mississippi had pledged rewards totaling \$79,000 for the arrest and conviction of the terrorists.

The intermediary first approached FBI agent Frank Watts of Meridian, according to Scarbrough, and said he would work with Scarbrough but with no one else in the police department. "And as long as it was kept very confidential—he didn't want to be involved at all," Scarbrough said. "He was just wanting to be a go-between."

MET WITH GO-BETWEEN

On June 10, 1968, Scarbrough noted in his file on the case:

"Met with our intermediary and told him that we were ready to do business. He asked us about the money and we told him that we had met with a man (in an interview Scarbrough identified the man as Botnick) and he assured us that the money was available. He then called Wayne (Roberts) and told him that we were ready to do business. Wayne told the intermediary that he would go out to the shop and talk with Raymond."

"Raymond told us that it would take about three days to set up another job in Meridian . . . He stated that when the next job is set up we would have to stake out three different places and said there is always two alternates besides the real thing. The reason for this being 'goddamn pimps' like me."

"He stated that we would have to hide these stake-out men real good because we would be dealing with professionals and they are sharp as hell. Raymond asked me if I could get some of the pressure taken off him and I told him that I did not set the policy, just investigated, but commonsense would tell them if they cooperated with us the pressure would let up."

WE WANTED TO KNOW

(In an interview, Scarbrough was asked if he could recall the conversation with the informants when the possibility of another bombing in Meridian was first discussed. He paused for several seconds, then said, "Here's the way it went. We told 'em that if anything happened in Meridian we wanted to know about it. Regardless of what it was, we wanted to know where it was gonna happen. We had to do that to stay out of entrapment.")

The following day Scarbrough and FBI agents Watts and Jack Rucker met with Botnick, who, according to a Scarbrough memo, told them a group of interested citizens had arranged to fly \$25,000 in \$20 bills to Meridian.

"Met with our intermediary and advised him that our negotiations were being made

and if they did not 'come around' quickly they would lose the money and any leniency that could be offered by the court for state's evidence" Scarbrough wrote in the memo. "I told him that Raymond Roberts was dead and the only thing that would save his life would be to join forces with us and turn full state's evidence."

FIRST MEETING

On the night of June 11, Scarbrough, FBI men Watts and Rucker, the intermediary and the Roberts brothers held the first of a series of meetings in a house trailer at Scarbrough's farm in Vinville, about 10 miles from Meridian.

During these meetings, the FBI agents participated in all negotiations for information and in all payments to the Roberts brothers, according to Scarbrough.

Scarbrough said he and the agents took a briefcase crammed with \$25,000 in \$20 bills to the June 11 meeting and "scattered it around" so that it would look like the full \$79,000.

Scarbrough said the informants were given \$1,000 as "good faith" money, but that in the beginning they provided little information. Scarbrough got a handwritten receipt for the payment which read: "June 12, 1968, received this date from Luke Scarbrough the sum of \$1,000 for services rendered." It was signed "Bobby Komoroski," a pseudonym for Alton Wayne Roberts.

On June 12 Scarbrough filed a memo quoting the intermediary as saying he was going to try to get the informants to testify for \$150,000. However, the Roberts brothers refused. Moreover, the FBI expressed doubt that any terrorists could be convicted on paid testimony according to Scarbrough.

The next day one of the informants met with suspected terrorist Joe Danny Hawkins, who "showed informant two houses that had been shot into and a house with a sign stating 'peace' on it where they intended to commit a Number 4 (Klan code for a murder). White people and colored people live in this house."

IMMUNITY SOUGHT

On June 18 Scarbrough reported that the informants had met with Hawkins "to plan a 'Number 4' in Meridian in the near future. Informants stated that if we would give them full immunity they would tell us who is responsible for all the church bombings," Scarbrough reported. "Informants wanted a written commitment concerning immunity which was given to them and signed by myself." Scarbrough later said, "I'd have signed anything—to have caught Tarrants. 'Cause he wasn't worth a damn anyway. They had me signing all kinds of crap, but who in the hell can they show it to."

The receipt for the second payment read: "June 18, 1968, received this date from Luke Scarbrough the sum of \$850 for services rendered." It was signed by Al Rose, a pseudonym for Raymond Roberts.

On June 20 the informants called Scarbrough and said that they had contacted Hawkins and that the home of Jewish businessman Meyer Davidson had been selected as a bombing target for the next week. Davidson had been a leader in raising the reward.

The next day Scarbrough wrote, "After a lengthy session informants stated that they want \$10,000 each this date. I promised them we would talk to the people involved and see if we could arrange it and turn the money over to the intermediary."

By now the FBI and the Meridian police were holding daily strategy sessions, making plans for evacuation of the Davidson family for a stake-out of the Davidson home and for a demolition team to be on hand to disarm the bomb.

The informants reported that Hawkins had said he planned to use 28 sticks of dynamite

with a timing device and place the bomb in the carport of the Davidson home. It would be placed at about 11:30 p.m. and would be timed to explode at 4:30 a.m.

The FBI, working through the Office of Naval Intelligence, arranged to have a demolition team come to Meridian. The team arrived at the Naval air station there on June 23.

Two days later the informants reported the bombing was scheduled for Thursday, June 27. The FBI and police staked out the Davidson home that night, but nothing happened.

The next day Scarbrough reported: "Tarrants and Hawkins came to Meridian and picked up informer and stated that the reason they did not pull the job was because they have been pressed for time and they had to get some money. They stated that they are going to Alabama to pull a job. (Tarrants and Hawkins) asked the informer why he was in such a hurry for this job in Meridian and he stated that he is going to be indicted by grand jury on Monday and they said they would pull the job before Monday and it will probably be Sunday night."

(In arranging the bombing attempt, Raymond Roberts mentioned being under pressure because of the violence in the area, according to Scarbrough, and told Hawkins he needed him to carry out the bombing to get the "heat" off himself.)

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 15, 1971]
KLAN TERRORISTS DRIVE INTO AMBUSH—AND ONE IS A WOMAN
 (By Jack Nelson)

(Note.—Early in the morning of June 30, 1968, police in Meridian, Miss., ambushed and killed a Klanswoman, Kathy Ainsworth, with wounded Klansman Thomas Tarrants III while the two apparently were preparing to bomb the home of a Jewish businessman. It was the climax of a series of unsolved killings and bombings of Negroes and Jews in that area. This is the final article on the case.)

On Saturday night, June 29, 12 Meridian policemen dressed in black waited in the darkness for the terrorists' arrival. Also stationed at strategic points in the general area—for observational purposes, not for participating in an arrest or gun battle—were eight to 10 FBI agents.

About midnight, Tarrants and Mrs. Ainsworth picked up Raymond Roberts and drove by the Meyer Davidson home for a final checkout, then let Roberts out at a nightclub so he would have an alibi. Roberts, a fellow klansman hired as a police informer, obviously was surprised to see Mrs. Ainsworth instead of Joe Danny Hawkins, believed by the FBI to be a top klan "hit man." When Roberts was let out at the nightclub, he quickly called the police at a special telephone installed in a house near the Davidson home.

Hawkins apparently decided against participating in the bombing attempt because he felt he was under close FBI and police surveillance, and Tarrants decided to take along Mrs. Ainsworth instead. She was a woman who many people later described as a dedicated school teacher, well liked by students and their parents—apparently a Jekyll and Hyde personality—a teacher by day, a terrorist by night.

By the time Roberts notified the police that a woman was in the car, the plan was so far in motion, Meridian detective L. L. Scarbrough said, that the decision was made to go ahead. At that time, he said, neither the police nor the FBI knew anything about Mrs. Ainsworth's background.

Tarrants drove up and parked near the Davidson home about 12:55 a.m., got out and walked toward the short driveway. With him

he carried a bomb made of 29 sticks of dynamite.

What happened next is a matter of dispute between the police and Tarrants. Tarrants claims he was fired upon without warning.

Detectives L. A. Willoughby and Ralph McNair, testifying at Tarrants' trial in November, 1968, said that Tarrants got out of the car, a pistol in one hand, the bomb in the other, and walked to the driveway where he put down the bomb. They said that an order to "halt" was shouted and that Tarrants whirled and fired twice in their direction.

Scarbrough said he shouted the order to halt, then saw "two flashes—he (Tarrants) shot twice."

Scarbrough, Willoughby, McNair and another officer opened fire from an embankment 35 to 40 feet from Tarrants. Scarbrough said Tarrants was still holding the dynamite, but then dropped it on the driveway.

Although badly wounded, Tarrants managed to get back to the car. Police said Kathy Ainsworth was killed when she leaned over to open the door for Tarrants and a bullet struck her spine.

Tarrants sped off in his bullet-riddled car but crashed less than a mile away. He jumped from the car as a pursuing patrol car pulled up, according to police, and opened fire with a sub-machine gun, hitting Officer Mike Hatcher in the heart and also seriously wounding a sailor who stepped out on a porch of a nearby house.

Tarrants then dropped the tommy gun and ran behind a house, where pursuing officers opened up on him at close range with shotguns. In an interview, Sgt. L. D. Joyner, who has been given community awards and honored by the International Association of Chiefs of Police for playing a leading role in springing the trap, said that he and three other officers chased Tarrants behind the house. Joyner said they saw Tarrants try to climb a fence, hit an electrically charged top strand and dive into a clump of bushes.

"We figured he still had the machine gun and a hand grenade," Joyner said, "and we opened up on him. All four of us were firing shotguns from about 15 feet away. We had in mind killing him, I don't mind telling you. We dragged him out of the bushes and figured he was dead, but the son of a gun was still alive."

"We knew we had to stop them," Joyner said of the encounter with the Klan members. "We knew they were planning to bomb synagogues with people in them. We had no intentions of losing the shootout with them."

Joyner confirmed that the police harassed Klan members, explaining, "We harass 'em all, that's our job."

"They're in constant force, we got somebody set up now," Joyner said. "We keep 'em scared to death."

Joyner was interviewed jointly with Officer Hatcher, who returned to duty after recovering from the bullet wound in the heart. Both officers agreed that fear of police was a factor in the decision of Raymond Roberts and his brother, Alton Wayne, to cooperate in arranging the trap—for a price.

Hatcher said, "That's what broke the case—fear—not the money." Joyner agreed. "He (Raymond Roberts) believed we were going to kill him," Joyner said. "We helped him believe it. We acted like we were going to do it."

On July 2, two days after the shootout, Scarbrough filed a report saying the Roberts brothers had contacted Sam Bowers (imperial wizard of the Klan), in Laurel, Miss., and "Bowers stated that he had lost a good soldier—Kathy Ainsworth". He stated that she was as good as "Tarrants or anybody else he had." (Bowers, like Alton Roberts, is under a 10-year federal sentence in the Philadelphia, Miss., lynching case.)

The Scarbrough report noted that the informants "were highly upset" because they

did not get the \$79,000 put up by the Jewish community as a reward, but he added, "I gave them \$10,000 as we started to leave."

"Informers are unhappy at this point," the report continued, "and stated that they will not talk any more unless we keep our end of the bargain and for us not to contact them again unless we have the money. An offer of \$150,000 was made for testimony—and refused."

During the interview Scarbrough said that Jewish interests had pledged to make \$150,000 available for testimony linking Bowers to the terrorist attacks.

The receipt for the July 2 payment read: "Received this date from Luke Scarbrough, the sum of \$10,000 for services rendered." It was signed, "Al Rosenbaugh, a pseudonym used by Raymond Roberts."

On July 10 Scarbrough paid out an additional \$10,000—\$8,000 to Raymond Roberts, who signed the receipt "Alfred Rosenberg," and \$2,000 to the intermediary, who signed the receipt "James Overlaugh."

The FBI and the police were still using the Roberts brothers as informants at this time, but the two were becoming increasingly irritated because they had not been given the money they claimed they had been promised.

An Aug. 12 memo by Scarbrough noted that he persuaded the intermediary to talk with the informants in an effort to get them to testify in court against Bowers. But the memo continued, "Upon interviewing informers they were very hostile because we did not have the long promised money for them. Informer stated that he was going to call the Jews and also that if he were Meyer Davidson he would get his money and go back to Israel."

Scarbrough wrote that it was decided each informer should be paid \$10,000 for testimony and "If they were not agreeable to this there would be no further money paid to them."

The intermediary also became upset and on August 27 Scarbrough wrote that "he wanted his money . . . And said that he had been double-crossed."

Although the intermediary never received another payment, three Jewish businessmen from Jackson drove to Meridian and gave the Roberts brothers \$17,000 as a final payment, according to Scarbrough.

In November, 1968, Tarrants pleaded innocent by reason of insanity, but a Meridian jury found him guilty of placing a bomb. Sentenced to 30 years, he appealed the case to the Mississippi Supreme Court.

Several days ago Tarrants, who is confined to the state prison at Parchman, wrote a letter to the Supreme Court asking that his appeal be withdrawn and that his attorneys, Roy Pitts of Meridian and Thomas M. Haas of Mobile, be dismissed. The attorneys told the court that the appeal should not be withdrawn, that they should not be dismissed, and that the court should not consider the request of an "insane man." The court has the matter under consideration.

Meanwhile, Danny Joe Hawkins remains free in Jackson, but his activities are under intensive investigation.

Since the Meridian incident, Hawkins has been arrested and tried twice—once for bombing a Jackson real estate office and once for robbing a Memphis bank. The Jackson trial resulted in an acquittal, the Memphis trial in a hung jury and mistrial.

The Roberts brothers still live in Meridian, where they sometimes lead an anxious life. When Tarrants escaped from Parchman last July 23, Raymond Roberts frantically called the Meridian police for protection. (Tarrants was recaptured two days later.) Raymond Roberts lives in a house surrounded by a high chain-link, fence and well-illuminated at night by several bright outside lights. A huge sign on the gate warns: "Beware of dog." The fence was erected about two months after the Meridian incident when Roberts

began to get nervous about his role as an informant.

The police and the FBI had cautioned the Robert's brothers not to immediately spend much of the money they had been paid. ("Hell, we preached to the informants day and night not to do it." Scarbrough said). But Raymond bought a Thunderbird and Alton bought a Cadillac, which made other Klansmen more than a little suspicious.

Tarrants' father, who still is trying to prove, his son was entrapped, has run afoul of the law in Meridian three times since the bombing attempt.

On July 14, 1967, he was charged with driving under the influence after his car was involved in an accident. After arresting Tarrants, the police went to his hotel room, searched it, and went through his briefcase.

In early July, 1969, Sgt. Joyner arrested Tarrants at his motel in Meridian and charged him with "disorderly conduct." In mid-July, Tarrants returned to Meridian to search for additional evidence and to stand trial on the "disorderly conduct" charge.

The night before the trial was to be held, Officer Hatcher, who had returned to duty after being injured in the gun battle, appeared at Tarrants' motel in plain clothes, and tried to arrest Tarrants. Tarrants resisted and was badly injured in a struggle with Hatcher and several other officers.

[In an interview, Meridian Police Chief Roy Gunn said that Tarrants had been "mouthing off" about the police and causing trouble and that Hatcher "beat hell out of him at the Downtowner."]

Tarrants, who before his Meridian experiences had no police record except for traffic violations, was treated at a hospital in Meridian then jailed on charges of disorderly conduct; disturbing the peace and resisting arrest. He was released on bond, then entered a Mobile hospital where he remained for a week, recovering from injuries suffered in the scuffle with police.

City Court Judge Roscoe Nettles heard the evidence against Tarrants and found him guilty on all charges. He was fined \$50 on each charge. The verdict was appealed to the county court.

Tarrants' attorney in Meridian, Roy Pitts, said that when he went to the City Hall to get Tarrants released on bond on the charges resulting from the arrest by Hatcher, Meridian Mayor Al Key, Chief Gunn and Sgt. Joyner called him into the chief's office for a conference.

"They were real nice about it," Pitts recalled, "but they urged me to get Tarrants to stay out of town because he was going out causing trouble and threatening the policemen and somebody was going to get hurt. I told them I would urge him to try to avoid any controversy with the police."

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Apr. 8, 1970]

PROBE SOUGHT IN SHOOTING OF TWO KLANSMEN

(By William Vance)

WASHINGTON, April 7.—Two civil rights groups, acknowledging that their request is like "asking the angels to investigate God," called Tuesday for a Justice Department probe of the FBI.

Ironically, the request from the Philadelphia-based American Friends Service Committee and American Civil Liberties Union comes in behalf of a common foe—the Ku Klux Klan.

Spokesmen for the AFSC and ACLU told newsmen they are trying to "bring back into public focus" the shooting of two suspected Klan members by police and FBI agents in Meridian, Miss., on June 30, 1968.

BIZARRE ALLEGATIONS

Bronson Clark of Philadelphia, AFSC executive director, reviewed the bizarre allega-

tions first aired last February by the Los Angeles Times.

Quoting newspaper accounts, Clark said the FBI and Meridian police paid \$36,500 to two Ku Klux Klan informants to arrange a trap to catch two young Klan terrorists in a bombing attempt . . . police who sprang the trap . . . say they expected a gun battle and never thought either Klan member would be taken alive."

"MISUSE OF POWER"

One—Thomas Albert Tarrants 3d—was taken alive, although seriously wounded. The other—26-year-old Kathy Ainsworth, a native of Miami—was shot to death. A policeman and a bystander also were wounded during the gun battle.

In a joint statement, the AFSC and ACLU called the incident "a clear misuse of police power" and "an erosion of the rights guaranteed every American."

[From the National Laymen's Council of the Church League of America, Aug. 15, 1971]

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH 1968:

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Total contributions, gifts, grants, etc..... | \$5,152,132.21 |
| Less expenses of raising that amount | —694,052.25 |
| Left to spend..... | 4,458,079.96 |

How spent:

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|
| Salaries | 2,853,205.27 |
| Personnel Welfare..... | 313,628.01 |
| Meetings and Conferences.. | 182,043.01 |
| Travel | 162,648.89 |
| Gifts to Like-minded outfits | 90,000.00 |

Note: Out of more than 5 million dollars raised more than 2/3 rds was used for salaries and personnel welfare.

Question: How much was left for an educational program, since this organization received its tax-exempt status under "educational" from the IRS?

Answer: Exactly \$701,345.09 out of \$5,152,132.21. Salary of "National Director" Benjamin R. Epstein, co-author of the smear book attacking the conservatives, danger on the right, \$40,000.00 for the year, plus expenses. Seems like running a tax-exempt business can be most profitable when it comes to salaries!

1969:

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Total contributions, gifts, grants, etc..... | \$5,629,279.00 |
| Less expenses of raising that amount | —897,554.00 |
| Left to spend..... | 4,731,725.00 |

How spent:

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|
| Salaries | 3,097,255.00 |
| Personnel Welfare..... | 398,088.00 |
| Meetings and Conferences.. | 178,735.00 |
| Travel | 169,494.00 |
| Gifts to Like-minded outfits | 102,770.00 |

Note: Out of more than 5 and a Half million dollars raised more than 2/3 rds was used for salaries and personnel welfare.

Question: How much was left for "educational" projects, the purpose under which the organization got its tax-exempt status from IRS?

Answer: Exactly \$849,849.00 out of \$5,629,279.00. Mr. Epstein, the National Director, got a salary raise of \$7,500.00 for the year, totaling \$47,500.00, plus expenses!

We know of no Right organization taking in this kind of money annually or paying its "Director" or Chief Administration officer such money out of gifts from contributors.

Institute for American Democracy, Inc. (A Department of the Anti-Defamation League) Continues to list its address on IRS Form 990-A as 30 Broad Street, New York, New

York 10004. It is not located at that address, however and hasn't been. It is situated in Washington, D.C., office, furniture, telephones, etc.

1968:

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Total contributions, gifts, grants, etc | \$135,861.00 |
| Less expenses of raising that amount | -39,179.00 |

| | |
|---------------|-----------|
| Left to spend | 96,682.00 |
|---------------|-----------|

How spent:

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Salaries | 53,919.00 |
| Remainder for "educational" program, including travel, research, public information, office expense | 44,450.00 |

Note: The major contributor to IADI is the ADL of BB. Salary of Charles Baker, Executive Director, is \$22,500.00 per year, plus expenses. President in 1968 was the radical and modernist Methodist minister, Franklin H. Littell.

1969:

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Total contributions, gifts, grants, etc | \$90,678.00 |
| Less cost of raising that amount | -7,185.00 |

| | |
|---------------|-----------|
| Left to spend | 83,493.00 |
|---------------|-----------|

How spent:

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Salaries | 48,302.00 |
| Remainder for "educational" program, including travel, research, "loss out of Petty Cash," etc | 28,408.00 |

Note: Major contributor to IADI still the ADL of BB. Salary of Mr. Baker remained the same, \$22,500.00 per annum. New President Lawrence Phillips replaced Littell. Littell dropped from Board of Directors, also.

The IADI, which posed as a new organization in 1966, was thoroughly exposed by the Church League of America as having been organized in 1943 in the State of New York by the ADL, and was declared a department of ADL by the New York Attorney General at the time the ruling was made, Jacob Javits, now U.S. Senator from New York. The bulk of its program has been the smearing of conservative and patriotic organizations and leaders in America, mainly through its publication *Homefront*, edited by former Walter Reuther publicist Charles R. Baker, who is the above named \$22,500.00 per year Executive Director.

We repeat: "It's a good business!" Especially when it comes to salaries and expense accounts. The Right organizations should have it so good! But, no!

PHILHELLENIC NOMENCLATURE IN AMERICAN PLACE NAMES

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. KYROS, Mr. Speaker, recently I had occasion to read an extremely interesting and informative research paper, which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues. Written by John and Helen Sfondouris, postgraduate students of history, it is entitled "Philhellenic Nomenclature in American Place Names: 1584-1970." This paper is yet another example of the deep roots of philhellenism in the United States, and for that reason, I insert it in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

PHILHELLENIC NOMENCLATURE IN AMERICAN PLACE NAMES: 1584-1970¹

(By Helen Antoniou Sfondouris and John N. Sfondouris)

Colonial and later American students were educated in the European education, stressing classical languages and emphasizing ancient literatures. Consequently, they acquired a sentimental devotion for the Greeks, then considered the direct descendants of Pericles and Socrates.

The devotion for antiquity, as well as classical mythology and literature, is broadly expressed in American philhellenism. Mainly nourished by Hellenism, influenced by the New Testament, reinforced by pro-Greek poetry, and heightened by the Greek Revolution (1821-1831), philhellenism captured the imagination of many cultivated Americans, as well as Europeans.

Despite the non-political intercourse between the enslaved Greece and the free United States, Greece as a national entity within the Turkish Empire was not forgotten in the cultivated circles. In classical studies and in philhellenic poems, philhellenism created an urgent obligation for the United States to restore liberty to Greece as a kind of payment for the civilization which Hellas had given to the free world.

For obligatory, descriptive, associative, possessive, connotative, melodic, commemorative, commendatory, and transfer reasons, Americans² immortalized their cities and towns, post office stations and branches, lakes and reservoirs, rivers and brooks, parks and valleys, mountains and peaks, railroad stations, counties and parishes, mines and fields, districts and townships, and colleges and universities with classical Greek names borrowed from the ancient mythology, history, literature, alphabet, philosophy, law, language, architecture, astronomy, and the Bible.

By studying and consulting the various American and British cartographic sources,³

¹ Philhellenic place names have been verified in William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1964); A. A. M. Van Heyden and H. H. Scullard (eds.), *Atlas of the Classical Literature and Antiquities* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1965); N. G. L. Hammond and Scullard (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); James H. Martinband (ed.), *Dictionary of Greek Literature* (New York: Littlefield, Adams and Company, 1963); J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece* (New York: Modern Library, n.d.); Gustav Schwab, *Gods and Heroes* (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1946); and in Clarence E. Lovejoy (ed.), *Lovejoy's College Guide* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970).

² The philhellenic place names have been credited to: State Surveyors, State Governors, Territorial Generals and Governors, Commissioners of the Land Office, Geographical Survey, Forest Service, U.S. Geographic Board, Government Printing Office, Census Bureau, Biological Survey, Railroad Industry, the State, War, Treasury, Commerce, Interior, Navy, Post Office, and Agriculture Departments, the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, Town Meetings, Colonial Assemblies, Land Speculators, Classic Readers and Scholars, Frontier Schoolmasters, City Fathers and Town Developers, U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Real Estate Agents, Local Picnics, American Poets, Clergymen, Methodist Missionaries, Archaeologists, and Colonial Explorers and Discoverers.

³ *National Zip Code Directory* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Post Office Department, 1968); *The Times (London) Atlas of the*

American place names have been named after classical Greek gods, goddesses, heroes, legends, nymphs, personages, districts, straits, volcanoes, rivers, Biblical cities, and geographical places. Philhellenic nomenclature has been a widespread practice in 49 states, except in Hawaii. Approximately 770 place names bear classical Greek names, except Argos, Aura, Corfu, Dardanelle(s), Galena, Morea Colliery, Lepanto (Naupactus), Navarino, Scio (Chios), Salona (Thesalonike), Theba (Thebes), Leucadia, Tripoli (Thipolitsa), Ypsilanti, and Zoe.

By state count, New York ranks first with 63 philhellenic place names; Ohio, second with 56; Pennsylvania, third with 41; Illinois, fourth with 34; Texas, fifth with 33; Michigan, sixth with 32; Kentucky, seventh with 28; Missouri, eighth with 27; Indiana, ninth with 22; California, and Kansas, tenth with 21; Colorado, Minnesota, and Virginia, eleventh with 18; Arkansas, twelfth, with 17; Alabama, and Tennessee, thirteenth with 16; Washington, and Wisconsin, fourteenth with 15; North Carolina, fifteenth with 14; South Carolina, and Maine, sixteenth with 13; Alaska, Florida, and Georgia, seventeenth with 11; Montana, Nebraska, Oregon, and Vermont, eighteenth with 10; Maryland, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Dakota, and South Dakota, nineteenth with 8; Idaho, and Utah, twentieth with 7; Nevada, and Wyoming, twenty-first with 6; Oklahoma, twenty-second with 5; Arizona, and New Hampshire, twenty-third with 4; Massachusetts, New Mexico, and Rhode Island, twenty-fourth with 3; and Connecticut, and Delaware rank last with 2 philhellenic place names.

By place name frequency, Troy the city in Homer's *Iliad*, has been the most popular name in the United States occurring in 24 states; Aurora (Latinized Eos), the goddess of morning, in 18; Arcadia, the poetic land of rural simplicity and loveliness in Peloponnesus, in 18; Eureka ("I have found it."), the phrase of Archimedes, in 16; Athens, the imperial city of Pericles, in 16; Paris, the son of Priam and Hecuba, in 15; Alexandria, the name of several Hellenistic cities, in 13; Sparta, the martial city of Leonidas, in 13; Alexander, the ancient Greek proper name, in 13; Homer, the Great Bard, in 11; Delta, the fourth letter of the Greek alphabet, in 11; Helena (Latinized Helen), in 9; Phoenix (Phenix), the mythical bird, in 9; Alpha, the first letter of the Greek alphabet, in 9; Odessa (Odessus), the town on the Pontus Euxinus, in 8; Acme, in 8; Akron (Summit), in 8; Cyprus, the island in the Mediterranean, in 8; Etna (Aetna), the place for Zeus' Aetnaea, in 7; Syracuse, the Corinthian and Dorian colony in Sicily, in 7; Clio, the Muse of history, in 7; Antioch, the city in the New Testament, in 6; Eolia (Aeolus, the god of winds, in 6; Smyrna, the city in the New Testament in 6; Marathon, the narrow passage in Attica, in 6; Laconia (Lacon, Lacona), the district in southern Greece, in 6; Attica, the district in Greece, in 6; Corinth, the city in the New Testament, in 6; Philadelphia, the synthetic name, in 5; Hector, the chief defender of Troy, in 5; Galena (Stillness of the Sea), in 5; Ionia, the district on western coast of Asia Minor, in 5; Nome (Nomos), in 4; Castalia, the spring sacred to the Muses at Delphi, in 4; Annapolis (synthetic), in 4; Echo, the goddess of sound, in 4; Academy, the public gardens in the suburbs of Athens, in 4; Ulysses (Latinized Odysseus), the king of Ithaca, in 4; Eudora (Generous), in 4;

Americas (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957), V; *Road Atlas* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970); *These United States* (New York: Reader's Digest Association, 1968); *Road Maps* (1970); and *Directory of Post Offices* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Postal Service, 1970).

Ida, the sacred mountain of Cybele (Rhea), in 4; Rexford, in 4; Mentor, the friend of Odysseus, in 4; Euclid, the mathematician of Alexandria, in 4; Midas, the mythical Phrygian, in 3; Emporia, (Emporium), the place for wholesale sea commodities, in 3; Solon, the Athenian law-giver, in 3; Atlas, "the thinker of mischief" in *Odyssey*, in 3; Delphos (synthetic), in 3; Eunice (Happy Victory), in 3; Crete, the home of Minos, in 3; Berea, the Macedonian city in the New Testament, in 3; Myra (Myron), the city in Lycia, in 3; Homer City, in 3; Galatia, the Biblical country in Asia Minor, in 3; Corinna (Corrina, Corinne), the poetess of Thebes, in 3; Metropolitan (synthetic), in 3; Minneapolis (synthetic), in 3; New Paris, in 3; Tripoli (Tripolitsa), in 3; Plato, the Athenian philosopher, in 3; Ithaca, the birthplace of Odysseus, in 3; Adelphi (synthetic), in 3; Scio (Chios), the island in the Aegean, in 3; Leander, the proper name, in 3; Argo, the ship of the Argonauts, in 3; Helen, the wife of Menelaus and mistress of Paris, in 3; Dardanelle(s), the strait between Greece and Asia Minor, in 2; Eureka Springs, in 2; Nymph Lake, in 2; Mesopotamia (synthetic), in 2; Hesperia, the Greek poetic name for Italy, in 2; Omega, the last letter of the Greek alphabet, in 2; Delphia (synthetic), in 2; Rex (King), in 2; New Athens, in 2; Xenia (Hospitality), in 2; Philo, the Athenian architect, in 2; Ypsilanti, the patriot in the Greek Revolution, in 2; Oceana (Latinized Oceanus), the son of Heaven and Earth, in 2; Corfu, the island in the Ionian Sea, in 2; Niobe, the goddess of bereavement, in 2; East Troy, in 2; Galen, the Greek physician, in 2; Spartanburg, in 2; East Corinth, in 2; Irene, the goddess of peace, in 2; Croton, the Achaean colony in Italy, in 2; Delta County, in 2; Mesa (Messa), the town and harbor in Laconia, in 2; North Troy, in 2; Sardinia (Sardon), in 2; Meno, the pupil of Aristotle, in 2; Nyssa (Nysa), the village on the slopes of Helicon (Jordia), in 2; Olympia, the plain in Elis, in 2; Achille (Americanized Achilles), the teacher of the centaur Chiron, in 2; Ophelia (Ophelion), the Athenian comic poet, in 2; Patmos, the island in the New Testament, in 2; Troy Mills, in 2; Tyro, the daughter of Salmoneus and Alcidece, in 2; Sophia (Wisdom), in 2; West Alexandria, in 2; Alexander County, in 2; Argus, the all-seeing mythical personage, in 2; Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, in 2; Navarino, after the naval battle in 1827, in 2; Athena, the goddess of warfare and wisdom, in 2; Media, the dramatic subject in Euripides' plays, in 2; Homerville, in 2; Neapolis, the Greek colony in Italy, in 2; Electra, the daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, in 2; Castor (Pollus), the protector of sailors, in 2; Kyrene (Americanized Cyrene), the district in north Africa, in 2; Arkadelphia (synthetic), in 2; Rhea, the goddess of fertility, in 2; and lastly, Rhodes, the colony of Tlepolemus, occurring in 2 states.

Together with the place names borrowed mainly from ancient Greece, Americans coined Greek names to designate their place names. By actual count, there are more than 36 synthetic names in the United States: Demopolis (Ala.), Coperopolis (Calif.), Illiopolis (Ill.), Teutopolis (Ill.), Metropolis (Ill.), Indianapolis (Ind.), Argonia (Kans.), Kalvesta (Kans.), Opolis (Kans.), Mediapolis (Ia.), Kanopolis (Kans.), Calista (Kans.), Adolphus (Ky.), Telos Lake (Me.), Nestoria (Mich.), Cassopolis (Mich.), Cosmos (Minn.), Micro (Ill.), Adelphia (N.J.), Gallipolis (O.), Lithopolis (O.), Kalida (O.), Uniopolis (O.), Coraopolis (Penn.), Zelenople (Penn.), Pinoopolis (S.C.), Kosmos (Wash.), Cosmopolis (Wash.), Triadelphia (W. Va.), Leopolis (Wisc.), East Thermopolis (Wyo.), Gallipolis

Ferry (W. Va.), Layopolis (W. Va.), and North Philadelphia (Penn.).

Along with the most popular philhellenic place names in the Union, there are other ancient Greek names on the United States map with single designation. These are: Alexander City, Styx River, and Daphne (Ala.); Aurora Lodge, Delta River, Echo Cliffs, and Homer County (Alas.); Lepanto (Naupactus), Parthenon, Mount Ida, and West Helena (Ark.); Hercules (Latinized Heracles), Leucadia, Nestor, Olympic, Olympic City, and Taurus Lake (Calif.); Mount Eolus, Paonia, and Ypsilon Mountain (Colo.); Macedonia Brook State Park (Conn.); Apollo Beach, Cypress Gardens, Cypress Lake, Lake Helen, Marathon Shores, Olympian Heights, Panacea, and Zephyrhills (Fl.); Enigma (Aenigma), and Mesena (Messina) (Ga.); Ajax Mountain, and Notus (Ida.); Marissa, Meredosia, North Aurora, Orion, Plato Center, Solon Mills, Thebes, and Troy Grove (Ill.); Argos, Delphi, Hymera, Orestes, and Paris Crossing (Ind.); Arion, Ida County, Ida Grove, Macedonia, and Rhodes (Ia.); Dione, Krypton, Muses Mills, and Zoe (Ky.); Eros, Iota, Evangeline Parish, Sicily Island, and Urania (La.); South Paris, and Smyrna Mills (Me.); Annapolis Junction, and Rhodes Point (Md.); Thermopylae (Mass.); Aura, Epsilon, Ionia County, Laurium, Leonidas, Oceana County, New Troy, and Rhodes (Mich.); Acropolis, Heron Lake, and Elysian (Minn.); Delta City, Delta State College, and Eupora (Miss.); Herculeum, Samos, and Zeta (Mo.); Amazon, Heron (Hero), and Trident (Mont.); Mount Helen, Troy Park, and Zephyr Cove (Nev.); Candia (Crete in Italian), and East Candia (N.H.); Athenia, and Troy Brook (N.J.); Alexander Bay, Croton Falls, Croton-on-Hudson, Crotona Park, Cypress Hills, Delphi Falls, Delta Reservoir, East Aurora, East Homer, East Pharsalia, East Syracuse, Esopus (Asopus), Greece (post office branch), Ilion, Ithaca College, Macedon, Minoa, Mycenae, North Greece, North Syracuse, New Croton Reservoir, Pharsalia, and West Athens (N.Y.); Alexander Mills, Calypso and Pactolus (N.C.); Argusville (N.D.); Athens County, East Akron, Cassandra, East Sparta, Mentor-on-the-Lake, Pandora, South Solon, South Euclid, and West Akron (O.); South Sparta (Oreg.); Academia, Morea Colliery, Muse, New Alexandria, Phoenixville, New Tripoli, North Apollo, and Parnassus (Penn.); Mount Hygeia (R.I.); Pelion (S.C.); Aurora County, and Trojan (S.D.); Cypress Inn, Helenwood, Medon (Codrus), and Theta (Tenn.); Cypress Circle, Cypress Mill, Damon, Era, Elysian Fields, Eustace, Galena Park, Melissa, Penelope, Thalia, West Odessa, and Zephyr (Tex.); North Hero (Heron), and South Hero (Vt.); Deltaville, Hylas, Hyacinth, Paeonian Springs, and Phoebus (Va.); Aeneas, East Olympic Mountain, Olympus, Pandora Reefs, and Sappho (Wash.); Chloe, Nestorville, and Philippi (W. Va.); Auroraville, Cornucopia (Amalthea), Marathon County, Siren, Solon Springs, and Troy Center (Wisc.), and finally, Odyssey Peak, and Stygian Caves (Wyo.).

Philhellenic nomenclature influenced the naming of American colleges and state universities in 20 states. About 43 community colleges and state universities bear classical Greek names, usually coinciding with city designations. In Alabama, for example, Athens College is named for Athens, the Attic and American city; in Arizona, Phoenix College; in Illinois, Eureka College; in Indiana, Indianapolis Regional Campus; in Kansas, Berea College; in Massachusetts, Hellenic University Foundation; in Michigan, Delta County Community College; in Minnesota, Metropolitan State Junior College; in Mississippi, Delta State College; in Missouri, Metropolitan Junior College District; in New York, Syracuse University; in Ohio,

University of Akron; in Pennsylvania, Philadelphia College; in South Carolina, Spartanburg County Technical Education Center; in Texas, Odessa College; in Vermont, Antioch-Putney Graduate School; and in Washington, Olympic College.

Despite their foreign flavor, philhellenic names have been influenced by classical education, then and now. Of the 770 American place names, 748 have been inspired by classical Greece; 15 by modern Greece; and 8 by Biblical Greece. By direct or indirect borrowing, ancient Greek names have been a source of inspiration and of idealism in the United States, beginning in 1584 and continuing to the present. The Greek classical element in American civilization is permanent and real; it gives a flavor to American geography; it perpetuates classical tradition; it contributes to euphony, suggestiveness, and poetry. At best, philhellenic place names are truthful witnesses to the Graeco-American classical heritage.

WELFARE PROPOSAL OF DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the St. Joseph, Mo., News-Press of November 20, contains an interesting editorial about the welfare proposal advocated by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The editorial points out, as I have done in the past, that the HEW proposal would greatly increase the cost of welfare and lacks adequate work incentives.

Even more important, it notes that under the HEW plan the number of persons on welfare would rise from 12 to 26 million.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "Senator Byrd's Question," be printed in the Extension of Remarks.

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

SENATOR BYRD'S QUESTION

According to the Congressional Record of Oct. 21, this year, Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia posed an interesting question to his fellow members of the Senate.

Concerning the new welfare proposal submitted by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Senator Byrd pointed out that the program would raise from 12,000,000 to 26,000,000 the number of persons on welfare.

"I want to ask the 99 other members of the Senate today—I would like just one member of the Senate to tell me—how we are going to reverse the trend of the welfare state by doubling the number of people on welfare . . ." No one among that august body could provide an answer.

Senator Byrd has put his finger on one of the key problems of government, that of approving greater and greater expenditures without knowing where the money will come from. The HEW proposal will cost an additional \$5 billion. More than that, it could very well kill work incentives because it makes welfare more attractive.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, a "great" newspaper is a rare newspaper. It is one that reports fairly and that editorializes fearlessly. There are not many "great" newspapers. The Los Angeles Times is one.

The recent Times editorial, "The Bill of Rights" is in the classic tradition of a great newspaper. I suppose the Nation always needs constant reminders of the tenuous nature of its citizen's liberties and of the fact that the magnificent Bill of Rights stands as the most significant protector of those liberties. But, today, I think in this climate of fear and anxiety, in a Nation and in a State whose Chief Executives are quite insensitive to individual liberties, it is proper to remind all of them of the absolutes contained in the Bill of Rights. That the danger to liberty the Bill of Rights seeks to curtail is a danger that presents itself in the respectable guise of officialdom—the Presidents, the Governors, the Congressmen, the many possessors of power over men—these are the "respectable people" who possess the dangerous power to trample on individual Americans. These are the threats to liberty that the Bill of Rights constantly restrains.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the Los Angeles Times for this excellent editorial and I include it as part of my remarks.

[From the Los Angeles Times, Dec. 15, 1971]

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The great pillars of American liberty still stand.

The Bill of Rights has weathered the storms of 180 years since the original states adopted the first 10 amendments to the Constitution on Dec. 15, 1791.

Barely 4 million Americans, striving to create a nation after the long war for independence, came under the protection then of the Bill of Rights. Today, Dec. 15, 1971, the old charter of freedom, combined with the guarantees of liberty in the body of the Constitution, shields 210 million citizens of a nation of unparalleled power spanning a continent.

After nearly two centuries of tumultuous history, we are more secure now in our individual freedoms than we have ever been. Yet we often take them for granted, while tyranny, as it always has, rules in most of the world. We scarcely pause to reflect that freedom has existed only a wink of time in history and then only for a few of all the human beings who have ever lived.

This is a day to call the roll of our freedoms: Freedom of religion uncoerced by the state, and freedom, if we choose, from religion. Freedom of speech and press, both reinforced and extended in this decade by Supreme Court decisions. Freedom to petition the government. Freedom from the midnight knock on the door by the police. Freedom from self-incrimination and from cruel and unusual punishments, strengthened by the right of public trial by jury. All these we have, and other liberties that through the development of constitutional law protect citizens from the arbitrary power of the states as well as from the central government.

These inalienable rights have been violated frequently in our history, sometimes

by government, sometimes by private coercive action. Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Acts only seven years after the Bill of Rights was ratified. The notorious Palmer raids followed World War I, and the McCarthy era scarred the nation 30 years later after the second great war.

Government is often loath to extend the guarantees of freedom to unpopular dissenters, and especially to those who question the fundamental assumptions of society but who do not hesitate to claim its protections. Majorities, assuming without question their rights, can be intolerant of minorities who invoke the same privileges.

But all these challenges, from the time of the Alien and Sedition Acts to the present, have been beaten off, but threats to freedom rise in different forms and under varied guises and always will. Each generation in turn must act to protect its birthright, and each must discover anew that freedom is indivisible, that if the rights of any among us are taken away, the liberty of all is in danger.

Our liberties turn not alone on majestic principles, but on legal procedures and how fairly they are applied to the heretic, the criminal, the rebellious. Yet such procedures often are attacked by the unknowing or the authoritarians as "mere technicalities."

Justice Felix Frankfurter had something to say to them 28 years ago. "The history of liberty," he declared, "has largely been by the observance of procedural safeguards." He went on to emphasize that the "two great objectives of the procedural guarantees of the Bill of Rights" are "the attainment of justice and the containment of power."

The law and the courts that interpret the law are part of the armament of freedom, but the great underpinning of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights is social justice. Without a society dedicated to that goal, our charter of liberty would become a lifeless, ceremonial document.

The Civil War decided that the United States would not perish from the earth as a free nation of unified people. The issue was decided then—but not for all time, nor can it ever be.

We are now engaged, more than a century later, in another awakening, another struggle. The descendants of the slaves that Lincoln freed and the nation forgot are pressing their long-delayed claims. They seek to achieve, with other minorities, nothing less than the reality of freedom.

If we stand with the men of 1791, if we stand with Lincoln, we will broaden our heritage to take in the disinherited of our time. We can then bequeath a greater legacy of freedom to future Americans, a legacy that will not assure their liberty, but will assure them the opportunity to claim it if they will.

WELL DONE

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, Elgen M. Long, of Woodside, Calif., a commercial airplane pilot, recently performed the amazing feat of flying a light plane solo over the North and South Poles, and touching down on all seven continents, while also flying over all eight quadrants of the globe.

For the information of my colleagues, I insert in the RECORD a comment by the Regional News Service, of San Francisco, on Mr. Long's feat, entitled "Well Done":

WELL DONE

A measure of the distance aviation has come in recent years is the outstanding achievement of Capt. Elgen M. Long, Woodside, Calif. flyer.

Long, a commercial pilot, using his own money and on his own time, flew solo in a light twin-engine plane over the north and south poles and the intersections of the equator with the zero and 180th meridians, both in mid-ocean, and touched down on all seven continents in doing so.

He flew this grueling flight with better than time-table punctuality, being forced to deviate from his flight plans only by adverse winds as he headed home across the Pacific from Japan and Hawaii.

Until someone comes along to surpass it, the success of this imaginative feat, conceived and financed by one man, with the help of his wife and possibly others, should entitle him to be the Charles Lindbergh of the second half of the 20th century.

Just short of 45 years ago, Charles Lindbergh touched off aviation's greatest explosion of daredevil flights by flying the Atlantic solo in single-engine plane from New York to Paris. For years thereafter, flyers attempted everything possible and much impossible with the crude flying equipment at their disposal.

Long must share his phenomenal achievement, which should entitle him to the Distinguished Flying Cross of every nation on earth, with his dependable plane, its dependable engines and its superior navigational instruments.

The man who put it all together and made it work is entitled to the world's acclaim. Well done, Captain Long.

ARKANSAS—LEADER IN RIVER TRANSPORTATION

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, since the beginning of the 19th century Arkansas has been a leader in river transportation. H. K. "Big Daddy" Thatcher has continued our great legacy with a keen sense of dedication. Recently, the Arkansas Gazette reported his success. I recommend that article to my colleagues in the Congress:

[From the Arkansas Gazette, Dec. 5, 1971]
H. K. THATCHER—"MR. RIVER DEVELOPMENT"
(By Janice Clark)

"I have learned that in dealing with water resources improvements it takes a long time to secure the authorization and completion of projects. The job cannot be done by the work of any one individual, or even one organization."

This statement last year by H. K. Thatcher, executive vice-president of the Ouachita River Valley Association (ORVA), perhaps explains more concisely than anything else the reason for his effective service in development of Arkansas's waterways. He also added on that same date, "Because they are so interrelated, it is difficult to say whether any one single water resource project (with which I have been involved) can stand out above the others; but, perhaps the nine-foot navigation project in the Ouachita River is the biggest and has been the most difficult."

Surely, in the 21-year fight for the nine-foot channel project, Thatcher has had to demonstrate the patience of a saint, coupled with the tenacity of a bulldog, along with the special genius of a choreographer in

bringing to bear on the project the devoted effort, varied talents and special influence of many individuals and organizations.

It is thus fitting that as he approaches his 81st birthday in February, he sees the wheels turning on all fronts toward completion of the nine-foot channel which will bring commercial navigation as far up the Ouachita as Camden, providing a transportation system which, as he says, "under modern bargaining practices, makes every river port an export-import shipping center."

The rich icing on this birthday cake is the addition of a 65,000-acre wildlife refuge to be established by the Department of Interior in the Felsenthal Basin in Arkansas, with an additional 12,000-acre refuge along the navigation channel in Louisiana.

Thatcher was employed 21 years ago as executive director of ORVA, following the announcement by the Corps of Engineers that they would close down the locks and dams on the Ouachita River because there was insufficient commercial navigation on the river to warrant their operation.

To measure the concern of the urban and industrial complexes which have developed along the Ouachita since the present six-foot navigation channel "organized" the flow of water, one needs only to listen to those who remember it before the present seven locks and dams were built in 1924.

Mrs. Charlie Woods of Crossett, who has fished in the Ouachita River for over 60 years, says, "I've waded it many a time. In the fall of the year during the dry season sometimes the river would be no more than four feet wide, and the water didn't more than come up to my knees. There weren't any dams or anything to hold the water. And then when the rainy season came the water would come clear out to the hills. There wasn't any road to El Dorado then, and the water would stretch as far as you could see—to the hills on the other side—about 20 miles."

Industries which have developed with that water source as a determining factor in their growth became justifiably alarmed over the prospect of its being returned to its old fluctuation from sluggish stream to rampaging flood.

Sportsmen were upset because the Ouachita provides some of the finest fishing in the state, and literally thousands of boating enthusiasts find weekend recreation on its waters. Countless brightly-painted houseboats provide regular "vacations" for mill workers and their families, fishing boats find small bays and sloughs to tie up for quiet angling, and faster boats tow skiers down the river's channel. Sand bars offer stop-off points for skiers to rest and groups to picnic, and Audubon Society members gain entry to unpeopled parts of the bordering woodlands from its waters.

The Ouachita's willow-edged banks backed by great forests, maintained by woods-products industries, make it one of the most beautiful rivers in the nation. The National Geographic magazine once declared it to be the third most beautiful river in America, and there are thousands whose recreational life is centered on the Ouachita who would agree. In fact, at the time when the closing of the locks and dams was threatened, the mill workers of Crossett Lumber Company signed a petition measuring 100 feet in length which they sent their congressmen, pleading for the life of the river around which their recreation was centered.

When employed by ORVA, Thatcher was already highly respected in the economic and water resources development of Arkansas. Members of ORVA and the Engineers had agreed that a nine-foot channel in the river would be necessary to handle modern barge traffic. Thatcher was 60 years old when he came into the organization, and it was expected that his job would be over in five years with the completion of the navigation chan-

nel. This would have dovetailed nicely with Thatcher's 65th birthday—and retirement age.

However, the Korean War caused dried up funds for the project and it was shelved until 1962, when the plans were dusted off and revised. Rather than digging the nine-foot channel, it was agreed that higher dams to raise the water would be more practical and less expensive.

And here is where the bulldog qualities of Thatcher and his saintly patience kept him on his job long after he had earned the right to lie around in the sun reviewing his life of considerable achievements, recollecting his frequent dealings with many of the "greats" on the political scene during a life that spans memories of Mark Twain, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, an afternoon of fishing with Herbert Hoover, listening to Albert Einstein speak, and our present VIPs on the national and local scene.

He was instrumental in drawing industrial and community leaders the length of the Ouachita River and all over the states of Arkansas and Louisiana into the work or saving the river, each bringing his own special skill, influence and effort toward the creation of a useful commercial navigation channel.

When the money freeze thawed, Louisiana went right to work to obtain the land for their dam sites and any increased property necessary for the spread of water created by the deeper channel. However, the river banks in Louisiana are relatively high, so there was little additional land needed for the navigation pools. The locks and dams have been built at Jonesboro and Columbia, and the Louisiana part of the total project will be dedicated in July or August of 1972.

The low banks of the Felsenthal Basin brought about a real land-acquisition problem. The raising of the water level from six to nine feet resulted in the creation of a minimum navigation pool of 14,500 acres, almost triple its present size. This was more land than the state could find the money to buy.

As Thatcher says, "The job cannot be done by the work of any one individual, or even one organization." Many individuals and a number of organizations were drawn into the effort. However, the central figure in the 20 years of progress—halt-inch ahead-fall back-turn and twist-push and pull—was the one-time Olympic athlete, H. K. Thatcher.

Thatcher had a noted record as an athlete, incidentally. He was named to Walter Camp's All American track team as a discus thrower and was also named to the Olympic squad. However, because of his father's serious illness, he was unable to make the trip to Stockholm. He was captain of the track team at the University of Missouri, however, in 1914 and played football there as well.

His 65th year is now 16 years behind him. He stoops a bit when he stands too long. But he retains all of the craft of a master team captain as he stubbornly coaxes, pleads, bullies and table-thumps to bring this 21-year-old vision for the Ouachita River and those who have settled on its shores to a reality.

The major land acquisition problem was solved early this year when the Department of Interior was authorized to buy lands for wildlife refuges. The Wildlife Federation of Arkansas along with the congressional delegations of both Arkansas and Louisiana were helpful in bringing a commitment from the Department to purchase some 65,000 acres of land in Arkansas and 12,000 acres in Louisiana for wildlife refuges, specifically for migratory water-fowl havens.

With the blessings of Governor Dale Bumpers and the Arkansas legislature, the Arkansas Game & Fish Commission has allocated \$200,000 for the lands on which the locks and

dams will rest, and for navigation channel cut-offs to eliminate major bends in the river which would interfere with barge traffic.

And so—with the dedicated work of many men and many organizations, carefully choreographed by the doggedly tenacious and incredibly patient H. K. Thatcher—the completion of the \$111,500,000 nine-foot channel for the Ouachita River and the 100-square-mile wildlife refuge is expected within the next five years.

Thatcher's words hold significant meaning: In the course of the years it has become abundantly clear that "it takes a long time to secure authorization and completion of water resource improvements," and also that "the job cannot be done by the work of any one individual, or even one organization."

TO UPHOLD PRINCIPLE OF NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS—RESOLUTION OF BAPTIST GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF VIRGINIA

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the Baptist General Association of Virginia, meeting in Arlington on November 11, adopted a resolution firmly upholding the principle of neighborhood schools.

The resolution points out that recent attempts to create racial balance in the schools by means of forced bussing have worked extreme hardships on children of all races and have resulted in unjustifiable expenditures for transportation of pupils.

The association makes it clear that this is not a racial issue. The resolution reaffirms the previous commitment of the association to the principle and practice of racial equality.

I commend the association for its forthright stand on this issue and ask unanimous consent that the text of the resolution be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

RESOLUTION

Whereas, we believe that the public school system has made a vital contribution to the greatness of our nation and to the openness and freedom of our democratic way of life and that the continued operation of a healthy public school system is essential to the well-being of our nation; and

Whereas, recent attempts to bring about racial balance in our public schools by means of forced bussing have brought about confusion, hardship, emotional suffering of both black and white children, and undue expense for taxpayers and parents; and

Whereas, the quality of education has been greatly lowered in many schools in recent years; and

Whereas, we are sincerely concerned because these circumstances have brought many able and dedicated teachers to the point of discouragement, frustration and even resignation;

Therefore, be it resolved by the messengers comprising the Baptist General Association of Virginia in session in Arlington, Virginia on November 11, 1971, that

1. We commend educators, legislators and all others who seek to overcome prejudice

and to establish attitudes and practices of fairness to people of all races.

2. We reaffirm our previous commitments to the principle and practice of the acceptance of all persons, regardless of race or color, as being of equal worth and as possessing equal rights, privileges and responsibilities.

3. We urge the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and state and local school officials to give top priority to quality education for every child in every school.

4. We express our conviction that assignment of pupils to schools solely on the basis of race is contrary to the rights of American citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States of America; and that the coercive element involved in the policy of racial balance and the consequent forced busing is contrary to the best interests of education and of all children.

5. We urge the Congress and the courts to use every proper means to make it possible for every child, regardless of race, to attend neighborhood schools. We likewise support open housing for all people in any neighborhood to make our support of neighborhood schools rest on Christian foundations.

A JOB WELL DONE, HENRY O. KRUEGER

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker I am certain that all Members of the House, particularly those with legal background, have a great deal of respect and admiration for those dedicated public servants who toil so capably but seldom, if ever, receive public recognition. One such man is Henry O. Krueger, who has announced his retirement after 30 years as the official court reporter of the 4th Judicial Circuit—Huron and Sanilac counties within the Eighth Congressional District. It has been both my pleasure and privilege to have known Henry during the time I formerly practiced law. There were none better as a court reporter, and if he had so desired, Henry could have pursued a most successful career as a practicing attorney.

The uniqueness of this man and his capabilities is shown by the fact that despite the lack of higher educational accomplishments, he was able to write and successfully pass the Michigan State Bar Association examination in 1934. Foregoing any complete retirement, Henry plans to establish a part-time practice of law following his retirement.

His law colleagues will be hosting a dinner for him this week, and I am certain old experiences will live again. Our judicial system is losing an outstanding man as a court reporter, but gaining a fine attorney with experience and compassion second to none.

At this time, I would like to insert a very fine feature story by Mr. Richard W. Carson, news writer for the Huron Daily Tribune, Bad Axe, Mich., on Henry Krueger's career and retirement. The December 10, 1971, story follows:

COURT REPORTER HENRY KRUEGER RETIRES
AFTER 30 YEARS
(By Richard W. Carson)

During a time when his schoolmates might have played hockey for an afternoon swim or another try at the old fishing hole,

Henry O. Krueger cut classes at Sandusky High School to attend a sensational murder trial at the county courthouse.

His attraction to the proceeding was not to watch the attorneys in their battle of wits to prove the defendant's guilt or innocence, but rather to look on as the little-noticed court reporter, Miss Harriet G. Unkenholz, skillfully wielded her quill and recorded the testimony in shorthand.

The prohibition-era trial, which lasted five weeks, made a lasting impression on the 17-year-old Krueger who observed with great respect, "the style and grace with which she (Miss Unkenholz) wrote in shorthand."

Miss Unkenholz, then a woman in her sixties encouraged the youthful Krueger toward a career that will draw to a close at the end of this month.

After 30 years as the official court reporter of the 24th Judicial Circuit (Huron and Sanilac Counties), Henry Krueger will retire to a part-time practice of law he plans to establish in a small office on Heisterman Street.

At 64, Krueger has lost none of the enthusiasm that originally sparked him to take up his pen and document the proceedings of circuit court trials under 25 different judges.

Born in Snover, northwest of Sandusky in Sanilac County, Krueger was one of seven children. His parents farmed and could not afford to send him to college.

Despite his lack of university training, Krueger successfully wrote and passed the State Bar Exam in 1934 to become a lawyer. Studying through extension courses and gathering every bit of information he could through practical experience, Krueger realized his childhood dream of being a court reporter in 1941 when, a week before Christmas, he was appointed as court reporter for Huron and Sanilac counties.

By his own description, he has enjoyed "a fascinating, public career."

The element of human drama inherent in many of the trials he has worked on remains vivid to Henry Krueger. "I have reported many interesting court cases in which every facet of human emotion is involved—hatred, anger, and joy," he recalls.

"You can read the faces of the jurors when they return with a verdict and know how they have reacted to a case," the veteran reporter confides.

Shorthand is a vanishing skill, according to Krueger, who notes that his successor will probably take down proceedings through the use of a stenotype machine. Relatively few of the active court reporters in Michigan still use shorthand as a method to make trial records. A serious shortage of court reporters exists across the United States today.

Krueger looks upon shorthand as an art; one which he developed after much practice. For 12 years, from 1928-40, he worked as reporter of justice court and workmen's compensation proceedings in Sanilac County.

During his spare time, he would test his speed and accuracy by reporting the great speeches as they were broadcast over the radio. Winston Churchill's great speech of the Fall of France and Madame Chiang Kai-shek's historic plea on behalf of her people before the United Nation were among those that Henry Krueger took down in shorthand and transcribed as a young man.

As a student at Sandusky High School, from which he graduated, Krueger received two years of stenographic training which helped him in his early job placements.

In 1928, Krueger took a job with the Sanilac County Prosecutor where he received valuable experience in criminal law by taking pre-trial exams and drawing warrants. In his free time, he studied law by correspondence. He also worked for some years as an employee of the Sanilac Probate Court.

Krueger's appointment in 1941 as reporter for the circuit courts of Huron and Sanilac County was made by then-Governor Murray D. VanWagoner on the recommendation of the late Judge X. A. Boomhower.

For the past 18 years, Henry Krueger has served under Judge Arthur M. Bach. The judge speaks well of the association with his reporter and traveling companion during literally hundreds of trips to court in Sandusky.

Krueger worked under a number of different judges when Judge Boomhower became ill suddenly six months into his final six-year term. As a result, a number of visiting judges were assigned to cases in the circuit courts at Bad Axe and Sandusky.

The Lord brothers murder case stands out as the most sensational of Henry Krueger's 30-year career. The three brothers were charged with murdering their uncle, Peck auctioneer, Charles Lord, during a robbery at the latter's home in 1937.

After the murder, the brothers fled to Flint where one was apprehended. He was subsequently tried and sentenced to a life term. The two others escaped to New Mexico, but were soon implicated in two murders there and sentenced to die in the electric chair.

Through a series of legal maneuvers and good fortune, the brothers cheated the death sentence and were paroled in 1950 at which time they were returned to Sandusky to stand trial for the murder of their uncle.

Krueger recalls the case which pitted Sanilac County Prosecutor Charles W. Rigney against Howard J. Clyne, a lawyer from Yale who handled the defense. The case was "exceedingly well tried," Krueger remembers, as both men were expert trial lawyers.

Following a five-week trial, the Lord brothers were convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to life in prison.

For sixteen years, the brothers were confined at Southern Michigan Prison at Jackson. In 1966, however, a new supreme court ruling was handed down and the confession, which played a major part in their conviction, was declared inadmissible.

Because all of the witnesses in the murder case were dead, a new trial was impossible and the prison doors swung open for the Lord brothers, who not only eluded the death penalty in New Mexico, but finally skirted the maximum sentence for the murder of their uncle.

Henry Krueger has submitted his resignation to Gov. William G. Milliken to become effective December 31. Next week his law colleagues are hosting him at a dinner in his honor.

Krueger is married to the former Hazel Parrish of Sandusky, a skilled pianist and teacher of piano. The Krueger's are members of the Bad Axe Presbyterian church. They have two daughters, Mrs. J. Robert Crofoot, Endwell, N.Y., and Miss Barbara Krueger, Bad Axe, an elementary teacher at Harbor Beach.

Active as a Mason, Krueger has served as the head of all four Masonic orders.

"When I write up a transcript of a trial, I experience the complete retrial of the case." Henry Krueger speaks these words today with the same vitality that drew him from the drabness of his afternoon classes at Sandusky High to the crowded circuit courtroom a few blocks away. His career as a court reporter really began with the dip pen of Harriet G. Unkenholz in 1926 and will end when his successor begins to record testimony at Bad Axe or Sandusky on a sleek, new stenotype machine.

FORTHRIGHTNESS AND HONESTY

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, over the past 3 years, Vice President SPIRO AGNEW has conducted several tours of the coun-

try. He has been working assiduously to create and consolidate popular support for the domestic and foreign policies of this administration, and to help elect candidates who will back the President's goals.

Due to his forthrightness and honesty, as well as his willingness to handle any difference of opinion in a frank, head-on confrontation, the Vice President has incurred the disfavor of a number of citizens—some of whom have resorted to expressing their hostility in a manner far below the ethical standards of rational debate.

It is to the Vice President's credit that he has consistently succeeded in maintaining his image as a competent and dedicated advocate of administration policy by refusing to stoop to the level of his most rabid critics.

Just prior to his departure abroad, earlier this fall, as the President's personal representative, Mr. AGNEW stopped off in Buffalo to make an appearance in support of Congressman JACK KEMP. Anne McInenney Matthews subsequently wrote a column in the Buffalo Courier-Express which describes that evening's festivities, and gives a revealing picture of the real SPIRO T. AGNEW. I submit this article to the RECORD:

A GREAT RECEPTION

(By Anne McInenney Matthews)

It is like the detractors who carp at Lib-erace—and the answer that those who deride his glitter coats and candle-lit performances envy him all the way to where he banks the big dough.

I am referring to those who were less than enthusiastic about the "Veep," Spiro T. Agnew, who visited Buffalo last week to praise Congressman Jack Kemp as "one of the brightest stars in Washington and for whom I predict an exciting and brilliant future."

Some in the media didn't think the Veep was wonderful. But all the people in the ballroom of the Hotel Statler Hilton and in the Terrace Room across the way did!

"I don't see how he could close his right hand," said GOP Chairman Al Bellanca. "I never saw anyone write so many autographs in one session in my life. And all the while he was laughing and talking personally to people and shaking hands. The crowds adored him!"

Agnew reciprocated. He thought Buffalo—and Buffalonians—were great. He admired the glittering Uncle Sam hat on a pedestal in the lobby and complimented Joe Petrella on this and all the other decorations. When he heard that there was an overflow crowd in the Terrace Room across the lobby who had to be contented to see him and hear him on closed circuit TV he huddled with Bellanca on "ways and means."

"I never knew there was a sort of secret way to get over across the way through service tunnels and kitchen areas," said Bellanca. "It was 40 minutes of intensive argument with the Secret Service officials but finally Agnew prevailed and we went up to the balcony of the main ballroom and then down various 'service stairs' underneath the lobby and up into the Terrace Room across the way."

"The crowd there went wild, Jack Kemp and Agnew were surrounded in a minute. There was such warmth and friendliness that you could almost cut it with a knife. They wanted to shake hands with both Kemp and Agnew. The autographs started and the line of hand-shaking wound around and around."

"It made the heart of a chairman of a major party—me—feel proud. I don't think anybody in the main ballroom knew we had left. But it certainly made the evening for those in the overflow crowd in the Terrace Room!"

In the main ballroom the flash bulbs were busy. For the many top politicians in town that day, and the decision of the Court on the Attica Prison situation, almost all of the major networks were on hand.

Press passes were hard to come by and when I got mine from Lou Rotterman's office I felt that I had been given a saliva test and was racing in the fifth at Batavia. Rightly so, I believe.

Anyway Peter Gust Economou kept to his usual average and had his own photographer take a picture of himself with the Vice President. This means that he has been photographed with every prominent Greek who has come to this country in the past 50 years, and that includes the King and Queen and Crown Prince, Onassis and the Premier.

Prior to the big dinner session for Agnew and Kemp, Peter Gust had staged a big luncheon meeting of every prominent Greek-American in Buffalo to beat the tom toms for the Agnew dinner. Honor guests were Alphonso Bellanca, Jim Dillion and Joe Brocato, all of the GOP Chairman's Club. They wanted support for the big meeting—and they got it.

Despite the tight security, despite the ring-around-the-rosy of special police and Secret Service, the Vice President came across loud and strong. When he smiled his eyes bubbled and almost disappeared in his head—and he smiled often.

He talked about his major sales products—Kemp and Nixon—and he sold them well and truly. His charm and personality projected from the podium and it was returned "in kind."

If this is politics—I'm for it!

TRIBUTES TO O. BENJAMIN MARBLE

HON. ALPHONZO BELL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to two very eloquent tributes paid O. Benjamin Marble, the late vice president of McDonnell Douglas Corp.

The first tribute was delivered by Donald W. Douglas, Jr. at the memorial services for Ben at the Westwood United Methodist Church; the second by George Pardee, Jr., president of the Crescent Bay Area Council, Boy Scouts of America, at the council's 1971 annual recognition dinner.

It would be redundant for me to try to elaborate on their accounts and praise of Ben's outstanding accomplishments in the many fields to which he contributed so significantly.

The texts of the tributes follow:

REMARKS OF DONALD W. DOUGLAS, JR., AT MEMORIAL SERVICES FOR BEN MARBLE

There is a sadness upon us today, an inevitable sadness, certainly, and perhaps an inescapable one. But latent in that sorrow is the equally inescapable knowledge that Ben would not have wished it so. For the only sorrow he knew was not, forever not, for himself, but only for that which he found reflected in the countenance of his fellowman. And this Ben Marble was wont to dispel on the spot . . . ready with an act of kindness and an understanding heart to battle gloom and despair and unhappiness in any form . . . for these elements of the human condition were the only enemies Ben Marble ever knew.

Surely we can accord him no better, as beloved wife, sons, kin and friends, than to go forth from this day of farewell reflecting that unquenchable spirit of faith and goodwill and all's-right-with-the-world-happiness which we found in the handshake, the embrace, the bigger than life smile of universal love that was Ben Marble. And to help sustain us as we go forth today, let us hear the words of a man from whom Ben drew much, perhaps, of his own special spirit and character . . . a man whom he called friend, and whom he befriended, for half a century, my own father, Donald W. Douglas . . . I read to you now his words.

"O. Benjamin Marble, best known as Ben. He leaves an adoring and lovely wife, three heart-broken, fine sons, a brother always his warm companion, and hundreds, if not thousands of close friends and admiring associates.

"While he has left this world before his brilliant career was completed, he accomplished more while amongst us than most men manage in a long lifetime. And always with the greatest ease, humor, and completely joyful attitude toward everyone he met.

"His unbounded energy, his brilliant accomplishments, his healthy competitive feelings in both business and his many outdoor sports, were facets of this most attractive person's admirable characteristics.

"From the ice and cold at the South Pole to the steaming jungles in many Southern lands, Ben brought to his work for his company, ideas and accomplishments that had great impact on his successful career.

"Literally, at the drop of a hat (which he rarely wore) he would be gone on projects in some far land, that were dangerous but rewarding, exciting but important. Imagination, energy, and charm were outstanding characteristics of this vital American. Always extremely competitive, but never in bad taste or with malice.

"Ben was a real individual whose like we will probably never know again. The only comfort for those who knew and loved him is that our pleasant memories of him will never fade—indeed—they will always be with us to brighten dull and sad days."

Let our memories, indeed, brighten our dull and sad days.

From the camps in Scammon's Lagoon to the Rockies in Wyoming we have been bunk mates—grizzly bears to quail we were hunting pals—over the golden hills of California to the aspen of the North Platte in Wyoming we were saddle mates. From San Pedro to the Molokai Channel we were shipmates, a scout and brother in all sense of the word. Whenever we ride, hunt, fish, sail or camp we will always have a smiling companion around the campfire warming our hearts.

GEORGE PARDEE

I would ask everyone to rise for one minute of silent prayer in memory of one of the most dedicated scouters and humanitarians to serve the Crescent Bay Area Council, O. Benjamin Marble.

(Prayer.)

Attending tonight is Ben's life partner and widow, Bea Marble, and his 3 sons Brian, Bradley, and Buzz Marble. To illustrate the kind of lady Bea is, when Jack Smith, our Recognition Dinner Chairman invited her and their sons to attend, she said, "Yes, Jack, Ben and I were planning to attend and Ben would want me to." That is the spirit that Bea Marble has. Our Council will sorely miss Ben and his dedication in that spirit. We are hoping the Executive Board of the Council will approve the use of some of the funds contributed by Ben's many friends to educate a young man from our Council to become a professional scouter. We will direct this young man into the American Humanities Foundation program . . . training for youth leadership.

Just distributed to you is a copy of the

beautiful tribute delivered by Donald Douglas, Jr. at Ben's memorial service. It speaks for itself. We hope you will read it in-depth so that you may know the greatness of Ben Marble. It is a tribute and a challenge to all of us to carry on the torch that Ben has passed on.

Bea, as a token of our esteem and love, I am pleased to present you with this 14K gold Silver Beaver charm. Again, thank you for attending.

MEL CLIFFORD LEAVES CITY HALL

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the Members of the U.S. Congress the news about the retirement of Mr. Melvin B. Clifford after over a quarter of a century of service to the city of Brockton, Mass. Mel Clifford as he is affectionately known by his friends retired as city clerk.

Serving with a devotion and dedication that endeared him to all those who have a profound appreciation of excellence in public service. I have known Mel Clifford back to the time when I served as City Registrar of Boston and while I was a member of the City Clerks Association of Massachusetts. Mel Clifford was the epitome of fair and impartial service to the public. He was a great city clerk. Like many others in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts I hold Mel Clifford in high esteem. I am indeed proud that such an exemplary gentleman as Melvin Clifford is a resident of the 11th Congressional District of Massachusetts. I know that in retirement Mel Clifford will continue to show a real concern for his fellowman.

I include in the RECORD at this time, a recent news article, November 30, 1971, which appeared in the Brockton Enterprise.

The article follows:

MEL CLIFFORD LEAVES CITY HALL
(By Bruce F. Smith)

This morning we asked City Clerk Melvin Bernard Clifford, who retires today after 20 years of service to the city in four capacities, what his thoughts were on leaving City Hall.

"I view my departure with mixed emotions," said Mel, who has over the past quarter of a century been a councilor-at-large, mayor, acting city manager and city clerk. He is unique in being the only person in the city's history to have served in all these capacities.

Mr. Clifford said he is looking forward to a long vacation. "I will certainly miss the people whom I have been associated with, particularly the clerks in the City Clerk's office and the Board of Registrars of Voters office whose valuable and knowledgeable assistance helped tremendously in my carrying out my duties," he declared. We sat down with him in the deserted City Council chamber where he has served as clerk to the council since 1956.

He added he would also like to publicly thank "the many wonderful people who helped along every step of the way" in all four positions he has held.

BEEN REWARDING

"My years of service to the city have been very rewarding. The people of Brockton have been very good to me and I have tried hard to repay them for their faith in me. In any event, I have done my best and I hope my best has been good enough. I wish the city itself and everyone in Brockton well," he concluded.

Marking the veteran official's retirement was a luncheon Monday noon in the Board of Registrars office. Attending were the girls of the registrars' and city clerk's offices, Mel's successor, J. J. Lyons; City Solicitor Joseph I. Sousa, Registrar Raymond Olson and Henry Hanson, a longtime friend and former registrar of voters.

Mel was presented with a purse of money and other gifts from city employes.

KEEP ON WORKING

This morning from 10 to noon and again from 2 to 4 this afternoon "open house" was held in his office under the chairmanship of Mrs. Mary Ann Good of the city clerk's office. Mel received the best wishes of a host of friends and associates at his desk, where he characteristically continued to perform last day tasks between handshakes. A wide variety of refreshments was served on tables set up near his desk in his decorated inner office by new members of his office staff.

Several officials and long-time associates at City Hall commented on his impending departure from public service. Among them was Mayor-elect Richard L. Wainwright, who said:

"His invaluable contribution to city government will always be remembered by the citizens of Brockton of both political parties.

"He has always been able to work with the elected officials of both parties, which is the key to a successful administration in city government."

WILL BE MISSED

Miss Julia Yakavonis, chairman of the Board of Assessors and a municipal colleague for 36 years, commented: "I'll miss his wise counsel. His meticulous services to the city will be sorely missed."

Miss Mildred M. Lipper, veteran city auditor who has worked closely with Mel, declared: "His retirement is going to be a big loss to the city. We've worked together very well all these years."

This afternoon Miss Lipper presented him gift certificates from the city department heads as well as a gift from the Flower Fund.

Also on hand for the open house this morning was Mrs. Catherine Kenney, retired assistant city clerk.

GREAT BOSS

Her commentary: "Congratulations to the greatest of bosses. Your retirement (although you will enjoy it) is a loss to the City of Brockton. You served the city as city clerk with dignity and dedication always."

Also remarking on Mel's departure was City Solicitor Joseph I. Sousa. He declared: "During my four years as city solicitor I want to state that I have found him most co-operative and most knowledgeable in the areas of municipal law and parliamentary law."

He commended Mr. Clifford for his "exemplary service to the city generally" and particularly for the aid he has given him in fulfilling his duties as city solicitor.

Council Pres. Louis R. Columbo had this to say: "When I was first elected, the late Councilor 'Bud' Hallisey told me that Mel Clifford was the most knowledgeable and cooperative official at City Hall.

IT WAS TRUE

"I found this to be completely true during my four years as a city councilor and especially during the past year while I have been president of the council. We'll certainly all miss his presence at City Hall

and I hope that he will not be a stranger in the years to come."

Mel, as just about everybody at City Hall calls him, first came to the building as a councilor-at-large in 1948 and he served one two-year term. His debut in politics came at the urging of two long-time, close friends, the late Warner A. Morse and the late City Clerk J. Albert Sullivan.

In 1949, he decided to run for Mayor, again at their urging, and was victorious. He served for one term and was defeated in his bid for re-election in a close race by C. Gerald Lucey.

Mel returned to City Hall in 1956, when he was appointed to the position of city clerk to succeed Thomas J. Mullins. He has served in this capacity ever since. For eight months in 1961 he served in the dual role of city clerk and acting city manager following the ouster of City Manager William A. Gildea.

WITH CLASS

Mel came to City Hall with class at the behest of two good friends and today, 24 years later, he leaves with class.

He has always cherished the brief comment made by the late Steve Dalton in the Enterprise upon his leaving office as Mayor. Steve said that Mel "retired with honor." We can make the same observation today.

During his long stay in the city clerk's office it has been his consistent policy to treat all alike—Democrat or Republican, the rich and the poor, the political novice and the seasoned veteran of municipal life. His counsel has been sought by many and the advice given found to be sound and forthright—even if it hurt.

He's going to be missed.

"WHAT PROMISES—WHAT OPPORTUNITIES" IS HEARTENING THEME OF JUDGE MAXWELL'S DISCUSSION ON REAL WORTH OF AMERICA

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, some Americans have been looking too hard and too long at the mirror held up to them by their carping critics. The constant drum of doomsayers and fault-finders have served to diminish the once bright optimism of the young, the sense of confidence of the middle-aged, and the feeling of well-being among our older citizens.

There are among the critics of America, fortunately, those who see the glass half full, who correctly assess the real worth of this country. They do it in a forthright, factual manner befitting the real patriot—the citizen who is concerned and works to bring solutions to problems.

One such stirring statement was contained in a recent article in the Inter-Mountain of Elkins, W. Va. It is an account of a speech by U.S. District Judge Robert E. Maxwell at the annual Elks Lodge memorial service.

The Elkins jurist said:

In a republic, we can only assess and maintain our community through the generous exercise of mutual comity, sincere, and genuine cooperation and tolerance of dissent.

He added that good humor and respect

are necessary attitudes for those in American society who "mold, modify, and decree our life style."

Turning specifically to the memorial service, Judge Maxwell noted that the departed members of the Elks Lodge have "left with us the problems and the issues of the day as well as the future. We accept that responsibility. They also left with us the legacy of accomplishment and getting the job done. We will be true to that legacy."

Mr. President, I commend to the Senate the observations of Judge Maxwell on American life today and ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the news report on his speech be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

WHAT PROMISES—WHAT OPPORTUNITIES

Using the text, "What promises—what opportunities," Judge Maxwell observed the historical truism that "some people and some issues will prevail and some will not prevail," and advised the sizeable audience that "we must always conclude our discussion with good humor and respect."

Turning to the areas of evaluating citizenship, personal involvement, today's assets, including youth and older generations, the memorial speaker said, in part:

"In paying our respects during this memorial, we do so by evaluating our civilization as well as assessing our personal stewardship. The civilization of which I speak spans the earth, yet is as personal as your home. The stewardship to which I refer invades the office, the factory, the school, the church, our courts, the Congress, the White House and the United Nations.

"In short, this is the time and place for us to look into the mirror of our mind. This is the time for constructive criticism of our individual life style and to objectively report to our individual conscience whether or not we measure up.

"In times of fatigue we are inclined to despair the occasions of massive unrest, the general signs of a mood of violence, the evidence of darkening influences on the world's economic, military, diplomatic and social affairs and the increasing appearance of apathy in every walk of life.

"But in times of quiet reflection when we deal with both the positives and the negatives, there are substantially more pluses than minuses, considerable more good than bad and, on balance, our land is still a land of promise and opportunity.

"When we as a people begin to talk seriously about our civilization and the place our society holds in the orderly fraternity of man, the first positive step forward has been taken.

"Our nation today has a substantial asset with which to meet the problems that confront only our country but the world. This asset did not exist even one generation ago. The asset is our nation's youth. The present generation of young Americans not only gives us reason, enthusiasm, energy and imagination, but taken as a whole, the youth of America today are more mindful of the seriousness of our nation's problems than any previous generation. This is true because of the scientific and technological breakthroughs that have contributed to a meaningful dissemination of current events—indeed, instantaneous reporting of current events from around the world.

The youth of today are strong in spirit but tender hearted. They place proper value on human needs. They possess the courage to combat cruelty and injustice. They shy from hypocrisy and avoid artificiality. Religion is

a way of life. They as a whole adopt worthwhile moral and spiritual principles and are ready to sacrifice for what they consider a philosophical conviction.

Continuing the evaluation of today's events Judge Maxwell concluded:

The middle aged and older generation are also thinking, philosophizing and acting in ways that will bring great and lasting changes to our country as well as the world. In spite of the period of upheaval that has swept our nation—the world—in the past decade, the basic institutions of our land are intact. It is fair to assume that the people of our society are simply trying to make these institutions more meaningful and more contributing to the American ideal."

Sunday's Elks Memorial Services began at 2 p.m. James Parsons, acting Exalted Ruler, opened the program and presided over the schedule of events. Acting Chaplain Richard Paul delivered the opening prayer as well as the closing benediction.

Soloist was Henry Sipe and pianist Miss Virginia Boyer.

John H. Neale, a trustee of the local lodge, presented the eulogy which recognized the passing during the past year of the following members: W. Grady Whitman, Waymon G. Malcolm, Keith Cunningham, Fairfax Brown, Osco Dale Hayes and Parker Fink.

Judge Maxwell was introduced by Phil W. Ware.

VOICE OF AMERICA INTERVIEWS RAYMOND H. MULFORD

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, all of us know how important it is that business corporations, as well as individuals develop and work toward a social conscience.

Raymond H. Mulford, chairman of the board of Owens-Illinois had an interview on the Voice of America program. Mr. Mulford is chairman of the committee for economic development, which recently published a report on the social responsibilities of business corporation.

I recommend the remarks of Raymond Mulford as a must reading for every Member of Congress and for every American citizen, for that matter.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the remarks of Raymond H. Mulford as a part of this Extension of Remarks:

VOICE OF AMERICA INTERVIEWS RAYMOND H. MULFORD

(Spontaneous responses to probing questions on one of the most controversial subjects in the news today—social responsibilities of business—are reproduced in this transcript of a Voice of America press conference featuring Raymond H. Mulford, chairman of the board of Owens-Illinois, Inc., and chairman of the Committee for Economic Development's Subcommittee on Business Structure and Performance. The interview was taped on August 6, 1971, and was broadcast on September 4, to audiences in Asia, the Middle East, Europe, Africa and Latin America through the world-wide facilities of Voice of America.)

From Washington the Voice of America brings you Press Conference, U.S.A., an unrehearsed discussion program. Each week at this time reporters interviews an interesting

personality in the news. To introduce our guest this week and our correspondents, here is Les Higbie, this week's moderator of Press Conference, U.S.A.

Increasing attention has focused recently both within and outside the business community on ways to provide a better quality of life for all our citizens. Among those studying this question are the businessmen members of The Committee for Economic Development (CED). A CED Subcommittee has just published a 74-page report entitled "Social Responsibilities of Business Corporations." Our guest today is the chairman of that Subcommittee, Raymond H. Mulford, chairman of the board of Owens-Illinois, Inc., Toledo, Ohio. Mr. Mulford is a native of San Francisco, and is a graduate of Stanford University and Harvard Business School. He has served Owens-Illinois in several executive positions since 1933 and became chairman of the board in 1968 after seven years as president. He is a director of several other companies, is a trustee of the Toledo Museum of Art, and of the National Cystic Fibrosis Foundation. Mr. Mulford, welcome to Press Conference, U.S.A.

Thank you, Mr. Higbie.

Now will our panel of correspondents identify themselves.

Haynes Johnson, The Washington Post.

Murray Seeger, The Los Angeles Times.

Courtney Sheldon, The Christian Science Monitor.

Mr. Johnson, would you take the first question please.

Question by Mr. Johnson:

Mr. Mulford, I was struck by two sentences in this report of your Committee. One says that there is now pervasive feeling in the country that the social order, somehow, has gotten out of balance and that greater affluence amid a deteriorating environment and community life does not make much sense. You say that also applies to American business. The large corporations are undergoing the largest, most extensive self-examination about their own roles in the American society since the 1930's. I would like to ask you a general question. Just what do you see as the great problems facing the country and the role of business in doing something effective about them?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

Well, I think that through the efficiency and effectiveness of our business organizations we have made great achievements in terms of providing a reasonable level of affluence to the greatest percentage of our citizens in comparison to any other country in the world. We have done reasonably well from the standpoint of providing material necessities. In spite of that, however, with our growing population and with the increase in the move toward metropolitan centers, I think industrialism and the effects of living so close together in such large groups have created conditions which people find not so attractive as they were in a simpler type of economy. I think we must address ourselves to improving those conditions. I don't think we can turn the clock back in terms of our ability and our obligation to meet the needs of people—not only of maintaining a reasonable standard of affluence but eventually eliminating such poverty as does exist in the country. And some poverty does exist. We must continue with our efficiency in production in these respects but we must also give considerable attention to the by-products which have been unpleasant to a lot of people.

Question by Mr. Johnson:

Let me ask you a more specific question now about business in general. While coming to the studio I heard a radio broadcast about a corporation in Baltimore that said it would have to shut down its plant if it were forced to spend \$2 or \$3 million extra on antipollution devices. What's your feel-

ing about a corporation that takes that stand in this whole question?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

I think there have to be some trade offs. I think the attention which environmentalism has received on the whole is constructive. I do think there are some aspects of it, however, which are emotional and overrated. To try to fully satisfy all the demands of the most extreme ecologists would mean a diversion of capital, a diversion of effort, and a diversion of our total capability that probably would be unjustified because we have so many other pressing problems.

Question by Mr. Seeger:

Mr. Mulford, I'm reminded that Professor Friedman of the University of Chicago, an economist who a lot of businessmen pay attention to, has suggested that businesses have no business going into the social area at all. He also has said that business is not equipped to deal with social issues and that the best thing business could do for the country would be to strive for efficiency, good profits, and a strong economy. Why do businessmen get into these social problems at all?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

Well, one of the reasons I think our study was undertaken is because there has been so much dialogue and such a wide diversity of opinion in relation to the actual social responsibility of business. We are very familiar with the views of Professor Friedman, who is at one end of the pendulum. As you said, he really believes that the business of business is business, and that we should concentrate on making profits and leave other aspects of society alone. On the other hand, there are those who seem to attribute all the ills of society to business. We feel that probably the proper answer is somewhere in between these two. This is the reason we undertook this rather extensive four-year study. But we did involve academicians, politicians, and other people who had a point of view we thought would be worth considering, and we did have representation of the Friedman philosophy in our discussions. In the final analysis, however, the report was determined, designed, and approved by businessmen themselves.

Question by Mr. Seeger:

Are your recommendations weakened by trying to get a consensus report from a group of businessmen who have a wide diversity of interests and pressures on them?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

Probably to some extent. I think an individual with positive conviction would give a more clear cut, a more specific, a more forceful presentation. There obviously are some compromises. On the other hand the opportunity to involve so many people with constructive points of view probably gives these compromises some merit.

Question by Mr. Sheldon:

Mr. Mulford, in your report you suggest that if competing corporations can't get together and shoulder equal social responsibilities particularly in the area of pollution that they should ask the government to step in, presumably with some kind of regulations. Can you see this as being very practical or being very widespread?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

Yes, I believe I can. I'll use a collective we, speaking for those who were a part of this report. We feel that every effort should be made by business to do as much as it can on a voluntary basis—to be realistic, to be progressive, to recognize the social aspects of their operations. However, you frequently run into situations in which—because of Justice Department regulations and because of the impracticalities from a competitive standpoint—we think it would be advisable to have specific government regulation applying equally and equitably to all companies involved in a given line of commerce. We would hope that the constructive atti-

tude of business and its own efforts would be such that government would want to involve responsible business executives in designing such regulations.

Question by Mr. Sheldon:

Isn't it pretty much a fact of life that the more a corporation or a business spends on social programs and antipollution programs, the more they will charge for their products in the end? Or are corporation's profits or business' profits higher than they should be?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

I think you bring up a very important, a very realistic point. In the final analysis the consumer, the general public, is going to pay the cost of whatever money is diverted to environmentalism. I don't think there is any other possibility, and, unfortunately, I don't think the average citizen completely realizes this. Now there are some aspects to what I suppose you would call environmentalism which are actually constructive in themselves from a productive standpoint. As an old factory manager, I've used one example of this many times. Consider a plant that has a high level of good housekeeping, a high level of cleanliness, and concurrently with that a high level of safety, which has used all of its expertise in not only guarding equipment but creating an attitude and an atmosphere within the plant which is conducive to safe working habits. Inevitably such a plant will be a more efficient plant than a sloppy plant. I think there are many aspects of this thing we call environmentalism. I think of the attention which companies now are giving to the aesthetic values of their plants. I think of many of their community activities which have a reflection in the kind of cooperation they get from the communities in which they operate. Those activities are reflected in the morale of the people within the company and to an extent these things are actually constructive in achieving efficient production. I think they are helpful.

Question by Mr. Johnson:

I guess we've all been talking about the same thing for many years. About national priority and problems on the agenda facing American and it always comes back to one hard problem. That is money. Where are you going to get the money to reach all these fine goals such as health care, which we hear is going to double in cost in this country over the next four years. At the same time we have an economy that is going through some distress. Are we able to pay the price? Are we able to raise the money and divert it to these social aims we need and you think are good? How does the business community feel about that?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

Although we are the wealthiest country in the history of civilization I think we have reached the point where our desires exceed our current ability to fulfill them. This matter of setting priorities is probably one of the most important problems that the country faces. I think they hesitate and particularly their political leaders too frequently hesitate to face up to it. I think the reason that we're involved in an unfortunate inflationary situation at the present time is a direct reflection of the fact that we refused to face priorities several years ago.

Question by Mr. Johnson:

Well that leaves two questions, I suppose. What would you say is the first priority facing this country, and what do you do about this economic spiral of inflation? What should we be doing that we're not doing?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

Well, this is a difficult question, and I don't know that I'm fully competent to answer it. Let me go back to the time that I think was the start of our problem. This is some few years ago in the Johnson administration, and let me say at the outset that I'm very much in favor of practically everything that Mr. Johnson espoused. My problem with his conduct of the situation is that we just

couldn't do everything. But at that time we were accelerating a war which was very expensive. We had an extremely affluent society in general and we were devoting ourselves to what Mr. Johnson called the Great Society, which meant the elimination of poverty and the correction of the problems of the inner city. Frankly, we were not wealthy enough to afford all of them at the same time, and at that time I was very much in favor of—although I was a minority as I am so often in these things—substantially increasing taxes. Substantially increased taxes would have reduced the level of our affluence and I think that was the measure that was indicated, but in trying to maintain all of these programs we inevitably got into a situation where the value of the dollar decreased.

Question by Mr. Seeger:

Mr. Mulford, in your statement from the CED one of the things that jumps out at me is this proposal for a stronger business-government partnership to attack the social problems of this country. It scares me a little bit because there are a lot of people in this country who are not very happy about the way the government has been meeting the social problems and they also are afraid of big business. There are also enemies of this country who think business and government are already in a conspiracy against everybody else in the country. Who else, is there another partner in there beside business and government?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

Well, of course, when we think of government we think of the political institution as the only institution which represents all the people. This is the reflection of the desires of society as a whole, of the people as a whole. As I appraise business operations in the Free World—and our Company is very broadly involved in Europe, South America, and the Orient, so we get a good look at the situation—that as business is conducted in the United States we probably have more freedom of action than is true in any other country in the world. In other words, we are less far down the road to Socialism. On the other hand, business and government in the United States are constantly in an adversary position. In many other countries of the world, Japan being an outstanding example, business and business institutions are in an important partnership with government and are an important instrument in national policy. In the United States we seem to be continually fighting each other. I think actually rather than people being concerned about collusion between business and government, perhaps people should be concerned about this adversary situation. Because we do feel that in meeting some of our major social problems, certainly the problems of the inner city, the problems of the deterioration of the inner city, that government must be the leader in developing the strategic plans and that business probably can be extremely helpful in implementing the plans. But plans which involve the use of eminent domain, plans which maybe involve the disruption of existing patterns even though they are designed to produce very much better patterns, can be developed only by the specific representatives of the people as a whole. Again I say I think the function of business is to effectively implement the programs which government designs.

Question by Mr. Seeger:

One of the things that strikes me when we talk about the problems of the inner city is that a lot of those problems have been created because business abandoned the central cities. They have built new factories outside the cities. They have built new factories in other parts of the country rather than the urban East and the older Northern and Eastern cities are left with the remnants. They're left with the unemployed;

they are left with empty factory buildings. What can business do about that?

Answer by Mulford:

Well, I think one of the great things about our country has been, generally speaking, the mobility of our society as contrasted with other countries. Actually I'm not so sure that it isn't advisable for business to build their operations on the perimeter or even farther out. The congestions that we have in our metropolitan areas now is awful. At best there is going to be some air contamination, some effluent from business activity, which preferably should not occur in the middle of a very congested area. I think one thing that business has been constructive in and active in is a problem for society as a whole. One of our greatest problems is the subject of freedom of movement, of open housing if you will. In my own case I participated very actively in a losing campaign in Toledo in which I advocated open housing. I think you will find the most responsible businesses advocating as strongly as they can the complete freedom of movement of our population. But as long as society directly or indirectly imposes restrictions on the movement of people I think you're going to have a kind of deteriorating situation that you referred to.

Question by Mr. Sheldon:

Mr. Mulford, does your concept of social welfare responsibility of a corporation extend to refusal to do business in a country like South Africa because of its segregation policies?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

No. As a matter of fact we have a minor interest in South Africa. We have thought this problem through very carefully, not only as it relates to South Africa but even before that as it relates to doing business in certain sections of the United States where moves were such that it was almost impossible, and was impossible in some instances, for us to conduct our operations in the manner that we felt was completely right. Our feeling has been that we are more constructive in involving ourselves in such societies so that we can lean against those things which we think are unfair. We made it very clear when we made our association with this company in South Africa that we were completely opposed to racial discrimination; completely opposed to apartheid as we understand it, and to the extent that we could develop any credibility as an industrial citizen of South Africa we would align ourselves with those people who oppose those policies. This is our position. We think that by boycotting you actually solidify the opposition.

Question by Mr. Sheldon:

I'd like to turn to rather a general question on the business outlook. What would you say is the prospect for checking inflation and also the unemployment rate, and what would you advise President Nixon to do at this point?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

Well, I have felt very strongly for the past couple of years, advocated it publicly, represented it in the councils of the CED and any place else where they would listen, that this inflation which started as a brush fire back in the latter 1960's has reached forest fire proportions, that it is feeding on itself, that it has changed from a so-called demand pull to a cost push sort of situation, and that it is an emergency situation and that we should take emergency measures. I think for a specific period of time, not longer than three years certainly, that we should impose mandatory wage and price controls so that we can stop the rampant inflation, catch our breath, and concentrate on improving the economic position of people by increasing the value of the dollar they have rather than by giving them more dollars which constantly deteriorate in value.

Question by Mr. Johnson:

As you're well aware, one of the things that the critics, the most vocal critics, have said over and over again is that the system itself, our system of government, our system of business is far too slow to respond to change. It takes too long, we put out studies and the rest but nothing really seems to take place. Would you address yourself to that question? You say it took four years to compile this report from business and the government has made many reports of this kind, and yet the tensions in the country certainly have not diminished and the attitudes, if anything, are a feeling of a lack of faith that we're able to do the job.

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

No. I don't agree with that hypothesis. I think actually some of the brakes that we've built into our system, the check and balance system, which seems to be so ineffective at times over the long run, have proved to be very sound. I think that major changes are necessary on occasion but I think they should be very carefully thought through. I think they should stand the test of a continuing desire over a period of time. I think there is a much greater danger of taking precipitous action under an emotional sort of an atmosphere than there is in the careful, considered and, granted, slower method of procedure.

Question by Mr. Seeger:

Mr. Mulford, in your report that you talk about giving direct subsidies to business to accomplish some of these social programs, I think that's admirable because if you see the subsidies right out in the budget then you know what the priorities are. Would you also be in favor of eliminating some of the hidden subsidies that various parts of business now get to strengthen the tax base of the country? I'm thinking of the various tax gimmicks that certain industries enjoy over other businesses.

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

I guess I haven't enjoyed them as much. Comment by Mr. Seeger:

No. I don't think the manufacturing sector gets them as much as the natural resources and minerals areas do.

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

Well, I think this is a serious question. You're referring in this case to the depletion allowance which the oil industry enjoys. I happen to be on the board of a principal oil company and I am very conscious of the tremendous gambles they take in attempting to develop additional sources of petroleum, of energy, which is so terribly important to the whole world and specifically important to our country. I wouldn't agree that they are unjustified subsidies so I guess we come apart a little bit there. But let me say this. I agree fully with your thesis. I think one of the real dangers in this country, one of the real unfair things, is hidden tax. I would be very much in favor of making any form of taxation direct and obvious so the people know what they are paying.

Question by Mr. Seeger:

I'm thinking of the same thing for subsidies. In other words, instead of giving someone a subsidy out the back door through a favorable tax treatment why not give it to them out the front door?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

Well, I think generally speaking I would agree with you. In terms of its practical application I do think there are times when such a tax relief as the investment credit is very much justified. Now I don't know whether you would consider that a hidden subsidy or not but it is a credit which re-sounds to the advantage of the company investing heavily in new capital equipment.

Question by Mr. Sheldon:

Mr. Mulford, do you approve of the Government's support of Lockheed in its financial affairs, and if your company were in a position similar to that of Lockheed would

you have made a similar appeal to the Government? What are the precedents here, good or bad?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

I honestly don't know that I understand all the aspects of that situation well enough to have a well considered opinion. Now I don't mean to evade it. Generally speaking I would say this, I am opposed to government, either Federal or local, subsidizing private enterprise to the disadvantage of competitors who pay the full tote. To me this is a fundamental consideration and I think I would apply it to Lockheed. However, there were factors in the Lockheed situation—after all, their business was almost 100 percent with government—and whether in the administration of all the contracts that were involved there was a consistency and a fairness on the part of government I don't know. I just don't know enough about the situation in total.

Question by Mr. Sheldon:

Mr. Mulford, are corporations really too big and too diverse to develop concerted and meaningful social welfare programs that are anything more than window dressing?

Answer by Mr. Mulford:

I think not. I think, of course, that when you talk about social programs you have to consider that business is a part—an integral part—of society. It isn't something separate. When we talk about social responsibility we're talking about not what business does in terms of productivity, but *how* it does it, and I think this is tremendously important. I think it makes its greatest social contribution by conducting itself constructively in relation to the basic ethic of the country in the means by which it does its production job.

Mr. Higbie:

I'm sorry, gentlemen, our time is up. Thank you, Mr. Mulford. Thank you, members of the press. Our guest has been Mr. Raymond H. Mulford, chairman of the board of Owens-Illinois, Inc. Correspondents on our panel included Haynes Johnson, Washington Post; Murray Seeger, Los Angeles Times; and Courtney Sheldon, Christian Science Monitor. This is Les Higbie in Washington.

CURTIS CHRISTIANSON

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues in paying tribute to Curtis A. Christianson, who since 1946 has faithfully and conscientiously performed the exacting and demanding duties of tally clerk of the House of Representatives.

The hard work of someone unseen, who is loyal and dedicated, can keep any business or any enterprise working on an even keel. Chris has been ever present, doing his work in a most efficient manner. I have found him to be one of the best informed and courteous men on the Hill. On any question, when asked for advice or information, he has given of his time freely, willingly, and diligently to be of help, and always with a smile.

Like all other Members I regret to hear that he will not be with us next year and I join in wishing him first, good health, then a happy and contented retirement.

We will miss him greatly.

THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the 15th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution has come and gone but it has not gone unnoticed or unmarked. The American Citizens Committee for the Commemoration of the 15th Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution and the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation observed the anniversary of this heroic uprising with a dinner at the National Press Club Building on October 23, the date when thousands of freedom-loving Hungarians gave their lives in a desperate attempt to throw off the yoke of the oppressor. I am privileged to serve as honorary cochairman of the American Citizens Committee. In that capacity, I am keenly aware of the splendid work being done by the committee and its national chairman, Representative FRANK HORTON of New York.

The American Citizens Committee was chiefly responsible for the moving tribute paid to Hungarian Freedom Fighters at the anniversary dinner last October 23. In the aftermath of that observance, it seems appropriate to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article written by Dr. Andras H. Pogany, national chairman of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation, U.S.A., and an article which appeared recently in the Guardian of Liberty, the semiofficial publication of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters World Federation, edited by its cochairman, Tibor Tollas. The articles follow:

[From the Edmonton Journal, Oct. 20, 1971]
FREEDOM FIGHTER PLEADS—"MOSCOW, WE WANT ONLY SELF-DETERMINATION"

(By Dr. Andras H. Pogany)

Mr. David Lawrence of the U.S. News and World Report, in one of his recent editorials, bluntly questioned the practical validity of the principle of self-determination of peoples, and he is right indeed.

Although the Vietnam War is supposedly fought for the self-determination of the Vietnamese people, and the whole world applauded the formation of independent republics in Africa, in Europe the freedom of small nations is still just a dream. East-central and Eastern Europe is ruled by a single dictatorship in Moscow.

Although the drive by the Nazi dictatorship of Hitler against those same nations initiated the Second World War, almost 30 years have passed by since the Russian domination of that area and no world power has tried seriously to restore freedom to the peoples of East-central and Eastern Europe.

Fifteen years ago Hungary and her 10-million people tried to do something about this lamentable situation in the heart of Europe. They tried to put an end to those shameful double standards in international relations, and to create a reality out of the myth of self-determination. All they asked for Hungary was that which is due all peoples: the right to live peacefully and without the fear of foreign oppression.

On November 4, 1956, not only was the Hungarian Revolution crushed by Soviet military might, but the principle of self-determination as well. The rest of the world, while voicing protests, made no serious ef-

fort to save Hungary from Russian oppression.

OPINION

What about world opinion? Asks Mr. Lawrence, with impressive sincerity. If a long, bloody and expensive war could be waged in Vietnam for protecting the people's rights to self-determination, why should the same right for Hungary and for other oppressed peoples be disregarded? Fourteen United Nations resolutions between 1956 and 1962, corroborated the right of self-determination for Hungary, calling upon the Soviet Union and the present authorities in Hungary to respect Hungary's liberty and political independence. In 1966 the U.S. Congress adopted a resolution, which states, in part:

"The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. . . . All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, cultural and religious development. . . ."

Needless to say, all of these resolutions were completely disregarded by the Soviet Union.

It is said that we live in an era of negotiation, instead of confrontation. This may well be, but still it does not change the basic immorality of present-day international relations. The answer is not another war, but a persistent demand by the Free World in general, and the United States in particular, for the principle of self-determination to be honored and maintained in any dealings with the Russians.

The Soviet Union should be made aware of the importance of this principle and the right to self-determination. The protection of basic human rights should be a *condition sine qua non* of all negotiations concerning the touchy problem of the European security so fervently demanded by the Soviet Union and its satellites.

STATUS QUO

If the Russians want peace and co-operation with the west on the basis of the *status quo*, they can have it with the understanding that the *status quo* means an order of the world based on human rights and self-determination for all peoples as it was conceived in the Atlantic Charter, in the text of the Yalta Conference and in the United Nations Charter formally accepted but later on, in *fraudem legis*, shamelessly misused by the victorious Soviet Union.

The time has come for the Russians to realize that without the acceptance of the principle of self-determination, they cannot have a peaceful world and a safe European "hinterland" for themselves. It is the undeniable duty, obligation and self-interest of the Western great powers, but first of all of the United States, to demand this from the Soviet Union as a price of any negotiations concerning the future security of the world and especially of Europe.

They all were signatories to the documents above and misused by the Russians in the past 25 years. They are all responsible for the present international chaos, and by demanding the fulfillment of the original agreements, the Western powers and the United States would only fulfill their treaty obligations toward all oppressed European nations.

In view of the present world situation, a persistent and logical demand may have a chance, with the Soviet Union facing an entirely different world today than it did in 1945.

A peaceful and safe Europe and a normal relationship with the west seem to be of great importance to them, and they might be willing to pay a small price for it to the

West. If so, Hungary shall be neutral and free from foreign oppression and will be permitted—along with other oppressed nations—to choose their own form of government.

For Hungary and all captive nations this is what self-determination really means on this Fifteenth Anniversary of the heroic Hungarian revolt.

[From the Guardian, Aug.-Sept., 1971]

REFLECTIONS ON A TRAGIC ANNIVERSARY

October 23 marks the 15th anniversary of the Hungarian people's heroic attempt to rid themselves of a Communist dictatorship of the cruellest Stalinist mould and to be free of the Soviet Union's grip.

That this spontaneous uprising failed, crushed by the most brutal use of overwhelming Soviet military power, or because Hungary today may present a superficial picture of normality—and even prosperity by Communist standards—cannot in any way detract from the significance of this tragic anniversary.

For history has an unending habit of repeating itself—as was shown when Czechoslovakia, under Alexander Dubcek, attempted at least to liberalise the more oppressive and inefficient aspects of Communist rule in 1968, only to suffer the same fate.

And now in 1971, the outside world watches with growing anxiety as the familiar storm-clouds gather over Rumania, another East European country which has been showing an increasing determination to go her own way.

Yugoslavia, the first and only East European nation to break loose of the Kremlin's hold, owes her continued survival largely to her vigilance and courage—and a happy accident of geography.

Now, however, the question will always be asked: Would Dubcek's attempt to bring "Socialism with human face" to Czechoslovakia have been stifled if the Soviet Union had not been allowed to silence with impunity the cry for freedom and human dignity which rose from Hungary in 1956?

For although the world at large heard this cry and was stirred almost beyond words by this small nation's heroism, the Hungarians were left to fight on alone.

From Budapest the coalition government which had been set up appealed to the United Nations and the great Powers to help defend the new Hungary's neutrality.

But the Soviet Union's veto rendered the Security Council impotent. And although, between November, 1956, and September, 1957, the UN passed 14 resolutions on the "Hungarian question", branding the Russians as aggressors and calling on them to withdraw, all these injunctions were totally ignored.

Seldom, before or since, have the limitations of this world authority been so pitifully exposed.

Instead, at least 20,000 Hungarians died, either in the fighting against the Soviet forces or in the grisly aftermath of executions and other brutalities which followed, while another 200,000 fled into exile.

Did these victims of Soviet oppression, like others, die in vain?

As the anniversary of the Hungarian uprising approached, the distinguished Spanish writer, Salvador de Madariaga,¹ reflected on this question and these are his conclusions:

¹ This eminent writer on international affairs has lived in exile since France came to power following the Spanish Civil War more than 30 years ago. Formerly he was his country's Minister of Education and Justice and, from 1931-36, its chief delegate to the League of Nations, the UN's predecessor. While in exile he has also held university posts in Mexico and Britain.

Was it for this? The question rises like a ghost on the battlefield of the soul. It is a terrible question, and the most shaking, indeed paralyzing, that can be raised.

Was it for this that those splendid youngsters died in Budapest in 1956? Was it in order that another set of splendid youngsters should die in Prague in 1968? Will a third wave of splendid youngsters die in Bucharest in 1971? Was it for this?

Who would dare answer such a forbidding question at 85? Handling ideas,—good and evil, better or worse, useful or useless, sterile or fertile—in the quiet of a comfortable study can hardly be equated with thinking on such things while facing a machine-gun, or lying under the wheels of a tank under the windows of one's home? Can a man, young or old, shuffle ideas like packs of cards at the time when he has taken his life in his hands and is shouting his last breath out in a vociferous cry: "Down with tyranny".

You say: That youngster whose very last breath shouted: "Down with tyranny" was not uttering a conclusion he had arrived at there and then. He was carrying out a decision he had taken long before, after examining the facts, and feeling that he was determined to die fighting rather than to live on his knees.

And who would deny that? But I doubt even if that is the end of the matter.

I suspect that beyond and below, or possibly above, that analysis of the mind, that conclusion and that decision take on the look of forms of life whose neat shape, both in themselves and in their relations, suggests a mechanical perfection rather than that perfectly-fitting imperfection which is the hallmark of life.

I suspect that they are all the end rather than the beginning of a resolve which, rather than a conclusion, suggests a mood, a posture of the self. And in that posture there is a part of determination and a part of inability or impossibility to accept what life brings at that hour.

The soul says: "Rather die than that" because first it has said, "never that."

And this, I find, solves our problem: How to answer our terrible question. It presents us with an answer born not in the brain of the observer, but found by him in nature. To the question: Was it for this? we answer, "No."

But this answer, as we find it in the streets and squares of Budapest and Prague, is more general than it seems at first.

It actually says: "No." It was not for this, nor was it for that nor for anything else. It just was. The youngsters of Budapest and Prague fought and died because death was the shape of their life at that hour.

But did they die in vain? Nothing that happens does so in vain. Life is not a chain of useful actions, each justified by the next.

Life is its own justification at the time it happens, and so is death, as the part of life which it is.

The body of Jan Palach (the Prague student who burned himself to death in protest against the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia) is not burning in order to illumine the ugliness of the Husak regime. Yet it does illumine it.

And if, tomorrow, its light falls on a free Eastern Europe, Palach will not have died in order to bring it about. But the fact that he lit the sky with truth over a Prague shaking with Soviet tanks will have been one of the causes of the liberation of Russia's victims and of Russia herself.

It was not essentially, therefore, to free Hungary that the young Hungarians fought in 1956. It was to be themselves, even to the death of themselves.

And so we see that no country can be truly free whose sons are not ready to stand by what they are. It is not what we say, not even what we do—but what we are that makes history.

In 1956 in Budapest, men were. And because they were, they are and they will be forevermore.

A CURE FOR HEROIN ADDICTION

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, every day across the United States, heroin exacts a cruel toll in human misery and suffering. It has been estimated that over a quarter of a million of our citizens have been entrapped by this addictive murderer. These addicts pay over \$400 million each year for the right to shoot this drug into their bloodstream. They pay to be slowly alienated from and outlawed from society.

The cost of heroin is not restricted to terms of human suffering for the addict and his loved ones. It reaches out and touches each one of us no matter how remote or distant. Crimes which are caused or related to the need to purchase drugs cost our society as much as \$3½ billion annually.

Mr. Speaker, these growing figures demonstrate conclusively that heroin addiction is truly a problem of national dimensions. President Nixon recognized this only last June when he declared this situation to be a national emergency.

I share these sentiments and therefore stand to introduce today legislation to promote research and development of a cure for addiction to heroin. This bill would allocate \$50 million toward this goal.

By way of contrast, Mr. Speaker, let me point out that at present a mere \$2 million is being spent by the Federal Government toward this end. At the same time, almost 200 times that amount is spent treating the effects of addiction in the form of hospitalization, incarceration and rehabilitation.

I propose that it is high time we begin attacking this problem at its roots rather than concentrating on its effects. The research money now available is outrageously inadequate. It is not surprising then that scientists have termed our understanding of addiction as primitive. Indeed, the recidivism rate, the number of users who return to heroin after treatment, proves it.

Mr. Speaker, this measure contains a sensible method to appropriate research money in order that it may produce optimum benefits. It stipulates that the Federal Government will pay up to 90 percent of the cost of all drug related research initiated by private industry.

These grants would be repaid should the drug eventually become marketable and show a profit.

In this way we can bring the best qualified and experienced drug researchers of private industry to bear on this desperate problem. Efficiency of time and money demands that we utilize the talents and facilities of our drug industry rather than trying to develop an independent governmental effort.

Mr. Speaker, this bill contains the necessary provisions to stimulate the machinery of private industry toward a cure for heroin. Till now they have hesitated because of the slim chances of success and in turn profit. I am proposing that the Government incur the financial risk because in the final analysis it is the Government and her people who have the most to lose unless a cure is discovered.

I would remind my colleagues that only last June this Government failed to allocate funds for this kind of research. It was and remains a tragic mistake—a mistake that this legislation can rectify.

TRIBUTE TO TOM MURRAY

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, certainly we were all saddened to learn of the recent passing of our beloved colleague and friend, former Representative Tom Murray of Jackson, Tenn., who for 24 years represented the Seventh Congressional District of Tennessee—and I want to join other colleagues in paying a brief but sincere tribute to his memory and record of public service.

I served with Tom Murray in the Congress for many years, and he was a dedicated and conscientious representative of the people and the public interest.

He represented his district, State, and Nation faithfully and well.

Tom Murray was chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee and contributed much to constructive legislation in this field.

He was a strong Democrat, and on one occasion when his vote on a certain issue was challenged, he said:

I am a Democrat and I was named for the greatest Democrat of all, Thomas Jefferson.

Thomas Jefferson Murray was a teacher, attorney, soldier, district attorney general, and a member of the staff of the Solicitor of the Post Office Department in Washington.

He was elected to the 78th Congress in 1943 and served until his retirement in 1967.

My wife Ann joins me in this expression of our deepest and most sincere sympathy to the members of the Murray family.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON AGING
NEEDED**HON. ROBERT PRICE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, some months ago I joined the distinguished gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. PRYOR) in sponsoring legislation to establish a House Committee on Aging, a committee charged with the special responsibility of studying the complex problems of aging and suggesting appropriate legislative remedies to this body.

This afternoon I am expanding my structural efforts in this area and am introducing legislation to create a Joint Committee on Aging. Under the terms of my proposal this committee would be composed of 22 Members, half from the House and half from the Senate. It would be given the special responsibility of reviewing the problems of older Americans, analyzing these problems in terms amenable to legislative action, and recommending to the Congress target bills designed to focus the instrumentalities of government upon the resolvable problems of aging.

I am taking this broad-based approach in an attempt to provide Congress with a means by which it can center the wide ranging and cumbersome machinery of the legislative branch on the whole area of aging, an area of such breadth that it encompasses approximately 20 million Americans. The magnitude of this number and its implications for our society become apparent when it is realized that in 1930, there were only 7 million persons in this category, and it is recognized that only one-fourth of the nations in the world have a population as large as that of our elderly. In fact, of the more than 100 so-called Western nations, only 16 have as many as 20 million people in their entire population.

To deal effectively with the immense problems of the aging will take the careful coordination of public and private resources and a dedication to the task ahead similar to that demonstrated in this Nation's drive to put a man on the moon.

Mr. Speaker, President Nixon has recognized the immensity and the range of the problems accompanying aging by establishing a Special Cabinet Committee on Aging. This special committee will operate as a part of the Domestic Council and will be the means by which the executive branch will coalesce its far flung and fragmented programs that deal with aging. Not only should the President be commended on his initiative, Congress should follow suit and set its legislative house in order so that the legislative branch can join with the executive branch in a full scale and coordinated attack on the critical problems of aging. Barring such an approach, the problems of 20 million Americans will probably continue to be denied the attention or the action they deserve.

For millions of Americans, growing old means a time of isolation and economic

deprivation. Fully one-fourth of our senior citizens live below the poverty line—that is 5 million people. An additional 5 million live below the near poverty line. For the average working man, growing old and retiring means that he stands a 50-50 chance of becoming poor for the first time in his life. This is no reward for his contribution to the American dream and a lifetime of sweat and toil.

If our society does not collect its wits and solve the resolvable problems of aging, it will have no one to blame and nowhere to turn for an excuse, for there will be no excuse.

PUBLIC INFORMATION AND GOVERNMENTAL PUBLIC RELATIONS

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the information function of the Federal Government today is of increasing importance because of the thousands of federally funded programs that affects the lives of every American. Information about these programs, often administered at the State or local governmental levels, is of vital concern to the public and the Congress.

The Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee will conduct extensive hearings into the policies and practices of Government information efforts being carried on by executive departments and agencies early next year. These hearings will include a review of the operations of the Freedom of Information Act (5 U.S.C. 552) as well as other related subject areas.

In this connection, I would like to call attention to an interesting and informative article from the October, 1971 issue of the Journal of the Public Relations Society of America entitled "Neither Pinkertons Nor Publicity Men." The article was written by Mr. Joseph S. Rosapepe, currently on the administrative staff of the Internal Revenue Service in Washington. The article provides much useful information on the historical background of public information activities in the Federal Government and discusses the impact of the Freedom of Information Act since it took effect on July 4, 1967.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include the text of Mr. Rosapepe's article at this point in the appendix.

NEITHER PINKERTON'S NOR PUBLICITY MEN
(By Joseph S. Rosapepe)

(NOTE.—Joseph S. Rosapepe is on the administrative staff of Internal Revenue Service, Washington, D.C.)

At first glance, it seems to be against the law to practice public relations in Government.

Federal law doesn't explicitly say public relations is illegal. Nor does it mention public relations as such. What it does say—and has said since October 22, 1913—is

"Appropriated funds may not be used to pay a publicity expert unless specifically appropriated for that purpose."

This is the way Section 3107 of Title V of the U.S. Code reads today. Since, in the lexicon of most laymen, publicity experts and public relations men are one and the same, you may find public relations officers in state and municipal agencies, but not one in the Federal Government. However, since Uncle Sam, like everyone else, needs public understanding and public acceptance for his programs—whether they come out of the executive, legislative, or judicial branch—he has people to do what has to be done. In both the military and the civilian units, these people are called information officers, public affairs officers, communications officers, press secretaries—anything but public relations men.

Before getting to the problem of the Government information man and what can be done about him, let's review the Pinkerton dilemma caused by another law enacted by our Senators and Representatives.

While Section 3107 of the U.S. Code refers to publicity men, the section immediately following, Section 3108, has said since March 3, 1893:

"An individual employed by the Pinkerton Detective Agency, or similar organization, may not be employed by the Government of the United States or the government of the District of Columbia."

The Pinkertons, it seems, acquired a bad reputation back in the days of labor wars, and taxpayers' money was not to be used to break strikes. But the law still mentions them by name, and always in the paragraph right after the one dealing with publicity men.

Despite section 3107, however, some branch of Government has periodically complained that taxpayers' money was being used to influence the public. Yet in 1966 Congress enacted, and the President signed, a so-called Freedom of Information law, which requires Government agencies to give the public more information about their actions than ever before. This law, promoted by editors and publishers, was signed on July 4, 1966, by President Lyndon Johnson, who repeatedly had been accused by the press of keeping too many things secret too long.

The FOI law was passed by heavy majorities, since it was in a class with motherhood and apple pie, by the legislators who, at the same time, advocated cutting down the number of information men and the compensation they could be paid.

The question remains: how did this situation come about, and what can be done about it—not only in the interest of trained and dedicated information men in or out of government, but in the real public interest.

Any course of action leading to change in the status quo calls for a clear understanding of how the situation arose in the first place. Digging into the history of the past 60 years reveals continually recurring criticism of, and opposition to, public relations in Government.

Contrary to the feelings of some public information officers that Congress innately opposes public relations and those who practice it, the reality is altogether different. A little probing into the legislative history of attempts to reduce or eliminate the funds used to inform the public shows that the objection has not been against the publicist, but against the information he was disseminating.

In other words, the situation is very similar to the legend of the Persian rulers who lopped off the heads of emissaries who brought bad news. From Representative Frank Mondell (Wyoming) in 1910 to Senator William Fulbright (Arkansas) in 1970, the pattern has been very much the same, some observers say. While these legislators

objected to the policies of the chief executive, they vented their dissatisfaction toward the public relations men who were informing the public about policies the legislators opposed.

Congressman Mondell, in his day, objected to the powerful Forest Service's attempt to preserve the lush forests of the West from commercial utilization but he took it out on the Service's press bureau. Senator Fulbright, frustrated by the continuing war in Vietnam, made four speeches in four days against the information activities of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines. His comments were followed by his book, *The Pentagon Propaganda Machine*.

On February 1, 1910, Mr. Mondell took up most of the afternoon assailing the Forest Service for its "scandalously extravagant use" of Government money to engage in propaganda work through newspapers and magazines. He attacked the press bureau of the Service for spending \$87,000 to send out "thousands and thousands" of bulletins to a mailing list of 750,000 with allegedly self-laudatory material.

By February 1913, the anti-publicity feeling again began to build up in Congress. The issue arose when Representative James R. Mann (Illinois), urged that funds be provided for wider distribution of certain bulletins by the Public Health Service.

In urging wider dissemination, Mann said the PHS was:

"Issuing some bulletins of popular value, in a language which the ordinary person can understand, bulletins of great service, which ought to be rather widely distributed for the purpose of preventing disease and telling people how to maintain better sanitary conditions."

When Mann submitted an amendment to the \$190,000 item supplying the funds, Representative Harvey Helm (Kentucky) countered with another amendment which said, "No part of this sum of money shall be expended for the printing of any matter not authorized by law." The issue brought forth an angry torrent from Mr. Helm similar to the force of Senator Fulbright's comments against the Pentagon. Said Helm:

"I have a suspicion that well-nigh amounts to a conviction that this sum of money can be used by way of employing a press bureau or a press agency to promulgate or scatter abroad the views of the officers of the Army on any particular legislation affecting the War Department."

"I hold in my hand a pamphlet . . . entitled 'Three years enlistment for the Army'. . . If the War Department favors an Army of 600,000 men, it can use this \$190,000 for . . . promoting the scheme. If the Navy wants to create sentiment throughout the country for big navies . . . it can do the same thing."

"These enormous sums of money for printing and publications . . . are sometimes used . . . to create sentiment in favor of big navies and big armies, but it is significant that more is seen in print about the time an Army or Navy appropriation is under consideration."

Seven months later, on October 9, 1913, during a debate on an appropriations bill for the Interstate Commerce Commission, Representative Frederick H. Gillette (Massachusetts) submitted a "publicity expert" amendment:

"No money appropriated by this or any other act shall be used for the compensation of any publicity expert unless specifically appropriated for that purpose."

Gillette explained that he was impelled to submit his amendment because of a circular issued by the Civil Service Commission announcing an examination for a "Publicity Expert—Male" for the Office of Public Roads in the Department of Agriculture.

Congressman John J. Fitzgerald (New York), who also had been concerned about the press bureau in the Forest Service, and Congressman Ashbury F. Lever (South

Carolina) joined with others in the 1913 debate.

GILLETTE. The different departments . . . certainly are not very modest in finding men and means to put before the country in the press the duties and purpose of their administration. I think they can do so without the employment of a man like this, who is avowedly simply a press agent. . . . In the ordinary work of the department, anything which requires the knowledge of the public certainly finds its way into the press. . . .

FITZGERALD. I should be very much surprised at any attempt to employ what is known as a publicity agent in any department of the Government.

LEVER. I take it that the gentleman from New York would not object to a department employing experts or editorial writers for the purpose of making our farm bulletins more readable to the public.

FITZGERALD. That is an entirely different matter. . . . My purpose is that no service . . . should employ a man whose duty is to prepare press matter in order to extol . . . the work of the service with which he is connected. That will be best advertised by the efficiency with which the work is performed.

LEVER. But I do believe we ought to have men in the various departments to make available the work of those departments, so as to reach the mind of the average reader.

FITZGERALD. If they are competent to do their work, they ought to be able to tell about it in plain, ordinary English.

Not until 34 years later was a serious investigation made again of the number and activities of information men in government. That was in 1947. In January, Representative William J. Miller (Connecticut) introduced a resolution to set up a nine-man committee "to study the operations and workings of people engaged in the Federal agencies to turn out so-called propaganda." Miller attacked the "wasting of hundreds of thousands, and perhaps even millions, of dollars each year by the executive departments of our Government in publishing, under the guise of reports, pure propaganda documents."

It soon became clear that, once again, publicity was not the real target. In Miller's case it was the Federal Housing Administration: "Many thousands of dollars are being spent right now to popularize certain provisions of the Wagner-Elender-Taft Bill; to popularize the work of the Federal Housing Administration." When taken to task by Representative John McCormack (Massachusetts), later Speaker of the House, Miller admitted he was opposed to certain provisions of the bill. And, when McCormack asked Miller to define "propaganda," the Connecticut Congressman said:

"What I mean by propaganda are those things that come out with expensive lithographed illustrations, glamorizing housing projects in Podunk or Turkey Hollow."

After criticizing the Commerce Department, War Assets Administration, Veterans Administration, Department of Agriculture, Miller attempted to balance his views:

"Let me make it abundantly plain that I am not attacking the theory that Government needs information specialists to help the radio and press get the facts. Nor am I criticizing press and radio for utilizing such services. Beyond any doubt there is a need in Washington for a limited number of such information specialists."

To determine the number of publicists needed, in May of '47 Congress set up a Subcommittee-to-Investigate Publicity and Propaganda in the Executive Agencies, headed by Representative Forest A. Harness (Indiana).

During a debate on tax reduction, in July, Congressman Harness reported on his committee's work by exhibiting a pile of government releases received by one newspaper during a single week. Harness said, "It is apparent . . . that the publicity output of the

Federal agencies is tremendous," and then added:

"The highest priced publicity staff in the world, employed by the Federal Government, is swamping newspaper offices with an unprecedented flood of news releases. Some of this material, of course, contains useful information. But a lot of it also is sheet propaganda designed to influence public thinking and to bring pressure on Congress. And much of it is just pure 'hog wash.'"

"It took money to prepare this material—a surprising amount of money. The latest available estimates place Federal expenditures for publicity purposes at about \$75,000,000 a year. And it was estimated that around 45,000 Federal employees were engaged either part time or full time in the preparation of publicity material; and, I might say here, this is typical of a lot of New Deal spending."

Harness attacked the "ever-increasing tendency of the Federal agencies . . . to misuse the funds which have been appropriated to them, to propagandize people to bring pressure upon Congress for the passage of specialized legislation." He listed the "propaganda" activities of the Public Health Service and the Social Security Board "in behalf of socialized medicine"; efforts of the War Department "in advocacy of universal military training"; work by the Agriculture Department in "propagandizing against reductions in appropriations"; and finally "the propaganda of the State Department in favor of the so-called Marshall Plan for the rehabilitation of Europe."

When Harness completed his report, Representative Harold D. Cooley (North Carolina) expressed the reaction of other Congressmen when he said: "My recollection is we have a law which makes it unlawful for a Government official or for a person on the Government payroll to use the services and the time of the Government in propaganda activities."

Cooley was referring to Section 201 (now Section 1913) of Title 18 of the U.S. Code which says, "No part of the money appropriated by an enactment of Congress shall . . . be used directly or indirectly to pay for any personal service" intended to influence a member of Congress to favor or oppose legislation.

In 1948 Representative Frank R. Havenner (California) cited a complaint made to the Attorney General that "the War Department, its personnel, and civilian employees" engaged in propaganda "in support of universal military training," but no action had come from the Justice Department.

By 1949 the government information man again was in the middle as the result of a report by the Hoover Commission dealing with "self-serving propaganda emanating from agencies of the Federal Government."

Asserting that the old law of 913 prohibiting payment to "publicity experts" obviously was not effective, the Hoover Commission focused on the 1919 law (Section 201) in which Congress had specifically constituted it a criminal offense to use appropriations to pay for personal services to influence members of Congress to favor or to oppose legislation.

The *Washington Star*, commenting on the Hoover Commission Report, said "Some agencies . . . do not seem to understand the difference between objective publicity and bureaucratic propaganda." The editorial suggested, "The best curb on biased Federal publicity is unbiased congressional publicity exposing bureaucratic propagandizing whenever and wherever it occurs."

A serious threat to the function of public information in Government arose in June 1951 when Senator Harry F. Byrd (Virginia) proposed that Government expenditures for publicity be cut.

Byrd reviewed the history of "abuses" in

Government propaganda, quoting a report by the Brookings Institution which said that "employment of publicity experts is forbidden . . . publicity experts are . . . appointed under other designations and one of the results has been an increasing flood of press releases."

To "correct the abuses" once and for all, Byrd, a newspaper editor and publisher, stated specifically that he intended to limit: "(1) functions performed by a person designated as an information specialist, information and editorial specialist, publications and information coordinator, press relations officer or counsel, photographer, radio expert, television expert, motion picture expert, or publicity expert, or designated by any similar title, or

"(2) functions performed by persons who assisted persons performing the functions described in (1) in drafting, preparing, editing, typing, duplicating, or disseminating public information publications or releases, radio or television scripts, magazine articles, photographs, motion pictures, and similar material."

Although Byrd acknowledged the need for Government information, he claimed that the "reduction would not in any way affect the legitimate effort of agencies in disseminating information." Yet in urging enactment of his amendment, the Senator revealed that his concern was not merely publicity, but the publicizing of "political programs such as the Brannan (farm subsidy) plan."

During the debate, Senator Clinton Anderson (New Mexico), who had been Secretary of Agriculture, questioning the Byrd proposal, defended the information men at the land grant colleges and said the Department "carries to the farmer himself the actual information which the farmer requires."

"Many Senators who are supporting this amendment are partially motivated by confusion over the use of the word 'publicity,' and by a misunderstanding of the extent to which funds allotted go into publicity activities as such . . . in contrast to general activities . . . in the field of education and instruction."

Byrd's amendment passed the Senate 60-10, but died when it failed to get approval in the Senate-House Conference Committee.

The debate on the Byrd amendment, however, had brought out the need for information officers, while clearly revealing the varied agencies and specific administration policies.

Senator Homer Ferguson (Michigan) referred to a Senate report which said it was not the intent of Congress "to curtail dissemination of information" by the FBI, CIA, Immigration and Naturalization Service, National Bureau of Standards, or the Coast and Geodetic Survey, but "to cut down the flood of publicity releases."

Senator Blair Moody (Michigan), the only working newsman in the Senate at the time, said:

"It would be very, very bad business to chop away, for the sake of saving a very small amount of money, those men whose responsibility it is to keep the channels of information open. . . . I am merely pointing out that it is not possible to provide adequate information without having information officers to attend to it."

During the next two decades attention shifted away from Government information officers and "propaganda," and moved to the broader issue of "freedom of information," a phrase which was first used by Herbert Brucker of the Hartford (Connecticut) *Courant*.

In 1955 freshman Congressman from California John E. Moss hit a stone wall in trying to get some information from a Government agency. The episode resulted eventually in the setting up of a subcommittee on Government information (of the House Committee on Government Operations) with

Moss as chairman. After 12 years of work, scores of hearings, hundreds of interviews, and thousands of speeches to gain public and press support, the Freedom of Information Act was passed.

In the Senate a parallel effort was initiated by the late Senator Tom Hennings (Missouri), and then continued by his successor, Senator Edward V. Long. The new law superseded the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946, which was supposed to accomplish the same goals. Experience had shown that legal language permitting "secrecy in the public interest," and giving information only to "persons properly and directly concerned," or releasing it "for good cause found" had been used to withhold information from the public.

The 1966 law shifted the burden of proof to the Government, requiring officials to come up with a legal basis for withholding information. It also established a formal appeals procedure and provided for judicial review.

Samuel J. Archibald, staff director of the subcommittee from its inception in 1955 until passage of the Act in 1966 and now head of the University of Missouri FOI Center, says the mere threat of a suit influences Government agencies to take a second look at their information practices, and often results in disclosure.

This was confirmed by Robert L. Saloschin, head of a Justice Department unit set up to coordinate Federal response to the FOI Act. "The act is having a real effect on Government," Saloschin says. The Justice unit handles cases based on requests from "business firms, unions, news media, various non-profit groups such as Ralph Nader's, and individual citizens."

In four years there have been nearly 150 cases. More than half have been settled, and of the remainder court decisions have been divided about evenly between Government and plaintiff.

Meanwhile, both committees of Congress with jurisdiction over FOI have been monitoring its progress. The House subcommittee, now headed by Representative William S. Moorhead (Pennsylvania), is planning hearings later this year on the effectiveness of the act. It is also preparing a directory of Government PIO's and a transcript of the hearings it held on the "Pentagon Papers." In the Senate, the Administrative Practices subcommittee, headed by Senator Edward Kennedy (Massachusetts), is studying the court decisions in terms of possible changes that might be needed in the FOI law after five years of operation.

Most importantly, as Archibald pointed out (*PR Journal*, June 1967), the new law recognizes the value of the public information function in Government, which means that the public information officer who carries out that function is legally recognized.

The importance of the public information function was vigorously established in the debate that preceded enactment of the FOI law. Many Senators and Representatives asserted the "right to know" of the public. Among the most articulate proponents were Representative Dante Fascel (Florida), Representative Ogden Reid (New York), Representative Melvin Laird (Wisconsin), Representative Donald C. Rumsfeld (Illinois), and Representative Robert Dole (Kansas). Typical were the remarks by Rumsfeld, now an assistant to the President, who said: "Our democratic society . . . is based upon participation of the public who must have full access to the facts of Government to select intelligently their representatives to serve in Congress and in the White House."

Despite statements like Rumsfeld's and one last spring by Senator Jack Miller (Iowa) who said, "A democracy works best when the people have all the information that the security of the nation permits," the role of

the information officer is changing only slowly.

Earlier this year, the Government Information Organization (GIO) was formally established in Washington after 20 years' existence as an unorganized luncheon group. One of its first announced goals was to seek the cooperation of the Public Relations Society of America and the Federal Editors Association in repealing the 1913 law.

But some observers feel that repeal of the ban on "publicity experts," with the confusion of the layman concerning public relations, will be only a first step in upgrading the function and professionals who are engaged in its practice.

The issue still remains clouded by a popular misconception that was articulated in 1963 by Representative Glenn Cunningham (Nebraska) who claimed:

"For 30 years the clash of ideas between the executive branch and the legislative branch has dominated our political history. . . . It is also apparent that in this battle of ideas and approach to government, the legislative branch is badly outnumbered in getting its ideas to the people."

Asserting that "over 100,000 employees in the executive branch are in the business of supplying information to the public," Cunningham said "this huge propaganda, publicity apparatus is being used consciously or otherwise to promote the legislative program, economic and political theories and odd ideas . . . of the executive branch."

Besides having to function in the unenviable middle position between the legislative and executive branches, the information officers have been subject to the numbers game. Back in 1948, one Congressman said: "Estimates in recent years as to the size of the information and/or publicity staffs in executive agencies range from 1,400 to over 100,000. . . . In my judgment there are at least 100,000."

Actually the Moss committee in 1966 reported 5,192 Federal employees, including professional and secretarial, engaged in public relations work. And in 1967 the Associated Press reported 6,858. This range was confirmed by figures in the *National Journal*, quoting the Office of Management and Budget which estimated 6,144 in the field in 1970. This numbers ping pong has engendered a confusion that has militated against any measures to improve the situation in the public interest.

Much remains to be done by leaders in the Government and in public relations if the convictions of many responsible public figures are to be realized. Senator Robert Dole (Kansas), for example, has said that "in a democracy, the public must be well informed if it is to intelligently exercise its franchise."

Wilbur Cohen former Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, stated the problem succinctly in *The Voice of Government*: "Explaining the Government's programs to the people who must pay for them is as essential in a democracy as developing the programs and carrying them out."

COMPARISONS OF THE U.S. CODES ON EMPLOYMENT OF "AGENTS"

Then

§ 53. Detective agency employees not to be employed.

No employee of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, or similar agency, shall be employed in any Government service or by any officer of the District of Columbia. (Mar. 3, 1893, ch. 208, 27 Stat. 591.)

Now

§ 3108. Employment of detective agencies; restrictions.

An individual employed by the Pinkerton Detective Agency, or similar organization, may not be employed by the Government of the United States or the government of the

District of Columbia. (Pub. L. 89-554, Sept. 6, 1966, 80 Stat. 416.)

Then

§ 54. Publicity experts not to be employed without specific appropriation.

No money appropriated by any act shall be used for the compensation of any publicity expert unless specifically appropriated for that purpose. (Oct. 22, 1913, ch. 32, § 1, 38 Stat. 212.)

Now

§ 3107. Employment of publicity experts; restrictions.

Appropriated funds may not be used to pay a publicity expert unless specifically appropriated for that purpose. (Pub. L. 89-554, Sept. 6, 1966, 80 Stat. 416.)

ORDER OF THE ROSE

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, around the first of September, I had an occasion to speak with the majority leader, Hon. HALE BOGGS, on the floor of the House of Representatives, and he presented me with a rose. He stated that if I stood up for the United States of America and would risk my life in defense of my country, I was then and there made a member of the "Order of the Rose." Other Members noticed the rose, and asked what it symbolized. I told them it was for those of us who stood up for the United States of America, and were willing to risk our lives in defense of the United States. They then expressed their desire to become members. I was pleased to place on their lapels the rose symbolic of the organization "Order of the Rose" and, thus, they became members.

Since this time, hundreds and hundreds of this most beautiful and durable of all American flowers are worn by many Members of the House of Representatives and citizens throughout the United States, as evidence of the fact that they willingly stand up for America and will risk their lives in its defense. Research has been done on the rose as an emblem of patriotic societies in the United States. It has been found that the rose was perhaps first worn in 1784 by James Otis, who was wounded in the Battle of Bunker Hill and lost his life as a result.

At this time our country is confronted with many difficult problems, but 95 percent of the citizens of the United States believe in America, long for the opportunity to stand up for America, and are willing to risk their lives in defense of the greatest and most compassionate country our world has ever known.

I include for the RECORD an article on this subject:

ORDER OF THE ROSE

In the United States, the first reported organization based on the Rose is said, by folklore, hearsay and very little concrete hard evidence, to have been the Order of the Rose or the Society of the Rose in the period between 1774 and 1784. In that this was a "revolutionary" group of men, whom we are told was made up of no more than 125 at its

largest, almost nothing is known by way of written record, except that such an order or society did exist.

The Order's, or Society's motto or pledge has been alternately claimed to have been "Where Liberty is, there is my Country," and "I am determined to sacrifice estate, ease, health, applause, and even life itself, to the sacred calls of my country." In that both of these sayings are also closely identified with James Otis (1725-1783), a fiery orator, lawyer and colonial legislator, it is alleged that he played a major role in this "Society of the Rose," or "Order of the Rose," whichever story/title you believe.

The organization's members were allegedly identified by the insignia they wore, which consisted of a pink silk ribbon, both ends terminating in Four points, signifying one nation from sea to sea (or Two points, totaling four, for the four corners of the new nation), and bearing a small Rose in its center.

Members of the organization reportedly met at regular intervals around a circular table, signifying that none was the greater or the lesser of his brother. They are alleged to have sworn themselves to be brave, loyal, generous to a fallen foe and reverent to God, and are said to have bound themselves to a pledge to protect the weak from the strong, to restore peace where it had been disturbed, to serve each other as fellow members and brothers, and to protect the Freedom of the Nation and its people, without regard to personal sacrifice. You will note that these later words are identified closely with the statements of James Otis and John Hancock (who, much later, reworded Otis' statement to the extent . . . "Patriotism, this noble affection which impels us to sacrifice everything dear, even life itself, to the sacred calls of our country.")

If, indeed, James Otis was the founder of such an organization of patriots, they could not have had a better leader or founder. He was a true United States statesman, a law graduate of Harvard University, who was appointed Massachusetts Advocate General in 1756, because of his legal brilliance and oratory. However, he resigned this post in 1761 to seek, and win, a seat in the state legislature. While in the legislature, he vigorously opposed the Crown's Writ of Assistance, which were warrants allowing Crown officers to search any ship or home for any reason whatsoever. This, and his introduction of the Stamp Act, moved the Governor of the State of Massachusetts to remove him from the state legislature. He carried on his fight against the Writ of Assistance in the Colonial Courts of Massachusetts. And while his appeals against them (he argued that they were in direct violation of Magna Carta, the British Constitution) were rejected in these courts, it is interesting to note that other courts in the land, based on his arguments, which were circularized, began refusing to issue these Writs. Reading these arguments many years later, John Adams said of James Otis, "American independence was then and there born."

James Otis was a close friend of Samuel Adams and John Hancock, all of whom were identified by the British as "New England Radicals." Otis fought at the Battle of Bunker Hill. A sabre wound to the head rendered him somewhat enfeebled and he retired from public life to a farm. In 1783, while tending his farm, he was struck by lightning and killed.

Like the Bible and many other stories of years before our time, much of what we know about early history is based on folklore, tales told by fathers to their children, and their children's children, hearsay and a degree of truth, magnified by time and teller. If, however, there was an Order of the Rose or Society of the Rose founded by America's founding fathers and patriots, those of us, who like Otis and Hancock are willing to sacrifice all that is dear to the sacred calls of

our country, can wear the Rose on our lapels with pride.

The rose has been chosen as an insignia by many groups because of its hardhood, its ability to grow and flourish in the most adverse conditions, its ability to be subjected to all kinds of mistreatment and harshness, only to re-grow stronger the next year; and because, while beautiful, its thorns can sting those who mishandle, misuse, or abuse it.

BALTIMORE POLICEMEN OF THE YEAR HONORED

HON. PAUL S. SARBANES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. Speaker, there are few problems of greater concern to the American people than our Nation's rising crime rate and the loss and heart-break it measures. Yet far too frequently we fail to fully appreciate the dedication and courage of the men and women who are most directly responsible for protecting our society from crime—our local police. Such is not the case in Baltimore, however. There we have a truly fine police force, a force which reflects the firm, enlightened leadership of Baltimore Police Commissioner Donald Pomerleau. Each year the policeman whose service is most exemplary is honored by the Baltimore Sunpapers with its Policeman of the Year Award. The award is presented in cooperation with the Baltimore Chamber of Commerce. In providing this tangible evidence of our city's appreciation for the outstanding effort Baltimore's Police make on behalf of the people of Baltimore, the Sunpapers and the chamber perform a most necessary and valuable public service.

This year, Mr. Speaker, the award went to two police officers, Patrolmen Leonard V. Santivasci and Robert E. Cohen, whose service exemplifies the very highest standards of police professionalism. Working as a team out of the same cruiser, these two officers handled 352 cases this year alone, and they have established a remarkable record which includes arrests in three homicides, two rapes, 40 burglaries, and 75 narcotics offenses, including one in which \$150,000 worth of narcotics was seized. But their record goes beyond their superb crime-fighting statistics. They have also demonstrated a concern for the people they serve which is so important if police work is to be successful. Perhaps the most telling example of this concern was the role they played in saving the life of a 4-year-old boy who drank his father's methadone, mistaking it for orange juice.

The Sunpapers award this year has gone to two outstanding citizens, Mr. Speaker, men who are a tribute to the force on which they serve, to their city, and to our Nation. I should like to join the Sunpapers and the chamber of commerce in offering my thanks and congratulations.

Mr. Speaker, I include an article and editorial printed in the Baltimore Sun

concerning this award in the RECORD at this point:

POLICEMAN OF THE YEAR AWARD

The selection of the *Sunpapers* Policeman of the Year Award goes to two winners this year and reflects the highest degree of professionalism. The recipients, Patrolman Leonard V. Santivaschi and Robert E. Cohen, joined the city force in the late 1950's and have served together nearly the entire time. Their dedication is not just to routine crime detection, but to community involvement as well. During award ceremonies at the Chamber of Commerce, the officers noted their most fulfilling act came not from any of the countless cases they worked or numerous arrests they made. Rather it came from their role in saving the life of a 4-year-old boy who lay apparently dead after mistakenly ingesting a dose of methadone.

The Eastern police district, one of the largest in the city, is a sprawling collection of tenements, low and middle-income row houses, heavy industries, neighborhood shopping centers, gawdy used car lots, markets, retail stores and discount centers. Crime is its hidden neighbor. Fortunately for the residents and businessmen in East and Northeast Baltimore, however, men like Patrolmen Santivaschi and Cohen are dutifully on patrol. Their remarkable achievements include arrests in 3 homicides, 2 rapes, 40 burglaries and 75 narcotics offenses, including 1 in which \$150,000 worth of heroin was seized.

The interesting aspect of their selection is that they are a team. Only once since the *Sunpapers* established this award have two men been selected the same year, and both were from separate stations. Patrolmen Santivaschi and Cohen, moreover, underline what reliability and friendship can accomplish. They are two men, operating out of the same cruiser, cooperating in a common cause and serving the larger community. The results they've achieved seem to say it all.

TWO EASTERN DISTRICT PATROLMEN GET SUNPAPERS POLICE AWARD

Two Eastern District patrolmen were honored by the Chamber of Commerce yesterday with the *Sunpapers* Policeman of the Year award.

Leonard V. Santivaschi, 42, and Robert E. Cohen, 38, received the silver plate and checks for \$500 each from Judge Dulaney Foster, chief judge of the Supreme Bench, at a luncheon at the Lord Baltimore Hotel.

Working as a team, the pair handled 352 cases this year, including 3 murders, 32 hold-ups and 134 narcotics violations.

They also arrested three escapers from a South Carolina chain gang and helped save the life of a 4-year-old boy who drank his father's methadone after mistaking it for plain orange juice.

Patrolmen Cohen and Santivaschi were credited with making the largest seizure of narcotics in the state of Maryland in 20 years when they uncovered \$150,000 worth of heroin and cocaine in a raid October 22. In February, they arrested a major narcotics merchant and confiscated \$10,000 worth of heroin.

Capt. Bishop L. Robinson, commander of the Eastern District, also cited their capture of a murder suspect May 21, after they chased him five blocks, and the arrest of two men wanted for an armed robbery of a grocery.

Patrolman Santivaschi, who has more than 14 years service in the department, has received the Bronze Star, 28 commendations and 10 letters of commendation. He is married and has three children.

Patrolman Cohen, with 13 years service, has 15 commendations. He is also married and has two children.

Robert L. Tate, president of the Chamber of Commerce, said this was the first time since the *Sunpapers* award was established

in 1959 that a team of policemen had won. Two officers in separate stations were co-winners in one previous year.

"MOM AND POP" SMALL BUSINESSES

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have been a small businessman for over 50 years and I am well acquainted with many of the struggles and hardships which face the very small business—the "mom and pop" stores. These are the people who have worked many hard and long hours to make a success of their business. It has been said that it is the "mom and pop" store which made it possible for this Nation to become great, and I would certainly endorse that belief.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Small Business Problems in Smaller Towns and Urban Areas of the Select Committee on Small Business, it has been my privilege to be a partner in the Congress efforts to assist small business. Under the outstanding leadership of our chairman, JOE L. EVINS, our committee has made every effort to foster and champion the cause of small businessmen all across the country.

Therefore, it is indeed heartening to learn in a recent article by Colman McCarthy, in the Washington Post, that one family-owned small business here in Washington, D.C., has been successful even in the face of strong competition from large chainstores.

Mr. McCarthy points out that although the number of family-owned small businesses have been gaining in recent years, such numbers do not tell the whole story. "Mom and pop" establishments," writes Mr. McCarthy "Are holding their own, according to the Census Bureau, even gaining a little. In 1958, couples ran 532,000 of them; in 1967, the figure was 666,000. But the numbers tell little about how fast mom and pop's heart beats when a shopping center moves in, or how high the rents are being pushed or how many extra hours the stores must be kept open to keep a little ahead. This is private information, to be kept behind the dark curtains or on the second floor."

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most vital subject, I am placing the article in the RECORD at this point.

The article follows:

THE FAMILY STORE—WINNING THE STRUGGLE TO STAY OPEN

(By Colman McCarthy)

The Christmas shopping season, which throws many otherwise sensible people into a type of commercial free fall, is now in its full crush. Business Week magazine reports that the marketplace is busy, especially the large department stores. But tucked away into the quieter corners of American commerce are the small businesses—the family-owned operations—that still rely only on quality service as the means of attracting and keeping customers and not on holiday peaks, catchy ads, "specials," or reduced-rate

come-ons. Every neighborhood has a few shops left, although some neighborhoods, paved over with roads and bad intentions, have fewer left than others.

Inevitably, the family store—often a husband and wife adventure spreading back over the years, like a long-term warranty—offers a richness of charm and taste nowhere to be found in the neon world of mass-produced goods. Where the department store offers the smell of plastic polyethylene carpeting, the family store lets you whiff the ragout stew cooking all day in the curtained-off back. There is no customer relations department, because instead of "relating" to a customer there is still the quaint practice of talking with him. As for advertising, the best ad is a satisfied customer.

One family-owned operation that appears to be winning the struggle to stay open is the photography studio of Julius and Lili Hahn. For the past 14 years, since coming to America from Germany, they have had a shop on Wisconsin Avenue, a few blocks short of Western Avenue on the District side. They live on the second floor and work on the first. The old-styled curtain is there, lighting is by 75-watt bulbs and the only musak is a monotone hum pumped in by traffic on Wisconsin Avenue. When a customer opens the door to the shop, a buzzer sounds in the back—it rings for a few moments, Mr. or Mrs. Hahn turns it off and in a minute or two one of them comes out front. While waiting, the visitor has the controversial social-criticism paintings of Mr. Hahn to look at, reminders that his business often takes second place to his art.

As with many neighborhood stores, such as grocers who wake one morning to find a new 7-11 down the street, or a Giant, Safeway or A&P up the street, the Hahns are now close to several large department stores that have photography studios. "At first," says Mrs. Hahn, "we were uneasy when they branched into this. Little fish always tremble when big fish swim in. We had visions of customers leaving us, especially when we couldn't match mass-production prices and were selling mostly our talent. But it didn't happen. The old customers stayed. In fact, a few who tried the department stores later came back to us, more loyal than ever."

The loyalty is returned. "When we first came here and opened our shop," says Mr. Hahn, "a number of our newly-made American friends advised us to squeeze and gouge the customer for all he was worth. But that wasn't the way we knew it in the villages of Europe. The customer is not an adversary. You gave him the best and he would return again and again. A personal friendship grew."

Often the relationship goes beyond the door. The Hahns occasionally spend evenings with couples who originally came to the store to sit for a portrait. Among those with whom a friendship has grown is Eugene McCarthy. A few years ago, the Hahns wrote a letter inviting him to come to their home and studio. McCarthy, then a senator, called and said he would be over. The Hahns photographed him—the portrait was hung out front for a long time, until the weather and exhaust fumes did it in—and spent the rest of the afternoon talking about Rilke, Robert Lowell and other celebrated poets. Among the prized additions in the Hahn library since then are two autographed volumes of McCarthy's poems, "And Time Began," and "Other Things and the Aardvark."

As with many who live in America by choice and not by accident of birth, the Hahn's earlier life contained tragedy. Mr. Hahn is a Jew who was captured by the Nazis in 1941 and sent to Auschwitz. Of his family, he was the sole survivor, all the others gassed. Early in the war, he took refuge in a small Bohemian village but the people turned him in. Mrs. Hahn, from Frankfurt, was jailed by Hitler in 1936 but was released after a few months on an amnesty. Half Jew-

ish, she worked in the German resistance, or what there was of it. For the past few years, she has been working on a novel about the Third Reich.

Unlike captains, colonels and generals of industry, the Hahns meet the customer face to face. A small profit is made, but a further compensation is a large backlog of stories. "Americans are hard to photograph," says Mrs. Hahn. "I remember a psychiatrist who came in one day. He was a tense one, every muscle in him strung tight. We took a few photographs of him but he stayed frozen like a statue. An hour passed. He was still a statue. We gave him a drink to loosen up. It finally took three or four hours, but at last we had the best possible portrait. He stopped looking on himself as a great man—the statue pose—and saw himself as just another human being."

The camera used by the Hahns is neither gadgetry or new. Occasionally, salesmen from the large camera companies come in and try to convince the couple that they need "the newest and best" equipment. "What for?" asks Mr. Hahn. "It's as though they were selling Van Gogh's paint brush or Michaelangelo's chisel. In someone else's hand, they do nothing. The magic cannot be transferred. It's the same with the camera. A steady, reliable machine is plenty. The artist makes the difference, not the speed shutters or the light gauge."

"Mom and Pop" establishments are holding their own, according to the Census Bureau, even gaining a little. In 1958, couples ran 532,000 of them; in 1967, the figure was 666,000. But the numbers tell little about how fast mom and pop's heart beats when a shopping center moves in, or how high the rents are being pushed or how many extra hours the stores must be kept open to keep a little ahead. This is private information, to be kept behind the dark curtains or on the second floor.

It is not known whether the Hahns discussed with Eugene McCarthy the work of Ezra Pound. He would have been apt, because one of his best poems, "Lake Isle," was about the small shop.

O God, O Venus, O Mercury, patron of thieves,
Give me in due time, I beseech you, a little
tobacco shop,
With the little bright boxes, piled up neatly
upon the shelves
And the loose fragrant cavendish and the
shag,
And the bright Virginia loose under the
bright glass cases,
And a pair of scales not too greasy,
And the whores dropping in for a word or
two in passing
For a flip word, and to tidy their hair a bit.
O God, O Venus, O Mercury, patron of thieves,
Lend me a little tobacco-shop or install me
in my profession
Save this damned profession of writing,
where one needs one's brains all the
time.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE
OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, December 14, 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?

CURING THE ILLS OF THE NON- METROPOLITAN AREAS

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, as this session of the 92d Congress draws to a close with no major new legislation enacted for the specific purpose of curing the ills of the nonmetropolitan areas, I find myself growing evermore apprehensive about the future of our Nation. Generally, agreement has been reached among many responsible national leaders that the needs of the small towns and counties must receive immediate attention.

But, as yet, we have not backed our convictions with legislation. I would like again today to share some testimony from my community development needs hearing in Walnut Ridge, Ark. I would hope that during this time for taking stock of the job which remains to be done, that what these municipal officials have to say will bring greater concern for the small town. The witnesses whose testimony is presented today are Mayor O'Neal Kellim, of Walnut Ridge, Mayor S. Lavelle Clark, of Portia, Mayor A. N. Moon, of Swifton, and Mr. Albert H. Miller, president of the Newport, Ark., area chamber of commerce.

The testimony follows:

TESTIMONY FOR WALNUT RIDGE, LAWRENCE COUNTY, ARK., AT HEARING OCTOBER 23, 1971

Mr. Chairman: Lawrence County has been losing population for the past 40 years, as reflected by the U.S. Census of 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970. We must face the fact that this decline is perhaps continuing in view of a June, 1971 manpower survey which indicates that 13.7% of Lawrence County's over 16 year population is available for employment.

The involuntary migration of our people from Lawrence County is solely due to the lack of jobs. In 1930, over 5,000 Lawrence countians, not including youngsters, were engaged in farming. By 1960 this figure dropped to 1,475 and the University of Arkansas Industrial Research Center reports this figure fell to only 925 in 1970.

These figures are dramatic proof of the economic situation which has forced our people to leave. Yet, a 1968 Gallup poll showed that 56% of the people in this nation would choose a rural life.

Our most urgent need, therefore, is for more industrial jobs. To attract industry, we cite the following areas where changes are needed to offer inducement to industry or to upgrade our community to the level desired by most industry:

Investment Tax Credit—An additional tax credit could be made available to industries locating in rural areas with high rates of unemployment.

Training Programs—Additional on-the-job training programs, with less red tape, would be an inducement to industry in rural areas.

Transportation—It is a proven fact that industry will most often choose a new site because of transportation facilities. To permit rural areas to compete with the cities, a system of modern 4-lane highways with a network of collateral arteries must be developed in East Arkansas to transport raw materials and the finished product from the factory to major national transportation facilities. It is also recommended that

navigation on the White River from its mouth to Black Rock on the Black River be effected as proposed by the White River Comprehensive Basin Study.

Industrial Bonds—We recommend that Arkansas Act 9 revenue bonds, authorizing municipalities and counties to issue special obligation revenue bonds for industrial purposes be granted a tax exempt status for an amount up to \$5,000,000, with the removal of the existing three-year limitation for a second issue.

Housing—The City Planning Division of the University of Arkansas, in a survey last year, determined that 294 homes out of 1,293 in Walnut Ridge were deteriorating and an additional 43 were delapidated. There were only 26 vacant structures, mostly delapidated. Walnut Ridge has no low rent housing. The Housing Authority has made application to HUD for 300 low rent units. The application has been approved but funds are being held in Washington. This project would relieve our problems tremendously. We expect our housing needs to become even more pressing in the next few months.

Water and Sewer—1. The Walnut Ridge sewer system desperately needs to replace and extend existing sewer lines, in a major part of the city, which are over fifty years old. The area referred to is completely over loaded and jeopardizes the health of the citizens by overflowing at any time of moderately heavy rainfall. The City Water Commission has had a study of this problem completed by competent engineers, and has been provided a plan to correct this situation by the installation of interceptor lines and lift stations in two phases, at an estimated total cost of \$142,000.00.

2. The water supply at the Walnut Ridge Municipal Airport, which is the site of the Walnut Ridge Industrial Park, is in dire need of a great amount of work in order to provide adequate water pressure for industrial purposes. An extensive study should be made of the existing system to establish specifically what steps should be taken, but it would appear that a new stand pipe and booster pumps will be required to get the needed results, along with several new water mains. The cost of this is conservatively estimated at approximately \$100,000.00.

3. The sewer system at the Municipal Airport is in, perhaps, even more dire need of immediate corrective work. Again, an extensive study should be completed to establish the necessary corrective steps, but the primary problem at the present time is the over loading of the station. A very conservative estimate of the cost of the improvements needed to the Airport sewer system is approximately \$75,000.00.

4. There are many areas in the City of Walnut Ridge where new water lines are needed. The main system is more than 50 years old, and it has been most difficult to maintain the existing system while trying to finance required expansion. There is an urgent need to loop the water line from the county hospital, from its Southeast corner, back into the main water system. An additional sewer line around the east side of town is sorely needed to accommodate growth presently accruing in that area.

5. The total revenue of the water and sewer system is presently, from a practical standpoint, totally committed to the retirement of indebtedness and performing required maintenance. Therefore, matching funds, even at a very small percentage, are almost impossible for the water and sewer department to obtain.

Drainage and Flood Control—1. The Cache River-Bayou Delev Project is imperative to the development of this entire area. Flooding of Cache River causes millions of dollars of damage each year. This loss is offset by no other benefit, economic or otherwise, from this river. The price, both in economic loss and in human misery, is too great to pay for preservation of mosquito habitats.

2. Village Creek is a small stream which causes undue flooding damage in Walnut Ridge and Hoxie. It is impossible for the Village Creek District to provide bridges and other improvements, right-of-way, maintenance, plus 30% of construction costs. Provisions must be made to dig Village Creek so as to provide flood relief without the impossible financial burden to the district. The district could afford to provide right-of-way and maintenance but no more. A way must be found for the government to pay the rest of the costs of this most needed project. The City of Walnut Ridge will never drain properly until Village Creek is dug. The corporate area of Walnut Ridge contains 1,154 acres of land. Of this an amazing 47% is listed by city planners as in the flood plain of Village Creek because of poor drainage and flood conditions. Adequate draining of Village Creek would free more than 300 acres of land for developing.

3. The Running Water Project has been delayed for years for lack of funding. Our county has given up millions of dollars to flooding on Running Water. The project needs to be started at the earliest possible time.

Health Care—Lawrence County has one doctor for every 4,000 residents. The national average is one physician to every 750 people. The Lawrence County Nursing Home, with 55 beds, has a waiting list of 25 persons. To this date in 1971, only seven people have been admitted to the nursing home. Our requirements are a minimum of 50 additional nursing home beds. A complete coronary care unit is needed at the Lawrence Memorial Hospital. The nursing home and coronary care additions would provide at least 100 more jobs and could be completed in the very near future if money could be made available. A few more doctors and the project completions would provide good medical care for our people.

Education—Many factors have bearing on an industry's decision to re-locate away from an urban area. Possibly one of the most important of these factors is the vicinity's ability to furnish an adequate, trained work force. It is an evident fact our rural communities historically have had few skilled tradesmen. To attract industry it is imperative that we provide some type of vocational training to equip our people to perform skilled tasks. The few vocational schools now operating in Arkansas are providing this service for the communities in which they are located, but the influence of these schools has proven to be only beneficial to the immediate area surrounding it.

Approximately 70% of our school children have no additional formal education after high school graduation. This represents the majority of our future labor force. We have a serious obligation to provide this large number of citizens with some type of means in which to earn a livelihood. Since high school presently is the most advanced education received by over two-thirds of our people, the logical place to provide them with vocational training is in our high schools.

Our school systems are doing an excellent job in providing the pre-college students with a good background, but sorely need a concentrated schedule offering various vocational courses.

A program of this nature requires equipment, facilities and qualified personnel. The sponsorship and funding of these projects in our local schools could provide the small town with the kind of people industry is seeking.

Parks and Recreation—The need for parks and recreation facilities is obvious. Federal money is readily available for construction of parks and the like, but the expense of maintaining these facilities falls on the municipalities, which are restricted as to their source of income with which to support such facilities. We suggest that people be allowed a tax credit on their federal return for the

amount of money contributed for support and maintenance of city parks and recreational facilities. This would place the money directly into the area it is most needed and sidetrack the federal filtering process, which is slow and costly.

FARMING FOR FUN?

Because of mechanization of farm operations, one man can now till the same number of acres that required the efforts of many a generation ago. In a discussion of heavy immigration from the rural area, one basic fact is often overlooked.

This fact, in opinion, is that the farmer simply does not receive a fair price for his products in relation to the price he must pay for his goods and services.

Quite frankly, I do not pretend to have the answer to the problem of farm prices. I wish that I did have a solution to offer. However, I submit that more equitable prices for farm products would slow down the outmigration from rural areas and would help create a sounder economy in the local area. Given a stronger economy the non-metropolitan areas would be more able to help finance the development of their own areas.

The difference between parity prices and prices received by farmers is worthy of note. On Sept. 15 of this year, the prices received by farmers as compared to parity prices were:

| | | |
|-------------|---------|---------|
| Beef cattle | \$29.10 | \$34.70 |
| Cottonseed | 58.40 | 80.50 |
| Rice | 5.05 | 7.85 |
| Soybeans | 2.95 | 4.01 |
| Wheat | 1.26 | 2.94 |

Is the farmer farming for fun? He must be, for in all too many cases he is making little or no profit even though he fills a vital role in the economic life of our country.

Respectfully submitted,

O'NEAL KELLIM,
Mayor of Walnut Ridge.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, PROGRAM HEARING, WALNUT RIDGE, ARK., OCTOBER 23, 1971

PORTIA, ARK.,
October 12, 1971.

HON. BILL ALEXANDER,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BILL: The following are needs that we deem important to this particular locality:

1. Sanitary Sewer System:
Estimated cost Oct. 1970 was \$136,000.00.
Revised Estimate May 71 was \$152,783.00
or an increase of approximately 12%.

This system would serve approximately 150 customers.

The Farmers Home Administration says there is no money available for grants at this time.

2. Natural Gas System:

We have no estimated cost at this time. However this would serve approximately 150 customers if we could get it. Our Town is made up of primarily Elderly persons who are retired. I believe they should be able to live out their lives in as much comfort as we can provide for them.

After all, didn't they work to establish this land of ours? Could not some of the funds that are being channelled into Foreign lands be better spent at Home raising our standard of living? I believe that our Country should come first.

3. Industrial park:

We have plenty of available land for a factory site.

Our Town is Centrally located.

4. Housing Development:

We are in need of a small, (20 Unit) Housing project.

There are approximately 20 homes in a Slum Condition that need to be replaced.

These are just a few of the things that our Town could use if such a Development Fund could be arranged.

Thank you for the opportunity to Testify on these matters.

Very truly yours,

S. LAVELLE CLARK,
Mayor of Portia.

OCTOBER 8, 1971.

HON. BILL ALEXANDER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.:

The most urgent needs of the City of Swifton, Arkansas, as related to social and economical development are:

1. Improvement of the existing streets and storm drainage systems.

2. Extension of the city sewerage and water supply systems. There are residences, of the city, and areas adjacent to the City, who need these facilities, yet, it is not economically feasible to extend the existing services to their property.

3. Establishment of a solid disposal area and acquisition of equipment to collect, haul and dispose of solid waste. Solid waste disposal has become a major problem in Swifton. A disposal area, collecting equipment, and machinery to dispose of the waste is needed.

4. Funding for police protection. The City revenue is inadequate for hiring a full time policeman. The need for this service increases daily.

5. Upgrading of existing fire fighting equipment. Existing facilities are inadequate.

The capabilities, of the City of Swifton, for funding these projects are limited.

The average family income in Jackson County is \$2,677.00 per year. Swifton's residence would probably be in a much lower bracket since we do not have job opportunities related to manufacturing processes which usually pay a higher per hour rate, for services rendered, than can be obtained from agriculture employment. The minimum funding needs to initiate these programs are:

| | |
|---|-------------|
| 1. Streets and Storm drainage | \$80,000.00 |
| 2. Extension of water supply and sewerage systems | 110,000.00 |
| 3. Solid waste disposal | 36,000.00 |
| 4. Police protection, \$10,000.00 annually | 10,000.00 |
| 5. Fire fighting equipment | 40,000.00 |
| Total | 276,000.00 |

We have extended our credit rating to the limit with the recent installation of water supply and sewerage systems. The systems are paying their way; however, it is doubtful that additional conventional financing could be obtained to extend them to new construction.

The citizens of Swifton are willing to accept their share of the responsibility for funding these projects; however, high interest rates, high administrative cost, consultative fees, and the lack of borrowing power renders it an impossibility for them to undertake any additional improvement projects in the near foreseeable future.

The common thinking of governmental officials, representing small cities like Swifton, is that most present federal programs are too complicated in organization to be of benefit.

The problems facing rural America are many. The funds available to solve these problems are limited and usually too difficult to obtain. Your consideration for making a strong, new source of money available for local county and municipal governments is appreciated.

Respectfully,

A. N. MOON,
Mayor, Swifton, Arkansas.

TESTIMONY OF CITY OF NEWPORT PRESENTED TO CONGRESSMAN BILL ALEXANDER AT WALNUT RIDGE, ARK., OCTOBER 23, 1971

My name is Albert H. Miller, President of Newport area Chamber of Commerce and I am here representing the City of Newport. Mayor Robin Stamps and the Board send

their regrets for being unable to attend but want to thank you for allowing us to make this presentation. I would like to introduce the other members of the Delegation at this time. State Senator Robert Harvey, State Representative Tom Collier, Mr. Percy Copeland, Mr. Bill Heard, Mr. Iverson Cameron, Mr. Roy Evans, also Mr. Morris Bowman who is representing Jackson County Judge R. L. Harper, Jr. Mr. Bowman is to be on the program later.

The City of Newport is located on White River approximately Eighty Five (85) miles northwest of Memphis, Tennessee and Ninety (90) miles northeast of Little Rock, Arkansas on U.S. Highway 67. It is the County Seat of Jackson County and has a population of approximately Eight Thousand (8,000) people. Our motto has been "Progress Is Our Project" and we have made progress as far as our financing ability has allowed us to go. We have undertaken several projects in the area of community development. I will attempt to present some examples which will indicate why some means for obtaining funds for financing community development projects is needed.

One of the urgent needs of our town is adequate streets and drainage facilities. Our problem is that we have a flat topography which allows for slow run-off of rain water. We are surrounded by levees on the low sides and the surface water must flow out through the flood gate structures. When the White River is at high stages the flood gates are closed and there is no way for the water to run out by gravity, therefore the water must be pumped. The City realized that we had a problem and we tried several solutions.

(1) The City used their funds as far as possible in order to try to make what improvements they could with their own forces. (2) An engineering study was then made and it was estimated that the cost of the complete drainage project would be approximately One Million Dollars (\$1,000,000.00). The sources of financing available at that time were as follows: (a) *Federal Government*: Urban Renewal appeared to be the only means of financing this type of project and we were not involved in Urban Renewal at that time. (b) Another source of financing would be an *Improvement District*: Investigation was made and we were unable to do this because of the difficulty of arriving at equal cost per property owner. (c) The only course left was a *Local Bond Issue*. Fortunately we had enough millage left by law to finance approximately Two Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$200,000.00). An election was held and the bond issue passed. The bonds were sold (only one bidder bid on the bonds). The construction is now complete. What is our resulting situation as a result of this inability to complete the project? Approximately One Fifth ($\frac{1}{5}$) of the project is complete and there is no source of funds available to complete the remaining Four Fifths ($\frac{4}{5}$) except for some areas that are in the Neighborhood Development Program under Urban Renewal. The rain still floods streets and causes water damage to some areas. Unless a means is found to finance the complete project, the initial investment will not be fully utilized.

Another great need of our community is a Community Center. Our problem is that there is a great need in our area for such a project. One of the greatest needs of the people in our urban and rural areas is cultural enrichment. Presently in Newport there is no facility for the people to see a play, hear a symphony orchestra, see an art display or to have community meetings except at our local high school auditorium which was built during the 1930's or the National Guard Armory. There is no place for the children to go swimming in a nice swimming pool unless they belong to a private club. Just this week if facilities had been available more of our citizens could have enjoyed the Arkansas

Art Mobile provided by the Arkansas Art Center.

Realizing this problem we attempted to solve it. The only source of Federal Funds available to us appeared to be through the Department of Housing and Urban Development. This source required Twenty Five percent (25%) matching funds. The cost estimate was made and it was estimated that the cost of a community facility would be approximately Five Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$500,000.00), the cities share being One Hundred Twenty Five Thousand Dollars (\$125,000.00). Since the city did not have money available for their matching share it was attempted to find some property that could be obtained either as a gift or at a low price in hopes that the appraised would be high enough to use for our matching share. This was not accomplished and therefore we could not proceed because of lack of funds. What is the resulting situation? It is possible that through the Neighborhood Development Program that within the next Five to Ten (5-10) years that we might realize such a facility. The need is great and the citizens are urgently requesting that something be done. Unless a feasible source of funds is available the city is unable to go any further at this time.

Another urgent need of improvement in our area is at our Airport and Industrial Park. The problem is that we have a residential area and industrial sites located on an Airbase built during World War II. The water system is in urgent need of repair and improvements. Presently the State Health Department is requiring that all drinking water be boiled. The sewer flows into an open ditch and the streets are in need of repair. There are Ten (10) industries located here employing approximately Six Hundred Fifty (650) people and they need railroad facilities, fire protection, police protection and other municipal services. Runway improvements are needed and an Airport terminal building is needed. Realizing the problem we attempted to solve it. An engineering study was made and it indicated that a cost to complete the project would be approximately One Million Five Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$1,500,000). This area is unique in that it is not in the city limits but it is administered by the City of Newport. Therefore financing by the Farmers Home Administration is not possible. An application was made to the Economic Development Administration for assistance. This method of a financing requires a local Twenty Five percent (25%) share with approximately Seventy Five percent (75%) Federal Funds. The application was terminated because of the inability of the city to obtain its share. What is the resulting situation? The city is trying to do what small portions of the projects it can as they can afford it. Some improvements have been made such as new fire pumps, a new water supply well is planned and some runway patching. However, unless some source of financing is available to us we will not be able to complete the project in the foreseeable future.

Another great need of our community is sewer addition and improvements. We have approximately One Hundred (100) homes not presently served by sanitary sewer because of their distance to collection lines and to serve them would require a pumping station. This area has septic tanks and the soil is not suited for septic tanks and health hazards result. The city must do something to protect the health of the citizens. Realizing this problem again the city tried to solve it. A study was made and it was found that the cost would be approximately One Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$100,000.00) to serve this complete area. Some funds were available from the Environmental Protection Agency and the cities share would be approximately Eighty Thousand Dollars (\$80,000.00). In the

past the two local banks have aided in financing some sewer projects when they were feasible. However, due to the cost and the number of users the local banks could not participate in this project. What is the resulting situation? The city will try to do what portions they can with their own crews and with the funds they do have available. Application will still be made for Federal assistance where possible but the portion constructed by the city with their own crews will not be eligible for any Federal participation. Unless some means is found to finance this whole project, it will be several years before we can provide complete sanitary sewer to this area of our town.

Another need of our city is a day care center. Our problem is there are approximately Two to Three Hundred (200-300) working mothers and the local industries are unable to underwrite the difference between the Federal share and the mothers ability to pay for the day care services. If the city could provide space and rent at a reasonable rate the project could be made feasible. Unless some source of financing is obtained this again is not possible.

Our community and city has many other needs for community development but I will not go into them in detail. Some of these items are solid waste disposal facilities, new jail, new court house, new municipal building and expanded library facilities, new parks and recreation facilities.

In summary I would like to say that Newport's accomplishment of local projects with Federal assistance has been good. Thanks to the help of Congressman Bill Alexander and our Congressional Delegation we have been able to take advantage of the sources of Federal Funds available to us. Presently under the Interim Assistance Program temporary streets and drainage facilities have been constructed. With the institution of the Neighborhood Development Program a great help should be obtained in upgrading the old part of town. However, as indicated in this report, there is much still to be done in other areas.

The prospects for funding these additional needs and projects at the local level is remote.

The local taxpayers attitude toward funding of projects is good as mentioned herein, but the amount of money available through this source is limited by state law. I might say that our citizens have not rejected a tax increase that would improve the community, to my knowledge. Just recently a One Million Dollar school construction bond issue was passed by our community. Many other bond issues in the area of community development and improvement have been approved by the citizens.

The effect of out migration is demoralizing to any community and this has had an effect on Jackson County which lost a population of approximately Ten percent (10%) during the last Ten (10) years. During this same period of time Newport gained a population of approximately Three percent (3%). This increase in population against put more of a demand on municipal services that must be provided.

The bond market atmosphere for funding any local bond issue depends upon whether or not the bonds are tax free. At present Arkansas has a limit of Six percent (6%) on municipal bonds, therefore bonds need to be tax free to attract the buyers.

It appears to us that some means must be found for financing community development projects over a long period of time at a reasonable interest rate. It seems that the Federal Government will have to share in either guaranteeing these loans or supplementing interest rate. Unless some means for financing these projects is found we see no way that the cities the size of Newport, Arkansas can further their accomplishments in community development.

We appreciate this opportunity to appear at this hearing and will be glad to try to answer any questions.

TESTIMONY OF THE HONORABLE WILLIAM HOLLIS COOK, MAYOR OF THE CITY OF GRUBBS, ARK.

(Prepared for the community development proposal hearing October 23, 1971, for the First Congressional District of the State of Arkansas at Walnut Ridge, Ark.)

Honorable Congressman Alexander and members of the hearing committee. It is my sincere belief that if we are ever to stop migration of peoples from rural to urban areas, and curb the plight of non-urban communities, we must support legislation which will provide money and means to build a better rural America, and help save the health, welfare and sanity of this nation and its peoples.

With your permission I wish to list in chronological priority six urgent needs of small rural counties and cities.

No. 1. First I believe we urgently need something that will attract labor to the rural areas and spread thin the masses of humanity over this vast land of ours. I would suggest small or subsidiary factories. This could be done by requiring each major industrial complex to invest in the smaller communities. I would suggest huge grants like to Lockheed be distributed to say over 10,000 communities.

No. 2. Would be housing. People would need some help in building a home. Preferably one they could own. This would develop pride in home ownership. Loans with small interest rate and small payments would help solve this.

No. 3. The building of houses and congregating of people would make water, sewage and paved streets the 3rd priority. Grants and loans to supplement local initiative, 25%—75% basis could be managed on a low interest, long term basis.

No. 4. The improvement of education and community recreational facilities for youth, in the small towns. This could be financed as No. 3 loans, grants and local initiative with labor and in-kind contributions.

No. 5. We urgently need Doctors, clinics and medical facilities in the rural areas. This could be done by having a board other than Doctors to admit pre-medical students to enter medical school and screen them in, instead of out of medical practice. Pre-med scholarships and supplements for rural medical Doctors. Thousands of most capable men and women are screened out of the field of medicine each year by the A.M.A. While many of our people go diseased, unhealthy and dying. Yet the A.M.A. ask recently for the Federal government to spend \$10,000,000 to help improve the Doctors image. ? ? ?

No. 6. I would list police and fire protection to help sustain law, order, life and property. This could be done by even a small amount of money to small local fire and police departments. Most could be done on a 50%-50% basis with the local people supplying both cash and non-cash contributions.

Now gentlemen, I have listed six urgent needs and given ways that they may be financed.

You will next ask what the people think about supporting these needs by taxation.

I believe that people in America are always willing to pay for what they get, and if you devise plans to show them a better life they will gladly buy it. What they are against is taxation without representation.

Gentlemen think seriously on these matters and act wisely. You are in a position to help the people of this nation.

Respectively submitted,

Mr. Speaker, this is the 12th insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of testimony and other materials which I have

gathered during my research into ways to assist community development in non-metropolitan areas. Other materials on this subject appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS of September 22, pages 32740-32741; October 1, pages 34505-34506; October 6, 35409-35410; October 13, pages 36133-36135; October 21, pages 37358-37361; October 28, 38121-38123; November 3, pages 39156-39158; November 11, pages 40813-40815; November 17, pages 41882-41884; December 3, pages 44696-44699, and December 9, pages 45763-45766.

NEW IRRIGATION TECHNIQUE COULD MAKE EAST AND WEST JORDAN RIVERS FERTILE

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, many Members of Congress have been greatly distressed about the continuing plight of refugees in the Middle East. Recently, a plan to assist these refugees was called to my attention through an article in War/Peace Report published by the Center for War/Peace Studies of the New York Friends Group, Inc. It was contained in the November 1971 issue and was written by Mr. Roy L. Prosterman, distinguished professor of law and chairman of the graduate school committee on conflict studies at the University of Washington in Seattle, and Mr. Charles A. Taylor, his graduate research assistant.

The essence of the plan is to make both the East Bank and the West Bank of the Jordan River fertile through the new technique of trickle irrigation using numerous shallow wells and saline water heretofore useless for agricultural purposes.

I would like to call the attention of the Members of the House, especially those who serve on the Committee on Foreign Affairs to this plan for their study and consideration.

The text of the article follows:

SALINITY AND SERENITY: A PLAN FOR THE PALESTINIANS

(By Roy L. Prosterman and Charles A. Taylor)

A meeting that would seem incredible to the uninitiated is a fairly common occurrence on the West Bank of the Jordan River: an Israeli agro-economist, a Jordanian agricultural extension agent, and a native West Bank farmer are engaged in a discussion of agricultural and marketing techniques, with the objective of helping the farmer to maximize his income. Political questions seem to be of little importance; the three men part in a friendly manner, with the Israeli and Jordanian setting off to visit another farm, while the Palestinian Arab farmer returns to his field.

Besides having encouraging political implications, such meetings are significant for other reasons as well, for in them one can glimpse the seeds of a solution to the complex and vexing Palestinian refugee problem.

First, let us examine the contours of the refugee problem itself. Of the approximately 1.4 million people included in the broadest definition of the term "Palestinian refugee,"

there is virtually universal agreement—even among those most concerned with the physical welfare of the refugees—that about 400,000 persons (80,000 families) are considered to be still substantially dislocated in a social and economic sense. The remaining 200,000 persons now living comfortably in Beirut or Cairo or Amman to oil workers currently drilling in Kuwait—have been substantially reintegrated into their new communities and are generally better off than they were in their pre-refugee status, whether such status refers to a period prior to 1948, 1956 or 1967.

The bulk of the hard-core refugee population is clearly to be found in the Gaza Strip, a 140-square-mile area packed with approximately 55,000 "classic" refugee families and 25,000 indigenous Gazan families. In the Gaza Strip, it is virtually impossible to determine who is a refugee and who is not by means of economic distinction; almost the entire population of the Strip is desperately poor. In fact, the refugees are better off in one sense: they can rely on the United Nations Relief and Works Agency dole for food and medical care.

Given the nearly intolerable conditions in the Gaza Strip, it comes as no surprise that the problems of guerrilla-type terrorism are far more serious there than in any of the Israeli-occupied territories. The greater guerrilla activity there can be attributed to the desperate social and economic conditions of the area, just as desperate poverty fed the fires of revolution in Mexico, Russia, China, Vietnam and Cuba. In each of those countries, it was a largely landless peasant population that became the chief source of recruits, supplies, "safe houses" and the other prerequisites of revolutionary warfare.

As Mae Tse-tung has said, guerrillas must "swim like fish in the sea"; the support of the grievance ridden population of the Gaza Strip gives the guerrilla movement the strength and secrecy essential to its continued operation. It follows logically, then—as the United States has learned so painfully in Vietnam—that the preferred method of dealing with the *fedayeen* guerrilla movement in the Gaza Strip (and the entire Middle East) is the removal of the grievances that motivate the population to support the guerrilla movement. While both the Israelis and the U.N.R.W.A. have supplied significant ameliorative measures (minimum food, minimum housing, job retraining for some), the resources available to them have been far short of what is needed to reach the bulk of the Gaza Strip's 390,000 people.

Using data from a recent sociological survey, it appears that between 40 and 50 per cent of the Strip's refugee families made their pre-refugee living from agriculture, and an equal number were engaged in light industry and supportive agricultural services; and virtually all refugees would accept a self-supporting vocation as an alternative to life on the U.N.R.W.A. dole. (Indeed, on a recent research trip to the Middle East, we encountered no refugee in the Gaza Strip unwilling to accept this option.) In other words, all the ingredients for communities based on agriculture-combined-with-local-supportive-industry are present in the population of the Gaza Strip, although not sufficiently in the land and other resources of the Gaza Strip, taken by themselves. The same potential exists for the 25,000 refugee families that remain substantially dislocated in Jordan and elsewhere. Thus, if almost any randomly selected group of 50-250 refugee families (but preferably selected as a group, carrying intact their community structure from their former village or as developed within a larger refugee camp) has the potential of developing into a new and productive village, if given the opportunity, one must ask the question: how can such opportunities be provided, and at what cost?

The now-Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River—with a population density

one-tenth that of the Gaza Strip—provides a natural outlet for the population pressures of the Strip. A program to create settlement opportunities there, together with intensive development of the Strip itself, would seem to hold out the most realistic possibilities for solving the problems of the "hard-core" refugees. Historically, however, any extensive development of the Jordan Valley has been stymied by a major obstacle: there is little rainfall, and both the southern reaches of the Jordan River and most of the wells drilled in the valley reveal a lack of "sweet" water, that is, water containing less than 300 parts-per-million (p.p.m.) of chloride. Over the past four decades, this difficulty has given rise to a variety of ambitious plans to make the Jordan Valley "bloom." These were some of them:

The Ionides Plan, 1939, sought to irrigate 75,000 acres on the East Bank (Transjordan) but revealed a basic dilemma, namely, that a single source of water was insufficient to irrigate both the Negev and the Jordan Valley; for this reason, it remained unimplemented.

The Lowdermilk Plan, 1944, would have established a Jordan Valley Authority to take charge of water-related matters. The plan divided the flow of the Yarmuk River between Palestine and Transjordan, but it had not been agreed to when partition came in 1947, and Israeli leaders began to develop the Negev with some of the unutilized waters which flowed across their borders.*

The Hayes Plan, 1948, proposed to irrigate approximately 625,000 acres in Palestine and Jordan, with cooperation from Lebanon and Syria; this was permanently tabled after the outbreak of the 1948 war.

The All Israel Plan, 1951, involved Israeli construction in a demilitarized zone and was consequently stopped by the U.N. Security Council.

The Main Plan, 1953, was an engineering study based on the premise that all previous plans could be combined into one joint project (requiring both Israeli and Arab approval) that would make efficient use of the area's water resources. Disputes over water allocation sealed the plan's doom, but the study provided much valuable information on the water resources of the entire Middle East.

The Unifier Plan, 1955, was another synthesis of the (by now) seven previous plans but required Arab-Israeli agreement and fell apart over the issue of international supervision.

Since 1955, four unilateral (two Arab, two Israeli) plans have been initiated; of these, one Jordanian and one Israeli plan have been carried out, both largely aimed at groups other than the refugees.

Possibly, development will ultimately be achieved by joint Israeli-Jordanian efforts—at least these two parties would have to agree, if there were to be the really large-scale development, with extensive dam-and-canal building, visualized in the more grandiose of the plans. Or, development may ultimately come through further unilateral efforts, depending on complex political factors.

But one thing which is now clear is that any renewed international planning for development can take account of new Israeli techniques which increase the total amount of usable water available to all parties, especially in the southern part of the Jordan

Valley, both East Bank and West Bank. These techniques also allow an approach to water utilization—chiefly through simple wells which tap underground saline waters rather than canals, and without dams—which would facilitate inexpensive unilateral development by Israel and Jordan, each on one side of the river.

It is the new agricultural technique, "trickle irrigation," which largely circumvents the difficulty of saline water. Trickle irrigation is a method which uses plastic pipe laid along the ground between rows of plants, with nozzles spaced in such a manner so that only the roots of the plants are irrigated. It is already well beyond the testing stage and in commercial use. The Israelis have achieved impressive results with this technique. For example, they are obtaining per-acre yields of vegetables greater with saline water and trickle irrigation than with sweet water and sprinkler irrigation. The present limit of the effective use of saline water is currently 800 p.p.m. chloride, but the Israelis expect to be able to use water with 1000-1200 p.p.m. chloride with further experimentation. Furthermore, this technique appears to be suitable for use by the average farmer, if he is given sufficient credit and extension services.

PROMISING RESULTS

Through the use of saline waters and trickle irrigation, it appears that at least an additional 20-25,000 acres of land on the western side of the Jordan Valley could be brought into cultivation, utilizing water which was previously useless for agriculture. Judged by the standard of yields typical of trickle irrigation, this quantity of land would be adequate to sustain farming by 10,000 families. Related development of non-agricultural enterprises and agricultural-supportive industry should be able to provide a livelihood for at least another 10,000 families, based on existing ratios of agricultural and non-agricultural employment on the West Bank. If these alternatives were offered to the hard-core refugee population of the Gaza Strip and accepted by the refugees and there is good reason to believe that the response of most families would be positive—then the bulk of the problem could be solved. Naturally, such a program, and refugee response, would first be tested with a few hundred families; one of the beauties of a program that depends on wells rather than dams is that one can proceed piecemeal. Reduction of the refugee population of the Gaza Strip by 20,000 families (approximately 100,000 persons) would help enormously in resolving the economic and social problems of the Strip, when coupled with parallel development measures within the Strip itself.

The irrigation of 25,000 acres in the West Bank and additional lands in the Strip (where saline water is also a problem) would, of course, be only the first step in the development program. It would be a crucial first step, however, for land provides many of these families with a livelihood that they understand and desire, and without water the land cannot be farmed. Other measures must include:

Extension services. Additional Arab extension agents must be trained to help the 10,000 new families on the valley floor to get the most out of their land, as well as to help 50,000 existing agricultural families who live chiefly on the West Bank. (A parallel need exists for the smaller amount of agricultural land found in the Strip.) This would seem to be politically possible. A previous example of "taking agriculture out of politics" was the permission given by Arab governments to allow scores of Cairo-trained Jordanian agricultural technicians to return to the West Bank last year. *Pari passu*, the Israelis allow West Bank farmers to market their products on the Jordanian-held East Bank.

Credit. Even minor improvements in seed and farming techniques, the result of combining credit with extension services, can achieve marked improvements in output. Many Arab farmers throughout the Mideast grow only a fraction of what their land could produce—one demonstration of this is the 600 percent increase in yields achieved by the 40,000 families of small Arab farmers who have remained in Israel since 1948. Some West Bank credit is currently being provided by the Israelis, and the Arab repayment rate is running a splendid 97 percent of principal.

Land reform. Some measures of acquisition and subdivision of large Arab holdings should be undertaken both on the valley floor and in the Gaza Strip. Tenant farmers are typically less likely than small owner-operators to risk, or to have the authority or the resources to risk, the adoption of improved agricultural techniques requiring new investment. Moreover, whether the ultimate political governance of these areas is to be Israeli or Arab, tenant farmers have been one of the classic repositories of support for violence and insurgency. Vietnam being a textbook example.

Community development. Wherever new villages are established, schools and clinics must be built, basic structures erected, and cooperatives and other facilities for the farmers developed. For non-farm families, enterprises involving processing, packing, canning or freezing may be added to traditional roles such as merchant, drayman or teacher. For existing refugee camps in the Strip, the thinning out of population should be accompanied by measures such as electrification and dispersal of housing.

Marketing. One of the advantages of the Jordan Valley, climate is that—with a little extra "greenhouse" protection added by transparent plastic spread over the growing crops—a whole range of succulent fruits and vegetables can be grown in the dead of winter and harvested just in time to command the highest prices on the European market. The Israelis are already urging the local Arab farmers in this profitable direction.

Garden plots. For those refugee families in the Strip who do not get a farm, a desirable addition to both nutrition and status can be provided by a small garden plot. Saline water irrigation will permit cultivation in the Strip of enough new land so that every family that wishes should be able to have a few thousand square feet (perhaps the area covered between successive 10-yard markers, across the width of a football field). In Puerto Rico and elsewhere, projects have shown that the symbiosis between man and land is such that *owning* even such a small garden plot can give a family a needed sense of self-sufficiency and of having a stake in society.

The gross cost of this entire package of development measures, affecting most of the 390,000 present residents of the Strip, can be estimated at around \$330 million. Some of this cost figure—for example, in the credit program—would be recovered. A parallel program on the East Bank, under Jordanian control, could benefit most of the 100,000 hard-core refugees who remain on Jordanian soil and now lend themselves readily to the *fedayeen*-nurtured cycle of poverty, desperation and violence. This would carry a gross cost of around \$150 million.

While such costs may be well beyond the internal resources of the Israelis or Jordanians, they are assuredly not beyond the capacity of the international community. They are about what the U.S. spent on one week of the Vietnam War at 1969 levels, for example; and the costs of this permanent settlement project are less than the amounts that have been siphoned through the U.N.R.W.A. by a consortium of donors over the past two decades to support the minimal daily dole to the refugees.

It is a sad comment on the involutions of Mideast politics that only wild optimism

*Any unilateral development of water that is potentially in short supply raises, of course, the kind of classic water rights issue that has plagued American law: the contest between the "appropriation" doctrine, under which the first user of theretofore unused water gets to use that quantity from that time forward; and the "riparian rights" doctrine, under which lands bordering on bodies of water are taken to have certain "inherent" rights to their use whether or not actual use is being made of them.

could predict the immediate implementation of this full-scale program. Nonetheless, the prospects may be considerably better now than for years past: Jordan and other countries in the Arab world have reached a realization that the *fedayeen* are a two-edged sword. Frustrations may be vented against the nearest government, not just against Israel, and still largely-feudal societies must beware lest their own impoverished peasantry take fire from the brand being waved by radical Palestinians. Determined non-solution of the refugee problem is no longer a political plus with no attendant minuses for the established Arab states.

Viewed objectively, the welfare of the hard-core refugees should be both a humanitarian concern and a political concern to all powers of the region, and to a world community which has more than once been brought to the brink of major conflict by actions in which the wilder *fedayeen* had a hand. It would seem that the major source of support for uncontrolled and unpredictable violence, at least, could be removed from the Mideast situation if the bulk of the hard-core refugees can find satisfaction in permanent and productive new lives in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (both, incidentally, are parts of pre-1947 Palestine, and were annexed, respectively, by Transjordan and Egypt in 1948). Certainly the 400,000 Arabs—200,000 rural and 200,000 urban—who have remained and prospered in Israel since 1948 have posed no threat to world peace.

It is perhaps not too optimistic to hope that a development plan of the suggested scope could, at least, serve four immediate purposes:

First, to remind the world community that the refugee problem is *not* insoluble, given even a modicum of imagination and resources;

Second, to serve as the basis for small-scale pilot projects on both banks of the Jordan, on the grounds that it would make great good sense at least to test this option for Gaza Strip and East Bank refugees, and see whether it appeared capable of satisfying significant numbers of them;

Third, to provide a basis on which more detailed planning for the solution of the refugee problem could proceed, at least against the day when political settlement might loom. (The worst possible scenario would be one in which an otherwise-negotiated political settlement falls apart because no one is prepared to answer the question: "Now, gentlemen, what is to be done with the refugees?")

And finally, a program such as the one described could, in effect, act as a pilot for larger projects of irrigation and agricultural development in many semi-arid regions of the world.

It is perhaps time that the international community come to the recognition that, objectively, the refugee problem is not one of the hardest, but one of the easiest issues to resolve in the Mideast. At the same time, its non-resolution is one of the most likely causes of major conflict.

SEX AND SANITY

HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the special attention of my colleagues in the House, a particularly sound and excellent book recently published on a subject whose literature in the last few years has been for the most part

anything but sound and excellent. The book is entitled "Sex and Sanity." The author is Dr. Melvin Anshell, who practices psychiatry and internal medicine in Los Angeles. I have had the opportunity of working with Dr. Anshell on a number of occasions, notably as a witness before committees of the California State Legislature, and have been much impressed by his clear thinking, professional competence, and independence of mind.

Dr. Anshell's book is described on the cover as "a counterrevolutionary sex manual." As Robert Breittmann says in his review of "Sex and Sanity" in the San Francisco Examiner of November 26:

Counter-revolutionary it is. Some might even call it old-fashioned. Why, Anshell even makes a case for virginity before marriage. And it's definitely old-fashioned in that, unlike most of the sex books that have been huge best sellers in recent years, it is generally well-written.

Dr. Anshell charges the new hierarchy of sexperts with misusing Freud to give "a false aura of scientific sanction to the cult of free love." He vigorously condemns the psychological venereal diseases that perverted minds are currently spreading through mass media. In a chapter entitled "Child Molesters," he states bluntly that some current television shows and movies are engaging in the sexual seduction of children.

We may expect the "sexperts" and their allies whom Dr. Anshell is criticizing, to respond to his impressive indictment in their usual manner when anyone dares to question them: First they will try to ignore him and his book, and when that becomes no longer possible, they will launch an all-out attack on him and on his professional reputation. The one thing we can be reasonably sure they will not do is to try to answer his arguments and refute his evidence on any rational or moral basis.

This book is much too good and too important to be ignored. It bears directly on the type of educational programs we are being and will be asked to help finance through the Federal aid to education program, and the type of morally offensive material we are being and will be asked to allow to be freely distributed and shown. I recommend it most highly, and warn in advance against the calumny sure to be directed against this book and its author, once it begins to receive the attention it deserves.

ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROTECTIONIST SWAGGER

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague from Wisconsin (Mr. REUSS) chairman of the International Exchange and Payments Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee, recently wrote a penetrating article for the New York Times entitled

"About the Administration's Protectionist Swagger." Mr. REUSS' incisive analysis should be read by every Congressman. Is it too much to hope that it will also be read by the Nixon administration?

The article follows:

ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROTECTIONIST SWAGGERS

(By HENRY S. REUSS)

WASHINGTON.—Prior to Aug. 15, 1971, the Administration's economic policy was one of benign neglect. At home, unemployment was allowed to increase and growth to stagnate in the misguided belief that this would cure inflation. Instead, it produced both 6 per cent unemployment and 6 per cent inflation.

Abroad, the policy was to consider the dollar invincible. Foreign central banks would continue to accept endless dollar deficits, no matter how badly over-valued the dollar was. No fundamental realignment of currencies, nor reform of the international monetary system, was necessary.

But then came Aug. 15 and the New Economic Policy which the President has encumbered with obeisances to the false gods of trickle-down at home and protectionism abroad.

At home, the price-wage freeze was accompanied by a tax-reduction program which has now been substantially enacted by the Congress. In essence, the tax program gives corporations and their stockholders an \$8-billion a year annual tax reduction, mainly through the 7 per cent investment tax credit and rapid depreciation. After the first year, the tax program gives the above-poverty-level wage-earner no tax reduction whatever.

The mischief caused by the Nixon tax program is three-fold:

(1) By obviously discriminating against the wage earner, it destroys the social contract upon which effective wage-price controls must be founded. Labor's increasing unwillingness to go along with meaningful wage restraints is due in large measure to the inequality of sacrifice brought about by the tax bill.

(2) The nation's "fiscal dividend," out of which was to be paid the cost of health and education and environmental control and revenue-sharing in the decade of the seventies, has been effectively wiped out by the permanent fracturing of the revenues implicit in the tax-reduction bill.

(3) The corporate tax reductions will do very little to combat our close to 6 per cent unemployment. The five million unemployed include vast numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled people, mostly young and disproportionately black, who could be helped by a vigorous program of providing 500,000 public service jobs immediately. The \$3 to \$5 billion to fund such a program simply is not available if we are to dissipate the revenues by unwarranted tax reductions.

So, on the domestic side, the Administration is forgoing most of the benefits of the freeze by favoring corporations. In fact, the tax bonanza to corporations is not even in their real interest. Though it will reduce taxes on corporate profits by as much as 20 per cent, corporations and their stockholders would have been much better off under a program to increase consumer spending by immediately reducing unemployment.

Having subverted the domestic program by undue obeisance to the corporate interest, the New Economic Policy then proceeded to subvert the international program by undue obeisance to the protectionist interests.

The Administration's protectionist measures have prevented the needed prompt realignment of currencies—both by masking the proper amount of such realignment and by causing the Treasury to delay an agreement lest the resulting repeal of the 10 per

cent import surtax offend the protectionists.

Indeed, the Treasury appears quite happy to live for a while with protectionism. It has to date turned down a reasonable offer of the Group of Ten, made in September, to effect an over-all realignment, provided only that the United States played its part by something like a 5 per cent devaluation of the dollar.

Since such a partial devaluation would involve only a technical, bookkeeping increase in the price of gold (because further gold purchases outside the system would be banned and the U.S. gold window would remain closed), it would in no real sense contribute to a rebirth of gold as a reserve medium.

The tax bill, unfortunately, will go through. And this means the United States will be doing very little about decreasing the rate of unemployment—both because the loss of tax revenues will foreclose an adequate emergency re-employment program, and because consumer nervousness at the unemployment rate will continue to inhibit adequate consumer spending and the resulting capital investment. Wall Street is likely to continue to reflect this basic confusion and lack of confidence.

I envisage that the Administration will soon have to drop its protectionist swagger. If the U.S. is so foolish as to dilly-dally indefinitely, it will run into recessions in one or more European countries which will make a currency realignment impossible.

A realignment deal, accompanied by a broadened 3 per cent band in the International Monetary Fund and the removal of our protectionist import surtax and buy-American measures, must come first.

SOLO ROUND-THE-WORLD FLIGHT

HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I bring to my colleagues' attention an editorial from the San Francisco Examiner praising the solo round-the-world flight of a fellow Californian, Elgin M. Long:

DREAM COME TRUE

When San Francisco solo flier Elgin M. Long landed his round-the-world light plane here Friday afternoon with a flight bag full of remarkable aviation records, he expressed a sentiment many of us would like to say in our own behalf:

"I've completed my dream. I've done just about everything I wanted to do."

Long's flight hit seven continents. His was the first solo flight over both poles, the first crossing of the Equator at the Greenwich meridian and International Dateline, the first solo flight across Antarctica, the first Antarctica-Australia solo and the first Class C plane flight around the world at the poles and the equator.

He touched down at Anchorage, Stockholm, the African bulge, Rio de Janeiro, Punta Arenas, Chile, the South Pole, Sydney, Fiji, Wake Island, Tokyo and Honolulu.

Such a record is indeed an adventurer's dream. Many harbor Mitty-like visions like that, but that's exactly what they remain: visions.

Long proceeded with personal risk and technical skill to make fact of a dream. It is possible to cheer him wholeheartedly and still indulge in a little forgivable touch of envy of a man who has done just about everything he wanted to do.

QUICK END TO MONEY CRISIS?

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, today's lead news story is the Azores agreement between Presidents Nixon and Pompidou to devalue the dollar. No details are spelled out, but the U.S. official announcement treats the event as a step toward early settlement of the crisis plaguing world monetary markets since midsummer.

Let us hope that the "Group of Ten" do reach a speedy solution in realigning their currencies. Still, it may be instructive to review what happened 40 years ago when the major powers attempted to cope with a similar crisis.

The September 1971 issue of *Freedom & Union* reprinted excerpts from the League of Nations World Economy Survey—1931-32, which I insert below:

WHEN BRITAIN FLOATED OFF GOLD 40 YEARS AGO—AS UNITED STATES NOW—QUICK SUCCESS TURNED TO ASHES

(By the League of Nations World Economic Survey—1931-32)

"Example is of first importance in politics," Acton said, "because political calculations are so complex that we cannot trust theory if we cannot support it by experience." This applies no less to monetary-economic policy. The example nearest the U.S. "New Economic Policy" on its international side, was set by Britain 40 years before when it stunned the world by ceasing the gold backing that had made its pound the key world currency then, as the dollar since—and let its value float.

(That decision, too, came after trade and budgetary deficits, with gold reserves and exports falling, in a declining world economy. The main avowed motive then also was nationalistic—to gain the competitive advantage devaluation gives (initially) by making the nation's goods cheaper for foreigners and their dearer for its own people. Both times an unavowed aim was to hang on to the nation's remaining gold reserves.

(There were differences, of course: Prices were falling then, not rising. The Reparations-War-Debts complex played a role then no counterpart does now. London added no higher import costs when it left gold (it did later) nor a wage-price freeze.

(Happily for those who learn from past experience, a fairly objective on-the-spot account of the immediate and later results is available, thanks to the "World Economic Survey 1931-32" which the League of Nations economic and financial secretariat started then as an annual. It was written by B. Condliffe, a highly competent New Zealander, previously Professor of Economics at the University of Michigan.

(In 1931, as now, the first effect for the devaluer was a stock market boom and other signs of recovery, while other nations seethed. Thereafter, it is a sobering account of every nation's hopes of recovery by national action crushed to earth, only to rise and be crushed lower, again, again, again. In early 1933 this spiral put Hitler in power, closed all U.S. banks, "ended" unemployment by an arms race, culminating in World War. The devaluing nations (and others) paid dearly for ephemeral gains.)

In the spring of 1931, as in the spring of 1930, there seemed to be a definite easing of economic and financial conditions. The early months of the year were calm, there was some return flow of capital to Germany and

of gold to Great Britain, security prices rose somewhat in most countries in the spring, and money-market rates were extremely easy in the chief financial centers. The Bank of England rate stood at 3 per cent in January, the rates in Paris and Zurich were lowered to 2 per cent in that month, and on May 7th, the New York rate, which also had stood at 2 per cent, was further lowered to 1½ per cent, enabling the Bank of England to reduce its rate again to 2½ per cent, the lowest point since the war.

In *past crises*, such conditions in the principal money markets have *always* been the precursor of recovery from depression; *but* in 1931 the financial weakness of the borrowing countries, and of borrowers within the industrial countries, was such that improvement did not follow. It is significant that none of the debtor countries, except Rumania, was able to reduce its discount rate. The financial crisis which followed made it abundantly clear that it was the plight of the debtor countries, at once a main cause and the consequence of falling commodity prices, that was the darkest spot in the almost universal depression.

The plight of the borrowing countries, reinforced by their failure to secure new capital imports, was inevitably reflected in considerable shrinkages of their national incomes and purchasing power. This caused a further decline in their imports and neutralized the possibility of industrial revival in the creditor countries, whose conditions were further affected by the steadily growing volume of unemployment. * * * Savings piled up but investment fell off, and very large amounts of credit were held at low rates of interest on short term. Long-term rates of interest remained relatively high.

Failure to correct these maladjustments negated the hopes that had been placed upon the progressive cheapening of short-term credit. The New York discount rate remained at 1½ per cent, the lowest rate ever quoted, from May 8th to October 9th, 1931, gold reserves were ample and the expansive possibilities of the Federal Reserve system undiminished, but it did not prove possible to "pump credit into the markets."

Several factors blocked the way, of which probably the most important were political insecurity, leading to fear for the safety of international investments; the weak position of the London money market, which before the war was the main distributor of such investments; the failure of either the New York or Paris markets, which were stronger, to take London's place in this respect; the resistance to curtailing production of agricultural products and to reducing costs and prices of manufacturers; long-term rates of interest maintained at levels too high for investment to be profitable; and, most immediately important of all, the over-borrowed state of many debtor countries. There was a block in the circulation of capital which could not be removed merely by lowering the short-term rates of interest.

The various difficulties enumerated were rendered more troublesome because they were interlocked. The block in circulation, first of capital and then of goods, was comparable to a jam in logging operations on a river. Circulation could have been restored only by finding the key logs and liberating them almost simultaneously before another jam could form.

The high rate of long-term interest, for example, originally established by the scarcity of capital and strong demands for reconstruction after the war, was maintained by the boom in investment and the security speculation. After these demands failed in 1929, the rate was still kept up by borrowers who were prepared to pay interest higher than that which could have been paid if the capital had been used profitably in industrial production. This "distress" borrowing, based upon the effort to maintain the solvency of already excessively burdened debtor

countries, was the actual point upon which the financial crisis broke.

The interlocking of economic, monetary and political factors is particularly well illustrated by the heavy borrowings on long term at high rates of interest, by Governments and banks, "not for investment in productive enterprise, but to build up liquid reserves."

In May 1931, while money rates were still easy and there was still some measure of faith in a speedy recovery from the depression, a large Austrian bank, the Creditanstalt, disclosed heavy losses. The importance of this news from Vienna, which travelled round the world's financial centers like a seismic shock, lay less in the event than in its general significance.

It was instantly realized that, not only other banks in Austria and foreign countries, but virtually the whole industrial structure of Austria, and other Eastern European countries, would be involved. It was equally evident that neighboring debtor States, and particularly Germany, would be at once exposed to the danger of panic withdrawals of capital.

A crack had developed in the carefully constructed and patched facade of international finance and, through that crack, already timid investors and depositors caught glimpses of a weak and over-burdened structure. It was not only a bank which threatened to collapse, but the whole system of over-extended financial commitments which was the worst legacy of the war and of subsequent credit expansion.

Austria had been the first European State, except Sweden, to stabilize its currency and undertake a comprehensive policy of reconstruction. The success of that policy was the earliest, and in many respects the most convincing, proof of the efficacy of international cooperative action in the financial and economic sphere. It was, moreover, both a model upon the experience of which subsequent reconstruction schemes drew heavily, and a material factor in promoting the recovery of industrial production and trade which was worldwide after 1925.

The Creditanstalt was in a weak position when the full force of the world depression burst upon it in 1930. In that year it suffered a loss of 140 million schillings (\$20 million), so that in May 1931 the Austrian Government, in order to avert a breakdown of the banking system, was forced to guarantee all deposits, foreign and domestic, of the bank. It was assisted by the Bank of England, and the Bank for International Settlements [B.I.S. then called the "World Bank"—Editors] and foreign creditors of the Creditanstalt.

For the time being, the situation in Austria was saved.

The storm-center shifted, first to Germany, then to England, and later to the U.S. The revelation of financial weakness in Central Europe created a panic among investors and holders of short-term balances. As early as September 1930, the Reichsbank had suffered a run. Political conditions were disturbed and there was fear of a revolution. The reserves of the Reichsbank fell alarmingly.

The Austro-German protocol announcing the plan of a Customs Union appeared on March 21st, 1931. The European political situation was strained and international economic co-operation became more difficult. Soon after the Creditanstalt difficulties were announced, a renewed run began on the Reichsbank, which lost \$250 million of its gold and foreign exchange in four weeks. The B.I.S. on June 25th arranged a rediscount credit of \$100 million to help the Reichsbank; but three-fourths of this credit was used in a month.

Meantime, the President of the United States launched, on June 23rd, the proposal for a year's moratorium of reparation and war-debt payments. On July 6th, the pro-

posal went into force amended by an arrangement under which Germany agreed to pay the unconditional annuities to the B.I.S. and France agreed to reinvest them in guaranteed bonds of the German State Railways. The relief thus given to Germany did not, however, stay the course of the panic.

Withdrawals of foreign exchange continued, and the disclosure of enormous losses by the North-German Wool Company involved the closure of the Danat (Darmstädter and Nationalbank) on July 13th, despite a Government guarantee of its liabilities on the previous day. Other German banks were subjected to runs and were compelled to limit withdrawals to from 5 to 20 per cent of deposits. The Bourse was thereupon closed, the discount rate rose from 7 to 10 per cent and the statutory reserve ratio of the Reichsbank was lowered from 40 to 30 per cent.

International effort was continued. An international conference, held in London from July 20th to 23rd, invited the B.I.S. to "set up without delay a committee of representatives nominated by the Governors of the Central Banks interested, to enquire into the immediate further credit needs of Germany and to study the possibilities of converting a portion of the short-term credits into long-term credits."

This Committee's report stated emphatically its agreement with the opinion of the London Conference that the withdrawals of short-term balances were "not justified by the economic situation of the country." Withdrawals had, however, taken place, and the large volume of short-term liabilities still remaining rendered Germany extremely vulnerable. * * * For this reason arrangements were made for a meeting of the foreign banking groups concerned, from August 14th to 19th, with the result that a "stand-still" agreement was arranged. * * * The second half of the Committee's task required it "to consider the possibility of Germany raising a long-term loan"; but the Committee pointed out the dependence of any such proposal upon "the assurance that international political relations are established on a basis of mutual confidence, which is the *sine qua non* of economic recovery." Their report concluded on a note of urgency, printed in heavier type "urging most earnestly upon all Governments concerned that they lose no time in taking the necessary measures for bringing about such conditions as will allow financial operations to bring to Germany—and to the world—sorely needed assistance."

The danger of imminent collapse in Germany seemed to have been tided over. It was announced that the Danat Bank would be reopened. * * * The stock exchanges reopened on September 3rd, on the same day as it was announced that the proposal for an Austro-German Customs Union would be dropped.

THE ABANDONMENT OF THE GOLD STANDARD

Great Britain's difficulties were connected both with Germany's and with those of Central Europe, which were very much aggravated by the run on German banks. The movements of bank rates in June, July and early August were all upward. The Bank of England raised its rate from 2½ to 3½ per cent on July 23rd and to 4½ per cent a week later. Despite this action, it lost over \$30 million in gold in the last fortnight of July. It was known that British bankers had lent, not only Germany, but other Central European countries, a large amount of short-term credit which was rapidly becoming "frozen" by the inability of these countries to meet their foreign obligations. On July 31st, and for the first time, there was general realization of the probability of a large [public] deficit, estimated at £120 million. The Cabinet disagreed on proposals to balance the budget, and on August 24th the National Government was formed.

At the beginning of August, the Bank of England had secured a credit of 50 million

from French and American banks, with which to withstand the drain on the gold reserves caused by the withdrawal of short-term balances and the sale of British securities. On August 29th, a further credit of 80 million was arranged by the Treasury; but the drain continued. Over 200 million was withdrawn from the London money market in the two months preceding September 20th.

A supplementary budget imposing heavier taxation was introduced on September 10th as a measure of financial reform; but on the 15th, a protest by naval ratings in the Atlantic Fleet against pay reduction was given wide publicity. The run on London rose to extraordinary proportions. Between Wednesday morning, September 16th, and Saturday midday, the 19th, over 43 million of short-term funds were withdrawn. On the other hand, British short-term holdings amounting to 70 million in Germany alone had been locked up by the London Conference Agreement.

On September 21st, therefore, legislation was passed suspending the Bank of England's obligation to sell gold. The bank rate was raised to 6 per cent and the Stock Exchange closed for two days while restrictions were imposed temporarily upon dealings in foreign exchange.

The immediate effect of this momentous decision in Great Britain itself was not alarming. As soon as the Stock Exchange opened, there was a small boom in the sterling prices of industrial securities.

Exchange rates on gold currencies dropped 25 per cent almost immediately; but prices in Great Britain remained steady and the people were calm. The National Government appealed to the country, and was given an overwhelming majority on October 27th. There was no longer any doubt about the necessary financial measures being taken to balance the budget, and in fact, these measures proved more fruitful than had been expected. As domestic prices remained steady, tension gradually relaxed. On October 30th, the Bank of England repaid 20 million of its first loan from the French and American banks, the remainder being renewed for three months. At the expiration of this period, the balance was met. The greater part of the Treasury Loan (\$150 million and Fr. 1,600 million) was repaid at the end of February, the remainder of the American portion (\$50 million) being repaid at the end of March, thus wiping out the advance, with the exception of a part of the French loan.

The inherent financial strength of Great Britain was also displayed in the fact that the mere cessation of overseas lending once again enabled her to draw resources from her debtors all over the world. Imports increased heavily and a series of measures, beginning with the Abnormal Importation (Customs Duties) Act of November 19th, was taken to restrict them. Exports of gold from India, tempted out of hoards by the premium in terms of rupees, flowed in increasing quantities to Great Britain and were a material help in enabling the Bank to pay off its foreign credits.

Finally, the strong creditor position of Great Britain began to exert its influence upon the exchange rates, despite the large repayments to France and the U.S. The pound was undervalued, and, when it began to rise, speculation assisted the process. From the 30 per cent discount to which it had dropped in February, sterling recovered quickly to less than 20 per cent discount in April. Bank rate, was lowered to 5 per cent on February 18th, to 4 per cent on March 9th and to 3½ per cent on March 16th, the upward swing of the exchanges was checked but sterling remained strong.

Elsewhere, the repercussions of the fall of the pound were more serious immediately. The first was to cause the abandonment of the gold standard by a number of other countries which were in close relationship with Great Britain. The Argentine and Uru-

guay had suspended gold payment in December 1929, Canada had introduced restrictions on the gold standard at the end of 1929 also, and in 1930 the exchanges of Brazil, Chile, Venezuela, Paraguay, Peru, Australia and New Zealand fell and remained below export gold point. After Great Britain's action, the number of countries of gold was greatly increased. Before the end of October 1931, all the British Dominions except South Africa, the rest of the British Empire, and the three Scandinavian countries, as well as Portugal, Egypt, Bolivia, Latvia and Finland, had departed from gold. Japan followed in December.

This very considerable breakdown of the world's monetary mechanism was important in itself. Even more important in the immediate situation, however, was the reaction upon the remaining gold standard countries and upon the financial structure of the world as a whole.

When Britain went off gold, all the European stock exchanges, except those of Paris, Milan and Prague, closed for various periods; bank rates rose, foreign exchange restrictions (ranging from limitation of imports to moratoria) were imposed in thirty different countries, tariffs were increased, contingent, priority and quota systems introduced.

Partly as a result of these trade restrictions, the financial storm burst with redoubled force on Germany. On December 8th, the German Government published an Emergency Decree, the fourth of a series, effecting sweeping economies in the public service, heavier taxation, salary, wages, rent and price cuts and economies in unemployment insurance. There was no precedent, outside of Russia, for such drastic measures both of control of economic life and of sacrifices imposed on a whole people. * * * The renewal of the stand-still agreement in February 1932, and the extremely vigorous measures of deflation within Germany itself, kept the currency stable and the acute stage of the panic passed once more. In the spring of 1932 there was relative economic calm, but on a basis of lower prices, higher unemployment, and greatly shrunken trade.

Before the acute stage of the panic passed, however, New York was for a few weeks subject to much the same kind of run as London and Berlin had experienced. In October, a "gold rush" set in which had the net effect of reducing the U.S. stocks by \$715 million. For a time there was some discussion of currency stability; this had little reality.

France also did not go unscathed in the panic. After the depreciation of the pound sterling, a number of banks were forced to close down. The Government came to the rescue of the Banque Nationale de Crédit and also made special arrangements with the Banque de France covering its losses on sterling holdings.

The most important results of the British action, however, were slower. The panic passed, and in the spring of 1932 there was lethargy—a state of suspended animation—rather than feverish action. But in the meantime the fundamental difficulties of the crisis were sensibly aggravated. The apparent stability of prices in the countries that had abandoned gold contrasted strongly with the precipitate further decline of gold prices. Trade circulated more feebly than ever in the face of continually increasing restrictions. Standstill agreements imposed a virtual paralysis upon a growing part of international finance.

Such violent reversals of the normal flow of capital movement, involving altogether unprecedented gold shipments and accumulations, have completely disorganized world trade. The world's creditors have not only stopped lending, but have been drawing in both interest and capital as far as that has been possible. The international economic situation thus created is comparable only with that which would result if all the banks

in a developing mercantile community were to refuse new accommodation, and press for both interest payments and reduction of overdrafts.

Throughout 1931 and the first half of 1932, Europe held the center of the stage, with only occasional attention diverted to the U.S. But the financial situation of the rest of the world for the most part grew steadily worse also. Japan affords a good example of the strain. Prices fell in that country from 228 in January 1929 and 201 in January 1930 to 159 in January 1931 and 147 in November 1931, after which Japan left the gold standard. Exports fell off from Yen 2,218 million in 1929 to Yen 1,179 million in 1931, while imports were virtually halved also. In the invisible trade a surplus of Yen 220 million in 1928 had become a deficit of Yen 15 million by 1931. Earnings fell practically 10 per cent in 1931 and employment declined in approximately the same degree. In the first 11 months of 1931, Japan lost almost 40 per cent of her gold reserves, and this after she had lost 25 per cent in 1930. Her reserve, which had been Yen 1,087 million on January 18th, 1930, fell to Yen 521 million on December 5th, 1931.

Other examples might be quoted: but, with the possible exception of Australia, after the abandonment of the gold standard by Great Britain, there is a consistent story of unrelieved deepening of the depression.

There was, indeed, some softening of the shock in all the countries which had followed Great Britain off gold; but, since this action was not universal and its immediate effect was to precipitate a still further decline in gold prices and to concentrate the deflation still more heavily on the gold-standard countries, the restrictive measures introduced to cope with this situation engendered so much deeper depression that not even the countries which had abandoned gold could wholly escape further contraction. In the spring of 1932, Europe and the world as a whole lay prostrate and exhausted by a succession of disasters; but there was little indication that any of the restorative measures proposed were capable of restoring its vigor.

BOYCOTT FRENCH PRODUCTS

HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, Joseph Grant, founder and publisher of the *Penal Digest International*, recently made a speech on the dangers of drug addiction. He pointed to the role France plays in making heroin available in this country. He urges action similar to that proposed in legislation I have introduced:

BOYCOTT FRENCH PRODUCTS

IOWA CITY, IOWA.—A nationwide boycott of all French products, to last until the French government closes down all of the heroin processing plants in that country, is being called for by the *Penal Digest International*, publisher Joseph W. Grant has announced.

Letter-writing and petition campaigns and picketing of businesses selling French goods are being planned in cities across the country in conjunction with the boycott.

A monthly prison reform journal, the *Penal Digest International* (PDI) is published here by a group of ex-convicts.

According to Grant, it is well-known that most of the heroin which makes its way into the United States comes from Eastern poppy fields via processing plants near French

ports. "The justice departments of both France and the United States know the locations of these plants," he said, "yet nothing has been done to rid us of this billion-dollar industry which deals in nothing but death and misery."

Grant explained that PDI's stance on the issue is that the prisons and ghettos of this country are filled with thousands of addicts and ex-addicts who made the crucial error of taking their first fix because it created an illusion which tended to erase their sense of failure and frustration.

"Most of these addicts," he continued, "are from minority groups and low-income groups. They had nothing more going for them than an empty American Dream, soon followed by an awakening to the bitter realization that this land of plenty wasn't giving up very much in their neighborhoods. Now that heroin addiction has begun to leave its scars upon the suburbs and among middle-class and upper-class groups, more people are finally becoming aware of the threat which this problem poses to our nation and especially to our young people."

In announcing the boycott of French products in its most recent issue, published this week, PDI commented:

"For years the federal government has given lip service to the need for halting the flow of heroin into this country, but their efforts have never gone deep enough or far enough. While the feds concentrate on the independent drug dealer, the pusher who's supporting his own habit, the real villain goes right on peddling his opiates to the people with impunity—safe behind the awesome power of his organization.

"Likewise, the French government, apparently bedazzled by the streams of dollars which flow through the country along with the heroin, allows the processing plants to flourish. Occasionally a token bust is made to demonstrate the government's "concern," but, again, the effort goes neither deep nor far enough."

PDI associate editor Robert Copeland noted, "Heroin traffic is another terrifying tool of oppression. It is subtly, implicitly and covertly condoned by many power elements in our society because it is conducted on an incredibly large scale, like a well-organized business rather than the reprehensible crime against humanity which it actually is."

He added, "Its victims—the poor and the oppressed—are completely at the mercy of the heroin traffickers because they are unable to combat the tremendous economic, and frequently legal and political, power which the latter possess. The corruption spawned by the hard-drug industry is all-pervasive.

Asked about the chances of the boycott's success, Richard Tanner, PDI circulation manager, stated, "France does understand the economics of exported goods. She certainly wouldn't miss the point if every American citizen started to look at the labels of goods, and refused to purchase anything made in France until the French government puts a stop to what can only be called a traffic in stark misery for thousands of Americans who end up in prison if they don't have from one to four hundred dollars each day to support their habit."

Grant added, "As we approach this season of traditional celebration and thanksgiving, it is easy to slip comfortably into illusions and platitudes. Instead, we should take a good, hard look at the problems and conditions which are oppressing so many people in this country. Heroin is among the top, and since the government has not done much about it yet, it is time for the people to rise up and use what power they have to rid themselves of this monster and the anguish which it creates.

"We realize that to some it will appear paradoxical that a group of ex-cons and convicts is taking a strong stand against the crime of heroin traffic. But isn't it more paradoxical that society, the government and

its law enforcement agencies, tend automatically to regard as criminals the victims of heroin addiction, while the real criminals, the purveyors of this atrocity, are permitted to continue their big, dirty business at the expense of powerless people entrapped by economic and social conditions?

"The boycott is a drastic action, but it is far less drastic than the actions which heroin addiction forces upon thousands of Americans each year. If this problem can be alleviated, thousands of worthy men and women will not wind up in prisons—and I'm not speaking only of the kinds of prisons with bars."

A U.N. ROLE IN SETTLING DISPUTES

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Charles W. Yost again has made a useful contribution to the debate on international conflict resolution. In his Sunday, December 12 Washington Post essay, Ambassador Yost looks at the South Asian conflict between India and Pakistan and at the failures of the great powers.

Three important facts, Mr. Yost believes, should be self-evident to the United States, China, and the Soviet Union and they bear reiteration. These points are key to conflict resolution in this decade:

First, conflicts in the third world can rarely be settled by one of the three great powers without the cooperation of the other two.

Second, if such conflicts are not settled rapidly, the interests of the great powers are likely to come into conflict.

Third, the United Nations represents the best forum to settle these third world conflicts. But the great powers must utilize the U.N. machinery and stand behind its collective decisions.

Unfortunately, as a December 10 New York Times editorial points out, the House's failure last week to appropriate money for a U.S. contribution to the United Nations Development Program—UNDP—strikes "another blow at the U.N." Instead we should be strengthening it.

Mr. Speaker, the Yost article and the Times editorial follow:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 12, 1971]

A U.N. ROLE IN SETTLING DISPUTES

(By Charles W. Yost)

What is happening today between India and Pakistan provides a graphic and a foreboding indication of the kind of wars the world can expect in the 1970s.

Since 1945 every empire but the Russian and the Portuguese has broken up, and more than 60 new nations have appeared. Many of them contain sharply antagonistic ethnic, religious or tribal elements, and lack any long-lasting tradition of national unity.

Some lack accepted frontiers, and have bitter territorial disputes with their neighbors. Almost all are underdeveloped, with the vast majority of their citizens subsisting on far less than they have been led to believe they have a right to expect.

Conditions conducive to international, civil and class war are therefore prevalent throughout much of the "Third World." Southeast Asia, the Middle East and the In-

dian subcontinent are only the most conspicuous and extreme examples.

What has happened in the subcontinent during the past nine months, since the crisis in East Pakistan broke out in March, shows how poorly prepared the international community is to prevent or control such wars—even when their outbreak has been as clearly predictable as this one was.

The reason for this impotence is not lack of means but lack of will, and the reason for the lack of will is twofold: first, the unwillingness of each of the great powers to offend one of the contending parties or both; second, the fetish of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states.

The cause of the explosion in East Pakistan was of course the refusal of the Pakistani government to accept the results of the free elections held last March, and its suppression by fire and sword of the East Pakistani majority which won the elections.

This resulted in the exodus of nine million refugees into the most poverty-stricken and politically unstable part of neighboring India. India has been saying for months that this situation was so gravely damaging to her own economic and political viability that it was intolerable, and that if the international community did not soon find means to correct it, she would go to war. Whether she was wise or justified in doing so is another matter; but that she was going to, if offered no better alternative, has been entirely clear.

What did the great powers and the rest of the international community do? Very little, except wring their hands, exhort the parties to restrain themselves, slap them on the wrists with trivial arms embargoes, and as conscience-money send relief to the refugees.

The United States and China were unwilling to offend their friend Pakistan. The Soviet Union was unwilling to offend its friend India. Each was afraid that, if either Pakistan or India was offended, it would embrace a rival great power. And none of the great powers, or indeed anyone else, was prepared to support the drastic intervention into the "internal affairs" of Pakistan which would have been necessary to resolve the conflict without war.

It is said that the United Nations has once again demonstrated its impotence. Indeed the Security Council did not even meet, on what was obviously the most imminent threat to world peace in 1971, until large-scale war had actually broken out.

However, when we say the U.N. did not act on a matter of war or peace, what we really mean is that the great powers did not want it to act. The Security Council did not meet until war broke out because the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Britain and France could not agree as to what should be done, and most of them did not want to be put in the embarrassing position of taking a public position against India or against Pakistan.

Now war has broken out on a large scale. The great powers are more embarrassed than they would have been had they acted earlier.

The United States, which has usually cited India as the keystone of democracy in Asia, has stumbled into an anti-Indian posture which could unbalance our Asian policy for years to come.

The Soviet Union has vetoed a series of Security Council resolutions, antagonized most of her council colleagues, and given the Chinese one of the things they most wanted—a chance to make anti-Soviet propaganda. Meanwhile, the war goes on.

One would think that by this time—after Vietnam, the Middle East, and now East Bengal—the great powers would wake up to three facts:

First, that conflicts in the Third World can rarely be settled by one of them alone.

Second, that if such conflicts are not settled, they are likely more and more to involve

the interests and security of the great powers themselves.

Third, that the best place to settle them in safe and timely fashion is at the United Nations, where the great powers and the parties to the conflict are represented and where the rest of the world can cushion confrontations and help in a settlement.

However, this will not be possible until the great powers decide to use the U.N. for the purposes for which it was set up, decide to give it more teeth for these purposes, and decide not to be afraid to ask it to intervene in "internal affairs" if such affairs seem likely to provoke a wider war.

There are few signs yet of the U.N. being given such authority. But unless it is, the 1970s may be an even more stormy decade than the last one.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 10, 1971]

ANOTHER BLOW AT THE U.N.

The House has delivered another blow to the buffeted United Nations this week by eliminating a proposed \$100-million United States contribution to the United Nations Development Program from the foreign aid appropriation bill.

Although the over-all House aid appropriation of \$2.67-billion is far below the original Administration request, it is reasonably close to the \$2.74-billion foreign assistance authorization which has been stalled in a House-Senate conference committee. This meager sum—as compared with world needs and United States responsibilities—is probably as much as can be expected in this year of confusion over the purposes and prospects of aid and of concern over the state of the American economy.

But the total elimination of the Development Program contribution is vindictive and short-sighted. It will seriously cripple a promising international effort which this country helped to establish and nurture. The Development Program at the United Nations is especially suited to meet United States objectives of promoting a wider sharing of international development responsibilities and of channeling more American aid funds through international institutions.

There were encouraging reports last night that Senate leaders were moving to break the conference deadlock on the authorization bill in order to keep the aid program alive without resort to another continuing resolution. We trust that the Senate, which has shown greater sympathy for international aid programs, will also act promptly on an appropriations measure that will include \$90 million in Development Program funds as provided in the authorization.

CURTIS A. CHRISTIANSON

HON. EDWARD HUTCHINSON

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 10, 1971

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I want to add my warm regards to those expressed by so many Members of this House to Curtis A. Christianson, Assistant Tally Clerk of the House of Representatives for so many years.

I would truly say that Chris is one of the most outstanding people in the House of Representatives. His work has been brilliant; his dedication extraordinary; his courtesy and assistance unmatched.

In a word, Chris, you are irreplaceable. I know that during your life you have been honored in many ways—by kings and dignitaries—and now those of us

who have been in daily contact with you in the House salute you.

I wish you and Mrs. Christianson everything good and satisfying in your retirement. We are going to miss you.

SECRETARY VOLPE MAKES VISIT TO POLAND

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, during a recent official trip to Europe the Honorable John A. Volpe, Secretary for Transportation, visited several countries including Poland.

In a subsequent interview by the Voice of America, Secretary Volpe discussed his trip, and in particular his impressions from his visit to Poland.

I am very interested in his comments and I am including herewith the portion of the interview as it relates to Poland:

INTERVIEW OF SECRETARY VOLPE ON VOICE OF AMERICA

1. Q. Mr. Secretary, you have recently returned from your official European trip. Would you care to tell our listeners which countries you have visited and what was the purpose of your trip?

A. I would be happy to do so. Generally, I went abroad to promote international cooperation in solving the transportation problems that we all face. It seems to us here in the United States that the various nations of the world are struggling with more or less the same questions in transportation: congestion, pollution, accidents, inadequate service, high costs, and so forth. We think there are a lot of good ideas all over the world that can help in the solution of these problems. So we think cooperation is a good idea—a good way to speed up the improvement of all our transport systems.

On this most recent trip of mine I stopped first in Germany and Italy, where we have had active exchanges and cooperative activity going for some time. Then it was my pleasure to visit Romania and Poland, where I signed agreements with the Romanian and Polish transport ministers, under which we expect mutually beneficial cooperation on transportation problems to proceed in the future.

2. Q. Before departing for Europe you were kind enough to grant an interview to the Voice of America. At that time you mentioned that, in your view, many countries are facing similar transportation problems, especially in large cities. Did your recent trip uphold your point of view?

A. Yes, it did. In my talks with Polish officials I found them deeply concerned about the same kinds of problems we have here in the United States. How can we move urban traffic more effectively? How can we reduce the adverse effects of our transportation systems on the environment? How can we improve our railroads to meet present needs? How can we stop the waste of life in automobile accidents? One proof that people have problems is to see what they're doing about them. The Poles are doing a great deal. I was very much impressed, for example, with the Automotive Institute I visited. There's some ground-breaking work going ahead there on the relation between automobile accidents and the psychological and physiological characteristics of drivers. I found it fascinating.

3. Q. Mr. Secretary, would you care to elab-

orate in more specific terms about the Memorandum of Understanding signed by you in Warsaw?

A. The Memorandum of Understanding is the standard research cooperation agreement which we have with Ministries of Transport in various industrialized countries. It contemplates cooperation in such ways as exchanging information and specialists, arranging complementary research, sharing tasks and even costs. We anticipate that in many cases each side will use its own resources for the cooperative work. However, the agreement is broad enough to include the funding of projects in Poland with U.S.-owned excess currency—the so-called PL-480 funds. We will be agreeing from time to time on various projects to work on, and have already decided to concentrate initially in the road and rail transport areas. The details of these projects will be defined in project agreements worked out by the specialists of both parties.

4. Q. What other subjects were discussed by you and Polish Government officials during your stay in Poland?

A. It was a great honor for me, during my stay in Poland, to meet with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister. Our conversations covered a number of matters of mutual interest, including of course such points as cooperation between our two countries, trade, and the like. I was happy to make clear in these talks that the United States looks forward to increasingly close and friendly relations with Poland.

5. Q. Do you consider, Mr. Secretary, that your visit will contribute to closer scientific and technological cooperation between the United States and Poland?

A. I am confident of it. Certainly this will be so in the field of transportation research. We have under study certain Polish proposals and based on this study, have already proposed specific project activity in bio-medical human factors research relating to bus and truck drivers. The Program Coordinators appointed for each party are already in contact and I expect we will be getting down to business rather quickly. This cooperation will grow, I think. My experience suggests that once people start developing good habits of working together, there is a rippling effect which carries over into other fields. Successful research cooperation is very contagious and usually spreads to other areas of possible cooperation.

6. Q. Finally, Mr. Secretary, may we ask to share with us your general impressions about the country and the cities you have visited.

A. Of course. First, let me say that I was greatly impressed—and personally touched—by the warmth with which, I was received wherever I went in Poland. This reflects, I think, the very close ties that have been felt between the Polish people and the Polish-Americans in the United States. You know, we too are in part—a very important part—a Polish nation. I was amused to find a lot of people in Poland who know that Carl Ystremski is a baseball player with the Boston Red Sox. In short, I come away with deep impression that I had been among friends.

Secondly, I was struck by the enormous progress that Poland has been making. I have in mind the effort and skill it takes to come out of the ruins of war and then rebuild cities and establish modern systems and services. This is evident everywhere, and is a great tribute to the strength of the Polish people.

Finally, I was deeply impressed by what I saw of the old Polish cultural history, places like a school where Copernicus studied, and the beautiful city of Cracow. There are great treasures, important not just in Poland but in the whole history of Western civilization.

7. Q. Anything also the Secretary cares to add.

A. One thing, yes. I was the first U.S. Cabinet officer in eight years to visit Poland. Soon, our Commerce Secretary Stans will

make a stop in Warsaw. In the other direction, while I was on my way to Warsaw, the Polish Deputy Minister of Transport, Mr. Tarantovich visited Washington and spent some time here in our Department. We look forward to further visits by high-level Polish officials. We welcome these contacts, and we want them to grow.

SPECIAL DUTY VOLUNTEER POLICE PATROLS

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, in some areas of the Bronx, N.Y., which I have the honor to represent, special-duty police, working in plain clothes and disguises, are being deployed to combat street crime. These officers have already met with considerable success, and I take this opportunity to express my congratulations and appreciation to them for volunteering for their duty and for their special efforts on behalf of greater public safety from crime.

In order to provide Members and other readers of the Record with a few details on this approach to crime control, I submit the following editorial from the December 9, 1971, Riverdale, N.Y., Press, entitled "Anti-Crime Patrols Are Effective":

ANTI-CRIME PATROLS ARE EFFECTIVE

Anti-crime patrols in the 50th Precinct are establishing an impressive record as effective deterrents to burglaries, robberies and auto thefts in the Riverdale-Kingsbridge area.

The patrols are volunteer police teams who work when and where crimes occur rather than in set tour routines. Their assignment is to concentrate on street crimes, with the help of sophisticated new planning apparatus which provides tour by tour statistics and briefings to the men.

The special duty volunteers work in plain clothes or disguises and drive unmarked cars or patrol on foot. They have much more discretion and freedom in their operations than do uniformed patrols. They have stopped a number of street crimes in which criminals were caught red-handed.

Anti-crime patrols, however, cannot do the job of safeguarding the city and cutting crime effectively all by themselves. They need help from the community, from political leaders, from the courts and from City Hall.

Congressman Bingham was among the first to recognize the need for legislative help in the fight against vandalism, arson and drug addiction. He has introduced legislation designed to increase safety in the high schools. He has held workshops and conferences at which "law and order" was treated not as a slogan of the right wing but as a problem faced by the public.

Tenants in apartment buildings where crime is prevalent have a right to complain and to ask for more police protection. They can be more effective, however, if they establish Auxiliary Police patrols to help keep their buildings safe.

A recent article in the New York Times Magazine called attention to the leniency of the courts, whose failure to mete out sentences has encouraged "rat packs" to continue their muggings and stabbings with impunity. The author, who had spent many days in gathering material, learned that the attackers have little or no fear of punishment, having learned from experience that a slap

on the wrist was the most they would get.

When a bunch of thugs invade a subway train or station, smashing everything in sight and terrorizing passengers, it isn't helpful to hear an official face the television cameras with the lame excuse that this is "an isolated incident". There have been too many such incidents, without any firm resolve, clearly expressed, that such conduct will not be tolerated.

We note with interest that Mayor Lindsay has decided that the solution of street crimes is among his top vote-getting priorities. People want safety. They want to go about their business without fear of attack, and with the assurance that everything possible—from anti-crime patrols to stiff sentences—is being done to safeguard them.

The police officers who have volunteered for special duty in the anti-crime patrols are to be congratulated. They have willingly accepted dangerous battle posts on the front line in the war against criminals.

Everyone agrees that the causes of crime should be uprooted. We'll probably never end law-breaking, but better housing, full employment and improved social conditions should eventually be as great a deterrent as police guns.

Meanwhile we face hard reality. Danger lurks in the streets, and it can be met only by men willing to risk their lives for the safety of their neighbors.

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER EDITOR TO RETIRE

HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, on December 31, William Ware, executive editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer, will be retiring after 38 years in journalism. Bill's love for his profession has been very much evident in the high quality of his reporting, writing, and editing. Not content merely to write about events of the day, Bill has exhibited a rare spirit of public-mindedness through his extracurricular activities on behalf of education and mental health.

I would now like to insert the following article in the RECORD as a tribute to his many accomplishments.

WORK WAS FUN TO BILL WARE
(By George J. Barmann)

In talking about the newspaper profession, William M. Ware, executive editor of The Plain Dealer, said some time ago that there is no question in his mind about where the heart of a paper is or where, in the process of producing it the newspaper begins.

"It begins with the reporter and the editorial staff," he said, adding that, if they are successful in interesting, entertaining, and informing the public, everything else in the business is always made so much easier.

And then Ware, mentioning that an editor's primary task is to persuade and inspire that ought to be able to convince most of the staff that this business is fun and many cuts above the drudgery of the counting house."

Ware was able to do that well, indeed. For years. For almost everyone who worked for and with him. And, working for and with Bill Ware, you could easily see that it was fun for him, too.

Ware is retiring from the Plain Dealer. He is taking early retirement from his post, in the command of the entire editorial operations of this newspaper, daily and Sunday. He became executive editor Dec. 1, 1966.

For nearly 38 years he has been associated with The Plain Dealer, reporting, writing and editing, all the time, anyone will tell you, a gentleman of the press. Even in the years before that, his life has been the excitement—the fun, really—of journalism.

Bill Ware is leaving Dec. 31.

"At midnight, I suppose you could say," he remarked in an interview in his office, sitting at his desk, smiling, his hands behind his head in a typical gesture. "That's on Friday, and so at 11 that Friday night I'll make my usual evening telephone call to the paper from home and see what's going on and then I'll put the telephone down and that will be it."

In a little while after that, 1971 will become 1972, and Ware will be remembering other voices, other days.

Bill Ware, who was born in Columbus on June 13, 1911, was graduated from the School of Journalism at Ohio State University in 1933. He was the only member of his class who got a job right off. In fact, he got a job offer from the Painesville Telegraph a month before he was graduated.

"It was no great tribute to me," he said. "I had been doing some work for the Telegraph at State, you see. Well, I got this wire from them and they wanted me to start right away. I couldn't do that. I had to wait until June, of course."

Ware is from Mentor. He and his wife, Beth Cole Ware, live there now. Ware's father was a farmer near Columbus, but the family moved to Mentor in 1915, on a farm. Ware was graduated from Mentor High School where he played football.

"The job at the Telegraph was sports editor, at \$16 a week," he said. "They called me sports editor, but, well, you'd go in at 7 in the morning and put the sports page out. Then, after you'd get that done, you'd do out and cover City Hall. Then, in the afternoon, you'd do various general assignment stories and then you'd go over the stuff from the country correspondents, all hand written, you know. And then, after that, you'd go and cover a county meeting, in Painesville or, say Fairport, and some time in the evening you'd be in at 7 the next morning."

It was fine training of course, and Ware, after eight months, came to The Plain Dealer. He came, he said, because "an old Ohio Stater," Phillip W. Porter, now retired, who preceded Ware as executive editor, was then day city editor. That was in April 1934.

When he left the Telegraph, Ware was getting \$18.50 a week. The PD offered him \$25. Said Ware: "On the strength of that kind of pay, Beth and I decided to get married." They did, on Sept. 16, 1934. They had met at Mentor High. Mrs. Ware, who was a schoolteacher, was graduated from Bowling Green State University.

Mrs. Ware taught the first four grades, off and on, until 1964. Ware, through her, has long been interested in education.

They have two daughters, Mrs. Christopher R. Coulton of Painesville and Mrs. Jose Ruiz Izquierdo of Madrid.

Bonnie, the daughter in Painesville, was graduated from Muskingum College and taught school. Kathryn, in Madrid, was graduated from Florida Southern College at Lakeland. She has been working in Spain. She and her husband, who was graduated in law from the University of Madrid, are expected to come here in a few days.

Ware's first assignment at the PD was helping to cover the Easter Parade in 1934. That was the day he began. He was on general assignment, then on the police beat, then on late rewrite and at Lakeside Court-house. Then he went on the copy desk, and from there into the Sunday department of the paper. That was in 1937.

In 1954, Ware was made assistant Sunday and feature editor. In 1962, he became Sunday and feature editor. Two years later, he was made night managing editor. From that post, he was promoted to executive editor.

For some years, Ware was active in the

Cleveland Newspaper Guild, serving as its president in 1947. In 1951, he was a member of the international executive board of the American Newspaper Guild. He has also been active in Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalism society, and was president of the chapter here in 1963.

Ware has been active in local, state and national newspaper organizations, working for press freedom and public's right to information.

His interest in education is shown by his eight years of service on the Mentor Board of Education, three of them as president. One year he headed the Northeast Ohio School Boards Association and served a similar term as vice president of the Ohio School Boards Association. In 1961, he was chairman of the Ohio State House Conference on Education. He has spoken widely on school affairs.

Mental health, too, has been one of his interests the last 10 years.

And, naturally, Ohio State has always had a claim on his time. In his senior year, he was editor of The Lantern, the campus newspaper. Being an Ohio Stater, he loves football. He played quarterback—"believe it or not, looking at my size" (5-foot-6, 110 pounds then. He weighs 130 pounds now).—for Mentor High, "but you got to remember Mentor High was a pretty small school those days."

The Wares plan to spend the winter months at their home in Cape Coral, near Fort Meyers, Fla. Other months they will be in Mentor. Ware's interests are golf and reading, "and Bethie and I are amateur fishermen."

"Well," said Bill Ware, "it's been an interesting time with lots of interesting people. I just can't conceive of people doing dull work every day, going to work and performing dull tasks. They do, but I can't imagine it. For me, it's been exciting, things happening, new things, every day. And great fun."

DEFENSE SAVINGS PREVENTED BY POLITICAL PRESSURES

HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week the outgoing Under Secretary of Defense, David Packard, charged that congressional pressure has been responsible for preventing sizable savings in the defense budget. At a news conference on Monday, Mr. Packard observed that at least \$1 billion could have been saved but that political pressures prevented such action, particularly with regard to closing unnecessary and obsolete defense installations.

It is, indeed, tragic that Mr. Packard waited until he left the Defense Department to make this revelation and that he obviously withheld such information until after the \$73 billion defense budget was cleared by the Congress. It is equally disturbing that some of our colleagues should pressure the DOD to retain facilities which are apparently useless, have no strategic military importance, and are costly to continue to operate and maintain.

At a time of severe economic instability at home and abroad and record spending on ill-conceived foreign military ventures and nonstrategic defense items, we should be making a concerted effort to cut costs wherever and whenever possi-

ble. I believe that experience has shown that such defense facilities can be effectively converted to a wide variety of civilian uses and that the feared dislocations do not occur.

I call upon our colleagues to put aside political considerations and cease pressuring the Defense Department to retain installations which are proven to be unnecessary for national defense.

OUR CADETS AND MIDSHIPMEN

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, the occasion of the 1971 Army-Navy football game inspired one editorial writer to put his finger on a problem that has grave implications with respect to U.S. leadership in the free world and our own national security; namely, the poor image being cast upon our military services and the consequent undermining of public support.

The writer makes this impassioned plea:

We must come to our senses about this. At this point in American history it is imperative that the public and its representatives take a dispassionate look at the external world around about us and the necessary role of our military in coping with it.

Mr. Speaker, we will be risking the very future of our Nation if we do not reverse this trend, the kind of "hostile criticism that denigrates and erodes the U.S. military institution as such". We will not only jeopardize the potential success of an All Volunteer Army by failing to mute this destructive criticism, but we can also be assured of eliminating from the vital military manpower pool under the volunteer concept a large number of individuals who will look elsewhere for professions which society views with more favor.

I firmly believe that the position of the United States as a leader in the free world today and, indeed, the very preservation of our democratic institutions depend upon the vitality of our military establishment and our commitment to our men in the uniformed services. The need for our gratitude and our recognition of our obligations to them has never been greater. The editorial follows:

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Nov. 29, 1971]

OUR CADETS AND MIDSHIPMEN

Once again they have come and gone—those thousands of West Point cadets and Annapolis midshipmen who each year converge on Philadelphia for the classic Army-Navy football game.

For almost four decades our city has been privileged to be the site of this contest. Our location, our historic traditions, and, most of all, the warm welcome we extend to the young men of the service academies make us a natural host for this pleasant annual invasion.

The city gears up for "The Game" with plans that are so painstaking, thoughtful and accommodating that the representatives of the academies have told Congress that "Philadelphia does so much for us that we could not afford to play it elsewhere."

It is a happy relationship. It is one that we want to preserve.

But for a moment let us think beyond the game and the exciting, colorful pageant that goes with it.

Let us think of the young men themselves, the future officers of the United States Army and the United States Navy and what it is that they represent.

These clean-cut, disciplined American youths are drawn from every walk of life. They are rigorously trained at great public expense. Their duties will be exacting, their responsibilities heavy.

It is a long way from the exuberance of interacademy football rivalry to ship patrols on distant seas and military stations far from home, a long way from a cheering stadium to the watch in a submarine or an army command post in the thermonuclear age.

The freshness of these young officers-to-be contrasts with the muck of Vietnam, the horror of My Lai, the racial disorders, the disciplinary troubles, the drug plague, the ugly brand of politics that has made the Armed Services a whipping boy for the mistakes of civilian leaders, and the errors of military leadership itself that have fed civilian disillusionment with the military.

Yet these young men will be leaving their academies soon to face both the grave responsibilities for national security and the deep-seated problems that must be overcome if they are to fulfill those responsibilities.

Sadly, they will be embarking on active military careers at a time when the military "image" is at a low point and American support for the military dangerously jeopardized in consequence.

We must come to our senses about this. At this point in American history it is imperative that the public and its representatives take a dispassionate look at the external world around about us and the necessary role of our military in coping with it.

Neither the urgent quest for peace through negotiations, nor the rational effort to limit armaments, nor the emotional revulsion at the Vietnam experience can blind us to present and potential perils in the unresolved clash of rivalries over the globe.

A distinction has to be made between constructive criticism designed to make our military a more effective instrument of national policy under civilian control and the kind of blind, hostile criticism that denigrates and erodes the U.S. military institution as such.

So, as the cadets and midshipmen take their leave of Philadelphia for another year, we need to ponder carefully the nature of the duty they owe and are sworn to give America. And we need to be cognizant of our obligations to them.

The nation's chance for peace or very survival may depend on those young men who this past Saturday were concerned only with a football score.

FREE CHINA'S OPPORTUNITY

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker the expulsion of the Republic of China from the United Nations is generally recognized by most Americans as an outrageous and despicable act. It will be a long time before the U.N. will be able to live this down. No first person can possibly deny the legal justification for sustaining the membership of this founding member in the U.N. Blind and vengeful politics de-

termined the issue, but by all ideals this should be given no play in the world organization, at least in terms of its own principles of profession.

An interesting article on some of these legal aspects appears in the autumn issue of the Ukrainian Quarterly, an internationally respected journal of East European and Asian affairs. Titled "Free China's Opportunity," the article is authored by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University. Though it was written before October 25—the day of shame—when the Republic of China was voted out of the U.N., in retrospect and also for the future the article contains several perceptive observations concerning Red China and the legal and moral position of the Republic of China, which can be put to effective political use by this sturdy anti-Communist ally in Asia. I commend this article to the studied reading of our Members and all Americans who felt nothing but justified revulsion against the infamous act of October 25:

FREE CHINA'S OPPORTUNITY

(By Lev E. Dobriansky)

President Nixon's plan to visit Red China had long been in the making. When the Peiping trip of Dr. Henry Kissinger, the President's advisor on national security matters, was revealed, it was undoubtedly a news spectacular. But for those who have these past ten years followed the thinking, pressures and literary output dealing with a "Two China" policy, some of which will be referred to here, the news clout of the Kissinger expedition scarcely carried any element of basic surprise. It was only the timing and secretive circumstances that produced the superficial surprise.

Looked at from one angle, the move after all is in conformity with the Administration's oft-repeated theme of "negotiation, not confrontation." It has almost Khrushchevian overtones of "peace and friendship," which the then Vice President Nixon was endlessly exposed to over ten years ago. The style is also of like character. Yet, still from another angle and in a more fundamental sense, this gesture represents a confrontation of negotiation, which in this make-believe period of confetti diplomacy is nothing more than the diplomatic dimension of the Cold War as practiced by the Russian totalitarians and the Red Chinese, and accepted in challenge by us. As Hungarian and other "satellite" sources put it, the clout of the revealed Presidential visit elevated the stage from "ping-pong diplomacy" to "baseball diplomacy." The next higher stage will be one of "football diplomacy," calling for intricate, calculated plays on both sides.

The immediate effects of the White House announcement regarding the Peiping trip were mixed, both here and abroad. In the course of my trip in Asia in mid-summer it was patently evident that doubt, uncertainty and even chagrin marked the reactions of both official and unofficial Free Asia, varying in degree from capital to capital, country to country. From Seoul down to Manila the prime complaint was the lack of prior consultation on the matter with America's Free Asian allies. On Taiwan, of course, a quiet bitterness was sensed and if the government of the Republic of China hadn't exercised a restraining hand, several outbursts of anti-Americanism would surely have occurred. They would have been understandable, too, in view of Free China's strong and unwavering loyalty to U.S. policy and interests in Asia. No matter where the writer went or with whom he consulted, the subject of prime interest was the President's decision to visit mainland China and the question, naturally, was "Why?" This was the sole question asked of the writer in a TV

interview over the China Broadcasting System.

MULTIDIMENSIONAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM

In attempting to answer this pressing question in the most rational and objective way possible, the writer obviously could not assign the weights given to the several considerations that doubtlessly led the White House to its decision at this time. Despite this, however, the major causal reasons for this action have been discussed, debated and examined for some time. In short, the problem has multi-dimensional aspects which the writer endeavored to explain in terms of the Sino-Russian conflict, the Vietnam War, the emerging power of Japan, the need for communication, and domestic political considerations.

Regardless of overlaying public utterances, the objective global context providing for this action is the intensive Sino-Russian conflict and its ramifications in both the Red Empire and the Free World. More than anything else, this objective context is the determining factor underlying the present move toward Red China. It was not without reason that the President visited first Bucharest and then Belgrade, and now is planning his trip to Peiping. For it has been no mystery that the intra-Red Empire conflict has extended into the Balkans with political orientations toward Peiping in Rumania, Yugoslavia and Albania. These Red states are under the shadow of the Brezhnev doctrine and its ruthless application as is Red China. A careful reading of the President's second foreign policy report to Congress unmistakably pointed in this direction with its repeated emphases on the growing tensions within the Red Empire. For example, "The Stalinist bloc has fragmented into competing centers of doctrine and power. One of the deepest conflicts in the world today is between Communist China and the Soviet Union."¹

This fundamental context on the global level encompasses several other important factors. While all the diplomatic maneuvers are underway, steadily the Russian armed build-up on the borders of Red China continues. Some thirty to forty divisions are concentrated on this 4,000 plus mile border. The military pressure for a preemptive strike against Red China's nuclear installations is ever-present, preceded in fact by quite a number of Russian generals having been relieved or declared dead for reasons unknown. The deductive known reason was their desire to have the task done now rather than later. Red China is known to possess a stock of short-range IRBM's, but these are not as yet deliverable for distances covering Moscow and Leningrad. Needless to say, it won't be long before Peiping will possess these and a stock of ICBM's. Then, finally, the political factor of competition for leadership in the world communist movement enters into this deep conflict. As its new constitution and other points of evidence show, Peiping has no intention of renouncing the Maoist revolutionary animus. In the meantime, Moscow's policy of isolating Red China both geographically and ideologically is being exploded by the Nixon overture to Red China.

In addition to this basic reason for the President's new approach to China, there are secondary and tertiary reasons. Of secondary import is the Vietnam war, which from the military viewpoint is to all intents and purposes over. Recently, in Saigon, the writer received several briefings delivered by the South Vietnamese high command, and the confident manner by which his pointed criticisms were fielded represented a sharp contrast to the situation he experienced in Vietnam three years ago. The dominant problem today in that war-torn country is political. By all evidence, North Vietnam is militarily tired, new recruitments are slow, and the recent floods have shaken its economic structure badly. The danger in the whole situa-

tion rests in the possibility of Hanoi gaining its objectives at the political table, where it was not able to on the field of battle. In substance, it may seek the repetition of the '54 Geneva Conference when, despite the spectacular feat at Dienbienphou, its forces were generally prostrate.

Talk about a deal with Red China for a conference on Southeast Asia and an agreed-upon neutralization of the area has surfaced in the wake of the President's planned trip to Peiping. At the same time, the Red Chinese totalitarians have reiterated their stand that Hanoi pursue "protracted war" to final victory in Indochina. An August 13 Peiping radio broadcast beamed the promise of "full support to the Vietnamese people and the Indochinese peoples to carry on the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation until complete victory . . ." These and similar statements may well be propaganda plays to gain a conference and neutralization eventually, which paradoxically enough would provide a wide field for protracted warfare of a psycho-political type. Yet, considering the general weakness of both Red China and North Vietnam, there is no rational justification for such a deal. South Vietnam could well develop strongly in the path of South Korea, and between a formidable South Vietnam and Thailand stability and peaceful development can be assured in southeast Asia.

Another important reason affecting U.S.-Red Chinese relations is Peiping's fear of resurgent Japan. On the national scale, Japan today is the world's second economic power, and it is first among the Asian nations. Under the guise of Home Defense units, its military power is steadily developing, and certainly should Japanese confidence in the stability of U.S. policies wane, it won't take Tokyo long to convert itself into a major nuclear power. Moreover, a point oftentimes overlooked is the importance of a free Republic of China on Taiwan to the security of Japan. In light of these paramount facts and possibilities it is evident why Peiping fears a powerful Japan. However, at this stage this fear cannot be equated to that of Russia in the Soviet Union. In any case, it provides enormous bargaining leverage for the U.S.

Khrushchev is reported as having said "Mao Tse-tung has played politics with Asiatic cunning, following his own rules of cajolery, treachery, savage vengeance and deceit."² The course set by the President is, to say the least, one inviting considerable treachery from the Red Chinese. Nonetheless, given the other more essential aspects, it is a necessary confrontation for negotiation, to open up lines of communication, to allow for a variety of cultural and trade contracts, hopefully to deflate the revolutionary fervor of Peiping, and to challenge the Chinese totalitarians to display some observance of the rules of international conduct and behavior. This period in Sino-American relations as concern the mainland is not unlike that preceding U.S. recognition of the Soviet Union forty years ago, though certain substantial differences exist between the two. Put simply, an offer to talk is by itself no stamp of approval of the so-called Peoples' Republic of China nor a slight to the valid legitimacy of the Republic of China.

A point stressed by the writer in his appearances on Taiwan is that President Nixon is no Johnson, Kennedy, Eisenhower, Truman. His solid background of anti-communism distinguishes him from his predecessors. He is acutely alert to the political wiles and machinations of Red cold warriors, and in the circumstances of our domestic climate and moods is pursuing an admittedly treacherous course with superb confidence in his own ability to manage both the variables and imponderables of the global scene for America's own basic security. Four years ago, in an article published in *Foreign Affairs*, private citizen Nixon wrote: "The primary restraint on China's Asian ambitions should be exercised by the Asian nations in

the path of those ambitions, backed by the ultimate power of the United States. . . . Only as the nations of non-Communist Asia become so strong—economically, politically and militarily—that they no longer furnish tempting targets for Chinese aggression, will the leaders in Peking be persuaded to turn their energies inward rather than outward. And that will be the time when the dialogue with mainland China can begin."³ In essence, the Nixon doctrine appears in germinal form here.

Undoubtedly, other influences worked on the President in the direction of the general course he has set for himself as concerns Red China. A memorandum dated November 6, 1968, was submitted by several academicians to "President-Elect Nixon" on the subject of relations with China. The memorandum is studded with typical absurdities about "no-win" wars, the effects of the ABM system on more favorable relations with Peiping, the surrender of Matsu and Quemoy, and about some sub-surface political forces in Taiwan. However, it charts a course for accepting "Peking's membership in the General Assembly and the Security Council while seeking simultaneously to preserve a General Assembly seat for Taiwan, whether as the Republic of China, an independent nation, or an autonomous region of China."⁴ The last part of this recommendation sufficiently indicates the naive or sinister motivation of these academics. The President's and Secretary of State Rogers' declarations on abiding with our present commitments toward the Republic of China adequately dispose of these and other absurdities.

Finally, from the viewpoint of domestic politics, the disclosure of the President's intended trip decisively took the wind out of his opponents' sails. As many an editorialist pointed out last summer, had the presidential elections taken place then, Nixon would probably be reelected with ease. Each of his potential opponents couldn't help but praise the President's stride for "peace in our generation," a slogan that will resound more and more in the 1972 campaign. Plainly, it cannot be said, as some are prone to do, that the move toward talks with Peiping has been motivated by the President's desire for reelection regardless of its effects upon our national security. To entertain such an insular notion is to ignore the chief considerations as portrayed in the broader picture here. That several objectives can be realized by a single action, albeit directed in an area of global significance for both the United States and the Free World, is a most commendable feat in the art of political statesmanship. Especially is this so when the higher ends are not really endangered by the residual satisfaction of lower ends.

If this analysis is correct, the increasing amount of evidence flowing from Eastern Europe and the tensions growing there certainly fits into our interpretative pattern and assumes grave significance for imperialist Moscow. The expanded reception of the Red Chinese in Rumania, Yugoslavia and Albania has already been cited. The circulation of ideas in official circles for a Balkan alignment involving these three and Turkey and Greece to boot shows the extent to which the threat of the Brezhnev doctrine, or in other words, applied Russian domination has stimulated the fears of most Balkan capitals. The Rumanian Communist Party is well on record denying Moscow's right to lead the Communist movement and rejects the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty in these words: "It is the primordial international duty of each party to encourage no faction fights in another country."⁵ On the other hand, Moscow's lackeys seek to dampen the impact of the President's invitation to visit Peiping. For example, the East German Communist Party newspaper *Neues Deutschland* accuses Red China of world ambitions in these words: "The demagogic cloak of Maoist propaganda has fallen, and the policy of Mao Tse-tung and his followers comes

¹Footnotes at end of article.

to light uncovered." Out of Moscow characteristic drive of this type flows: "The ultimate aim of Chinese foreign policy is to provoke a military conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States . . . and then build on the ruins." Doubtlessly, the period ahead will abound with such comments.

THE "REALITY" OF RED CHINA

Before we consider the opportunity that all this has provided the Republic of China for a strong legal stand in the United Nations, a few observations are necessary in connection with the so-called imposing reality of Red China and the Byelorussian/Ukrainian analogy to the two China policy. In the drive to gain a seat for Peiping in the U.N., there has been a grossly unwholesome tendency to paint Red China as a great power, indeed as a super-power. As the writer states it elsewhere, "if reference can be made again to the issue of recognizing Peiping in whatever form, it is striking, indeed, how old illusions on 'reality,' 'prospective trade' and 'peace' nurtured forty years ago with regard to the USSR are muddling minds today in relation to mainland China." For propaganda reasons the inflated myth of Red Chinese reality is understandable; from a factual point of view it represents the grossest misrepresentation of what is in essence a geographical expression. A huge population and geographical expanse clearly do not add up, in themselves, to a big power reality. On the contrary, lacking other essential factors, they attest to massive weakness.

Just as in the case of the Soviet Union the human cost of mythological communism in mainland China has long been known to be ghastly. What the Select House Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression assembled in data seventeen years ago, Robert Conquest has summarized recently as concerns the Soviet Union. Innumerable works have covered the genocide, murders and assassinations perpetrated by the Red Chinese totalitarians, and Richard Walker has presented a similar summary recently. However, the latter's economic perspectives on Red China leave much to be desired. Both perform a valuable service in alerting or re-alerting free people as to the political types we are dealing with, and though in the case of Peiping the estimates of decimated lives may differ from a minimum of 34 million lives to 63 million in the last fifty years (and in the case of Moscow, from 40 to 80 million) the lesson of organized barbarity remains the same. The assassin background of Chou En-lai—Murderer—should have tempering effects. But whatever the effects, they will scarcely alter the drift of accommodation which must be shaped by a vivid realism toward this geographical expression.

On the scale of power ingredients, the so-called People's Republic of China is clearly not in the club of super-powers. The two successive convulsions of the past decade—the Great Leap Backward and the Uncultural Revolution—cost the PRC a whole decade of economic regression. One of the worst underdeveloped countries, the PRC can only show for itself an estimated gross product of \$70 to \$80 billion, or about 2/5 of Japan's GNP, and its per capita output ranges from \$90 to \$100, about only 1/3 of the Republic of China. Its food-population problem is a long-standing one, with an approximate output in grain production totaling 190 million tons for a population ranging from 680 to 775 million. As a pointed indicator, PRC's crude steel output approximates 15 million tons, as compared with 130 million for the U.S. and 116 million for the USSR. Its foreign trade turnover amounts to about \$5 billion per annum, which is closely rivaled by the Republic of China and its population of about 14.8 million on Taiwan.

A recital of the normal aspects of the

standard of living on the mainland—off the guided tourist tracks—is one of economic abomination, well exceeding those in other underdeveloped Asian areas. To be sure, progress has been made in nuclear and satellite development, but here, too, perspective should be shown toward this powerbadging stroke of technologic concentration. At this stage Red China possesses IRBM's, but not powered enough to reach Moscow or Leningrad. It's on the way for ICBM's, but to develop a complete delivery system will take many years yet. Inroads in this area still are quite underdeveloped, as is, indeed, the entire economy.

THE BYELORUSSIAN/UKRAINIAN ANALOGY

Negotiations and dealings with Red China require a perspective attuned to the essentials given above. Basic weakness, not strength, is the hallmark of the PRC, and no inordinate concessions are necessary in the name of peace. Proper and accurate perspective in the argumentation of the China issue is also necessary with regard to the oft-repeated Byelorussian/Ukrainian analogy. About a year ago Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts argued that Red China should be admitted into the United Nations on the same basis as that enjoyed by Byelorussia and Ukraine. The latter are parts of the USSR, have separate representation in the U.N. as does the USSR as a whole, and are separately recognized by all other members in the world body. Therefore, each of the two parts of China as a whole should also be in the U.N. Recently, this has been raised by a noted columnist in this vein: "One argument is that the Soviet Union, for example, has two of its 'provinces' in the international organization."

In truth, this argument is baseless and misleading. First, it ignores the fact that the United Nations is nominally the United Nations, constituted of nations which bear some form of statehood, ranging from the vacuous to the substantial. Second, notwithstanding rampant misconceptions concerning them, both Byelorussia and Ukraine are nations distinct from the Russian which is really represented in the form of the USSR. In sharp contrast, the Chinese on the island of Taiwan are a part of the same Chinese nation that embraces the Chinese on the mainland. Briefly, then, there is no national parallel here between the relations of Ukraine and Byelorussia and federated Russia and that of the Chinese in the province of Taiwan and those on the mainland.

Thus this argument has no valid application to the two China problem. There is no such thing as a two Russia arrangement in the U.N. The matter of legitimacy is also not pertinent to the drawn analogy. In all three cases—Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia—fundamental illegitimacy rules. The admission of Red China would, however, militate against the legitimacy of the Republic of China as the sole representative of the Chinese nation in the U.N. It would neutralize it in the world body, but the legitimacy factor can be sustained by the United States and others by continued direct diplomatic relations with Taipei. Rationally pursuing this further, if direct relations were also extended to Peiping without any automatic severance of relations incurred by Taipei, the legitimacy of the latter still would be sustained. Aside from geographical and governmental differences, a more logical analogy here would be U.S. diplomatic relations with the USSR and also the Baltic legations. A change to this extent should presuppose some hard bargaining in the interests of both the U.S. and its free Asian allies.

THE U.N. AND FREE CHINA'S OPPORTUNITY

If one synthetically relates all the elements presented so far, it becomes evident that a splendid opportunity exists for the Republic of China to strongly defend its position in the U.N., to reinforce the principles of that world body, and to do all this without in any

way embarrassing the U.S. or undermining its own legitimate status. First, the Lodge report, statements by the President, and Secretary Rogers' declaration of August 2 underscore our opposition to the expulsion of Nationalist China in the event of Red China's admission. As the last put it, "The United States will oppose any action to expel the Republic of China or otherwise deprive it of representation in the United Nations." The salient question is whether, without any economic, political or military recriminations, we would allow the Republic of China to defend its seats in both the Security Council and the General Assembly on the basis of the U.N. Charter itself.

The Fifth World Anti-Communist Conference, which was held last July in Manila, passed a significant resolution emphasizing certain provisions in the U.N. Charter which provide the legal basis for Nationalist China's defense. Some maintain that only this legal basis should be used in the defense, foregoing any political fight in view of the numbers stacked up against ROC. There is merit in this argument, but there is no reason why, for the record and as a tempering introduction to the strictly legal battle, ROC's ambassador should not recite objectively and dispassionately before the entire General Assembly and to the world the long record of Peiping's aggressions, genocide and barbarities, and then concluding with the question "I ask each and every one of the distinguished representatives present here whether in your moral conscience and in dedication to the declared principles of this world body you honestly feel Communist China is qualified and is eligible to become at this time a member of this organization?"

At this writing, when both Japan and Great Britain have indicated their intention to vote for Red China's admission regardless of ROC's expulsion, the need for an unfettered defense by Taipei is greater than ever, perhaps even for the U.S. to save face. A careful reading of the pertinent U.N. Charter provisions shows that ROC's case is air-tight and impregnable. Beginning with the matter of expelling a member, Article 6 expressly states: "A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendations of the Security Council." Immediately two chief points emerge here: (1) persistent violation of principles and (2) Security Council recommendation.

Without doubt, any opponent of ROC would be hard pressed to offer even an iota of evidence substantiating the first point on the part of ROC. To the very contrary, the record of ROC in the U.N. and in the world is almost impeccable and steadily progressive. As one liberal columnist stresses, "There are 97 'countries' in the U.N. with smaller populations than Taiwan's, and it makes no sense, either in terms of these people's rights or the long-range effectiveness of the U.N., to throw Taiwan out." His other powerful points on this exclusion as "a foolish step away from universal membership," Taiwan's "extraordinary social and economic progress," its assistance to other nations, "especially the poorer nations of Africa," and Japan's world power qualification for a permanent seat on the Security Council deserve the most serious consideration. Furthermore, the present occasion is ripe for the public to recognize some essential facts concerning ROC, as, for example, its annual economic growth rate of over 10%, inflation of only 3% a year, foreign trade turnover of close to \$4 billion, its model land-reform program and food production self-sufficiency, a well-balanced industrialization growth, a per capita income of \$292, and impressive donorship of foreign economic aid.

Concerning the second point on Security Council recommendation, the repeated so-called Albanian proposal to seat Red China

and oust ROC has been a repeated illegal attempt since no such recommendation has founded it. If any such recommendation were proposed in the Security Council, the Republic of China, as a permanent member, would veto it, a right guaranteed by Article 27. In short, then, since ROC has never violated the principles of the Charter, there is therefore no factual or legal ground for its expulsion.

On this matter of permanent membership, Article 23 specifically provides: The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Island, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council.¹⁷ The only legal process by which the permanent member title "The Republic of China" can be replaced by "The People's Republic of China" is by amending the Charter, as provided in Article 108. The article clearly states: "Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council."¹⁸ Obviously, the key word here is "all," meaning that if ROC or the U.S. or both as "permanent members" refuse to ratify the proposed, necessary amendment, the above change couldn't legally take place. Thus, by the provisions of the Charter itself, ROC cannot be removed from the Security Council. Arbitrary political judgments and actions toward such removal are only in crass violation of these articles and their legal provisions.

Turning now from the expulsion of members to the admission of new members, it is frequently held that these important questions are covered by Article 18 which in the Charter falls under the caption of "voting" and is thus procedural in character.¹⁹ The article stipulates, for example, that each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote. It also specifies a two-thirds majority vote "on important questions," included among which are "the admission of new Members to the United Nations" and "the expulsion of Members." The so-called China question has in part been consistently played on the procedural points of this article. The seriousness of the present challenge demands, however, that the subject of Red China's admission be treated on substantive grounds rather than on procedural ones. And these are explicitly afforded in Article 4.

In Chapter II and under the caption "Membership," Article 4 quite clearly states: "1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations"; "2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council."²⁰ Applying the first part of this provision to Red China, it should be evident that the cumulative evidence of its aggressions and hostility, which the ROC ambassador would highlight in his introductory declaration, and the fact of the U.N.'s standing condemnation of Red China as "an aggressor" paint a rather misfit candidate for membership.

Based on these substantive grounds, the second part of the article is highly essential since the General Assembly decision is explicitly predicated "upon the recommendation of the Security Council." Plainly, any such decision presupposes this initial rec-

ommendation originating in the Security Council where, once again, the Republic of China has a permanent seat and also the right of veto. As indicated previously, Article 27 in the Charter guarantees this right where, with reference to substantive rather than procedural matters, it expresses the guarantee in these words: "3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members."²¹ The lack of concurrence on the part of the permanent members, of which ROC is one and sufficient unto itself, would nullify such decisions, substantively that of admitting Red China. The Soviet Union has exercised this veto right against membership proposals, such as that of Nepal, and there is no principled or legal reason for the Republic of China to abstain from its proper and far more valid use in the case of Red China.

This legal foundation for ROC's defense of its position in the U.N. is more than adequate. However, being a state with a de facto population exceeding that of any of 97 other members in the U.N., ROC might also consider Article 19, dealing with financial delinquency of members and their right to vote in the General Assembly. If in this political scuffle many members of the U.N. should fail to observe the principles and Charter provisions of the organization, then there is no reason not to pull out as many plugs as the situation warrants. Very likely this may be unnecessary. The chief question remains: "Will ROC seize this opportunity to manifest its own established honor and integrity, to cause the U.N. to redeem itself in terms of its own Charter, and even perhaps to assist the U.S. in saving its own face?"

FOOTNOTES

¹ *Second Annual Presidential Review of United States Foreign Policy*, House Document No. 92-53, Washington, D.C. 1971, p. 2.

² Henry S. Bradsher, "Peking Affirms Support for Hanoi's Hard Line," *The Evening Star*, Washington, D.C., August 19, 1971.

³ *Khrushchev Remembers*, Boston, 1970, p. 461.

⁴ "How Nixon Signaled His China Policy Four Years Ago," *U.S. News & World Report*, Washington, D.C., August 16, 1971, p. 23.

⁵ "Communist China Policy," *Congressional Record*, August 6, 1971, p. 30766.

⁶ "Romania Urges Equality Despite Moscow Threats," *UPI*, Vienna, September 6, 1971.

⁷ "China Seeks World Status," *Reuter*, East Berlin, August 24, 1971.

⁸ *UPI*, Moscow, September 8, 1971.

⁹ Lev E. Dobriansky, *The Geographical Expression of Mainland China: The Largest Captive Nation*, *Congressional Record* reprint, July 1971, p. 2.

¹⁰ *The Human Cost of Communism in China*, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, USGPO, Washington, D.C. 1971.

¹¹ "Chou En-lai, Murderer," *Congressional Record*, August 6, 1971, pp. 30773-30774.

¹² David Lawrence, "A New Detente Shaping Up in Asia?," Column, August 16, 1971.

¹³ Statement by Secretary of State William P. Rogers, August 2, 1971.

¹⁴ "Britain Will Back Peking U.N. Seat," *The Evening Star*, Washington, D.C., September 19, 1971.

¹⁵ *Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice*, The United Nations, New York, pp. 6-7.

¹⁶ Carl T. Rowan, "A Role for Taiwan in the General Assembly," *Sunday Star*, August 29, 1971.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

MRS. MIN HIMMELMAN RECEIVES VOLUNTEER OF THE YEAR AWARD FOR WORK IN BEHALF OF THE MENTALLY ILL

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, recently the National Association for Mental Health selected Mrs. Min Himmelman to receive the Katherine Hamilton Volunteer of the Year Award for her inspiring work in behalf of the mentally ill. While Mrs. Himmelman lives in St. Louis, Minn., in my congressional district, she has become widely known and loved for her good works in a wide variety of fields.

Min is a nonstop volunteer in a seemingly endless string of organizations serving the needs of the old, the young, and society's rejects of all ages. A recent article in the Dallas Morning News does a fine job of highlighting this most extraordinary career of public service. It is in no sense an exaggeration to suggest that today as never before what the world needs now is more of the love translated into commitment described through the life of Min Himmelman.

My fondest holiday wish to my colleagues is that each congressional district be blessed with at least one Min Himmelman.

I insert the above-mentioned article at this point in the RECORD:

MINNESOTA'S MISSING OUT ON MERRY MIN HIMMELMAN'S BRIMMING BRAND OF KOSHER CHRISTMAS CHEER

(By Mary Brinkerhoff)

Minnesota's missing out on merry Min Himmelman's brimming brand of kosher Christmas cheer.

It won't be long, though, Mrs. M. D. Himmelman, laden with fresh honors as the nation's top mental health volunteer, soon will head back from Dallas for St. Louis Park, the Minneapolis suburb over which she watches like a Jewish mother.

Min ought to get there in time to mastermind a rerun of last year's gift-wrapping orgy in her apartment, a binge which resulted in 16,000 packages for hospital patients.

"And who do you think was doing it? Little Jewish ladies from around my neighborhood."

Author-social arbiter Amy Vanderbilt, who heads the awards and recognition committee of the National Association for Mental Health selected Mrs. Min Himmelman to luncheon in the Sheraton-Dallas Hotel. The presentation will be a top event of the NAMH annual meeting, ending Friday.

For Himmelman fans who come in big batches, no part of the program will outshine the moment when Miss Vanderbilt gives Min the Katherine Hamilton Volunteer of the Year Award.

The Indiana Mental Health Memorial Foundation sponsors this NAMH honor. With it goes a \$1,000 check, which Mrs. Himmelman already has earmarked for someone working toward a University of Minnesota graduate degree involving research on the discharge and after-care of elderly mental patients.

Min, whose cronies back home and elsewhere range from Catholic priests to Protestant leaders (she's active in a Methodist hospital auxiliary), feels somewhat embarrassed about it all. Many people, she feels,

have at least an equal right to the honor; many more just "need somebody to give them the urge."

A lot of her acquaintances disagree. Min has been praised by governors, legislators, social workers; she won a comparable statewide mental health award and a Beautiful People Award from her city.

There's going to be a Min Himmelman bench outside the St. Louis Park library, although the name might seem more fitting if the bench were mounted on wheels.

The library stands on the site of Freedom Park, which Min and 104 co-workers she recruited made out of a dump one July 4, after a battle with city hall. A plumber friend transformed pipe into a flagpole; when a line was needed to run the flag up, another man appeared with his wife's clothesline.

"She came running after him, screaming, 'Can I have my pants back first?'"

Once a great friend of Sister Elizabeth Kenny, the Australian nurse who battled polio before the days of vaccines, Min originated the Bellringer Marches since adopted by mental health workers across the country.

She has fought other ills from kidney disease to drug addiction; she's a member of St. Louis Park's Commission for the Aging; she launched a local "open schools" program and the state's first free eye examinations for the elderly.

Perhaps the most fascinating group to claim her is the Council of Organizations, Associated and Citizens (COAC), which she founded and heads and which seems to consist largely of Min herself and friends game to do her bidding.

Mrs. Himmelman, pushing 70 but as full of zing as a kindergarten freshman, has housed would-be suicides, ex-prisoners and former mental patients in her apartment, already stuffed with a mixture of gifts to be wrapped or other work in progress.

Min, a fireman's widow, mother of four and grandmother of nine, comes of a Russian Jewish family geared to help neighbors and strangers in need. An early crusader, she worked in a factory at 14 just to sample labor conditions for herself.

She hopes before she dies to see more action with less talk; more respect for mental patients as individuals; more kindness to the old, including informal "adoption of grammas and grandpas."

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HELPS INDIANS

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I noted with interest an announcement which was made recently by the Economic Development Administration that the agency's investment in economic planning and development on Indian reservations had passed the \$100 million mark.

The achievement of this milestone is noteworthy for two reasons. The first is that it indicates the fulfillment of the promise made by President Nixon to expand the Federal Government's role in helping the Indians.

The second, of equal importance, is the effect this financial support has had in encouraging the Indians to view their reservations in a new light—one that

reflects the opportunity for new jobs and better family incomes.

The Economic Development Administration is the U.S. Commerce Department agency that helps communities develop their resources to enable them to reach their full economic potential. EDA has designated more than 100 Indian reservations around the country as eligible for this support and has received enthusiastic responses from tribal members to its offer of assistance.

The many projects which have received grant and loan support range from the installation of basic sewer and water services to land preparation and the construction of buildings for use by industry.

They represent the true meaning of a partnership between the Federal Government and a local community—in this case the Indian reservation.

EDA offers financial help to the tribes in the form of planning grants to prepare an overall economic development program. It supports technical studies on the feasibility of certain industries operating on reservations and follows up this preliminary work with grants and loans to install the utilities and prepare the land for industry to use. Business loans are made to the tribes or to businessmen to start the work going.

The success of the program can be measured in the number of jobs created and the Indians employed.

One example is the Fairchild Semiconductor Plant on the Navajo Reservation at Shiprock, N. Mex., which EDA assisted in establishing. Indians were trained for the work and there are now more than 800 employed at the production center.

Another project, and of far-reaching potential for the Nation as a whole, involves sea-farming by the Lummi Tribe of Washington. The program was established with the aid of \$2 million in public works and technical assistance funds from EDA. The tribe expects the production of oysters and fish to employ 600 persons by the end of the fifth year. And Lummis believe the project will develop into a \$4 million annual industry.

There are many other projects which are equally noteworthy—tourist centers, training schools, industrial parks, lumber mills, cattle raising cooperatives—to name a few.

Much work is still to be done, but these EDA programs have already been a key element in assisting the American Indian build a better life based upon economic growth from the Indian's own initiative and labors.

EDA's support to the Indians passed the \$100 million mark on September 30, 1971, when it approved a \$460,000 grant for an industrial park on the Swinomish Reservation in the State of Washington.

It is my understanding the EDA has set a goal of approving grants and loans totaling \$26 million for the Indian programs in fiscal 1972. I am pleased that this program continues to reflect the increasing desires and abilities of the American Indian to obtain a full share of economic growth.

COL. JIM IRWIN—I HAVE COME HOME AGAIN—BACK TO EARTH

HON. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the brief introductory remarks to a short but fine speech delivered by one of our astronauts.

The remarks were penned by the late Congressman James G. Fulton, of Pennsylvania, whose work and devotion to the American space effort are recognized by all of us in the Congress. I think the substance of the speech of astronaut Col. Jim Irwin, of the Apollo 15 crew, is a fitting tribute to Congressman Fulton's own realistic and pragmatic view of our Nation's space program.

Wrote Congressman FULTON:

"I submit for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the principal speech delivered by astronaut Jim Irwin in the South Park Stadium on Labor Day, at the Annual Allegheny, and Pittsburgh, Pa., County Fair.

"Jim Irwin, a native of Pittsburgh, who received his early education at the Beechview and Brookline grade schools of Pittsburgh, received a wonderful heartwarming reception."

The speech follows:

COLONEL IRWIN'S SPEECH—I HAVE COME HOME AGAIN—BACK TO EARTH

I have come home again—back to earth and back to Pennsylvania. It is good to be back in the vital and vigorous part of our nation where I spent the first eleven years of my life.

I am also glad I have the opportunity to be here on Labor Day. This is the day we honor the working men and women of our country. Hard work is what has made this nation great. The Irwins were part of the labor force for as long as I can remember. My grandfather, John Irwin, came from Ireland in the 1800's and settled in Pennsylvania. He pulled coke at Mt. Pleasant and then in Pittsburgh at Jones & Laughlin. My dad worked in the steel mills as a young man. During my youthful years in Pittsburgh, Dad was an engineer at the power plant in the Carnegie Museum. That was over thirty years ago. I can see that all of you have been working to change the face of this great city. Pittsburgh is beautiful today because of your efforts and technology.

Pittsburgh has become a center of learning, culture, industry, and research. Here the material taken from the earth, is transferred into metal products, and then is formed and assembled to make countless products. Here the laboring man works with the researcher. One compliments the other. The researcher discovers new materials, new techniques and even new industry. The laboring man then fashions the final products. The benefits of such a combination are passed on to all people. You have the complete labor spectrum in this area and you can judge for yourselves the improvement to life itself.

One trip to the moon was made possible by such efforts and cooperation of people throughout our nation. My voyage with Dave Scott and Al Worden in the "Endeavour" took us out a quarter of a million miles from earth. We were out there longer than any other man and we studied the awesome landscape of the moon with its mountains, plains, craters and canyons. From this distant and contrasting perspective, the earth

appears as a gleaming self contained spaceship, glowing with color and life. As far as we could tell our earth is the only planet in our solar system that is host and home to life as we know it, particularly human life. Looking back to earth from the moon, I gained a deeper appreciation of this bountiful home of mankind and became more keenly aware of the need of all its inhabitants to work together both to protect and increase its bounty and to harvest its resources for all mankind.

Fellow Pennsylvanians and fellow Americans, this objective—to work for the benefit of all mankind—is what the United States space program is all about. In fact, it is the goal of our entire space effort, clearly stated in the legislation which made the exploration of space a national undertaking and established the NASA. Under the Space Act of 1958—NASA is directed to explore space for peaceful purposes for the benefit of all mankind.

Our advances in space have contributed very directly to advances here on earth. For example, the Apollo program alone at the peak of its activity involved the active participation of over 200 universities—some in Pennsylvania—20 major contractors and over 20,000 subcontractors. More than 40,000 people were employed as a direct consequence of our effort to land man on the moon. Due to budgetary restrictions, the number is down to about one-third of the peak figure.

The impact of the space effort on the economy has ranged from coast to coast. Pennsylvanians produce satellites, re-entry vehicles, space hardware, software, and even underwear we wear into space.

The results of our space exploration affect every facet of our lives. I would like to mention briefly the major areas and perhaps one example in each. There are new or improved materials, products, and processes such as fire proof garments and paints and miniaturized electronics. Transportation, whether on the highway or in the air, has been made safer. The navigation system of the Apollo space craft is now used in commercial jet aircraft. Communications via our satellites allows us to view live TV from anywhere on the earth.

Building construction has been advanced by new materials and techniques. Health care of us all is improved with such hospital aids as automatic monitoring of patients. Weather forecasting has become much more accurate because of our satellites. Pennsylvania can take pride because the advanced weather satellite Nimbus was made here in the Keystone State. Agriculture has been affected because continuous surveillance allows early detection of crop decrease such as the corn blight problem of last year. Space craft give continuous survey of our natural resources and the degree of pollution we create. Education has been affected greatly. There is a wealth of new practical knowledge available to our children and most important a new horizon to give their lives direction. Economy of our country has benefited—the gross national product has increased by at least \$200 billion because of increased industry and employment. There is a new era in international cooperation. We launch satellites for other countries. There is a plan to perform a joint manned operation with the Russians. The last area I want to mention is the national pride provided by our space successes. I am intensely proud, and I hope you all share my pride.

The cost of our current space effort to each one of us taxpayers is less than 1.5 cents of the tax dollar, or roughly \$15 per person per year. Compare this with \$400 we spend on social programs, \$400 on defense, \$35 on alcoholic beverages, \$17 on tobacco and \$16 on cosmetics.

It is clear that the benefits from the space

program, both direct and indirect, are providing each American with an excellent return on his investment. This is an investment in America.

The history of Pennsylvania and our national history are interwoven, and the State and its people have been in the forefront of every major social, political, and scientific advance in our country. Pennsylvania continues to be a pacesetter in aerospace technology.

I would like to take the opportunity to thank those in the area that contributed directly to the Apollo program. I would like to thank the people who designed the systems of our spacecraft and the people who produced the metal products that allowed us to take our voyage into space. Sometimes one forgets the role of metal in the electronics age. There is that gigantic hangar called the VAB, the crawler that takes the spacecraft to the pad, the pad itself and the launch tower. Most important to us is the metal of the spacecraft that provided a cocoon protecting us on our trip to the Moon. Your metal products made our trip possible.

We think Apollo 15 was a success. That success was due to the efforts of all working men and women—whether he is a research analyst or a laborer in the coal mines or steel mills. We brought back rocks and miles of pictures, we sent back scientific data from our instrument bay, and we placed a scientific station on the Moon, and also one in orbit. All this data will hopefully tell us much more of the Moon, the Earth, and our heavens. This knowledge will enable us to plan our future more effectively in terms of resources, technology, and skills.

We thank all of you who share our aspirations that man's travels into space will result in a much fuller and richer life for all men on the planet Earth.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, friends, you have honored me and other of my fellow Pennsylvanians with the Pride of Pennsylvania Award. You have paid me special honor for which I have no adequate thanks. But in doing so, you honor, I believe, not just the man—but man—and not entirely for what he is, but also for what he may become. I look upon this award, therefore, not as a mark of achievement, but as a spur to greater achievement. Thank you.

PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, John Colburn, editor, and publisher of the *Wichita Eagle* and the *Beacon* in *Wichita, Kans.*, has written an interesting and timely observation on the recently confirmed Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, Lewis F. Powell. Mr. Colburn has been a personal friend of Mr. Powell's for 20 years, and therefore, his assessment of the new Justice is made from firsthand knowledge and experience. From the overwhelming confirmation vote in the other body, we all can conclude with Mr. Colburn that Mr. Powell will "assess the judicial processes with wisdom and justice for all" and that President Nixon has chosen a man who will be "a devoted servant of the law."

I include the column written by Mr. Colburn in the *RECORD*.

The article follows:

LEWIS POWELL

(By John H. Colburn)

Every morning—often even on Sunday—he strides into his book-lined office ready to tackle the legal problems of the day. Slim, lanky (six feet) Lewis F. Powell is a man of action and that's what he will be as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

The Senate confirmed him last week by the vote of 89 to 1. The dissenter, Sen. Fred Harris, the Oklahoma Democrat, described Powell as "an elitist, establishment Virginia lawyer who has no deep feeling for little people." Virginia lawyer (Richmond) he is, and a distinguished one. Elitist he is not.

As a Justice on the highest court of the land, Powell will interpret the legal issues within the framework of the Constitution—and not what his personal political, social or personal philosophy may be. That's how he has made his reputation. He's been able to deal with issues unemotionally, realistically. Often his has been the voice to set an action course.

This realism also recognized the revolutionary changes in our society. Deeply conscious that the nation's freedom is anchored in the rule of law, Powell is aware of the grave social problems that call, as he says, for "determined and generous action."

As he sees it, "the gap between the prosperous middle classes and the genuinely underprivileged—both white and black—must be narrowed. Many mistakes have been made in the past . . . but we have passed the point where recriminations and bitterness will solve problems.

"We must come to grips realistically with the gravest domestic problem of this century. America has the resources and our people have the compassion and the desire to provide equal justice, adequate education and job opportunities for all."

In endorsing such goals, Powell also has come out strongly against the "mindless folly of appeasing and even rewarding the extremists who incite or participate in civil disobedience." He has studied and been to the Soviet Union and maintains that "America needs to awaken to its peril; needs to understand that our society and system can be destroyed."

This is no super-alarmist talking in bellicose tones. He's a soft-spoken man with a brilliant mind, who can listen to hours of discussion and siphon out the key issue and say, "Why not try this approach?" He's a man of tremendous energy, who is devoted to utilizing his talents for the benefit of mankind.

A successful corporation lawyer, who has made a small fortune, nevertheless Powell devoted nearly nine years as chairman of the Richmond, Va., school board. It was a sensitive period—1952-61. When the Supreme Court in 1954 outlawed compulsory school segregation, Powell opposed "elite" and other groups and set the stage for integration of Richmond's public schools.

Some critics such as Harris see Powell as "representative of those who made it big—those who look good in the country club drawing room." On the contrary, Powell leads a quiet social life. He doesn't golf, hasn't played tennis regularly for 20 years and seldom is seen at the country club or at Richmond's exclusive downtown club. His days are all business, even when he eats quietly with business associates in the dining room of a Richmond department store.

Having been a friend of Lewis Powell for 20 years, I may be viewed as prejudiced. Both he and his wife, Josephine, reflect a soft southern charm. They have a lovely family, but are not active in the "society" as it once was known in the Richmond environment.

There's little time for a social life or recreational pursuits. Powell has been too busy

keeping up with a law practice he has built up for 39 years, serving on board of directors and keeping his perspective by involving himself in the issues changing the life of America.

His has been a 10-hour plus work day, but an unhurried one. He is deliberate, cautious and unpretentious whether in arguing a legal point in court or devoting his talents to extracurricular activities involving his profession and related interests.

Past president of the American Bar Association, Powell served on President Johnson's Crime Commission, was a member of a Blue Ribbon Committee to analyze the security of America, and is legal adviser to historic Colonial Williamsburg.

Still, Lewis Powell shuns the personal spotlight. He's no back slapper, doesn't pepper a conversation with jokes, and anecdotes about him are as rare as the criticism that developed after his surprise nomination by President Nixon in October.

He may be—as he says modestly—frightened by the high expectations reflected in the tremendous vote of confidence given him by the United State Senate. Any realistic person would be, and Lewis Powell, charming and brilliant as he is, knows only too well that these are changing, even revolutionary times.

I am confident that he will assess the judicial processes with wisdom and justice for all. Also, that he will weigh the constitutional issues not only in the interests of the underprivileged but mindful that an indispensable prerequisite to progress in an ordered society is one governed by law. He is a devoted servant of the law.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, Davidson is a liberal arts college located in Mecklenburg County, N.C. It has had a long and distinguished record in the field of higher education, having been founded in 1836.

Those of us who have been interested in Davidson over the years have long been convinced that it is one of the truly outstanding liberal arts colleges in the entire United States. This feeling has recently been confirmed as a result of an objective comparison of 206 independent liberal arts colleges which enroll 1,000 students or more, made by a well-known national foundation. Officials of Davidson have been allowed to publish the results of this comparison on the condition that the foundation remain anonymous. I have been provided with a news release issued by the college outlining the results of that comparison and quote the following from it:

Of all 206 colleges studied, Davidson ranked 13th. It was the only college in the Southeastern U.S. to place among the top 15 in the nation. And had the college's full support from the Duke Endowment been included in the study, Davidson's endowment per student rating would have improved, and its overall national rank would have risen to 10th or 11th, according to college officials.

These were the categories used by the foundation, and Davidson's position in each:

Average faculty compensation, No. 5 with \$15,566.

Endowment per student, No. 13 with \$20,654.

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Average combined Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, No. 22 with 1259.

Average expenditures per student, No. 25 with \$3,054.

Overall ranking among 206 institutions, No. 13.

"The results of this objective survey substantiate our claim to be a leading undergraduate college, not only in the Southeast but also in the nation," commented C. David Cornell, Davidson's vice president for finance and development.

Although expenditure per student is a common means of comparing institutions, our continuing efforts to keep our expenses as low as possible without sacrificing quality are naturally going to affect our rating in this category.

GRETA S. MOULTON, OF STATEN ISLAND

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, Staten Island is the location of one of the first 11 environmental landmarks in America, the High Rock Park Conservation Center. This magnificent oasis of natural wooded land within the confines of New York City serves thousands of schoolchildren each year and provides for most of them their only opportunity to experience the pleasures of the natural outdoors.

High Rock Park is a most extraordinary and special achievement, but is only one of the many magnificent contributions of Mrs. Greta S. Moulton, of Staten Island, who dedicated her life to the service of her community and the city of New York.

When she passed away on November 18 at age 60, her untimely death was mourned by the entire community which had shared her warmth and witnessed her vitality and delight in living. Her many civic involvements and projects had reached every home on Staten Island. She worked with the Girl Scouts and the Red Cross, with the Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences and the League of Women Voters. She served on the Family Service Board and the Society for Seamen's Children, and the Board of Willowbrook State School.

Her only reward was the deep satisfaction and accomplishment that comes with selfless dedication and achievement in the community and the tremendous impact of her work, particularly with the children.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD an article which appeared in the Staten Island Advance when Mrs. Moulton passed away last month. The article briefly sketches the many activities which filled Mrs. Moulton's life, and I wish to share with my colleagues this testament to the greatness of Greta S. Moulton, of Staten Island:

[From the Staten Island Advance, Nov. 19, 1971]

GRETA S. MOULTON, ACHIEVER IN GIRL SCOUT, RED CROSS WORK

Mrs. Greta S. Moulton, 60, of 103 Circle Rd., Dongan Hills, a former Advance Woman

of Achievement and an active community leader, was found dead yesterday in her home.

When Mrs. Moulton was named a Woman of Achievement in 1966, it was one honor among many for a person deeply involved in the Staten Island community and whose interests varied from Girl Scouting to ecology.

She had been associated with the Girl Scouts on Staten Island since she came here in 1951 from her native Newton, Mass.

She headed the Island council's fund drive in the 1950s and was also associated with the Girl Scout Council of Greater New York's expansion drive.

When the city began trying to acquire High Rock Conservation Center, which had been a Girl Scout camp, Mrs. Moulton joined the fight to have the tract maintained as a natural wooded area.

She was later named chairman of the High Rock Development Committee of Greater New York, a group that works with the Park Department and the Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences in the management of the New Dorp center.

Mrs. Moulton was also a member of the Staten Island Green Belt-Natural Areas League, and once remarked: "I think Staten Island's biggest contribution to the city can be natural beauty."

Over the years, she had been associated with the American Red Cross. In 1964 she was named chairman of the Staten Island phase of the organization's fund-raising appeal and the next year was honored for her outstanding leadership.

She became citywide chairman of the Red Cross community appeal in 1966 and received a citation for her work in that capacity.

Mrs. Moulton served on the Board of Visitors of Willowbrook State School since 1962, when she was appointed by Gov. Rockefeller.

She was a member of the Staten Island Branch of the League of Women Voters, the Staten Island Family Service Board and the Society for Seamen's Children.

She is survived by her husband, Horace P.; a son, Sherman R., of Fairfield, Conn.; a daughter, Mrs. Ann Anderson of Providence, N.J.; a brother, Franksford S. Sumner Jr.; a sister, Miss Janet Sumner, and five grandchildren.

JAMES PAYNE, GREATHOUSE "TRADITION" RETIRES

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, today the faculty and former students of Greathouse School in St. Matthews, Ky. will honor one of their devoted servants, James Payne.

James Payne, who has served Greathouse for the past 33 years as custodian retired from that position on December 1. His service during those years has gone far beyond his job as janitor. It is said that the children have consulted him about their problems more often than they have the faculty or administration. He has been a living example of what is known as the "tradition" at Greathouse.

On December 2, Anne Calvert of the Voice-Jeffersonian wrote an article entitled "Greathouse 'tradition' retires."

I should like to have the full text of that article printed at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Voice-Jeffersonian, Dec. 2, 1971]

**GREATHOUSE "TRADITION" RETIRES—PAYNE
"TAUGHT" THREE GENERATIONS**

(By Anne Calvert)

His friends cannot remember a time when James Payne could not repair a broken toy or soothe a tearful child or help a teacher in distress.

For over 33 years, Payne has been janitor at Greathouse School in St. Matthews, working with four of its principals, and now helping the grandchildren of some of the children he knew at the school.

"He has always been one of our closest friends," said Mrs. Edgar Koch, school secretary for 19 years. "James always seemed to be there when we needed him, and then, like many others, he'd work for me after school sometimes."

She recalled how frightened her daughter had been the first few days of school when Greathouse School was located on Shelbyville Road (where Thornberry's now stands). "My husband was upset when he'd pick Judith up because the boys used to tumble out of school so rough. He asked James if he would watch her—that he'd pay James extra for it.

"Mr. Koch, I watch over all the children," James told my husband." "He is such a genuine person like that," Mrs. Koch said.

All the faculty at Greathouse School, including those who have moved to other positions or have retired, are unanimous in their admiration of James being the person who not only looked after the school, but took care of the people in the school.

James Payne came to Greathouse School in 1938, after being trained as a porter for a large hotel, Miss Mayme S. Waggener (the school's second principal since its opening in 1875) was the first principal he worked for. When the children and faculty marched from the old building to the new Greathouse School on Grandview Avenue, in 1939, James led a parade of children, carrying a few brooms and mops.

Later, under principals Kenneth Farmer, Howard H. Shaver, and now, Edwin Rodgers, the children seemed to know they could come to their friend for help—no matter what the problem.

In his boiler room workshop, Payne had an old cobbler's shoe last so he could nail heels back on children's shoes when they became scuffed off in playing.

When snow fell, the teachers would see Payne out in the parking lot brushing the accumulation off their cars. Although school ended officially at 3:15 p.m., the boiler room door was usually ajar so he could hear what was happening on the playground.

"I think the children would run to James as often as they would run to the office," said Howard Shaver. "He is a person that parents completely trusted; he is interested in the children."

Payne found he would teach by example—and the lesson seems to have stuck through many years.

Chiding some youngsters who are reluctant to wash up, his favorite saying is "My blackness won't wash off, but yours will." Consideration for others is perhaps the best lesson the children were taught.

"You haven't got another thing to recommend yourself except your honesty," is another Payne aphorism, often heard by the Greathouse children.

Payne's own children grew up in this tradition. He and his wife, Daisy, adopted Doris, a graduate music student, and then three children were born. Clara May, Marilyn and James Jr. are now nearly grown. Payne and his family are active members of Mt. Lebanon Baptist Church near their home on West Ormsby Street.

Recently, Payne underwent serious surgery for a kidney disorder, and his physician and family recommended his retirement—effective Dec. 1. On Dec. 15, the faculty and former students are planning a reception for him at Greathouse School.

**PROBLEM IS ENFORCEMENT OF
WAGE FREEZES**

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 14, 1971

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago-South Suburban News, which serves the black communities of the Chicagoland area, is known for its spirited news coverage and editorial commentaries.

One of its featured columnists is Barbara Deangelis who, in the Saturday, December 4 issue, discussed the question of President Nixon's economic policy as it applies to the wage-price freeze. The article is especially significant when one realizes that Miss Deangelis hardly qualifies as a supporter of President Nixon.

The editorial follows:

PROBLEM IS ENFORCEMENT OF WAGE FREEZES

(By Barbara Deangelis)

Several months ago—so long in fact that pliable Americans have already accepted it as part of life—President Nixon instituted a new economic policy that contained as part of its provisions a wage-price freeze. Initially, Americans screamed things about free enterprise and democratic ideals—after that most of us, as is our wont, simply went along with the plan. After all, our economy is, to put it mildly, in trouble, and something had to be done.

Those who did not go along with Mr. Nixon's efforts to stabilize the economy continued to mutter ancient clichés about creeping fascism and governmental monopoly, or, like Mr. Meany bellowed obscenities because their pet ox was getting it in the neck. Meanwhile, nobody much paid these malcontents any mind, and everyone settled down to figuring out how to live without that expected raise.

Fact was, the average guy realized that the projected salary hike in his union contract was meaningless unless inflation could be halted at both ends, and was generally happy to go along with anything that appeared to have a chance to succeed.

Now four months later—after Phase I, and with the addition, on the national scene, of the wage-price board—we are a lot more confused, but not much better off than before.

Mr. Nixon, recognized a problem, faced it, and did what he thought was best. His action in instituting the new economics was courageous politically and reasonable intellectually. Unfortunately America is not a reasonable nation. Nor, are we a nation that is overawed by courage—we seem to prefer the slick coward to the brave man every time.

And so it is, we find that Phase II brings rising prices, and stiff wage controls. Wages are easier to police than prices, and management is only too happy to comply with the President's wishes in the matter of salaries. Prices on the other hand are nebulous—there are literally hundreds of thousands of stores, and almost no way to determine whether or not they are overcharging. Then too, there is the matter of wholesale

and manufacturing costs, and other such considerations that add to the complexities of figuring fair prices.

Perhaps the wage-price board and everyone else involved in enforcing Phase II will get it together, eventually. If they do we will undoubtedly see an improved economic picture. But meanwhile, Phase II stands with fair housing laws, the Chicago Plan, and other such hopeful experiments, in grave danger of doing more harm than good because it cannot be adequately and fairly enforced.

We are viewing—perhaps for the first time in recent history—the interesting spectacle of government and big business battling it out. Ah well, at least it provides amusement while we are waiting for the ax to fall.

EULOGY TO MICHAEL HALLORAN

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 15, 1971

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, it is with a sense of genuine sorrow that I pay tribute at this time to the late Michael Halloran, regional director of the Veterans' Administration office in Cleveland, Ohio, who passed away on December 7 at the age of 61. A man of quiet integrity and marked ability, Mr. Halloran's public life was characterized throughout his years of Government service by dedication to duty and competent, efficient, humane standards. He took seriously the responsibilities of the veteran, recognizing our national obligation to the well-being of veterans as citizens.

In these troubled times, the demands upon his office were many, varied, and complex. To the performance of his duties he brought an exacting and conscientious spirit, which made itself felt among all who worked with him.

Born in Soldier's Grove, Wis., he attended Loras College in Dubuque, Iowa, and received his LL.B. from the University of Wisconsin, followed by graduate work at the University of Colorado. He left the practice of law with the outbreak of World War II, serving for 4½ years with the Army Air Corps. During the Korean conflict he served with the Foreign Claims Commission and on the Staff of the Judge Advocate General as adjudicatory officer and Air Force colonel.

He came to Cleveland as director of the regional office in 1968, having served prior to that time as manager of the regional office in Milwaukee—from 1965—and assistant director of the San Francisco office. His background in law gave him valuable insights in public administration. In 1971 he was an honored recipient of the Federal Career Service Award for distinguished public service.

Michael Halloran leaves a legacy of respect and good will, a consolation to his loved ones and an inspiration to all who knew him. To his bereaved family—to Jessie, his widow, and to his children, Linda, Brian, Kathleen, Patricia, and Michael, Jr.—and to all his family and friends, I extend deepest sympathy.